Japanese Travel Diaries of the Middle Ages

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Chapter I  The Overview

When we speak of Japanese medieval travel diary literature – chūsei Nihon kikō bungaku – we are pointing to a body of approximately seventy extant works written between the middle of the Heian Period in the tenth century and the beginning of the Edo Period in the seventeenth. These travel diaries, called kikō, may be generally characterized as short accounts in prose and poetry about journeys usually starting from the capital (Kyoto). Of course, there are many variations in travel diaries, and, as will presently be seen, travel diaries have not yielded to easy categorization. Nevertheless, they have long been recognized as an independent literary genre.

The distinct identity of the travel diaries is supported by the separate sections devoted to them in two important anthologies, the Gunsho Ruiju of the eighteenth century and the Fusō Shūyō Shū of the seventeenth. But long before these collections were compiled, travel diaries were distinguished from regular diaries (nikki) by such titles as gokō ki (account of an imperial or shogunal journey), michi no (dō) ki (travelogue), or mōde no (sankei or junrei) ki (account of a pilgrimage). Although such titles were often added by later copiers, their use indicates the distinct identity travel diaries had acquired within the broad rubric of ki (account or record) literature. This distinction is more indirectly indicated in a number of ways. When poems written for travel diaries were included in imperial or other anthologies, their source was indicated as michi no ki (travelogue). In many poem tales (uta monogatari), war tales (gunki monogatari), legends (setsuwa monogatari), and in Nō, puppet (joruri), and Kabuki plays, as well as in regular diaries, there are travel sections called michiyuki which are often studied independently of the body of the work.

Most importantly, the authors of travel diaries were themselves conscious of pursuing a distinct literary mode. Their primary interest was not the recording of actual, individual travel experiences. (There are a number of kikō written entirely in kambun-Chinese as documentary literature intended for the archives; with these we shall not concern ourselves here.) Rather they sought to travel time-honored paths and celebrate time-honored sites in prose and poetry, often using time-honored imagery. Realism being a lesser concern, mere facts were frequently distorted: traveling companions were ignored in order to emphasize the notion of solitude, sojourns at places unknown to literature went unmentioned; deviations from the original itinerary often required a separate travel diary. Some travel diaries were composed from notes after the author had returned from his journey. In short, there was a highly developed notion as to what constituted the world of the travel diaries. They were generally concerned only with the trip away from home or the capital. The emphasis on the journey away harkened back to a tradition already visible in the travel poems (kiryouka) in the great eight-century anthology, the Man'yōshū, or in the arrangement of the poems in the twelfth-century poet Saigyō’s collection, the Sankashū. The round trip was described with greater frequency in the Muromachi Period (1338–1573); yet even in those accounts, the focus was on the going rather than the returning. The Muromachi Period also saw the development of travel diaries describing journeys without a fixed destination.

The world of the travel diaries was a world of movement. Lengthy sojourns at various places en route went unmentioned or were often written up separately to constitute other literary genres, such as the sōan no ki (accounts of grass-hut dwelling). This focus on movement constitutes a major distinction between the travel diary and the regular
The travel diaries are a literature of space unfolding in a limited time, whereas the diaries are a literature of time unfolding in a limited, often static space. The distinction implies thematic differences. Diaries naturally tend toward the confessional and often deal with a single experience: the Murasaki Shikibu Nikki (1008–1010), for instance, treat of a particular court function; the Izumi Shikibu Nikki (1003–1004), a happy love affair; and the Kagerō Nikki (954–974), by contrast, a sad one. With many travel diaries, however, the central theme is that of the continuing solitary confrontation of self with nature. It seems appropriate that the travel diaries were often written by older authors about journeys undertaken in old age, whereas the diary writers described the experiences of youth.

Having outlined the unifying characteristics of works that belong to that body called medieval Japanese travel diary literature, we must now turn our attention to the differences upon which Japanese scholars have attempted to establish their categories of travel diary literature. Travel diaries have primarily been classified according to historical, geographical, topographical, or biographical criteria.

In the historical framework travel diaries are generally considered within such large periods as the middle ages (chüsei; 1185–1600) or the Edo period (1600–1868). The sudden appearance of a great number of travel diaries in the Kamakura Period (1185–1333) suggests that they are characteristically a phenomenon of the middle ages and thereafter as opposed to earlier periods, when private travel was discouraged. Regular diaries, which had played an important role in the Heian Period (794–1185), were supplanted by travel diaries in the middle ages. This classification scheme is made more detailed by using the narrower historical divisions such as the Heian, Kamakura, Nambokuchō (1333–1392), Muromachi (1338–1573), and Azuchi-Momoyama (1568–1600) Periods. The historical method of classification is not an entirely arbitrary imposition of order from without. Such historical phenomena as changes in political and administrative centers or warfare always resulted in increased travel and therefore in more travel-diary writing. There is a certain measure of stylistic support for historical classification, such as a shift in the dominant verse form in the Heian to the Muromachi Periods. In the end, however, the similarities between travel diaries written in different periods far outweigh their differences, thus undermining the value of historical classification.

Another attempt at categorization relies on the geographical directions or the highways and circuits (dō) taken in the journeys described. Accordingly, travel diaries (kikō) have been grouped as Tökaïdō kikō, Hokuriku kikō, San’ in and San’yō kikō, etc. Although it is true that the travel diarists of all ages tended to visit and admire the same sites on a given route, this did not lead to the development of distinctive diary types according to the roads taken. Thus, geographical categorization yields few rewards in the study of travel diaries.

Some scholars have classified travel diaries according to whether the predominant topographical feature of the journey described is the sea (or water) or mountains (the land). Indeed, there are a significant number of travel diaries that describe journeys to visit particular mountains. Yet, most such trips were not prompted by aesthetic or touristic impulses but rather by religious or sometimes even political motives. There is another, more obvious difficulty with the land-water method of classification. Even those travel diaries, such as the Tosa Nikki (934–935), which center on seafaring
ventures, reveal considerable interest in the activities along the shore and particularly in the capital. Consequently, it would be a distortion to simply label them "sea literature". A further limitation to the usefulness of this classification method is that the land has almost always predominated in Japanese classical literature.

The various poetic forms found in travel diaries may provide yet another basis for stylistic categorization. Various forms of Japanese poetry may be found in travel diaries—waka, kanshi, chōka, kyōka, haikai, hokku, renga and wakan renku. However, since many accounts contain several types of poetry, including a mixture of Japanese and Chinese verse forms, classification by poetic form is of limited use.

The question of poetry overlaps with that of the prose style employed. Although the prose style was often determined by the nature of the poetry, there are a number of travel diaries which, despite the inclusion of poetry, were written in a documentary kambun (Chinese) or kambun-like haibun prose. Nevertheless, a reasonably consistent distinction can be traced between works written in kambun without poetry and those written in wabun (Japanese): the former do not concern us as literature; the latter frequently contain poetry of the highest order. We are still left with the problem of classifying the latter. Among the poetic travel diaries there is a type in which a series of poems are arranged in geographic order preceded only by the briefest of prose prefaces. These works are similar to private anthologies of poetry (shikkashū) and have therefore been called travel diaries of the private-anthology-type (shikkashū-teki kiko). Again, this is not an absolutely fixed category as there are works in which poetry-anthology-like passages are interpolated by lengthy prose sections of the Genji Monogatari (novel written around the year 1000) type. There is another class of travel diaries of literary interest written in the wakan konkō-tai, a mixture of Japanese and Chinese styles with their corresponding differences in subject. This style was so versatile that it became the dominant one in travel diary literature; accordingly, its use alone cannot serve as a reliable guide to categorization since it encompassed so many topics and attitudes.

Some scholars have chosen to study travel diaries according to the occupations or class of their authors. Ishida Yoshisada, for one, has grouped travel diaries into those written by waka poets, linked-verse poets, officials, warriors, and lower aristocrats (jige). The weakness of this approach becomes immediately evident in a comparison of the Kaidō-Ki (1223) and the Tokan Kikō (1242), both written by hermit-priests. The former is an essayistic, philosophical account whose content is dominated by Buddhist thought. The Tokan Kikō, on the other hand, is predominantly poetic.

Finally, the purpose for which the journey described was undertaken may provide a basis for classification. The zuikō, or accompaniment type of travel diary, can be identified as a separate category. These are official accounts of imperial, shogunal, or military journeys in which the diary writer, usually a noted poet, participated on the orders of the travel leader. Accordingly, such works are focused upon the leader rather than the author. They tend to include poems of praise for the leader’s abilities or votive poems for military success or for peace.

Other purposes for travel define two other kinds of travel diary. The official or quasi-official journeys, a broader category, were generally undertaken by established poets for a variety of purposes issuing from orders or invitations by persons in positions of political and military power. Whatever the primary purpose of these journeys, the
diaries often became exercises in poetic virtuosity. Finally, there were the purely private, often religiously motivated journeys.

Motives for travelling are difficult to categorize because they are frequently difficult to determine. In many instances it is only by conjecture and the use of documents outside travel diary literature that we can know anything about the purpose of a journey. Official or quasi-official diarists may indicate briefly that they are travelling "on business". When shugyō is given as the purpose for the journey, we understand that the author had religious goals in mind. Yet, in such cases, there may be a discrepancy between a religious motive for travelling and a secular one for diary-writing. Nevertheless, the broad distinction between diaries written about official or quasi-official journeys and those about private, often religiously motivated travel may be the most useful of all since the purpose of the journey influenced the mode of travel, the authors' states of mind, and therefore, the styles and contents of their writings.

As must be apparent by now, travel diaries constitute a literary genre at once homogeneous and heterogeneous, such that they lend themselves to categorization only with considerable difficulty. The scholar's most fruitful endeavor would be to consider both their variety and the shared characteristics that allow them to constitute a genre. As for the latter, there are two elements that immediately come to mind: the first is a certain uniformity of form and length; the second is the consistent concern with poetry and the traditionally famous places of Japanese poetry, called uianakura.

Notes to Chapter I

1 Also gyokō or miyuki in case of journeys undertaken by emperors. The reading gokō refers to journeys by ex-emperors and empresses.

2 The theory of ki as a separate genre of Japanese writing was originated by Konishi Jin'ichi, "Chūsei no sambun sukuhōn", Bungaku Gogaku, no. 65 (Sep. 1972), pp. 25-32, and Michi-chūsei no rinen, Nihon no Koten, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1975), passim. Konishi sees in the ki a genre belonging to a category of prose (sambun) pertaining to the shū (collection), which consists in poetry and poetic prose combining lyrical and philosophical, historical and social material.

3 These other genres of literature borrowed from travel diaries. The Heike Monogatari and the Gempei Seissui Ki, for example, used parts from the Kaidō Ki, the Tōkan Kikō and from Takakura-in Itsukushima Gokō Ki in their travel sections; the Masukagami borrowed from the Towazugatari. The Taikō Ki includes the entire Kyūshū Michi no Ki. In other words, travel accounts were recognized as models for travel literature. For more details on this subject, see, for instance, Takagi Takeshi, "Tōkan Kikō to Heike Monogatari Enkei-bon, Nagato-bon, Gempei Seissui Ki to no kankei", Kokugo Kokubun, vol. 4, no. 4 (June, 1934), and Kubota Jun, "Minamoto no Michichika no bungaku", Bungaku, vol. 46, no. 2 (Feb. 1978).


a) waka: a poem of 31 syllables in 5/7/5/7/7 lines, derived from the envos (hanka) placed at the end of long poems (chōka).

b) kanshi: Chinese poem.

c) chōka: long poem of alternating lines of 5/7 syllables ending in two lines of 7/7 syllables.

d) kyōka and hakka: humorous (unorthodox) waka.

e) hokku: the first 17 syllables of a waka, which acquired a certain degree of independence in the linked-verse (renge) and developed later into a completely independent form of poetry.

f) renge: a form of Japanese poetry particularly popular in the middle ages. The opening three lines of 5/7/5 syllables (hokku) were composed by one poet and had to include a seasonal reference. The first link of 7/7 syllables (tsukeku) was composed by a second poet and had to accord seasonally with the first. A third poet composed a hokku consonant with the previous
tsukeku, thus forming another waka in the reverse order of the usual 5/7/5/7/7 lines. Renga were usually composed by two, three or four (ryōgin, sangin, shigin) poets, but they could also be the product of solitary effort (dokugin). The length of renga varied. There are records of 100, 1000, and even longer sequences. The renga had an innovative character, to a certain extent freeing itself from the diction and themes of waka. It was strongly influenced by Zen Buddhism.

g) wakan renku: a combination of a hokku or tsukeku with a five-character Chinese poem. In the case of a kanna renku or kannwa renku the series begins with the Chinese poem whereas in the wakan renku it begins with a hokku.

To a lesser degree, one can also find kyōku or humorous haiku in the travel diaries especially of the later Muromachi Period.

Chapter II Forms, Styles, and Contents

Most travel diaries consist of a preface and a travel account (michi no ki); some have an epilogue as well. Although we generally know the author of the body of the work, that is, the travel account, this is not necessarily true of the preface or the epilogue. Later copiers often added these parts to the text, as in the case of the epilogue to the Miyako no Tsuto (1350–1352). Some prefaces and epilogues were simply the notes or summaries by the authors of the travel accounts which were added on by later copiers.

