Images from the Past:
Intertextuality in Japanese Premodern Literature
edited by Carolina Negri and Pier Carlo Tommasi

The *Sarashina Diary*: How Are Literary Quotations Woven into Reminiscences?

Itō Moriyuki
Gakushūin Women's College, Tōkyō, Japan

Abstract This paper aims to clarify the characteristics of the *Sarashina nikki* (1060) whilst paying attention to the issue of intertextuality. However, first, I review the establishment of *kana* literature in the Heian period. After the *Kagerō nikki*, female writers emerged in succession, ushering in the height of Heian female literature. Then, the *Sarashina nikki* appeared at the end of this golden age of *kana* literature. The uniqueness of this diary is clear in that it pursues the metaphysical theme of the meaning of narrative in life. In this paper, I carry out a concrete analysis of the way literary citations are employed in the *Sarashina nikki*.

Keywords Kana literature. Classical Chinese literature. Ki no Tsurayuki, Kagerō nikki. Genji monogatari. Sarashina nikki.

1 Introduction

This paper is based on the keynote speech "The *Sarashina Diary*: How Are Literary Quotations Woven into Reminiscences?" delivered at the online international symposium *Images from the Past: Intertextuality in Japanese Premodern Literature,* which was held on February 3-5, 2021. My basic argument remains unchanged. However, I have add-

Edizioni Ca'Foscari

Ca' Foscari Japanese Studies 19 | Arts and Literature 6
e-ISSN 2610-9425 | ISSN 2610-8992
ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-608-4 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-609-1

Peer review | Open access
Submitted 2021-12-14 | Accepted 2022-02-13 | Published 2022-08-30

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-608-4/003

ed an explanation of the background of the symposium and the process of writing this paper to the beginning of this article, as well as reinforcing the argument in the latter part of the paper.

The lecture was given in Japanese, thus this paper was prepared by revising the Japanese lecture draft and then having it translated into English. Of course, this forced me to use English translations when citing classical Japanese works. When preparing a paper such as this, I sometimes feel frustrated that I cannot convey the form of the original Japanese in a foreign language, but unfortunately, there is no way around this problem. (Romanisation to indicate Japanese pronunciation is also used as necessary in this paper, but to limited effect).

Since analytical reading of the text is indispensable to literary studies, the question of whether a work can be analysed using a different language from that of the object of research is an important issue directly related to research content and method. It is a troublesome problem peculiar to literary studies, but the confusion surrounding the language of use has been avoided in Japan so far because Japanese literary research is fundamentally conducted in Japanese. However, the flip side of this has been the phenomenon of low interest in Japanese literary studies conducted in foreign languages, literally giving rise to a 'language barrier'. Now that international cultural interactions are expanding and deepening, it is by no means desirable that this situation persists. In the future, it will be necessary to explore ways to properly evaluate translations of Japanese literature and Japanese literary studies into foreign languages, also within Japan.

If I were to comment on how translated works are evaluated, I would say that the translation of a literary work is an intertextual act in itself. This is because various interpretations are added to the original Japanese text by a translator who freely goes back and forth between different languages. The act of translating between languages with different cultural backgrounds is a superbly creative one, and the translated works produced through such acts possess intrinsic value as new texts. Needless to say, it is through translation that Japanese literature has gained a high reputation as world literature among English-speaking readers, and Japanese literature, once transplanted to different cultural spheres through translation, has found new meanings in accordance with the cultural climate of the recipient countries. Having ascertained these basic facts, I will now consider the issue of intertextuality in classical Japanese literature. Before addressing the main topic, I would like to briefly mention the background to this symposium.

This online international symposium was held in February 2021, only after many twists and turns. Originally, it was supposed to be held in March 2020 with participants attending in person at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. However, that came to coincide with the

first global wave of COVID-19, and a decision to cancel the symposium was made just before it was supposed to be held. A little more than six months later, I received a message concerning the online symposium from Ca' Foscari University, and as I reread the manuscript that I had intended to present in Venice, I realised that a Zoom presentation in Japanese to an audience, for most of whom Japanese would not be the native language, produces various adverse conditions, in particular the difficulty of reading the expressions of the audience. As a result, I completely rewrote the manuscript I had prepared in the spring of 2020. I broadened the horizons a little and paid attention to literary-historical viewpoints throughout my discussion, rather than only discussing the work in great detail. Therefore, the first half of this paper gives an overview of the history of diary literature whilst focussing on the relationships between Heian period (794-1185) diary works. In the second half, I add some thoughts from the perspective of intertextuality on the significance of the *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 (Sarashina Diary, ca. 1060) being written at the end of the golden age of *kana* literature, that is to say, *after* the *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji, ca. 1008).

The title of this paper makes clear that I will discuss the *Sarashina nikki* from the viewpoint of intertextuality, but it is because of the above circumstances that I will devote so much time to literary-historical explanations in the first half of the paper. Now, let us begin by reviewing the process of formation of the Japanese written language.