The prefaces generally give such information as the identity of the author, his age, the season in which the journey took place, and a brief mention of its purpose. All of these give us certain expectations about the travel section. If the author was a hermit (priest), the diary is likely to be more spiritual than if the author was an official poet on an official journey. As in all Japanese literature, the season is important in determining the mood of the travel account and its poetry. Sometimes the dominant tone of the entire travel section is set by a simple statement in the preface, such as the expression of homesickness in the Miyakoji no Wokare (1275). Some prefaces, such as those to the Kaidō Ki (1223) and the Tōkan Kikō (1242), give summaries of the travel accounts. Many prefaces, like the forwords to poems in anthologies, are confined to poetic matters; more detailed and varied information is apt to be found in accounts written in Chinese (kambun).

The following example, the preface to the Ionushi (date unknown, 11th century), is typical of prefaces to hermit diaries:

Once, though I know not when, there was a man who wished to renounce the world so that he might live as he liked and visit the famous and interesting places of which he had heard and to make pilgrimages to sacred places to atone for his sins. His name was Ionushi. As he prepared to leave on a pilgrimage to Kumano on the tenth day of the tenth month, people came to him, saying "Please take me with you!" But since there were none of kindred heart, he departed alone, accompanied only by one servant boy.

This opening is similar to those of two private poetry collections, the Ise Shū (Heian Period) and the Ichijō Sesshō Gyoshū (10th century) suggesting again the affinities between these two literary genres. This is an informative preface, giving the motives and circumstances of departure as well as the name of the author. The use of the third person, a common feature of Japanese diaries, does not in itself prove anything, but
taken together with the impersonality of the tone, it may suggest that the preface was added by a later copier. It is especially interesting to note that this Buddhist priest who intended to undertake a pilgrimage in atonement for his sins had a parallel desire to visit the famous places of poetry. This dualism of religion and poetry, which we shall see again and again, resulted in the composition of a poetic travel diary as the record of a religiously motivated pilgrimage.

The opening to the Shinshō Hōshi Nikki (1225) is another typical example of prefaces of travel diaries kept by hermits.

There is no place however remote where one may be safe from the bitterness of the world, and there is no place where the mountain pears do not grow. Accordingly, there is no place where one should settle. Driven by my heart's longing for wandering, and for going on a pilgrimage to the East, I left the capital [Kyōto] on the tenth day of the second year of Gennin 1225 in order to undergo Buddhist austerities.

In former days, there were friends whom I was sad to leave, whom [I mourned again by the dawn moonlight that brought little possibility of a reunion. There were things, too, that held me back. But those people have now fallen low; half of them have returned to the earth or are scattered away. I, too, am in sorry circumstances. The line "... there is no place to settle" is almost formulaic, appearing in similar form in many prefaces to hermit travel diaries. These words reveal the hermit authorship of the piece and the religious motive behind the journey, and set the stage for the spiritual content and mood of the travel section.

The preface to the Miyako no Tsuto illustrates a feature shared by most prefaces to hermit accounts, that is, allusions to Chinese literature, for which the Wakan Rōeig Shū (an eleventh-century compilation of outstanding Chinese and Japanese poetry) is a major source.

In the Kannō Era [1350-52] there lived a recluse. Although he did not have a will strong enough to penetrate a silver mine or an iron wall, he [like the Buddha Shakamuni] yearned to live under a tree and upon a rock. Thinking that there was no place where one could settle forever, he left Tsukushi [Kyūshū] one day - it is unknown when - and began to wander about.

The underlined phrase is a typical reference to Chinese literature in the prefaces.

Although most linked-verse poets were hermits, their journeys were often semi-official ones in response to invitations by local magnates. Despite this background, however, a spiritualism characteristic of the earlier hermit accounts pervades their writings. In his preface to the Tsukushi Michi no Ki (1480), for instance, Sōgi attributes his journey less to an invitation than to a desire to visit the famous places he had yet to see and to overcome the "sadness inflicted ... by the awareness of the passage of time". Many linked-verse poets, apparently reluctant to make their diaries official accounts, did not mention their invitations as the reason for their journeys.

Authors who traveled in an official or semi-official capacity usually indicated it in their prefaces. Here is an example of from the Miyakoji no Wakare (1275), written by the poet-official Asukai Masaari:

I had been performing my duties in the Imperial Palace since the third month. I had become accustomed to serving the ex-Emperor in the Palace. Naturally, my attachment to the capital had grown, and it was difficult to leave. Since I was a servant to the Kamakura shogunate, however, I could not avoid this task. Thus, against my will, I hurriedly set out. The date was shortly after the twentieth day of the seventh month. My longing for the capital went hand-in-hand with the dreariness of autumn.

Other than stating that he was required to take this trip, Masaari fails to clarify the purpose of the journey. This preface, as mentioned earlier, functions principally to set a mood of homesickness for the entire piece.
The author of the Kyūshū Michi no Ki (1587) is more explicit about the reasons for his journey:

At the beginning of the third month of this year, the fifteenth of the Tenshō Era [1587], his Excellency, the Civil Dictator [Toyotomi Hideyoshi] led an army to put a halt to the fighting over private matters between the Ōtomo and the Shimazu families... As a lay priest there was no need for me to travel with the army.  

Presumably, we can deduce from this preface that the author's participation in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Kyūshū campaign, though official, was for poetic rather than military ends.

The zuikō, or accompaniment diary, is of a far more explicitly official nature. As indicated previously, zuikō were written by poets in attendance on journeys led by persons of high rank, generally abdicated emperors or shoguns, upon whom the accounts were focused. These diaries give detailed accounts of the season, weather conditions, preparations, itinerary, and participants.

The travel sections (michi no ki) take a number of different forms. The most common is a series of short paragraphs, each devoted to a single locality, arranged in geographical order. There are also more dynamic, fast-paced travel diaries which consist primarily of a listing of places. Depending upon whether an author wished to describe a place upon arrival or to emphasize the idea of movement, the narrative becomes static or dynamic. Most travel diaries combine both qualities.

The following passage from the Tōkan Kikō (1242) is a typical example of the static style:

After Sekiyama I heard that I would be coming to Uchide no Hama and Awazu no Hama. There, since it was still dark, I was unable to distinguish the details of the area. In the past, during the reign of Emperor Tenchi, the capital was transferred from Okamoto in Asuka to Shiga in Ōmi. Thus, I hear, was the Ōtsu capital built. Only the ruins remained of the old palace. I was overcome by sadness.

Since the capital at Ōtsu
Has fallen into ruins
Only the name remains
Of the nation's home
At Shiga.

This passage, beginning with a statement of arrival and concluding with a poem, shows the characteristic retrospective interest of travel diary literature. Travel diarists were more concerned with the history of a site than its actual conditions, especially when, as in this case, they visited utamakura, the famous places of poetry.

In those travel diaries written in the hermit tradition, the static travel passages often assume a religious mood, as in this example from the Shinshō Hōshi Nikki (1225):

Miyajiyama: all the times I came here in the past, it left no particular impression on me. On this, my first visit as a mendicant priest, I was overcome by sadness. The wind blowing through the pine trees felt as if it might penetrate me through and through:

Even the pine storm
At Miyajiyama
Seems sacred;
It penetrates my heart
More than ever before.

Another example from the hermit tradition is the Futaiji (also Ariwara Temple) passage in the Yoshino Mōde no Ki (1553):

I arrived at Futaiji Temple, which had a self-portrait by [Ariwara no] Narihira. They said it could only be shown to the public on special occasions, but Sōji knew someone, and through his
pleas, we were finally shown the portrait. The face revealed beauty and justice. It was as if Narihira himself had appeared before us:

Today we face his portrait,
Recalling his words:
Spring has come again,
But the world is utterly changed;
My self alone remains the same.

In the official type of travel diary, where poetry is the dominant concern, static travel passages are usually concerned with the poetic (utamakura) or legendary traditions attached to the places being discussed. In the Izayoi Nikki (1279–1280), for instance, the Nun Abutsu uses the names of places along the Tōkaidō Road primarily for their semantic values. Of Fuwa Barrier she writes:

So full of cracks,
The barrier house of Fuwa;
How the drizzle and moonlight
Must be leaking in.

Fuwa, meaning “unbreakable”, is contrasted ironically with the leaking barrier house. The dilapidated barrier house was a traditional image attached to the Fuwa Barrier, having little to do with its actual appearance. Most probably, there was nothing left of the barrier house at the time of Abutsu’s passage.

The Fuji Kikō (1432) has a passage showing similar treatment of the Barrier:

The Fuwa Barrier is covered with moss. Only the pillars were left of the eaves.
The eaves still betray
The time-honored name
Of the barrier gate
Which never closes
At Fuwa no Nakayama.

In the Ran Fuji Ki (1432) the name Fuwa is associated with the word moru (to leak). Thus, consistent interest in utamakura sites and traditions in this type of static style led to the repetition of similar themes in the works of quite different authors.

In the dynamic style, more than one place name appears in each passage, which may contain one, several, or no poems. The latter is the case in the following example from the Yoshino Mōde no Ki (1553), earlier cited as an example of the static style:

Then we went to the An’yōjī Temple, at the foot of Mt. Ugai in Takamado, where a pious man lived. There we enjoyed various pleasures. Since today was the festival of the bodhisattva Jizo [Ksitigarbha], we went to the Jürinin, a temple which was founded by Kōbō Daishi. The place where the bodhisattva was carved into a rock has been venerable and mysterious since the past. Next we visited the halls of the Kōfukuji Temple. At Tōdaiji Temple we began with the Daibutsuden, then the Hachimangū Shrine, and then the Nembutsudō, where we received grains of rice symbolizing the bones of the Buddha. When we went to Nigatsudō, it began to rain slightly so we had someone bring us straw hats. We returned to our inn after seeing the Chisokuin.

This style of writing is pushed to an extreme in those passages which consist simply of a listing of place names. Such writing may be traced to the travel poems in the Man’yōshū, or to passages in the Makura no Sōshi (Pillow Book of Lady Sei Shōnagon, written about the year 1000) in which place names are listed one after another, or to the old monozukushi tradition of exhaustive listing of names and objects. It is also possible that travel diarists were reluctant to omit any utamakura or names of sacred places from the text. Even when the writer left a place without having composed a poem on it, he at least paid the tribute of mentioning it. This may have been the purpose behind such a passage as the following, from the Rokuon’in Dono Itsukushima Mōde no Ki (1389):
On the tenth day he [the Shōgun] ordered the boats to leave the harbor. He passed such bays as Takahara, Mitsukasa, Hayayama, Setonai no Umi, Kōshiro, Hirokure, Hatami, Kamakari no Seto. He traveled on a boat provided by a person named Takaya from this province.  

As stated earlier, zuikō accounts are distinguished from other travel diaries in both their style and content. A characteristic feature is the prominence of passages of praise, both in prose and poetry. Some of the poems are by the author, others by the travel leader or other companions. The Muromachi Dono Ise Sangū Ki (1414) ends in the poem of praise given below; having crossed the Ausaka [Osaka Pass], the shogunal party arrived in Matsusaka:

Lord,
You can yet cross
The Slope of Pines [Matsusaka]
A thousand generations old
Many dozens of times.  

The Ise Kikō (1433) contains fifteen such poems of praise, leading to the following eulogy:

Now my lord rules over Japan, the country of fertile fields and 1500 autumns; worshipping the gods and exercising good government, he is virtuous enough to love his people.

A similar passage appears in the Ran Fuji Ki (1432):

The storm which swept over the Seven Districts [Japan] has subsided. The waves which swept over the Eight Islands [Japan] are now calm. The barrier guards everywhere forget to close the gates, and there are no obstacles to travel. All the people are so humble that they make it their duty to yield the way to others when they meet on a path by the rice-fields, and one can pass the night safely anywhere. Such is the happiness of living under your government.

As stated earlier, some travel diaries conclude with an epilogue. In the cases of the Kaidō Ki (1223) the Tōkan Kikō (1242), and the Izayoi Nikki (1279-1280), the epilogues are diary descriptions (taizai ki) of the sojourns at the destination. The epilogue of the Tōkan Kikō, for instance, gives a brief history of Kamakura focusing on shōgun Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199) and given a description of the temples and shrines. The following passage typifies its tone and content:

Someone told me about the erection of a great Amida Buddha at a place called Yui no Ura [Yui Bay] and invited me for a visit. I accepted the invitation and found the Buddha both venerable and auspicious. When I inquired about the history of the statue, I was told that it all began with Jōkō Shōnin from Tōtomi Province. Beginning in the Ennō Era [1239], now long past, he collected donations from rich and poor all over the Kantō Area and started to build a statue of Buddha and a hall to shelter it. Two-thirds of what he had planned are now complete. The Buddha’s usnīsa [bump of wisdom] soared into the clouds halfway between heaven and earth. His ārāmaka [lock at the forehead] shone with the light of the full moon. The Buddha was completed after two or three years of work. The hall was a tall building of twelve stories. The Great Buddha of Tōdaiji Temple, erected by Emperor Shōmu, was a Dainichi Nyorai [Mahāvairocana] more than ten jō [about thirty meters] in height, cast in copper. I heard that in size it surpassed all its predecessors in India as well as in China. This Amida Buddha stands about eight jō [about twenty-four meters] which is more than half the height of the Great Buddha in Nara. There is, of course, a difference between a copper and a wooden statue. Yet it is wonderful to see such a statue in the Period of the End of the Law. With the Buddha’s teachings moving East [i.e., to Japan], it seemed as if the deities and the Buddhas have made a temporary appearance on earth to assist in this undertaking, and I felt grateful.