2 Until the Birth of *kana* Literature

Although my task given in this paper is to consider the issue of intertextuality in Japanese literature, if we consider the emergence of literature as a linguistic art form and reflect further on the facts of the process of human language acquisition, it is clear that virtually no literary work can be unrelated to intertextuality. As everyone knows, the basis of learning in language acquisition is imitation. Although we are engaged in the complex linguistic activity of considering Japanese literature, we did not ourselves invent that language that is at once our object of analysis and an analytical tool. There already exist spoken and written languages that just happened to emerge in this world, and we have acquired them by repeated learning based on imitation and iteration. The time and energy required to acquire a language thus is by no means small, but the path to mastering a written language is particularly long and complex. To begin with, when learning a language, it takes a considerable amount of time just to acquire all the knowledge of pronunciation, writing, and grammar, after which the acquisition of excellent writing ability requires further training in a different dimension. Memorising letters and grammar

does not mean that everyone can write good texts immediately. When there is no model expression in the mind of the person writing, it is almost impossible for them to write a good text by producing something from nothing. To create sophisticated expression, one needs to refine one's writing style by coming in contact with various texts. Therefore, a good writer is always first a good reader, and the issue of intertextuality is a key issue in the discussion of literary works.

The first thing to be noted about the history of the Japanese written language is that when the Japanese people[1] began writing their spoken language, they did not invent a new script for this purpose but borrowed the Chinese characters used for the Chinese language. On the basis of the latest archaeological findings, it is believed that letters were brought to the Japanese archipelago by literate people from the continent at the end of the Yayoi period (tenth century B.C. to third century A.D.). It was then, that residents of the Japanese archipelago first became aware of the existence of writing, and the written language thus introduced from overseas was not isolated as a language used by a small number of immigrants. On the contrary, it continued to grow in importance, and by the time of the establishment of a centralised governmental system, all official documents were written in literary Chinese. In other words, officials from the seventh century onwards developed a dual-language environment in which they routinely conversed in *Yamato kotoba* 大和言葉 (the distinctive language of Japan) whilst writing in literary Chinese. Before long, not only official records but also private diaries were written in literary Chinese, but the Chinese script also began to be used to transcribe the *Yamato kotoba*. For example, the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (A Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, ca. 759) is a long collection of about 4,500 *waka* 和歌 poems, but all of the *Yamato uta* 大和歌 (Japanese poems) are written in Chinese script. Moreover, since the *Man'yōshū* includes many difficult and rare Chinese characters, we know that the literati of the time had mastered an enormous literary Chinese vocabulary, meaning that they had already read many Chinese classics. Many history books were included among the titles of Chinese books recorded in the *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 (Catalogue of Present Books in Japan, ca. 891), and government officials of the time also had a deep knowledge of Chinese history and culture.

Considering this formation of the Japanese written language, it is obvious that Japanese literature was deeply connected with the issue of intertextuality from the very beginning. By the time the inhabit-

1 The first appearance of the appellation 'Japan' (*Nihon* 日本) in written sources was in the seventh century, but for convenience sake, I will use it in this paper also when talking about the sixth century and earlier.

ants of the Japanese archipelago first discovered the existence of the Chinese written language, the corpus of texts in history, literature, and philosophy produced on the Chinese mainland was already huge.

Reflecting on the history of Japanese literature, one will notice that, following the creation of the *Man'yōshū*, the largest anthology of *waka* poems in history, no other compilations of Japanese poetry were produced for a century. Instead, anthologies of classical Chinese poems were compiled one after another. In the first half of the ninth century, Chinese poetry collections such as the *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集 (A Collection from Above the Clouds, ca. 814), the *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 (Anthology of Splendid Literary Flowerings, 818), and the *Keikokushū* 経国集 (Collection of National Polity, 827) were compiled in succession. Moreover, all of these Chinese poetry collections were compiled under imperial order and were publicly authorised poetry collections.

It is ironic that the heyday of the creation of classical Chinese poetry should come immediately after the completion of the *Man'yōshū*, but if one opens an old manuscript of the *Man'yōshū* and sees the enormous number of Chinese characters used for the 4,500 *waka* poems, one can also understand that the successive compilation of Chinese poetry collections that followed was a historical inevitability. Borrowing Chinese characters and matching them to Japanese pronunciation to record *Yamato uta* must be considered an inefficient and incomplete method both on the recording and the reading side.[2] It is no wonder that the literati of the time found it more beneficial to compile a collection of their own poems in literary Chinese rather than to compile Japanese poems using such a cumbersome and uncertain script.

That being said, these circumstances that lasted from the eighth century to the ninth century changed completely with the appearance of *kana* 仮名 (the phonetic syllabary developed from abbreviated forms of Chinese characters to transcribe spoken Japanese) in the latter half of the ninth century. Although the exact time of the creation of *kana* is unknown, there is no doubt that it began to spread before the writing of the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, ca. 905), as that work is considered to have initiated *kana* literature.