This epilogue concludes with the author’s departure on his return journey to the capital, having failed, at least in part, to accomplish his unidentified mission.

The epilogue of the Miyako no Tsuto (1350-1352) is an example of one written by a later copier, Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388), who was a prominent poet and travel diarist himself.
There once lived a priest named Sōkyū. He gave his heart to the blossoms on tree branches and dedicated his thoughts to the eightfold winds. There was no place throughout the vast land where he wished to settle; just as the dew on a floating weed is exposed to the mercy of the currents, so he wandered about aimlessly. In spring when the cherry blossoms bedecked Miyoshino [Yoshino], he secluded himself beyond the mountains, and when autumn arrived beneath the moon of Musashino, he sought shelter among the purple grass which suited his spirit. He visited all the sixty-some provinces of Japan, without neglecting a single one in the course of his pilgrimage. Nowhere did he omit to express his feelings in thirty-one syllables [waka]. Of the ancient sages, some gave themselves to the love of music; others composed poetry to the point of madness. This man (Sōkyū) was like the latter. Wherever he went, he always kept a small inkstone beneath his black priest's robe. Along with his old walking stick, which he had cherished over the years, he carried a short writing brush. Although he did not yearn for the snow at dawn at Yen Ch'i River, he delighted in visiting men of taste. He did not hear the rain at night in Lu Shan, but he never failed to express his heart's distress over any experience. I believe it was in the Kannō Era [1350-52] that he started on his journey over Ōeyama [Mt. Öe], treading along the Ikuno Road until he floated upon the waves of Shiogama in Michinoku Province. In the meanwhile, he recorded his thoughts whenever he passed through famous fields and mountains and wrote in the shadow of the grasses and trees that moved him to poetry. Although he was not the author of the poem:

If the pine at Aneha in Kurihara
Were but a person
Long awaited,
I would say, “Come with me as a souvenir
To the capital [miyako no tsuto]”
he gave the name Miyako no Tsudo [souvenir of the capital] to his notes. One could say, it is a foolish pleasure; but why should it not also serve as a lesson in how to express one's feelings? I add my own crude words, unable to contain my admiration.

In the spring of the sixth year of Jōji [1367] I note this, having read the diary once again.

Gufuköon Sesshō
Kairörókai [Nijō Yoshimoto]20

Perhaps Yoshimoto wrote these comments to distinguish this work as a monument to be taken into account by all future travel poets.

Travel diaries were primarily written in three styles of language: kambun (Chinese), wabun (Japanese), and the mixed Sino-Japanese style called wakan konkó-tai. Depending upon whether his intentions were documentary or artistic, the writer chose an appropriate style or combination of styles. The choice of language determined the content to a considerable degree. Asukai Masaari, author of four travel diaries, expressed his views on the matter in his Saga no Kayoi(ji) (1269):

He [Fujiwara no Tameie] sent to me the Tosa Nikki, the Murasaki Shikibu Nikki, the Sarashina Nikki, and the Kagerō Nikki. Since these were written by women, they are in kana [i.e., wabun]. It is a cherished tradition in my country that men should also write in kana, and people say that the Ise Monogatari was written in kana. Official matters should be written in kambun, and I have done so, but matters relating to poetry are better written in kana. This is why I shall write in kana from now on. 21

A sizable number of travel diaries written in kambun contain accounts of journeys by emperors (e.g., Emperor Sutoku's Kōya Miyuki no Ki [1124]), aristocrats (Uji Kampaku Kōya-san Gosankei Ki), or the “Kumano Kikō” section of the Chūyū Ki, 1109); or priests (Tōdaiji Shuto Ise Sangū Ki).2 These are uniformly impersonal, official documents destined for the archives, since diary-writing was an established way of maintaining a public record. Thus these works contain exhaustive lists of the participants, points of stopover, travel times and distances, people encountered, and numerous other details on the preparations for and the circumstances of travel.

As in all cases, there are exceptions, some kambun diaries, such as the Nittō Guhō Junrei Köki (838-847), an account of Ennin’s voyage to T’ang China, contain both
literary and factual elements. Ennin traveled alone, inspired by a strong desire to visit China; his writing contains passages of his personal responses to the beauty and pain, danger and relief encountered in the course of his journey. Similarly, in the Gotoba-in Kumano Gokō Ki (1201), passages describing the sickness of the author (who was not the principal character) are interpolated into purely documentary passages.

On the other hand, there are a number travel diaries which, though entirely written in wabun, contain passages strongly reminiscent of kambun. In the Tosa Nikki (934–935), for instance, kambun-like passages appear particularly in the entries for uneventful days, such as: "We spent the day in Naha harbor;" "Because of bad weather, the boat is unable to set out;" or "Still in Yamazaki." Perhaps the entire work was written in short kambun notes during the voyage, and polished and completed in wabun sometime after the author, Ki no Tsurayuki, arrived in Kyōto, the capital. In such an entry as "Throughout the night the rain fell unceasingly. This morning too." The phrase "this morning" suggests the time when such notes were taken. This insistence upon daily entries, even for entirely uneventful days, derives from the thoroughness required in official kambun diaries.

From the beginning of the Kamakura Period, attempts were made to broaden the boundaries of the wabun world, by introducing some of the objective universality of kambun writing. In the Haru no Miyamaji (1280), a travel diary written by Masaari in wabun, the influence of kambun can be keenly felt. Even events unrelated to poetic matters are written in wabun. Traditionally, wabun prose was closely related, if not subordinated, to the poetry which it invariably contained; here, it achieves a clear separation from poetic diction and content. A new, flexible Japanese prose style was emerging. It can be seen in many travel diaries, both of the hermit type (e.g., Miyako no Tsuto of 1350–1352) and the official type (e.g., Takakura-in Itsukushima Gokō Ki of 1180).

There are also travel diaries which contain both wabun and kambun passages. Although there is some evidence of discriminating use of the two styles in the Nankai Rurō no Ki (1243) and Shinshō Hōshi Nikki (1225), for instance – wabun for personal, and travel matters, and kambun for religious, philosophical thoughts – it is far from consistent, with many passages indifferently written in either wabun or kambun and sometimes in a combination. Kambun passages occur to a lesser degree in the travel diaries written by the linked-verse poet-priests (e.g., Shōha Fujimi Dōki of 1567, Tōkoku Kikō of 1544–45, Sōchō Shuki of 1522–27, Sōchō Nikki of 1530–32, etc.), in a style of prose which later became known as haibun or haikai (unorthodox poem) style. In such works the colloquial style and prose content tend to divorce themselves from the poetry.

The travel diaries written in pure wabun are usually those whose focal interest is poetry. They are structured around utamakura place names. There are over ten such accounts, not including those with relatively lengthy sections of this type.

The Mogami no Kawaji (1269) by Asukai Masaari is an example of a purely wabun account. The journey from Kyōto to Kamakura took place in winter, and snow is the main theme of the travel poems which, together with their simple forewords, make up this travel diary. The following is a typical passage:

I passed the night at a place called Akasaka. The next day, as the snow lay thick and I had a good stretch to go, I left before dawn. Unable to follow the snow-covered road, I left it to my horse to find the way. Meanwhile dawn came and the wind blew from between the clouds:
There is no one
Whom I meet;
I am the first
To tread the white snow
Of the road. 24

Like the forewords to poems in poetry collections, the prose here, in pure wabun, functions to explain the circumstances of composition. The same can be said of most other passages in the travel section of this diary:

As I passed Ozakigahara, my heart was much attracted by the reflection of the morning sun upon the frozen snow:
The sky has cleared
And the morning sun polishes
The light snow of
Ozakigahara. 25

The Miyakoji no Wakare (1275), another travel diary by Masari, is also in pure wabun but includes more monogatari (tale) - type passages not unlike those of the Genji Monogatari.

The Izayoi Nikki (1279–1280) is an important travel diary written in wabun, again revealing a dominant interest in poetic (utamakura) matters. The preface indicates that “Since it was the first unsettled season of early winter, the drizzle, now falling, now stopping, went on endlessly . . .” Accordingly, drizzle becomes a theme throughout the work:

We [the nun Abutsu and her guide] decided to reach a place called Kagami this evening, but darkness fell and we did not reach it, so we stopped at a place called Moriyama. Here too the drizzle still followed us.

Is it to drench my sleeves still more
that we spend the night
Right { in Moriyama
on the mountain where leaks } the
drizzle without pause? 26

The Izayoi Nikki is so concerned with the traditional (utamakura) and semantical properties of place names that it could have been written at home with the aid of an utamakura dictionary, so little interest does it show in realistic description. The same is true for other travel diaries as well.

A number of travel diaries in wabun were written by linked-verse poets, of which Sōgi’s Shirakawa Kikō (1468) is an example. Sōgi’s goal in this journey was to visit the famous places of the east, which were well-known symbols of impermanence. He especially wanted to see the Shirakawa Barrier (now Shirakawa City, Fukushima Prefecture) not as it looked in reality, but with the eyes of his poet predecessors, Taira no Kanemori (d. 990) and especially Nōin (998–?). The prose of this travel diary is quite archaic, reminiscent of the Genji Monogatari with its long sentences. It is similar to another legacy of Heian literature, the poetry contests (utaawase), in its format “a narrative” (or foreword) followed by a series of poems. 27

In other wabun-style travel diaries the poetry becomes even more dominant. These accounts are not unlike the private anthologies of poetry (shikashū) in form, and they are sometimes called uta nikki (poem diaries). The prose passages rarely exceed one line and are entirely subordinated to the poems that follow. They state the places where or about which the poems were composed. The typical form is: “At . . . (place name),” followed by a poem. Even in the longer passages which occasionally occur in such travel diaries, there is an immediate connection between the forewords and the poems.
Travel diaries were also written in the more prosaic mixed Sino-Japanese wakan konkō-tai. This style of writing reflects well the cultural eclecticism of the late Heian Period when it originated. It allowed its user a range of expression in tone and subject matter; both the world of Japanese wabun – monogatari – tales, poetry, lyrical descriptions of nature and human emotions – and the world of Chinese kambun – philosophical and religious speculation, objective, documentary descriptions of nature and human affairs, and exhaustive lists – were at the disposal of the writer of the wakan konkō style. From the point of view of intellectual history, the synthesis of kambun and wabun went hand in hand with the general cultural and religious eclecticism of the middle ages.

The wakan konkō style appears to varying degrees in travel diary literature, with some works leaning more towards kambun, and others towards wabun. The first type of work resembles a direct translation of kambun into wabun, and the style is often called the kambun chokuyaku-tai (translated kambun). The Kaidō Ki (1223) is an important example of this style, which may be considered an attempt to adapt the Japanese language to Chinese stylistic devices. The ornate writing, full of allegorical and metaphorical language, makes the Kaidō Ki one of the most difficult works in Japanese literature to translate. It is so replete with allusions to Chinese literature that a modern Japanese scholar has even suggested that it might be a Japanese translation and adaptation to the Tōkaidō Road of a Chinese diary of a similar nature.

The wabun text is heavily dotted with Chinese compounds. Sinicisms, parallelisms, and antitheses are freely used. A sentence beginning with the word heaven (ten) is followed by a sentence with the word earth (chi). The use of day (hi) leads to the use of month (tsuki). Other such pairs are heavenly mandate (temmei) – favor of the earth (chion); crime (zenpi) – remorse (kōkai); morning clouds (asagumo) – evening wind (bōfu), etc.

The style is also marked by the use of alternating lines of three and six characters, five and eight, six and eight, or most frequently, four and six characters. The resulting meter and rhythm impart a verse quality to the prose. According to Matsui Eiichi, there is no work, including the Wakan Rōei Shū, which makes such extensive use of the 4/6 alternation (shirokubun). Sutra-style rhythms also appear in the work. The work is, in short, more Chinese than Japanese.

The Tōkan Kikō (1242) is another good example of this Kamakura prose, combining Chinese compounds (kango) with Japanese words in a syntactically rigid sentence construction strongly influenced by Chinese. Chinese stylistic devices, such as parallelisms, have been adopted, and there are frequent allusions to Chinese poetry, mostly the Wen- hsien (a collection of literature from pre-Han till the Six Dynasties: 5th century B.C. – 6th century A.D.), Po Chü-i (772–846, a T’ang Dynasty poet), and two anthologies of Chinese and Japanese literature, the Wakan Rōei Shū (1011–1012) and the Shinsen Rōei Shū (1107–1123?). It is evident that there are striking similarities between the Tōkan Kikō and the Kaidō Ki, but there is greater harmony between the Chinese and the Japanese elements in the former. The Tōkan Kikō is more fluid and poetic than the Kaidō Ki. Perhaps the differences in content caused the difference in style. The Tōkan Kikō, less pretentious than the Kaidō Ki, became a stylistic model for the writing of michiyuki-bun (travel records) until the appearance of a more colloquial prose style (haibun).

The wakan konkō style was also used by the linked-verse poet Sōchō in his travel diaries. The Sōchō Shuki (1522–1527) is typical of the travel diaries, especially linked-
verse accounts, in which the prose passages are documentary and often entirely independent from the poems. This passage occurs at the beginning of the diary:

I stayed at Yasuyoshi's castle in Kakegov. It was being rebuilt. The outer rampart had a circumference of about six or seven hundred ken [about 11 or 12 km]. They were dredging the moat and were building walls so that the height of these walls would be the same as those of the inner rampart. Built with the rocks and earth of this area, one could say that it was built with iron. Between the inner and outer ramparts, there was a moat. It was forbidding and even fearful to look down into it. A hokku about this place:

Early summer rain
The willows along the moat
Of the sky-soaring castle.31

Clearly, Sōchō did not go into such detail about a military fortification for poetic ends. In these documentary writings by a linked-verse poet, we see the emergence of the haibun prose independent of the poetry to which it is juxtaposed.

The author's attitude toward his fellow human beings forms another variable to be considered along with the form and style. These three variables are interdependent with several others, notably the nature of the author and his intentions in traveling and writing a diary. In the case of travel diaries written by hermits, since they are records of solitary, penitent travel, the authors often omitted their associations with people other than their fellow hermits, even though outside documents show that they in fact existed. Many hermit diarists recounted visits to other hermits in their grass huts (sōan). Often, they found them dead or their hermitages desolate and abandoned (e.g., Ionushi of the 11th century, Miyako no Tsuto of 1350-52). Descriptions of such experiences accentuate the loneliness and desolation of hermit accounts.

In official travel diaries there is more attention to fellow travelers, especially in those accounts written from the point of view of the entire traveling party rather than the perspective of the author himself (e.g., Tosa Nikki of 934-35). Pleasure girls appear frequently, although such encounters appear in hermit accounts as well, described in a more Buddhist tone (e.g., Kaidō Ki of 1223, Shinshō Hōshi Nikki of 1225, Ooku no Hosomichi of 1689, etc.). It may be argued that relationships with pleasure girls were described in travel diaries in order to fulfill a need to include love poetry, this need deriving from a desire to follow the traditional categories of seasonal, love, Buddhist, Shinto, and miscellaneous poems of the imperial anthologies of poetry. The inclusion of love poems in travel diaries, written by priests or hermits, has been the subject of controversy, and has led to an entirely secular interpretation of such accounts by modern scholars.

Generally speaking, linked-verse accounts pay more attention to human relations than travel diaries with waka poetry. This is the case because waka depended more on solitary composition than did linked-verse, which, except in the case of solitary composition of sequences (dokugin), was the product of group effort. Linked-verse poetry aspired to excellence not so much through solitary composition or the competitive poetry contests, but through the ideal of perfectly harmonized human relationships. Although composed by more than one poet, the poetry had to become one; a oneness within diversity.

The very occasion of the composition of linked verse was social. As the following example from the Tsukushi Michi no Ki (1480) illustrates, a sequence often began upon request:
Here too, the Shrine attendant asked me for a hokku. I could not refuse:

For thousands of autumns
Upon the Turtle Hill
Stands a pine.\(^{37}\)

The hokku, the beginning of a linked-verse sequence, came about from Sögi’s encounter with a priest of the Hachimangū Shrine of Kameyama [Turtle Mountain]. Like Bashö’s masterpiece, *Oku no Hosomichi* (1689), the entire text of the *Tsukushi Michi no Ki* is so pervaded by the spirit of linked-verse that it becomes, in construction, almost a linked-verse sequence itself.\(^{38}\)

The zuikō, or accompaniment diary, naturally portrays very different human relationships. Although personal passages may be found, such travel diaries generally focus on the leader of the party or upon matters concerning the traveling group as a whole. The following example is from the *Takakura-in Itsukushima Gokō Ki* (1180):

There was deep sadness over the prospect of a voyage to distant places. But the people in attendance were all ordered to board the boats. At Kusatsu, a tent was set up. The imperial boat was not like the one of the Emperor of Sui, which was moored by a string of brocade, but it was especially arranged. The boats were scattered about as if the mountain wind had blown colorful leaves into the water. The voices of the people sounded like the cries of the cicada on the tree tops in midsummer. The ladies-in-waiting all boarded the imperial boat. When we approached to offer our help they dared to sigh: “How should we wait upon the ex-Emperor on this voyage?” Unwillingly, I had to suggest that they should not utter such unfitting words. When the sun came out, the ex-Emperor appeared. Dressed in everyday clothes [naoshi], he was accompanied by over ten upper courtiers and seven or eight lower courtiers. Driving the carriage up to the boat, the ex-Emperor boarded it. The ex-Emperor was used to getting on [small) boats on the Kan’in Pond but never seemed to have anticipated such a voyage.\(^{39}\)

A strong concern for convention underlies most travel diaries written by officials or hermits. This concern may have to do with the formal nature of court poetry and of the imperial anthologies of poetry. It also reflects a strong consciousness of readership. Hermit or “private” traveler-poets were less restricted by readership and therefore by form, yet the differences in form between official and private travel diaries defy a clear distinction. In style, the differences are somewhat more obvious. The private works include poetry of a less orthodox diction, and more unorthodox haikai poetry than the official and especially the zuikō accounts, yet here again the similarities are slight. In content, however, the differences are most significant. A religious content in both poetry and prose distinguished the hermit from official travel diaries. There is therefore also a significant difference in tone; the hermit often assumes a pessimistic, world-rejecting tone in his writings. Though the geographical places mentioned in travel diaries generally belong to the category of utamakura, the hermits compose poems of a rather different content and tone at such places in comparison with their official counterparts, and this in spite of the fact that both hermit and official travelers compose their poems at the same places and that their poems adhere to the same form (e.g., waka). And though the utamakura are also a matter of style and content, the importance these place names assume in travel diary literature deserves them the dedication of a separate chapter.

**Notes to Chapter II**

1. On the original form of the *Izayoi Nikki*, for instance, see Tamai Kōsuke, “Izayoi Nikki no genkai” *Kokugo to Kokubungaku*, vol. 7, no. 6 (Tokyo: Shibundō, June 1930). The Kujō-ke Kyūzō-bon copy gives a separate title to the section written during Abutsu’s sojourn in Kamakura – the “Azuma Nikki”. The travel section is called “Abutsu Azuma Kudari” in the *Fuboku Shū*. Travel diary titles were also most often given by later copiers, hence the existence of several titles of the same work.
In Sasaki Nobutsuna, “Kamakura Jidai no nikkii bungaku,” *Nihon Bungaku Köza*, vol. 19 (Tôkyô: Shinchôsha, 1928), p. 7. This introduction includes partial quotations of and allusions to poems in collections such as *Kokinshû*, *Kokin Rokuro* and *Wakan Rôei Shû*.


Gunsho Ruijû, vol. 18, Kikô-bu, p. 738. In 1584 the head of the Ôtomo clan appealed to Hideyoshi for help against the Shimazu family (both of Kyûshû), which was increasing its influence in Kyûshû. Hideyoshi’s army defeated the Shimazu in 1587 without, however, eliminating the clan.

The earliest such travel diaries may be the series of poems in the *Man’yôshû* composed on the occasion of Empress Jito’s journey to the Kii Peninsula (poem nos. 1667–1679, composed in the tenth month of the year 701). *Zukô* writing probably developed from such travel poems and from *kambun* accounts of imperial journeys in the Heian Period. The tradition of centering the account upon a particular person, the leader, is a distinguishing feature of this type of travel diary, and it can also be found in the *Man’yôshû* poems and in diaries such as the *Sanuki no Suke Nikki* of 1107–08, written by the author from the point of view of Emperor Horikawa.

*Tokan Kikô Shinshaku*, Kasamatsu Sugio (Tôkyô: Daidôkan Shoten, 1928), pp. 14–15. Sekiyama (Mt. Seki or Barrier) rises above the Ausaka (Ôsaka) Barrier located between the capital (Kyôto) and Ôtsu City. Uchide no Hama (Uchide Beach) and Awazu no Hama (Awazu Beach) were beaches of Lake Biwa near present Mii-dera Temple. Okamoto-Asuka (south of Nara) was capital from 593 to 628. Shiga refers to present Ôtsu City and Ômi to the name of the province (now Shiga Prefecture). Ôtsu was capital from 667 to 671. Emperor Tenchi reigned from 662 till 671.


(Kokubun-) *Tôho Bukkyô Sôsho*, vol. 7, Kikô-bu, pp. 218–19. All temples mentioned here are located within or in the vicinity of present Nara City. The last three [Tamukayama] Hachimangu (a Shinto Shrine) are part of the Tôdaiji. Takamado: mountain east of Nara.


Ibid., p. 608. The *Fuji Kikô* (1432) also includes many such poems of praise.

*Tokan Kikô Shinshaku*, annot. by Kasamatsu Sugio, pp. 127–128. The Buddha is now located in Kamakura City. The Great Buddha of Nara (Tôdaiji Temple) was inaugurated in 752. Jokô Shônin (Saint Jôkô): date unknown.

Gunsho Ruijû, vol. 18, Kikô-bu, pp. 539–40. Yoshino (Nara Prefecture) is the place par excellence for cherry blossoms. Musashino, a plain to the west of present Tôkyô, was often mentioned in poems of autumn. Yen Ch’I River: (Chekiang Province) is here associated with
Chapter III Utamakura

The term *utamakura*, meaning the famous places of poetry, has recurred frequently in this discussion. So important are the *utamakura* in travel diaries that it is no exaggeration to say that without them, the diaries would have taken an entirely different form; indeed, they might not have been written at all. Let us therefore take some time to examine the nature of these places.

By the Heian Period, certain geographical places of particular religious, mythical, historical, and poetic significance were distinguished from ordinary places by the term *meisho* (famous place). For reasons that remain obscure, only some of these place names could be used in poetry. To differentiate between those famous places which could be used in poetry and those which could not, the term *utamakura* (poem pillow) came into use. The *utamakura* place names became a part of standard poetic vocabulary. Their term *meisho*, however, continued to be used synonymously with it.


In Sasaki Nobutsuna, “*Kamakura jidai no nikki bungaku*,” *Nihon Bungaku Köza*, p. 19. All works of literature mentioned here are of the Heian Period. On Fujiwara no Tameie, see p. 32. See the Summary of the Texts, for authors and dates and for more titles.


Edwin O. Reischauer, trans. in *Translations from Early Japanese Literature*, p. 60. Kagami: a place near Moriyama (now Moruyama), Shiga Prefecture.

This form of a travel diary was adapted earlier by the Priest Ton’a in his *Koya Nikki* (mid 14th century) where a lengthy narrative with some poems is followed by a collection of 47 *Iroha* poems. *Iroha*: the 47 sounds of Japanese represented by the *hiragana* syllabary. The resulting 47 poems were often adapted to the content of Chapter 13 of the *Nehan Kyô* (Nirvana-sûtra).

*The Takuakura-in Shôka Ki* (1181), a eulogy written by Minamoto no Michichika (also author of the *Takuakura-in Itsukushima Gokô Ki*, a travel diary) after the death of ex-Emperor Takakura, and the *Hôjô Ki* (1212), by Kamo no Chômei, are similar examples from an earlier date, although they are more Japanese.

Kidô Salsô, in a personal interview. Most of the references can be found in such sources as the *Wakan Rôei Shû*, *Monzen* and the *Hakushi Monjû*.

“Tôkan Kikô to Rôei to no kanei,” *Kokugo Kashaku*, vol. 2, no. 5 (May, 1937) and “Kaidô Kii ni oyobosuru shirokubun no eikyô-jihô taigû-hô o chûshin to shite-“ *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* (July, 1953).


and often appears in medieval travel diaries, together with its variants, naaru tokorō (a place that has a name), nadakaki tokoro (place of renown), or oto ni kikishi tokoro (a place one has heard about). What, in fact, were these famous places?

There are a number of views on the matter. According to Okumura Tsuneya, they came into prominence because of the experiences of ancient travelers.1 Specific places along the highways, usually of religious importance, required certain rituals before the traveler could proceed. To judge from the Man'yōshū, many of these rituals involved the composition and presentation of poetry. The sites where this took place—rivers, lakes, ponds, islands, promontories, mountains, forests, villages, frontiers, bridges, wells—were geographically and topographically distinct. (Many of these categories are those used by the compilers of utamakura dictionaries in later ages.) They were somehow obstacles in the traveler's path, places to be safely gotton beyond. Some of the Man'yōshū poems were presented at turns of the road; others at mountain passes, river crossings, and islands. Places where vision was obstructed, such as dark forests and turns in the coastline, also seemed to require precautions.