The *Kokin wakashū* is an early work of *kana* literature and is known as the first imperial anthology of *waka* poems, but it is also distinct in literary history for having two prefaces: the '*kana* preface' and the '*mana* preface' (in literary Chinese). Why did the author of the *kana* preface, Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (?-ca. 945) write a preface in Japanese at a time when it was common sense to write such a work in Chi-

2 In the *Man'yōshū*, there are also *waka* poems written in the form of Chinese poems, and it is not easy to decipher them as *waka* poems with 31 syllables.

nese? We can understand the reason for this by comparing the *kana* preface and the *mana* preface. The *kana* preface, making use of the new Japanese syllabary was able to discuss *waka* poems freely and concretely, whereas Ki no Yoshimochi's 紀淑望 (?-919) *mana* preface reveals how restricting it was to discuss *waka* poems in the foreign language of Chinese. The two prefaces are thus contrasting, but we can in fact see some similarities between them as well. That is, both the *kana* preface and the *mana* preface were written with the preface of the *Shijing* 詩経 (The Classic of Poetry, comprising poems dating from eleventh to seventh centuries BC), China's oldest essay on poetry, in mind. Especially in the case of the *kana* preface, a full-fledged theory of poetry is developed to discuss the origin, techniques, and history of *waka*, starting with a basic discussion about 'what *waka* is', but it does this by exploiting terms from the preface of the *Shijing*. In particular, the discussion about poetic technique employs the methodology used to discuss Chinese poetry in the *Shijing* by rearranging and adapting it for *waka* discussion. This approach to writing the *kana* preface proved that it was possible to discuss *waka* from the same vantage point as classical Chinese poetry is discussed in the *Shijing*. It can be understood as an expression of the poet Ki no Tsurayuki's strong determination to position *waka* on the same level as classical Chinese poetry.

Not only did Ki no Tsurayuki gather old and new poems together to create a comprehensive anthology in the *Kokin wakashū*, he also skilfully discussed the history of *waka* poetry and its techniques in the *kana* preface and thus became the pioneer of a new world called *kana* literature in terms of both verse (*waka*) and prose (*waka* theory). Moreover, thirty years after the completion of the *Kokin wakashū*, he created a new style of literature called the *kana* diary when he wrote the *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (Tosa Diary, ca. 935).

3 Ki no Tsurayuki and Classical Chinese Text

By the time Ki no Tsurayuki had finished his term as provincial governor and departed from Tosa, he was already in his mid-60s. One cannot but be astounded by the flexibility of his spirit as he pioneered a new literary style at such an age. He recorded his fifty-five-day journey from his departure from Tosa in the twelfth month of 934 to his arrival in Kyōto in the second month of the following year using *kana* prose and named his diary the *Tosa nikki*. The *Tosa nikki* is said to be the oldest *kana* diary, but the value of this diary is not simply due to its antiquity (if we are only talking about records of short-term events, there are some *kana* diaries that preceded the *Tosa nikki*). The high praise for the *Tosa nikki* stems not so much from it being the first as from its status as a literary work of excellence. This reputa-

tion arises from the interesting content which combines diverse thematic elements in a complex manner, the novelty of the subject matter in recording a trip at sea, the fact that the work was given a title by its author and the fact that the narrator is given a persona. Following the *Tosa nikki* and until the *Towazugatari* とはずがたり (1306-1313) and the *Takemukigaki* 竹むきが記 (1349) in the medieval period, a wealth of *kana* diaries of high literary evaluation were written in Japan. In the discussion of Japanese literary history, they are commonly identified as belonging to a genre called *nikki bungaku* 日記文学 (diary literature). However, the term 'diary literature', which is often treated as a self-evident concept in Japan, is not so common internationally. Therefore, when foreign researchers run into the problem of the basic conceptual definition of 'diary literature', the example of the *Tosa nikki* emerges as a suitable work to explain the essence of diary literature, both through it being historically the oldest *kana* diary and because it uses elaborate literary devices to develop complex subjects within the loose diary form.

Given its high literary repute, there is actually one thing I find curious about the *Tosa nikki*. It is that the diary opens with the following strange sentence:

> 男もすなる日記といふものを、女もしてみむとてするなり。
>
> *Otoko mo su naru nikki to iu mono o on'na mo shi te mimu tote suru nari.*
>
> Diaries are written by men, I am told. Nevertheless, I am writing one to see what a woman can do. (Keene 1955, 82)

This short sentence serves as a preface to the *Tosa nikki* by itself. The sentence that follows says, "I departed at 8 p.m. on the 21st day of the twelfth month of that year [934]", and this clear indication of a date and a time for the start of the journey signals the beginning of the main text of the *Tosa nikki*. That is to say, the *Tosa nikki* has no other text than this first sentence that serves as a preface.

The *Tosa nikki* was written more than 1,000 years ago, but most speakers of Japanese today should have no problem understanding the opening sentence in its original form. It has neither difficult words nor complicated grammar. However, many readers would feel that there is something awkward about this sentence. There is a particular problem with the repetition of the verb *su* 'to do'. It appears in different forms three times: *otoko mo* ***su***, *on'na mo* ***shi****-te*, and ***su-ru*** *nari*. Repeating the same word in such close proximity necessari-

ly gives an impression of poor expression.[3] As a compiler of the *Kokin wakashū* and the author of its *kana* preface, Ki no Tsurayuki, was the leading literary figure of his day. A Japanese reader would wonder why such a brilliant pioneer of *kana* literature would employ such an odd sentence to stand as a preface for this new style of work he was attempting in his later years.

Would Ki no Tsurayuki write such a poor preface? It is enough to make one worry that not even Tsurayuki could fight off the debilitation of age, but, when one reads the *Tosa nikki*, as a whole, it becomes apparent that such a worry is groundless. From that perspective, it is obvious that the seemingly poor quality of the opening sentence is deliberate. So why did Tsurayuki do such a thing? Recently, Komatsu Hideo has suggested an interesting interpretation for this question (2006, 98-111). The point of Komatsu's theory is that it recognises the implied existence of two double-word pairs: *otoko mo su* (male characters) and *on'na mo shi* (female letters). In light of this, the reason why Ki no Tsurayuki used the unfamiliar expression 'diaries are done by men' instead of 'diaries are written by men' also becomes clear, and the curious expression *otoko mo su naru* also convincingly becomes a vehicle to introduce *on'na mo shi*. In other words, the main point of the Komatsu theory is that the problem in the opening sentence should not be the contrast between 'male' and 'female' but rather between 'male characters = classical Chinese' and 'female characters = *kana*'.[4] Thus, the meaning of this preface becomes the following: whilst men have a custom of keeping diaries in classical Chinese, the author (although a fictive narrator) announces that she/he will keep this diary in *kana*. From the viewpoint of this paper, it is clear from this interpretation that Ki no Tsurayuki, who had written the *kana* preface of the *Kokin wakashū* in his youth with the preface of the *Shijing* in mind, was now writing the *Tosa nikki* in his later years with the classical Chinese diary in mind. Although clumsy at first glance, the opening sentence also reveals Tsurayuki's stance; he was pioneering this new terrain of *kana* literature on the basis of Chinese literature, which was something that had remained unchanged

3 This English translation uses different verbs, 'write' and 'do', so it is difficult to appreciate the character of the original sentence. Sonja Arntzen suggested the following literal translation using 'do' for all three verbs by e-mail to me: "It is said that diaries are done by men, but I am doing this one because I thought I would like to see a woman try and do it". As Arntzen herself remarked, "It is not good English". This trial translation, however, reflects the oddness of the original Japanese well.

4 Komatsu's theory, which discovered the 'secondary *kana* series' of *otokomosu* 男文字 and *on'namoshi* =女文字 in the opening sentence, concludes that the superficial 'primary *kana* series' is no longer meaningful to discuss, including the issue of female persona, but Hanzawa Kan'ichi's (2021, 7-34) scrutinises the opening sentence and re-evaluates the meaning of Tsurayuki's unique concept of trying his hand at a new literary genre: *kana nikki* using a fictive female persona.

throughout his life. Ki no Tsurayuki, who was the first and the greatest in the history of *kana* literature, kept searching for new expressions in *kana* whilst always being conscious of the world of Chinese poetry and literature for comparison.

4 From the *Kagerō nikki* to the *Sarashina nikki*

It took forty long years for a new *kana* diary to appear after the *Tosa nikki*. Considering the intellectually stimulating and attractive nature of *Tosa nikki*, it is strange that it took so long, so much so that it makes me want to call this a mysterious blank in Japanese literary history.[5] As men were so accustomed to keeping diaries in classical Chinese, writing *kana* diaries must have been something they resisted, but at any rate, everything changed with the appearance of the *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記 (The Kagerō Diary, ca. 974) by the woman author Fujiwara no Michitsuna no haha 藤原道綱母 (Fujiwara no Michitsuna's mother, ?-ca. 995).

Since both the length and content of the *Tosa nikki* and the *Kagerō nikki* are totally different except for the common aspect of being in the style of a *kana* diary, it is impossible to recognise any similarities between the two. The *Tosa nikki* records the provincial governor's trip back to the capital in a daily record format, which is the same format as for classical Chinese diaries, and the beginning of the *Tosa nikki* is written in a style that can be directly converted into classical Chinese. However, the *Kagerō nikki* does not contain such elements at all. It seems that Michitsuna no haha, who was not accustomed to writing diaries in classical Chinese, had no interest in the daily record format in the first place. This is evident from the fact that most of the entries in the *Kagerō nikki* are recorded as recollections.

The *Kagerō nikki* is a work written by Michitsuna no haha in an autobiographical style, spanning approximately twenty years from her young womanhood to middle age, a basic structure that is decisively different from the *Tosa nikki*, which is the daily record of a fifty-five-day journey. In addition, the two had a contrasting influence on literary history. The fact that a male writer, Ki no Tsurayuki, wrote a *kana* diary must have had a great impact on the literati of the time but, as

5 There are few clues to learn the actual circulation of the *Tosa nikki*. Despite one theory that doubts the secrecy of the original manuscript (Komatsu 2006), it is clear that the diary was read, as we know that images of the *Tosa nikki* were made from descriptions in the *Egyō hōshi shū* 恵慶法師集 (The Poetry Anthology of Monk Egyō, ca. 992) and that poems from the *Tosa nikki* were included in the *Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集 (Later Collection of Japanese Poetry, 951). In addition, although I will not discuss it here, there are interesting similarities between the *Sarashina nikki*'s journey to Kyōto along the Tōkaidō Road and the *Tosa nikki*.