In order to ensure their physical and spiritual safety, ancient travelers did not neglect to offer their prayers at these sites. These prayers took the form of a straw offering or a poem; often both. Two stories from the Heian Period give us some understanding of how and why these rituals were performed:

The poet Ki no Tsurayuki [870-945] was on his way to the Sumiyoshi Shrine when he came across a section of road, a small pass, which was difficult to negotiate. His horse faltered and refused to go on. When he asked a companion what was to be done, Tsurayuki learned that this place was inhabited by a powerful local deity called Aritōshi. Realizing that he had neglected to extend his respects to the deity, Tsurayuki composed a poem using Aritōshi as a pivot word for hoshi (stars). This appeased the deity, the horse recovered, and Tsurayuki was able to proceed.2

In 995, Middle Captain [Fujiwara] Sanekata was appointed Governor of Michinoku Province and ordered to visit the famous places in that area. When passing through Kasashima, he refused to dismount to acknowledge the presence of the local deity, whom he dismissed as a “weak female deity.” Sanekata was thrown from his horse and killed.3

Subsequent travelers were careful to pay their respects when passing through Aritōshi or Kasashima.4

Origuchi Shinobu and his followers trace the origin of utamakura to traditional ceremonies, the Daijō-e, held upon the accession of a new emperor. One part of the Daijō-e (the Festival of the Partaking of the First Fruit) consisted of the presentation of poems containing place names by shrine maidens (miko) who represented the deities from those places. According to Origuchi, the local deities were embodied in these poems, which were recited aloud to the Emperor in order for him to be able to incorporate the spirit and power of powerful local deities and thereby to rule the nation effectively. Origuchi uses the term kunifuri and tamafuri to describe the purpose of such poetry.5

The names of local deities thus used in Daijō-e poetry were undoubtedly taboo names which, according to Origuchi Shinobu, could only be used in a magico-political or religious context such as the revelation of place names (nanori) in the ceding of territory (kunitori). Maybe these place names or a number of them became vulgarized with the passage of time. Yet as late as the Yakumo Mishō (compiled between 1235 and 1242) poets are warned against the mention of local deities by their names.6 Only the names of their shrines could be used, and it was probably these indirect forms of appellation which developed into the common utamakura place names.
Many, if not all, utamakura places are in fact names of shrines and therefore indirect ways to refer to a local deity. For example, Asuka (Nara Prefecture), a place name which appears frequently in poetry, is also the name of a shrine Asuka Jinja and of a “resident” local deity: “Asuka nimasu kami.” This is also the case with such utamakura places as Tatsuta, Yoshino, Miwa (all Nara Prefecture), Sumiyoshi or Suminoo (Osaka), Ashigaru (Pass between Shizuoka and Kanagawa Prefectures), etc. Even if there were no shrine, a place name always represented, in ancient Japan, a local deity. Its mention in poetry therefore fulfilled a religious function by acknowledging the deities’ presence. Both Okumura and Origuchi see the origin of the utamakura in the rituals of archaic Shinto.

Another method of indirectly referring to a deity in poetry was to refer to it by its symbol, which might be a plant, a mountain, a river, a lake, or a cape. Thus the deity of Miwa could be referred to as either Mt. Miwa or “cedar.” By the same token the deity of Sumiyoshi could be referred to as “pine”, the deity of Kumano ( Wakayama Prefecture) as the Otonashi River, that of Ise (Mie Prefecture) as the Mimosuso and Isuzu Rivers, that of Tatsuta as maple leaves, that of Yoshino as cherry blossoms, etc.

Little is known about the origins of most of these associations. In the case of Tatsuta, crimson maple leaves and autumn became emblematic because of the belief that autumn entered the Yamato Plain (roughly the Nara Plain of today) through its western gate, Tatsuta, a place dedicated to the wind god. Yoshino, in the south of the Yamato Plain, was the gate for spring. Even before Yoshino and cherry blossoms became inseparable in poetry, the place appeared in Man'yoshū poetry in association with spring and its symbols of water and mist. By extension, the utamakura place names, which were also the names of local deities, came to share their associations.

Many of the utamakura places and their associations originally had a particular religious, mythological, or historical significance. Some were ancient cremation or burial sites, such as Obasuteyama (Mt. Obasute, Nagano Prefecture); others were natural formations considered divine, such as Amanohashidate (Kyoto Prefecture) or Matsushima (Miyagi Prefecture). There were also places that were important in Japanese mythology, such as Yamato, Izumo (Shimane Prefecture), Mt. Takachiho (Kyushū, exact location disputed) and Atsuta (Nagoya City). Historic places like the military headquarters of the West (Dazaifu, Fukuoka Prefecture) and of the East (Chinjufu, Miyagi Prefecture), the highway barriers, and especially, ancient capitals like Nara or Ōtsu (Shiga Prefecture), all became utamakura places. They were all places where “once something important had happened”, and they were henceforth inseparable from those events, and became, therefore, a tradition of poetry.

Some utamakura became secularized in spite of their religious origins; others preserved their strongly religious qualities. In cases a new religious dimension was added by the influence of Buddhism and even more by the synthesis of Buddhism and Shinto known as honjisuijaku or ryōbu Shinto. In the latter phenomenon, many local (Shinto) deities were identified as avatars of Buddhas or bodhisattvas; for example, Sumiyoshi became the bodhisattva Kōki Tokūō. "The celebrated poet and travel diarist Saigyō stated that Mt. Kamiji (Ise) was identical with the Buddha Dainichi (Mahāvairocana)." Naturally, the places associated with these deities also received Buddhist designations: Mt. Dainichi (Mt. Mahāvairocana), Mt. Amidá (Mt. Amitābha), Mt. Shaka (Mt. Śakyamuni, all of Nara Prefecture), Daibosatsu (Pass of the Great Bodhisattva of Yamanashi Prefecture), Dainichi Pass of Shizuoka
Prefecture, etc. These Buddhist versions are particularly prominent in the travel diaries kept by priests and hermits. In some cases, Buddhist interpretations were given to established place names. The *Kaikoku Zakki*, a fifteenth-century travel diary gives us an example in a poem about Mt. Isurugi (Mt. Moving Rock, Toyama Prefecture):

As the world is immovable
So instead
The Deity has given the name of Moving Rock
To this mountain.\(^\text{11}\)

Nikkō (Tochigi Prefecture), a renowned place to this day, underwent a similar transformation. Shinto had recognized it as a sacred mountain; *honjisuijaku* resulted in its identification with the Buddhist paradise, Futara (Potalaka). The Buddhist hell also found analogues in such places as Mt. Haku (between Ishikawa and Gifu Prefectures) to Mt. Tate (Toyama Prefecture). Travel diarists were fully aware of the religious history of the *utamakura* sites they visited and described.\(^\text{13}\)

Some *utamakura* places were sites of particular forms of worship. At Ryūshakuji Temple (Yamagata Prefecture) a rock from which a hot spring emerged became the object of a practice called *iwa kuyo* (rock worship). Knowing this, we feel another dimension in Bashō’s famous poem composed at the site:

Stillness –
The cry of a cicada
Pierces deep into the rock.\(^\text{14}\)

The religious dimension of *utamakura* places is indispensable to an understanding of travel diaries and their poems.

As the *utamakura* places became prominent in literature, literature began in turn to shape them by adding its own associations. Some places came to have a special relationship with the poems composed at or about them. *Utamakura* places and their deities even came to be permanently identified with certain poets. The barrier god of Ausaka (Kyōto Prefecture) became linked with the poet-musician Semimaru,\(^\text{15}\) that of Shirakawa (Fukushima Prefecture) with Nōin,\(^\text{16}\) that of Suzuka Pass (Mie Prefecture) with Saigyō (1118–1190), and the Kannon of Ishiyama Temple (Shiga Prefecture) with Lady Murasaki (978?–1019), the author of the *Genji Monogatari*.\(^\text{17}\) The poets came to symbolize the places, and the places the poets.

These poets became models for later travel diary authors who sought to retrace their steps and compose poems at the same places, thus contributing to the history of *utamakura* associations themselves. The author of the *Kaikoku Zakki* (1486–1487), for instance, followed the route of Saigyō’s return from Hiraizumi (Iwate Prefecture).\(^\text{18}\) Bashō, whose *Oku no Hosomichi* (1689) may have been written on the five-hundredth anniversary of Saigyō’s death, also tried to travel Saigyō’s route. In his travelogue, Bashō frequently alludes to poems by and legends about Saigyō at the *utamakura* places associated with him.\(^\text{19}\) Such practices might be interpreted as a form of poetic ancestor worship, a subject which will be treated more fully in the chapter on travel motives.

Certain *utamakura* places were treated as if they were the tombstones of ancient poets.\(^\text{20}\) Many medieval travel diaries were the result of an intense desire to visit such sites and to compose poetry there. At the least this may explain why *utamakura* assumed such importance in travel diaries.

As stated earlier, many *utamakura* places and their deities were associated with natural features. In these cases, too, literature served to define, expand, and formalize.
According to the Akisuke-ke Utawase, a poetry contest held in 1134, a poet was criticized for having used the word cloud in association with Mt. Fuji; he should have used smoke. With certain utamakura, we can now detect only the literary origins. For example, Sode no Ura (Sleeve Bay), a place name encountered in various provinces, is associated with sadness, for sleeves traditionally hide or wipe tears in Japanese literature. Whatever the origins of various utamakura, literature bestowed on them the function of signifying particular moods, or indicating certain essences. Thus, Mt. Fuji was not Mt. Fuji without smoke; Yoshino became the epitome of spring and cherry blossoms, and the cherry blossoms of Yoshino, cherry blossoms par excellence; and the Shirakawa Barrier was the Priest Nōin and everything associated with his life and works.

Distinctive forms of literature and art developed from the utamakura tradition. Poems about the famous places were collected into meisho-waka, and in the meisho-utawase poetry contests the entries all incorporated the famous place names. The popularity of the utamakura inspired the painting of meisho-byōbu, folding screens illustrating scenes from those sites. The Nō, Jōruri (puppet), and Kabuki theaters make ample use of the utamakura, especially in their travel sections (michiyuki). For example, the Nō play Hagoromo is, on one level, about the genesis of the name of Miho no Matsubara (Shimizu City, Shizuoka Prefecture).

It should not surprise us that all this interest in particular places resulted in the compilation of some fifty dictionaries between the tenth and the seventeenth centuries. As extensive literary use increased the number of utamakura and amplified their associations, there naturally grew a desire to standardize and categorize them. The Nōin Utamakura, one of the earliest such works, was compiled by the Priest Nōin (998–?), and includes over 680 place names divided by province and listed under such headings as barriers, rivers, bridges, mountains, forests, waterfalls, fields, and villages. Nōin's book was followed by the Waka Hatsugaku Shō by Fujiwara Kiyosuke, compiled in 1166. It includes a chapter on utamakura in which the entries are divided into mountains, hills, plains, and fields – twenty-four divisions in all, each group subdivided by province. This work also lists 141 utamakura from the Man'yōshū, an abridgement of the 215 listed in the Ōgishō. The largest compilation of all is the Yakumo Mishō (between 1235 and 1242) by ex-Emperor Juntoku; 1365 place names are listed under fifteen headings similar to those given above. This work also lists each place's associations: e.g., the place name Ogurayama (Mt. Ogura, Kyōto Prefecture) should be used in poems on the moon, snow, or crimson maple leaves.

Also, some of the travel diary authors themselves were engaged in composing dictionaries or lists of utamakura. Ichijō Kanera, for instance, compiled such a list of place names, including the associations in his Renga Gappekishū. Sōgi followed Kanera in compiling a similar list (place name plus one example from a poem) in his Asaji and Sōchō in his Renga Sakuühō. Such examples point to the importance of knowing utamakura in the poetry of the middle ages.

The literary force acquired by utamakura over the years is illustrated by the following comment from Sōgi's Tsukushi Michi no Ki (1480). Sōgi observed at Utsurahama (Fukuoka Prefecture):

Here, too, the pine forest stretches out into the distance and seems not all inferior to that at Hakozaki; indeed, both are unsurpassed. Still, this is a place of no renown and I am therefore not much attracted to it.

This attitude was widely shared by medieval travel diarists.
Utamakura exercised such power that, by the Heian Period, poets no longer asked themselves whether the associations corresponded with reality. What mattered to them, as well as to most of their medieval successors, were the traditional qualities transmitted through classical poetry. In the Waka Hatsugaku Shō mentioned above, Fujiwara Kiyosuke wrote, “Plant flowers in fields where they do not bloom, color with maple leaves a mountain that knows no crimson – this is the way of poetry...” In the Heian Period in particular, it became customary to compose poems about the famous places without ever having visited them in person.

There is a peculiar blend of literalness and literariness in the history of Japanese attitudes toward utamakura. We must remember that coexisting with the indifference to the geographic reality of such places was a passionate interest in visiting them and composing poems at the sites hallowed by one’s literary ancestors’ activities. Perhaps such authentic poems enjoyed more prestige than those written at home. There is a story about a famous poem on the Shirakawa Barrier by Priest Nōin: Nōin claimed to have actually traveled there in order to compose the poem, but a story circulated that he had hid himself during the time required for the journey and sunbathed on his roof to make his story credible. Asukai Masaari in his Haru no Miyamaji (1280) gives us another example of a literary tradition put to literal use. He asks himself whether it is even possible to compose a poem at Yatsuhashi, associated with irises, in the absence of the flowers. He concludes that it is not and departs without leaving a poem.

Now let us turn our attention to the technical ways in which utamakura were used in poetry. Perhaps most frequently, utamakura place names appear as the kakekotoba (pivot word) or in association with the engo (association word). To illustrate the former, Mt. Kagamiyama (Mt. Mirror) (Shiga Prefecture) appears in almost all travel diaries describing travel along the Tōkaidō Road; it is an actual geographical name, but at the same time it is used to signify a mirror (kagami), especially one that reminds the traveler of the passage of time and his age. The place name Suzuka Pass or Mt. Suzuka (between Shiga and Mie Prefectures) often appears in association with the engo. This was a place that most travelers going between the capital (Kyōto) and Ise had to pass. The suzu in Suzuka means bell, and thus use of this name leads to the use of such verbs as naru (to ring) or furu (to shake).