mentioned earlier, there was a forty-year gap in the history of diary literature after the completion of the *Tosa nikki*. However, if we look at the forty years after the creation of the *Kagerō nikki*, diaries (or diary-like works) such as the *Makura no soshi* 枕草子 (The Pillow Book, ca. 1000; it has a diary-like character), *Izumi Shikibu nikki* 和泉式部日記 (The Diary of Izumi Shikibu, ca. 1007), and *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記 (The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu, ca. 1010) appeared one after another. Moreover, all the authors of those works were women. In other words, the *Kagerō nikki* pioneered the so-called Heian female literature.[6] The *Sarashina nikki* (ca. 1060) appeared just at the end of this golden age of *kana* literature that was led by female writers.

When reviewing the diaries of the Heian period, one notices that they are all unique with no commonalities in terms of subject matter. Nonetheless, the *Kagerō nikki* and the *Sarashina nikki* share an autobiographical character, and the two authors, according to the notes of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241) attached to the *Sarashina nikki*, were related as aunt and niece. However, the contrast between these two autobiographies is striking in terms of both structure and subject matter. This contrast is obvious from their opening passages, so let us compare the two.

> Thus the time has passed and there is one in the world who has lived such a vain existence, catching on to neither this nor that. As for her appearance, she can hardly be compared to others, and her intelligence – to say she has some is as good as saying she has none at all – so it is only natural that she has come to such a useless state she thinks again and again; it is just that in the course of living, lying down, getting up, dawn to dusk, when she looks at odds and ends of the old tales – of which there are so many, they are just so much fantasy – that she thinks perhaps if she were to make a record of a life like her own, being really nobody, it might actually be novel, and could even serve to answer, should anyone ask, what is it like, the life of a woman married to a highly placed man, yet the events of the months and years gone by are vague; places where I have just left it at that are indeed many. (Arntzen 1997, 57)

> As a girl raised in the back of beyond, even further than the end of the road to the East Country, how rustic and odd I must have been. But, however it was that I first became enthralled with them, once I knew that such things as tales existed in the world, all I could think of over and over was how much I wanted to read them. At leisure times during the day and evening, when I heard my elder

6 In the early period of *kana* literature, before the *Kagerō nikki*, it was male writers such as Ki no Tsurayuki who were most active.

> sister and step-mother tell bits and pieces of this or that tale, or talk about what the Shining Genji was like, my desire to read these tales for myself only increased (for how could they recite the tales to my satisfaction from memory alone?) (Arntzen, Itō 2014, 90)

The opening sentences of both works are written in a way that emphasises a self-deprecating attitude, and whilst they both refer to 'tales', they show quite opposite attitudes concerning tale literature. The opening part of the *Kagerō nikki* can be regarded as an independent preface, and after commenting that there is "so much fantasy" in old tales, she explicitly states the reason for writing the *Kagerō nikki*, saying that she will write about her 'own life'. By contrast, the opening section of the *Sarashina nikki* depicts a girl who admires and pursues works of fiction. This extreme contrast at the beginning may puzzle the reader. This is because it does not make sense for the *Sarashina nikki* to depict a naïve girl who is enthralled with tales given the fact that this text was written after the dismissive critique of tales in the *Kagerō nikki*. However, I suggest that the author of the *Sarashina nikki* wrote this introduction with a clear awareness of the perplexity that it would occasion. This is because Takasue no musume 菅原孝標女 (1008-1059), who was born 'after' both the *Kagerō nikki* and the *Genji monogatari*, wrote her text after carefully reading those works and clearly determining her own stance towards them.

The fact that the *Sarashina nikki* begins by explaining the author's upbringing and her early infatuation with tales in a self-deprecating way displays a consciousness of the preface of the *Kagerō nikki*. Thus, she would naturally have been able to predict that any reader familiar with the preface of the *Kagerō nikki* might be puzzled by Takasue no musume's seemingly naïve admiration of tales. This is why Takasue no musume mentions the name "Hikaru Genji" at the beginning of the *Sarashina nikki*, as if to forestall the reader's doubts. Readers who started reading the *Sarashina nikki* and realised the similarity to the preface of the *Kagerō nikki* would have recalled how much the writing of tales had advanced with the appearance of the *Genji monogatari*.

No one took the criticism of the old tales in the preface of the *Kagerō nikki* more seriously than Murasaki Shikibu herself. In the *Genji monogatari*, she succeeded in employing techniques from diary literature to realistically depict the personalities and lives of many characters, and thus raised the level of narrative style in tale literature beyond the reach of the simple critique that tales were merely 'fantasy'. The creation of the *Genji monogatari* marked the emergence of a new kind of fictional narrative that would greatly change the history of Japanese literature. If we take this trend in literary history into account as we re-examine the relationship between the *Kagerō nikki*, the *Genji monogatari*, and the *Sarashina nikki*, then it is

the *Kagerō nikki*'s criticism of 'old tales' that is 'simple', and the mention of Hikaru Genji at the beginning of the *Sarashina nikki* seems to declare that she was enamoured not with the 'old tales' that Michitsuna no haha had criticised but with the 'new tales'. Takasue no musume was living in a time very different to that of Michitsuna no haha's when one had no choice but to be exasperated by the 'fantasy' of 'old tales.' By reading the *Sarashina nikki*, we can gain a detailed appreciation of the literary environment in which the author lived.