Honkadori is a technique with broader implications. The poet-traveler, arriving at an utamakura place, often composed a poem borrowing a line or two from a classical poem composed at or about the same place. If he did not actually take several lines from the older poem, he alluded or responded to its contents. Examples of this practice in travel poetry can be found as early as the Man'yōshū. Volume 15 of the anthology includes 145 poems composed by an ambassadorial party on its way to and from China. On the way over, the party composed poems at Nojima-ga-saki, Fujie no Ura, and Ako no Ura, borrowing from poems written about the same places by an earlier Man’yō poet, the celebrated Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (7th century). This manner of composition became an important element of travel poetry in general and of travel diary poetry in particular. For example, when the Priest Saigyō (1118–1190) visited Zentsūji Temple (Kagawa Prefecture) on his journey to Shikoku in an effort to retrace the steps of the great Buddhist leader Kōbō Daishi (774-835), he composed the following verse:

Years hence,
Pray for my afterlife
O Pine Tree!
There is none
Who will remember me.
When Priest Dōhan, the author of the thirteenth century travel account *Nankai Rurō no Ki* visited this pine, by then called the Saigyō Pine, he wrote:

> Coming to the place
> Where he [Saigyō] made his vow
> To set forth to the West [the Pure Land],
> I, too, await my end
> In the wind blowing from the Pine Tree. 36

At Mt. Suzuka, Saigyō composed the following poem:

> Crossing over Mt. Suzuka
> I now renounce the world,
> Wondering
> What will become of me. 37

Some five hundred years later came Bashō's haiku at the same place:

> Rejecting the world of pleasure,
> I climb for the first time
> Suzuka Mountain. 38

The *Tōkan Kikō*, a diary of a journey along the Tōkaidō of 1242, illustrates the extremes to which the practice of borrowing and alluding could be carried. At Seto no Nagahashi, the author alludes to such poets as Mansei Shami (dates unknown, Nara Period 710–784); at Samegai, to Saigyō; at Mishima Shrine and Morokoshi-ga-hara, to Nōin; at Yatsumi, to Minamoto no Yoshitane (dates unknown, Heian Period) and Ariwara no Narihira (825–880); at Kikugawa, to Nakamikado Chūnagon Muneyuki (d. 1212); and at the Kiyomizu Barrier, to Kiyowara no Shōfuji (dates unknown, Heian Period). 19 The pattern is given a twist at the Fuwa Barrier, where the author mentions the famous poem by Fujiwara no Yoshitsune (1169–1206) but leaves without composing one of his own, saying he could not compose a superior one. 40

We have seen that *utamakura* played a wide-ranging role in travel diary literature: it served a relatively narrow, technical purpose, it shaped the itinerary (in some cases to the extent of furnishing the travel motive itself), and it directly contributed to the contents through the poetry it generated. Some diarists evinced considerable interest in the origins and associations of particular *utamakura* locales, and these in turn became subject matter for the diaries. The author of the *Tōkan Kikō*, for example, seems to have been particularly interested in remains and in places associated with historical and mythical persons and events. At Uchidenohama (Uchide Beach of Lake Biwa), he remembers the transfer of the capital to Ōtsu during the reign of Emperor Tenchi (662–710). At Atsuta (Nagoya), he recounts the legends dealing with the founding of the nation, the stories of mythical figures such as Yamato Takeru no Mikoto and Susanoo no Mikoto. At the tomb of Kajiwara he recounts that:

> The well-known Kajiwara was famous for his accomplishments in military tactics and proud of the favors bestowed upon him by the first and second shoguns. There was nobody who could excel him. Now, I do not know why, but the hatred of his fellow-warriors deepened and since they had decided that he must be killed he thought to live on even for a small while. He fled in a hurry toward the capital. At Kikugawa in Suruga he was killed, I heard, and it made me feel sad to realize that this is the place where it happened. 42

His visit to the tomb of Kajiwara reminds the author of Saigyō who had visited Mt. Shiramine (Kagawa Prefecture), the place of exile of ex-Emperor Sutoku (d. 1164).

Etymological interest in the *utamakura* leads to the recounting of legends in numerous travel diaries. The *Michiyukiburi* (1371) most consistently expresses such interest. At the Akutagawa River in Tsu Province (now Takatsuki City, Osaka Prefecture), the author, Imagawa Ryōshun, explains the origins of the name Mt. Muko:
As I proceeded along the river, a mysterious mountain shrouded in trees loomed near. I asked a man at a nearby shrine gate about it, and he said that a long time ago, Empress Jingō, returning from her campaign against the three countries of Korea, buried her armor and helmet in the mountain. Thus the mountain is called Muko [Armor Storehouse].

This time, once more, without disturbing the seas, send me ahead, oh mountain wind.

At Kujirashima (Kujira Island) (near Innoshima, Hiroshima Prefecture), Ryōshun recounts:

In the sea there lay side by side two small islands densely covered with trees. They were called Whale Islands. A fisherman told us that each year, in the last month, a large number of whales came to visit the islands and left in the first month of the following year. This, he said, was in accordance with a pledge given by the local deity.

A similar fascination with place name legends is shown in the Rokuon'in Dono Itsukushima Mōde Ki (1389):

At this place called Ushimado, an untamed cow once tried to turn over the boat of Princess Okinagatarashi when she was about to set sail. The deity of Sumiyoshi threw over the cow, which drowned. The cow became an island which was thenceforth called Ushimado. One writes Ushimarobu but pronounces it Ushimado according to what I heard.

In some cases, the etymological interest expresses itself in an almost religious pursuit of determining the correct reading of a given place name. The following is an example from the Sayo no Nakayama (Mt. Sayo no Naka, Shizuoka Prefecture) entry in the Miyako no Tsuto (1350–1352):

This is the place where the famous Saigyō wrote:

Would I have thought
That life permits
A second crossing
Of the pass
At Sayo no Nakayama?

I felt that it was a fitting poem indeed and alluded to it in my own verse. Yet, there are divergent opinions as to whether the place should be read Saya no Nakayama or Sayo no Nakayama. It is said that when Middle Councillor Moronaka came to Suruga Province as governor, the local people told him that the place was called Sayo no Nakayama, and that was why the Heian poets read it that way; it appears in this form in the imperial anthologies. Minamoto no Yorimasa of the Third Rank read Nagayama [instead of Nakayama]. Now I put the question to an old man who happened to be there. He replied without hesitation: Saya no Nakayama.

Sōkyū concludes his inquiry with a poem of his own:

When I ask
The name of this place,
An echo replies,
Saya no Nakayama.

At Asaka no Numa in Michinoku Province (now Kōriyama City, Fukushima Prefecture), Sōkyu becomes interested in verifying the place's association with irises. Recalling the poems of Sanekata (d. 998) and Fujiwara no Takayoshi (dates unknown, Heian Period) composed during an iris root context (neawase) in 1093, he continues his investigation:

I passed Asaka no Numa [Asaka Pond] in Michinoku Province. I had heard that when Middle Captain Sanekata came to this province he had not found any irises and ordered that water-oat be used instead of iris in accordance with the tradition that watergrass was associated with this province. Yet, at the neawase held at the Ikuhōmon-in Palace in the seventh year of Kanji (1093), Fujiwara no Takayoshi composed this poem:
Iris
Why have you grown
Such long roots
In Asaka [Shallow Perfume] Pond
To tire our arms?

This leads one to believe in the existence of irises in this province. For many years I doubted it. This time, I asked someone about it, and he said, "Indeed there are irises in this province but when the Middle Captain [Sanekata] came to this province, he ordered the local people to decorate their eaves with water-oat, saying that the eaves of rural houses should not be decorated just like those in the capital. Hence, our custom of displaying water-oat." This explained it well."

The blend of the literal and literary can be found in the diarists' treatment of place names with Buddhist meanings. Sometimes the literal interpretation is combined with a literary technique: in the Kaikoku Zakki (1486–1487), Dōkō Jugō, in a poem composed at a place called Hotokenohara (Buddha's Field) (Tsurugi, Ishikawa Prefecture), uses the line "Pushing my way through the Field of Buddha" in a kakekotoba association with "Understanding the Way of Buddha." In more extended cases the literal meaning becomes a part of the author's experience. Jōdo (Paradise) near Ichiburi (Niigata Prefecture) is a place name appearing in the Zenkōji Kikō (1465):

On and on, my path took me along the shores of Echigo Province; after barely surviving the cliffs of the San'in Road, I finally arrived at a place called Jōdo. This is a place where a single invocation of Amida's name or a single moment of faith can bring the Four Kinds of Buddha's Body even to a worldly person. It seemed indeed to be the entrance to paradise."

Natural features are invested with divine qualities, much as they were early in the history of many utamakura names when Shintō deities were associated with plants, waterfalls, mountains, etc. At Mt. Togakushi (Nagano Prefecture), the author of the Zenkōji Kikō refers to the mountain and its trees and shrubs as Buddhas and bodhisattvas and to the beauty of the place as an indication of the manifestation of Kannon, the Bodhisattva of Mercy. A pine growing on a rock is described as having divine power."

The utamakura had wide-ranging appeal and usefulness for Japanese poets and travel diarists. Place names have always had an inherent fascination for the Japanese. Multi-dimensional, the utamakura touched upon ancient history and myth, religion, classical poetry and poets, art and semantics – no wonder they interested poets for so many centuries. From the point of view of literary history, we might emphasize the evolution in which all the various ingredients which went into the making of utamakura became the vehicle of communion with essences, that phenomenon supremely demonstrated by such travel diarists as Saigyō and Bashō.

Notes to Chapter III

1 See the recently published monograph by Okumura Tsuneya, Utamakura, Heibon Sensho, vol. 52 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1977).
2 The Yakumo Mishō includes a list of famous places which were taboo in poetry (habakaru beki meisho). In Nihon Kagaku Taikei, compiled by Sasaki Nobutsuna, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobö, 1956), pp. 38–40.
3 Okumura, op. cit., p. 11.
4 Illustrated by such Man'yōshū poems as Nos. 115, 427, 3240, 131 [turns of road]; 3240, 3237, 4008 [mountain passes]; 3128 [rivers]; 3613 [islands]; 138 [forests]; 1020–1021 [coastlines]; See under numbers in Kokka Taikan, vol. 1, compiled by Matsushita Daisaburō (Tōkyō: Chūbunkan Shoten, 1942) pp. 697–815.
In Bashō’s prose works (haibun), there are seventeen references to the Shinhō Shō, Gempei Seisui Ki, and the Nō play Kasashima, etc. Michinoku: ancient name of province comprising the entire north-east of Honshū, the main island of Japan. Kasashima: Natori-gun, Miyagi Prefecture. The deity is enshrined in the Dōsō Jinja (Dōsō Shrine).

Sōkyū (in his Miyako no Tsujo), Saigyō, and Bashō are three travel diarists who remembered the story in their works.

In the Japanese anthologies of poetry, the Bukkyō Sōsho, Kudari Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho, and the Nō play Kasashima refer to the embodiment by the emperor of the spirit of the nation by means of poetry. The poems also presented an act of submission to the central, imperial power of local deities by revealing probably the taboo names of such deities.

In the Middle Ages, the spirit of the nation represented by poetry was a bodhisattva which appeared to Kōbō Daishi at Kōkiji Temple, Shiragi, Minamiōsaka Prefecture. This story also appears in a number of other works such as the Shinhō Shō, Gempei Seisui Ki, and the Nō play Kasashima, etc. Michinoku: ancient name of province comprising the entire north-east of Honshū, the main island of Japan. Kasashima: Natori-gun, Miyagi Prefecture. The deity is enshrined in the Dōsō Jinja (Dōsō Shrine).

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The great number of utamakura names comes from the Man’yōshū; the other sources are such works as the imperial anthologies of poetry, the Ie Monogatari, the Genji Monogatari, and the poetry of Saigyō. The repertory became fixed in the Muromachi Period.
This indifference to physical reality is epitomized in the following passage from the Dempon Sōhō-kō, "Renga Yosoishū to Kenkyū", vol. 1 (Mikan Kokubun Shiryō Daiyōkai, 1978) annot. by Kidō Saizō and Shigematsu Hiromi (Toyohashi: Mikan Kokubun Shiryō Kankō-ka, 1976). The utamakura list can be found in pp. 306-16.


In this passage, Sōgi has in fact mentioned a non-utamakura place with the justification of pointing out that because it was a non-utamakura place, it had no value. Was he in fact trying to introduce a new place name in the established repertoire rather than simply reaffirm the tradition? It is possible that he was trying to do both, and that they are not mutually exclusive. Bashō did the same; see p. 87.


This indifference to physical reality is epitomized in the following passage from the Shōtetsu Monogatari:

When someone asks you where Yoshino is, you should reply that Yoshino means cherry blossoms and that Tatsuta means crimson maple leaves and that you do not know whether it is located in Ise or in Hyūga Province.


For instance, poem no. 1086 of the Kokinshū:

In Ōmi
The gods have built
The Mirror Mountain
To show that the Emperor
Will rule forever.

Other examples are the Kokinshū, poem no. 899 by Ōtomo no Kuronushi and poems in travel diaries such as the Kaidō Ki, Tōkan Kikō, Shinshō Hōshi Nikkī, Miyako no Tsuto, etc.

As in poems by Saigyō, (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 796, p. 414.

Poem nos. 3606-3610 mentioning places along the Inland Sea. It is noteworthy that the party composed no poems in places outside Japan. This in my belief indicates the necessity to compose poems at utamakura places. Outside Japan there were no utamakura places or local deities whose protection had to be called for in the form of Japanese poems.

Poem no. 1449 (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, compiled by Watanabe Tamotsu (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobo, 1971), p. 744.

Nankai Rurō no Ki in (Kokubun-)Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho, vol. 7, Kikō-bu, pp. 34-35.

Shinkokinshū, poem no. 1611, in Kokka Taikan, vol. 1, p. 203.


All Heian Period poets, with the exception of Nakamikado Muneuki, a poet of the early Kamakura Period. The place names mentioned here are all famous places along the Tōkaidō Road.

Tōkan Kikō Shinshaku, p. 34. Susano no Mikoto is the storm god whose sword (one of the imperial regalia) is enshrined at Atsuta Shrine. It was brought here by Yamato Takeru no Mikoto on his way to subdue the eastern tribes during the reign of Emperor Keiko.

The author of the Tōkan Kikō also recounts the legends of Ōe no Masahiro and Ōe no Sadamoto. Between Honno and Toyokawa, he expresses gratitude to Hōjō Yasutoki, who had ordered the planting of willows along the highway. At Kiyomizu Barrier, the author relates the campaign against Taira no Masakado; at Ukishimagahara, the legendary origin of the place name; at Sawanohara, the story of the man from Tsukushi who turned to the gods for help; at Saga-nishiki, the story of the men from Saga who promised to build a temple for a wooden Kannon statue which had no proper shelter, if he could accomplish his mission to Kamakura successfully; at Tagonoura, the legend of Mt. Fuji; and at Kamakura, the history of its founding by Minamoto no Yoritomo. He also takes up a number of holy places.

Ishiyama Temple, Musadera Temple, Atsuta Shrine, the tomb of Kajiwara, Mishima Shrine, the Hakone Gongen, and the temples and the giant Buddha of Kamakura.


Gunsho Ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 556. The "three countries of Korea" refers to Silla (Shiragi), Paekchē (Kudara) and Koguryō (Kökuli). Conquered in the 4th century by Empress Jingō (dates unknown).
Chapter IV The Travel Diarists

In discussing the authors of travel diaries as well as their travel and writing motivations, it is convenient to establish two categories, official (and quasi-official) and hermit diarists. The official writers were generally members and teachers of the established families or schools of poetry who, because of the nature of the Japanese court, were frequently important bureaucrats and political figures as well. When they wrote their travel diaries, they tended to be conscious of their positions as the representatives of a particular school of poetry and wrote so as to uphold and illustrate their traditions. Their travel diaries were often official in another sense as well, being commissioned accounts of journeys undertaken on order. Their works account for about half the medieval travel diaries; the other half were written by authors who can be identified as yosute-bito, "those who have forsaken the world." Their lives combined travel (often pilgrimages) with temporary dwelling in simple, often frail shelters. Although most had had identifiable religious ties in the past, they should be distinguished from monastic priests.

The categories of official and hermit necessarily fail us in certain ways. There are a number of travel diaries whose authors were not hermits at the time they were written but whose contents place them with the hermit works. There were also hermits who wrote official or quasi-official travel diaries. Also, we should not forget that beyond all their differences, the travel diarists shared a consummate interest in poetry and in the utamakura places.

Even a brief survey of travel diary writers makes us aware of the social and historical forces that affected their lives and consequently their writings. The majority of extant travel diaries date from periods of great upheaval. This is directly evident in the hermit diaries, for many of their authors were displaced from their conventional lives by political and military disruptions. The official writers, too, because they tended to be intimately linked to the court, were not immune to the vicissitudes of political intrigue.
Perhaps most important of all was the emergence in the thirteenth century of a separate culture in Kamakura, the seat of the military government of the Minamoto clan. The spirit of Kamakura warriors and monks became increasingly prominent on the cultural scene; the literature of the courtiers in Kyoto did not disappear but rather was stimulated and nourished by this spirit. Some of the established courtier-poets became links between the two groups. Thus, the warrior literature was in turn nurtured and refined by that of the court.

a) Official and quasi-official poets

The story of the official poet travel-diarists is dominated by rival families and traditions and personal, political, and literary intrigue. For all the challenges which traditional poetic norms received from the more innovative schools and the influences from the east (i.e., Kamakura), they remained dominant, both in the poetry and the travel diaries of official poets. More often than not, official diarists wrote in a rhetoric sanctioned by the past, used stereotyped imagery, and mentioned only utamakura places. They wrote more zuikō (accompaniment) accounts than any other type of travel diaries.

One of the earliest of the official poet-travel diarists was Koga (Tsuchimikado) Michichika (1149–1202), the author of the Takakura-inItsukushima Gokō Ki. Michichika participated in ex-Emperor Takakura’s pilgrimage to the Itsukushima Shrine in 1180 as an official. His career typifies that of the leading established poets of the time. He often participated in official poetry meetings and contests, and his poems were included in imperial anthologies of poetry beginning with the Senzaishū of 1187. He was thirty-three at the time of the journey and held the position of saishō chūjō (councillor and middle captain of the imperial guard). He later became Minister of the Interior an a close associate of Emperor Takakura’s son, who was to become Emperor Gotoba (1180–1239), and a well-known poet himself. Michichika exerted a powerful influence on Gotoba. Opposed to the Kamakura military government, Michichika tried to convince him to wage open war. He was instrumental in the removal from power of those thought to be sympathetic to Kamakura.

Michichika’s son continued the poetic tradition of his family and became one of the compilers of the Shinkokinshū of 1205, one of the greatest of the imperial anthologies. Another Koga, Masatada (1223–1272), had his poems included in imperial anthologies. Masatada’s daughter, Lady Nijō (b. 1258), was a hermit-nun at the time she wrote her diary, the Towazugatari, of which the fourth and fifth chapters are a travel account (1289–1306); yet the work also reflects a concern with maintaining the family poetic traditions.

With Fujiwara no Teika (also Sadaie – 1162–1241), we come to the principal progenitor of poetic traditions and factions. Together with his father Shunzei (also Toshinari – 1114–1204), he built a reputation as one of the great medieval poets which has survived to this day. His star rose under ex-Emperor Gotoba, particularly after the death of his rival, Koga Michichika. For the favors bestowed on him, Teika had to accompany Gotoba on his many outings and participate in his activities. During Gotoba’s pilgrimage to Kumano (which Teika described in his Gotoba-in Kumano Gokō Ki of 1201), Teika was summoned to poetry meetings despite his illness. At that time, Teika was thirty-seven, which, taken with Michichika’s age when he wrote his zuikō, indicates the comparative youth of official poets when they wrote their travel accounts. Shortly after Gotoba’s return to the capital, Teika, among others, received
the order to compile the *Shinkokinshū*, an imperial anthology completed in 1205. Relations with Gotoba became strained when Teika agreed to become a poetry teacher to Minamoto no Sanetomo (Teika included 25 poems by Sanetomo in his *Shinchokusenshū*, an imperial anthology ordered in 1232).

Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192–1219), the third Kamakura shōrun, encouraged the pursuit of poetry among both the samurai and priests of the eastern provinces. The rivalry between the imperial court and the Kamakura shogunate which resulted in the abortive Jōkyū war of 1221 was also a poetic rivalry between Gotoba and Sanetomo. Gotoba questioned Sanetomo's loyalty to the imperial family because of the latter's unconventionality in poetic matters: Sanetomo's early poems were individualistic and realistic to a strong degree. Respect for imperial poetry and its traditions was equal to an oath of loyalty. Gotoba's reestablishment in 1201 of the official Bureau of Poetry (wakadokoro) reflected his concern, if not outright passion, for the rightful pursuit of poetry. Whatever his convictions, however, because of the distance between the capital and Kamakura and the attendant historical and cultural differences, it was natural and inevitable that eastern poetry should differ from the poetry of the capital.

Sanetomo's efforts helped to create an eastern school of poetry. The poetry of the Priest Shinshō (d. 1248), who entered the priesthood immediately upon the assassination of Sanetomo in 1219 (and wrote a poetic travel diary in his memory), is evidence of the flowering of poetry among the warrior families of the east. Shinshō, who has left us a collection of poems, the *Shinshō Hōshi Shū*, was only one member of a larger Utsunomiya school of poetry which flourished in the East. Later the eastern school of poetry was strengthened by the presence of Fujiwara no Teika's descendants such as Tameuji (1222–1286), whose mother was the daughter of Priest Renshō, Shinshō's brother, and Tamesukeye (1263–1328).

Asukai Masaari, the grandson of Asukai Masatsune, was an important link between the poetry of the capital and that of the East. Masatsune (1170–1221), a compiler of the *Shinkokinshū*, had studied under Fujiwara no Shunzei. Masaari (1241–1301), a Hōjō on his mother's side, had close ties with the Kamakura government which was dominated by the Hōjō family after Sanetomo's assassination. Masaari was also close to the Crown Prince (the future Emperor Fusō, r. 1287–1298), to whom he taught poetry, the classics, and court football (*kemari*). Masaari also traveled for the Crown Prince and recounted the journey in the travelogue *Haru no Miyamaji* (1280). As an intermediary between the Kyōto court and Kamakura, Masaari was no doubt politically active as well. It has been suggested that Masaari contributed to the institution of the alternate ten-year-rule by the junior (Daikakuji) and senior (Jimyōin) lines of the imperial family.

Masaari's literary career was closely associated with that of Fujiwara no Tameie (1198–1275), Teika's son, and the latter's second wife, the Nun Abutsu (1222–1283). He frequently visited them in the mountain villa in Saga in the western hills outside Kyōto which had once belonged to Shinshō's elder brother Yoritsuna. The results of these visits was the *Saga no Kayoiji* (1269), a diary which covers a period of approximately three months. In this diary, Masaari deals primarily with the education he received from Tameie and Abutsu in the classics such as the *Ise Monogatari*, the *Kokinshū* and the *Genji Monogatari*. In the *Saga no Kayoiji*, Masaari records a lecture by the Nun Abutsu on the *Genji Monogatari* which lasted over three months:
The 17th of the 9th month. I went to Saga about noon. The host called the mistress in order to begin the Genji. She read behind the bamboo-curtains. Truly interesting. It was unlike others' way of reading. Maybe she does it according to a tradition.

Masaari also borrowed such diaries from Tameie's library as the Tosa Nikki, the Sarashina Nikki, and the Kagerō Nikki. In addition to this diary account of his literary education, Masaari wrote between 1265 and 1280 four travel diaries: Mumyō no Ki, Mogami no Kawaji, Miyakoji no Wakare, and Haru no Miyamaji, and made a major contribution to the literature of the Tōkaidō Highway that links the capital Kyōto with Kamakura.

Masaari, together with other leading poets of his time, was ordered in 1293 by the Emperor Fushimi to compile an imperial anthology of poetry. The project was never completed because of the rivalry of the Nijō and Kyōgoku schools of poetry. Sixty-eight of his poems were included in imperial anthologies. There is also his personal collection, the Rinnō Shū. He wrote a number of commentaries on the classics, especially the Genji Monogatari and was a friend of Minamoto no Chikayuki, the disputed author of the Tōkan Kikō.

The Asukai family, which upheld the Nijō tradition of poetry even after the main branch of that family died out, continued as a prominent family of poets in the middle ages. Noteworthy Asukai travel diarists include Masayori (1358–1428), the author of the Echizen Gekō Ki (1427) and possibly of the zuikō account entitled Muromachi Dono Ise Sangū Ki (1414), and his son Masayo (1390–1452), the compiler of the Shinshoku Kokinshū, the last imperial anthology of poetry, ordered in 1433. Masayo was close to the Emperor Gojō Hanzōno (r. 1429–1465) from whom the edict for the compilation came. He was also associated with the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1393–1441), whom he accompanied on a visit to Mt. Fuji. Masayo wrote the zuikō account Fuji Kikō (1432), following that journey.

The son of Masayo, Asukai Masayasu (1436–1509), wrote the Fuji Rekiran Ki (1499). He taught poetry and court football to Emperor Gokashiwabara (r. 1501–1527) and, like his father, accompanied Ashikaga no Yoshinori on his excursion to see Mt. Fuji (1499). Masayasu was Middle Councillor before he entered the priesthood in 1482. Masayasu wrote many treatises on football. Although the Asukai took over the Nijō school of poetry in the Muromachi Period, their poetry is less conventional than the orthodox Nijō poetry of the Kamakura Period.

Before discussing the Nijō, Kyōgoku, and Reizei schools of poetry and the travel diarists they produced, it is necessary to return almost to the time of Fujiwara no Teika for a moment. Teika had a son, Tameie (1198–1275). This Tameie originally appointed his eldest son Tameuji (1222–1286) head of the Nijō branch of the family and heir to its poetic traditions as well as of its property. However, Tameie subsequently had two sons by a younger wife, best known as the Nun Abutsu (1222–1283), the name she adopted when she took vows upon Tameie's death. Before this happened, Abutsu had succeeded in persuading Tameie to will the Hosokawa Manor in Ono (now Hikone City, Shiga Prefecture) to her oldest son Tamesuke. Tameuji fought this change, forcing Abutsu to go to Kamakura to plead her case before the shogunate. This journey and sojourn constituted the occasion of her writing the Izayoi Nikki (1279–1280), a travel diary intended to teach her children the art of poetry. Tamesuke's rights to the Manor were eventually recognized, and he became the founder of the Reizei line. The Kyōgoku line was founded by yet another son of Tameie, Tamenori (1227–1279). The
Reizei and Kyōgoku lines allied themselves against the Nijō branch, and the line was drawn between two opposing philosophies of poetry.

The Nijō school was the most powerful medieval school of poetry. Nijō school poets usually entertained good relations with the imperial family, in particular the senior Daikakuji line. Naturally, all compilations of imperial anthologies of poetry, with the exception of the Gyokuyōshū (1313) and the Fūgashū (1349), were entrusted to Nijō poets. According to the Kaen Rensi Ko'gakü, a critical work on poetry and the general characteristics of Nijō poems, the Nijō school distinguished itself from other schools by its emphasis on tradition, especially the tradition established by the illustrious forbears, Fujiwara no Shunzei and Teika. The Nijō school opposed all innovation and particularly frowned upon the unconventional poetry of the Kyōgoku/Reizei alliance.7

In the Kamakura Period, essential Nijō teachings were transmitted only among blood relatives. After a period of decline, the Nijō school was revitalized by poets from outside the direct line, thanks to the patronage of the Ashikaga shōguns. Whereas membership had formerly been restricted to the direct descendants of Shunzei, Teika, and Tameie, the school began to accept outside members in the Muromachi Period when more emphasis was placed on a master-disciple relationship than on blood ties. Accordingly, the esoteric transmission of essential secrets, called the kokin denju, came to take place in a much large teacher-student context. The kokin denju, as it was begun by Fujiwara no Shunzei and continued by the Nijō line, was originally restricted to the interpretation of certain words and phrases of the Kokinshū (an imperial anthology of poetry compiled in 905). In the Muromachi Period, the term came to be used for the transmission of entire theories of poetry. Handed down by individual poets, the transmission was accompanied by an elaborate religious ritual.8 Revitalization had consequences directly pertinent to the subject of travel diaries. Formerly, Nijō poets had stayed in the capital and refused to engage in an activity as unorthodox as travel. Thus, it was only from the Muromachi Period on that Nijō travel diaries were written. Also, the distinctions among the three schools were clearer and more jealously maintained before rather than during the Muromachi Period, when they became less strict. However, these schools of poetry continued throughout the middle ages to play an important role in poetic matters.

The first prominent Nijō travel diarist was Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388), the author of a semi-official travel diary called Ojima no Kuchizusami (1353). He was both a poet and a statesman serving the emperors of the Northern Court and the Ashikaga shōguns. He served once as Prime Minister and twice as Regent. He studied poetry under the Priest Ton'ā (1289–1372), the author of the Köya Nikki. Like his teacher, Yoshimoto was instrumental in reviving the moribund Nijō school.

As a waka-poet Yoshimoto was conservative, but he was an enthusiastic practitioner of two other less orthodox verse forms, the renga (linked-verse) and the humorous, unorthodox kyōka. Perhaps this was possible because he was not a blood member of the Nijō family. Yoshimoto wrote as follows of the interest in linked-verse in the provinces: “People in the country like what is called renga, and quite a few groups asked me to evaluate their compositions but I returned all of them [untouched], the task being too difficult for me.”9 Fifty-eight of Yoshimoto’s poems were included in imperial anthologies of poetry. Like most leading poets of that time, Yoshimoto wrote critical works on poetry: the Gomon Kenshū and Kinrai Fūtai Shō, etc. on waka-poetry, the
Tsukuba Mondō, the Waren Shō and several others on linked-verse, and the Mochizake Umaawase on humorous (kyōka) poetry. There are also works about court ceremonies and possibly a history (Masukagami) attributed to Yoshimoto.

Yoshimoto's grandson, Ichijō Kanera (also Kaneyoshi) (1402–1481), became Minister of the Interior at the age of 19, Minister of the Right at 22, Regent and Prime Minister at 30. Like his grandfather, he was a leading poet—he wrote the preface to the Shinshoku Kokinshū—and particularly a scholar of the classics. When he died, it was said that Japan lost a scholar who would be unsurpassed in the next five hundred years. His works include three studies of the Genji Monogatari, and each one of the Ise Monogatari and the Kokinshū. Kanera continued his grandfather's support of linked-verse. Although he was clearly an established poet, his travel diary, the Fujikawa no Ki (1473), with its haikai poetry, is in many respects a personal account resembling those written by hermits. However, it does reflect the strong influence of the Genji Monogatari.

Gyokō (1391–1455) was also trained in Nijō school poetry by Ton'ā. Like his teacher, Gyokō illustrates the incursion of members of the priesthood into the Nijō school in the Muromachi Period. Ton'ā before him was an adherent of the Jishū Sect of Buddhism, which included a number of poets and artists. Gyokō was an Acting High Priest (Ninnaji, Jōkō-in) and this may account in part for the official rather than private hermit-like character of his work. During the compilation of the Shinshoku Kokinshū, Gyokō served as an official in the Bureau of Poetry (wakadokoro). Gyokō was close to Ichijō Kanera and the Ashikaga shōguns, one of whom he accompanied to Mt. Fuji and another to the Ise Shrines; these journeys resulted in two travel accounts, the Ran Fuji Ki (1432) and the Ise Kikō (1433). Gyokō also left two personal collections of poetry (Gyokō Hōin Jiutaawase, Gyokō Hōin Shū) and a poetic diary (Gyokō Hōin Nikki).

Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), a member of a famous family of officials and poets adhering to the Nijō school, became the leading poet of the generation after Ichijō Kanera's and received thekokinenju teachings from the poet Sōgi in 1487. Like so many of his predecessors, Sanetaka was a prominent official (Minister of the Interior) as well as a scholar and a poet; his multiple activities supported and nurtured each other. He composed approximately ten thousand poems, which can be found in such collections as the Setsugyoku Shū, or the Saishōsō. He kept a poem diary called the Chōsetsu Shū for over thirty years. He planned to compile an imperial anthology of poetry in 1478 but abandoned the project. His scholarly works include studies of the Genji Monogatari (Genji Monogatari Saiyū Shō) and the Ise Monogatari (Ise Monogatari Chokkai). His voluminous kambun diary, the Sanetaka Kōki, which covers sixty-three years of his life, is one of the most valuable historical documents of the Muromachi Period. After retiring from active court service in 1516, he entered the priesthood, and, under the name Gyokū, wrote the travel diary Kōya Sankei Nikki at the age of seventy.

Sanetaka's son, Sanjōnishi Kineda (1487–1563), also served in high offices. In 1542 he was appointed Minister of the Right but in 1544 entered the priesthood as a result of his daughter's death. In 1553, at the age of 67, he went on a pilgrimage to Mt. Kōya, following in the footsteps of his father. The journey is recounted in his Yoshino Mōde no Ki. The following year, Kineda climbed Mt. Hiei on a pilgrimage described in his travelogue entitled Santo Junrei Ki. Like his father's Kōya Sankei Nikki, the travel accounts by Kineda belong more with hermit literature than with official diaries.
Now that we have traced the more important Nijō poets who left travel diaries, it is time to survey the Kyōgoku-Reizei writers. The Kyōgoku school, it will be remembered, was founded by Tamenori, a son of Fujiwara no Tameie; the school's most successful exponent, however, was Tamenori's son Tamekane (1254–1332). Tamekane's treatise, the Tamekane-kyō Wakashō, set forth the principles of the Kyōgoku school, which, by contrast to the Nijō school, favored originality and experimentation with form and content, with special emphasis on the latter. Because it was allied to the junior Jinya-in branch of the imperial family, the Kyōgoku school received only two mandates to compile imperial anthologies. One of them, the Gyokuyōshū of 1313, was entrusted to Tamekane. The other, the Fūgashū, which appeared in 1349, after Tamekane's death, was compiled in accordance with his principles.

The Reizei school was begun by the Nun Abutsu's younger son, Reizei Tamesuke (1263–1328). At the time that he was finally granted the stewardship rights for which his mother had fought so hard, his branch was ordered to surrender all of Teika's manuscripts to the Nijō line. The rumour that the Reizei had handed over forged documents aggravated the rivalry with the Nijō school but it helped keep the Reizei school alive for generations to come.

As mentioned previously, the Kyōgoku and Reizei schools joined forces to counter the powerful Nijō family more effectively. Given their more innovative spirit, it is not surprising that the Kyōgoku-Reizei schools had a greater impact upon the samurai and priestly poets and later upon linked-verse poets. The contrast between the two groups' religious affiliations is also understandable: the Nijō school tended to rely upon esoteric Buddhism as evidenced in the Nomori no Kagami—a critical work of poetry of ca. 1295, in which the Kyōgoku school is criticized in the context of esoteric Buddhism. The Kyōgoku and Reizei poets were associated with Zen Buddhism, popular among the warriors. The Reizei school was particularly influential in Kamakura because Tamesuke made it his base.

One of the most noteworthy Reizei poets was Imagawa Ryōshun (also Sadayo; 1326–1414?). Ryōshun was a representative figure of his age, combining the careers of warrior, administrator, waka and renga (linked-verse) poet, and critic. Being related to the Ashikaga shōguns, he had a brilliant military career, often fighting against the armies of the Southern Court. Like many military leaders of the Muromachi Period, he remained an active warrior despite the fact that he had taken vows in 1367 upon the death of Ashikaga Yoshiakira, (the reputed author of the travel account Sumiyoshi Mode). In 1371, he was appointed military governor of Kyūshū and served over twenty years in that capacity.

This appointment played an important part in his literary life. First, it led to the writing of the Michiyukiburi, a travel diary of his journey to assume office. He also wrote a zuikō, the Rokuen'in Dono Itsukushima Mode no Ki, on the occasion of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's journey to Kyūshū. During his tenure in office, Ryōshun attempted to build a Kyūshū school of poetry. He himself had studied waka under Reizei Tamehide (d. 1372) and linked-verse under Nijō Yoshimoto (Ryōshun’s association with him did not signify submission to the conservatism of the Nijō school). Sōkyū, the hermit-author of the travel diary Miyako no Tsuto (1350–1352), was one of Ryōshun’s Kyūshū protégés.
For all Ryoshun’s passion for poetry, it is undeniable that warriors like him often used poetry for political ends. For instance, the exchange of poems among warriors could effect political alliances; participation in poetry meetings could be considered a symbolic oath of allegiance. As military governor, Ryoshun sent Sokyu to the capital to bring back a series of poems composed by famous aristocrats and priests. He intended to use these poems to bring the feudal lord of Tsushima Island under Ashikaga control. Ryoshun once described the relationship of poetry and military pursuits thus: “He who ignores the way of poetry cannot be successful in the way of warfare.”

In 1395, Ryoshun lost his office and retired to a domain in Toto Province (Shizuoka Prefecture). There, he devoted himself almost exclusively to poetic matters. He wrote a number of critical studies – Ben’yo Shō, Rakkusho Roken, Shitakusa, Kaishi Shiki, etc. He promoted younger poets such as Shōtetsu and Shinkei. He is also remembered for his Nan Taihei Ki, a family history, and for his alleged discovery of the Tsurezuregusa (The Essays in Idleness by Yoshida Kenkō), a classic of Muromachi literature.

The Priest Shōtetsu (1381–1459) was another important Reizei school poet. He studied poetry under Reizei Tamemasa (1361–1417). He is remembered for his efforts to revitalize poetry and to preserve the official Bureau of Poetry, the wakadokoro. At the age of twenty-six, Shōtetsu was exiled as a result of having composed a poem critical of the Ashikaga shogunate. After his pardon, he became a priest of Tofukuji Temple (Kyoto) but later left this association to enjoy the freedom of the hermit poet’s life. It was in this identity that he wrote the travel diary Nagusamegusa in 1418. The essay on the Genji Monogatari and the critical remarks on poetry attached to this travel diary reveal his learnedness. He left more than twenty thousand poems, mostly in his voluminous private collection, the Sōkonshū. For having opposed Asukai Masayo’s selection as compiler of the Shinshoku Kokinshū, not a single poem of his was included in the imperial anthology. In his Shōtetsu Monogatari, Shōtetsu expanded his views on poetry, combining poetry with Buddhist practice.

Shōtetsu’s disciple Shinkei (1406–1475), also a Reizei school poet, was more a practitioner of linked-verse poetry than waka. Beginning as a priest of Miidera Temple (Ötsu, Shiga Prefecture), he moved first to Mt. Hiei and then to Jūshinrin Temple in Kyōto where he became Acting High Priest. He wrote his famous work on linked-verse poetry, the Sasamegoto, during a pilgrimage to the Hachijōji Shrine in Kii (Wakayama Prefecture). To avoid the Ōnin War (1467–1477) which ravaged the capital, Shinkei moved to the East where he wrote other critical works on linked-verse poetry, the Ō no Kurigoto and the Hitorigoto, a combination of personal reminiscences and critical remarks on waka and linked-verse poetry. He tried to combine the Buddhist notion of ‘mu’ (nothingness) with the notion of ‘u’ (the opposite of non-existence) in poetry, thereby contributing to a harmony between the ‘mushin’ (no-heart) and ‘ushin’ (having a heart) controversy in the history of medieval Japanese poetry. On the thirteenth anniversary of the death of Shōtetsu, Shinkei composed a series of one hundred poems, the Shinkei Sōzu Hyakushū.

Given the substantial numbers of warrior poets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is worthwhile to note some of the differences between warrior and court poetry. Because they were less socially bound to orthodox poetry, the warriors tended to prefer the freer forms of the humorous kyōka and the linked-verse, which afforded them greater leeway in diction and content. Although the warrior poets did not invent
new occasions or purposes of composition, their mode of life naturally emphasized different elements from that of the court poets. For instance, many poems were composed by dying warriors as an act of farewell to the world. Poems were frequently composed prior to battles. Hōnō (or hōraku) poems were dedicated to sacred places, often with prayers for military success. Poetry was used for divination and for the purpose of teaching followers the virtues of Confucianism or the Buddhist law of