Moreover, the opening section of the *Sarashina nikki* goes on to describe how the author came to travel from Azuma / the east to the capital as if in answer to her wish to be able to read tales to her heart's content. Interestingly, in this section, the author clearly states her age by saying that it was "the year I turned 13". Amongst contemporary diaries, only the *Sarashina nikki* mentions the author's age. When considering why Takasue no musume did this, we must not overlook the fact that her year of birth coincided with the beginning of the circulation of the *Genji monogatari*.

We know the birth year of Takasue no musume because Fujiwara no Teika notes that the journey to Kyōto took place in 1020, and if we use that to count backwards from Takasue no musume's own statement that she was thirteen at the time, we can know that her birth year was 1008. Although the year of the completion of the *Genji monogatari* cannot be precisely determined, an entry in the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* tells us that a presentation copy of the *Genji monogatari* was produced in 1008, which (mainly for the sake of convenience) has been taken as an indication of the year of the completion of the *Genji monogatari*. In the *Sarashina nikki*, entries that show influence from the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* appear frequently, so it is evident that Takasue no musume had carefully read this diary. If so, she must have felt something special when she learned that the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* records events from her birth year as well as seeing that the nearly completed *Genji monogatari* made its public appearance that year.

We are unable to ascertain the birth year of any of the female writers of the time, including Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (973-1014) and Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (966-1025), because they make no mention of their own ages in their diaries and private *waka* collections. Given that Takasue no musume was the only one to leave a record of her age, it may be surmised that she felt a strong connection between the year of her birth and the writing of the *Genji monogatari*. Her opportunity to live alongside the *Genji monogatari* is something that Takasue no musume came to see as more than pure chance, especially as she grew older. We can glean from many instances in the *Sarashina nikki* that the *Genji monogatari* was deeply meaningful to her throughout her life. For example, one notices in the *Sarashina nikki* a shift in the author's relationship to tale literature in her middle age, and the fact that she neatly records this midlife change is evidence that

Takasue no musume was thinking about the relationship between fiction and life throughout her life. That is why she wanted to record as accurately as possible the moment of her encounter with the *Genji monogatari*. She wrote that she departed from Azuma in "the year I turned 13", which was tantamount to stating that she encountered the *Genji monogatari* when she was fourteen years old (which was also fourteen years after the completion of the *Genji monogatari*).

Now, considering the above-mentioned points, it is clear that reference to the *Genji monogatari* at the beginning of the *Sarashina nikki* was not merely part of a superficial depiction of a girl infatuated with tales but that it was an expression of deeper thoughts she had about the relationship between her life and the *Genji monogatari*. Although, unlike the *Kagerō nikki*, the *Sarashina nikki* does not declare the intention of the author directly in its preface, we can observe that a carefully ordered group of entries related to the *Genji monogatari* forms a central axis throughout the whole work and are integral to the way she depicts her life from various perspectives. If we re-examine the opening passage keeping in mind the particular character of this work, we notice that, at the same time the beginning of the *Sarashina nikki* tells us about the narrator's upbringing in Azuma, it also very subtlety implies what kind of work the *Sarashina nikki* is by conjuring up a literary allusion to the *Genji monogatari*.

Below, we will take a closer look at the techniques of literary citation employed at the beginning of the diary.

5 Citations in the *Sarashina nikki*

As has been shown so far, the short opening section of the *Sarashina nikki* contains important themes related to the history of diary and tale literature in Japan, but I would like to mention one more point about how that passage is related to the *Genji monogatari*. This is something that previous studies have repeatedly examined, so I would like to merely signal what is salient here on the basis of past research.

The issue is the expression 'As a girl raised in the back of beyond, even further than the end of the road to the East Country'. This is an expression that goes back to an ancient poem by Ki no Tomonori included in the *Kokin waka rokujō* 古今和歌六帖 (Six Quires of the Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry, ca. 980):

あづま路の道の果てなる常陸帯のかごとばかりも逢ひ見てしがな

Azumaji no	For even the length of time
michi no hate naru	given by the excuse of a sash of Hitachi
Hitachi obi no	that place even farther
kagoto bakari mo	than the end of the road to the East Country,
aimiteshigana	I long to meet and see you. (Arntzen, Itō 2014, 51-2)

The *Kokin waka rokujō* is a collection of poems structured as a handbook for writing *waka* and was a must-have collection for poets at the time. Accordingly, most Heian readers would have recognised the allusion to "Azumaji no | michi no hate naru | Hitachi" and therefore connected "the end of the road to the East Country" with the placename Hitachi and assumed that Takasue no musume 菅原孝標女 grew up beyond Hitachi (present-day Ibaraki Prefecture). Even if this *waka* did not come to mind, it is an immutable fact that the country located at 'the end of the Azuma road', meaning the Tōkaidō Road, is Hitachi. Now, something that has previously been debated with regard to this embedded citation of an old poem (a recognised technique known as *hikiuta* 引歌) is that it might contain a geographical contradiction.

Takasue no musume introduces herself as 'someone born beyond the end of the Azuma road', but Hitachi itself was at the end of the Azuma road and the country beyond is Michinoku/Mutsu (the four present-day prefectures of Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori). Heian readers therefore have thought of Hitachi and Michinoku when they read the opening sentence of the *Sarashina nikki*. However, as mentioned in the note by Fujiwara no Teika, the province where Takasue no musume actually lived was Kazusa (present-day central Chiba Prefecture).

There has been much debate over how to interpret this discrepancy between expression and reality. Some have argued that there is no need to see the opening as problematic because Kazusa was also situated in a faraway location in the central part of the Boso Peninsula, but this interpretation only applies to readers who already knew that Sugawara no Takasue was appointed to Kazusa. Indeed, whilst Takasue no musume might actually have felt that Kazusa Province was an isolated area beyond the Tōkaidō Road, as a sophisticated reader of the *Kagerō nikki* and the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki*, she would also have foreseen that future readers of her diary would not all be her relatives, that they would be of different generations and might have no knowledge of her father's career. A reader unfamiliar with her father's career who reads the expression "beyond the end of the Azuma road" would naturally associate it with Hitachi and Michinoku. Even more than being unnatural, it would be impossible for them to associate that expression with Kazusa.

Takasue no musume compiled *Sarashina nikki* in her mid-fifties when there would have been few people around her who could remember what had happened forty years ago. Therefore, it would have been obvious to her that most readers of the *Sarashina nikki* at her own time and into the future would assume mistakenly that she grew up in 'Michinoku as they read the opening. The fact that she nonetheless wrote it this way suggests that she did not mind being misunderstood. Why did she make such a judgement?

The most convincing interpretation to explain this question is that the image of Ukifune from the *Genji monogatari* is projected onto this opening passage (see Inukai 1969). The *Sarashina nikki* frequently contains the names of the characters in the *Genji monogatari*, but nobody appears more frequently than Ukifune, and she was also the character that Takasue no musume admired the most since her first reading of all volumes of the *Genji monogatari*. And indeed, Ukifune spent her girlhood in Hitachi and Michinoku. In other words, although 'someone born beyond the end of the Azuma road' appears to be a self-deprecating way of emphasising the author's rural upbringing, it in fact seems to implicitly also convey the idea that just like the character Ukifune, Takasue no musume had spent her girlhood in the wild eastern provinces and had therefore experienced the environment that was supposed to have shaped that fictional character. It was an unprecedented device to superimpose a fictional character over the narrator at the beginning of an autobiographical diary, but for Takasue no musume who happened to be born at the same time as the *Genji monogatari* and lived her life alongside it, this device must have been wholly appropriate for the opening of the *Sarashina nikki*. This stylistic choice would have been made after due consideration, but at the same time, it must have been a very natural choice for Takasue no musume.

In this way, right from the beginning, the *Sarashina nikki* incorporates intertextual references to earlier works. Furthermore, it uses the complicated technique of quoting Ki no Tomonori's 紀友則 (850-904) poem directly and then using the associations evoked in the poem by the place name of Azuma (eastern region) to superimpose the image of Ukifune over the narrative. By using such sophisticated techniques, Takasue no musume constructed a fitting introduction for a work centred around the theme of the relationship between fiction and life. Just by examining the structure of this opening, we readers of a 1,000 years later can imagine what Takasue no musume experienced having been born just after *Genji monogatari*'s completion and living during the golden age of Heian literature when there were so many narrative works (both fiction and diaries) as well as *waka* from which to draw inspiration.

Takasue no musume, who was aware that the words of fictional narratives and poetry were just as meaningful in one's life as relationships with real people and things (and in some cases more so), employed intertextual references not only at the beginning but throughout the *Sarashina nikki*. Accordingly, she repeatedly worked in references to tales as well as recording many *waka* poems exchanged with relatives, friends, and colleagues, and even citing folklore that she heard on her travels. When considering the literary discourse within the *Sarashina nikki* from the viewpoint of the resonance between literary works, we will note that the use of indirect references or implicit suggestions, such as the evocation of Ukifune in the

opening, stand out. Of course, specific titles and fictional characters as well as passages of *waka* poems and texts are sometimes directly quoted. Those direct citations and references have important historical value as evidence to trace the reading history of Takasue no musume, but their expressive effect is limited compared to the implicit method. For example, in the case of the opening sentence, the expressive effect of quoting the *waka* poem of Ki no Tomonori is limited to showing that Takasue no musume grew up in Azuma region,[7] but if we look at the opening sentence as a whole, it evokes the image of Ukifune by suggesting the two province names of Hitachi and Michinoku consecutively by alluding to the place name Hitachi as it appears in Ki no Tomonori's poem and adding the words *nao* ***oku*** *tsu kata*. Considering the importance of the author's identification with Ukifune in the *Sarashina nikki*, the effect of this implicit method is enormous.

Now, when we compare the direct citation with the implicit method in this way, we observe that, in the case of direct citation, the literary effect is produced and clearly understood with just the citation of text or the mention of place and proper names. However, for the most part, the literary effect is limited to what is visible on the surface of the text. By contrast, in the case of the implicit method, although it comes with the difficulty of conveying intentions 'implicitly', once that intention is successfully communicated to the reader, various semantic connotations and even whole images of suggested works and characters overlap with each other to create a multi-faceted and rich expressive effect. In the *Sarashina nikki*, we find the implicit method used in a range of contexts.

When the *Sarashina nikki* is analysed from the viewpoint of intertextuality, this diary appears like a treasure house replete with seeds of discussion. The reason for this richness of seeds of discussion is that Takasue no musume used all means at her disposal, whether direct or indirect citation, to continuously enquire into the relationship between literature and life.

For example, the following can be noted regarding the diary's relationship with the *Kagerō nikki*.

As we have already demonstrated, the opening sections of the *Sarashina nikki* and the *Kagerō nikki* both raise the topic of tale literature and express contrasting attitudes towards it. Furthermore, both texts feature pilgrimage-related travel entries frequently amongst the midlife entries. Despite some differences in the circumstances leading to the pilgrimages and the seriousness of their motives,

7 Though further expressive effects may be expected for readers who have knowledge of the *Hitachi obi* (knowledge of the rituals at Kashima Shrine), I will not discuss it here as it falls outside the scope of this paper.

these entries share the same pilgrimage destinations (Ishiyama Temple, Hase-dera Temple, etc.), and similarities are also obvious in how they record in detail the pilgrimage journeys from Kyōto including depictions of specific natural features along the way. Of course, since the *Sarashina nikki* appeared later, such similarities are because the *Sarashina nikki* was written with the *Kagerō nikki* in mind. Thus, although the *Sarashina nikki* follows the *Kagerō nikki* with regard to the midlife pilgrimages both in terms of attitude to life and entry composition, between the lines, it also suggests a different and particular relationship with the *Kagerō nikki* through a completely different approach. The 'different approach' I mention here is simply 'not writing in the same way as the *Kagerō nikki*.' This is seen specifically in the choice of primary subject matter. The *Kagerō nikki* narrative is centred around the vicissitudes in her marriage and the birth and raising of her son. Although Takasue no musume was a wife and mother herself, she remains almost perfectly silent about this in the *Sarashina nikki*. Since it is inconceivable that a woman could forget to write about these events in her life, Takasue no musume's choice not to include them in her autobiography is not due to carelessness but obviously deliberate. Moreover, I believe that the existence of the *Kagerō nikki* is the only thing that can rationally explain the intention behind this silence.

In the first place, I must admit that, compared to discussing why an author has written an entry that we have in front of us, clarifying the reason why something was not written is a challenge akin to the 'devil's proof' (*probatio diabolica*). Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that the topics of marriage, childbirth and childrearing were excluded from the *Sarashina nikki* precisely because they were so central to the *Kagerō nikki*. In other words, lurking in the background of Takasue no musume's choice of topics for her diary was an intention to write a completely different autobiography from the *Kagerō nikki*.

As far as the *Sarashina nikki* is concerned, it can be said that this literary intention was successfully realised throughout. Whilst Michitsuna no haha produced an unprecedented autobiographical *kana* diary that stimulated the growth of women's writing Heian Japan by focusing on depicting her relationship with her husband Fujiwara no Kaneie, Takasue no musume succeeded in producing her unprecedented autobiographical *kana* diary by excluding her husband and son and drawing the *Genji monogatari* to the foreground so that she could build her narrative around the relationship between literature and life. Moreover, given that this relationship is such a deep and complex theme, when we start to discuss the issue of intertextuality in the *Sarashina nikki* we will never run out of 'seeds of discussion,' which is why I shall stop writing here.

Bibliography

Arntzen, S. (ed.) (1997). *The "Kagerō Diary": A Woman's Autobiographical Text from Tenth-Century Japan*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Arntzen, S.; Itō Moriyuki 伊藤守幸 (eds) (2014). *The "Sarashina Diary": A Woman's Life in Eleventh-Century Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hanzawa Kan'ichi 半沢幹一 (2021). *Tosa nikki hyōgen tekki* 『土左日記』表現摘記 (Summary of the Expressions of *Tosa nikki*). Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin.

Inukai Kiyoshi 犬養廉 (1969). "*Sarashina nikki* no kyokōsei. Jitsujinsei to sono jigazō" 『更級日記』の虚構性 – 実人生とその自画像 (The Fiction of the *Sarashina nikki*: Real Life and its Self-Depiction). *Kokubungaku* 国文学, 14(5), 80-92.

Keene, D. (ed.) (1955). "Tosa Diary". Keene, D. (ed.), *Anthology of Japanese Literature*. New York: Grove Press, 82-91.

Komatsu Hideo 小松英雄 (2006). *Koten sainyūmon: "Tosa nikki" o iriguchi ni shite* 古典再入門 – 『土左日記』を入りぐちにして (Re-Introduction to Classics: Starting from *Tosa nikki*). Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin.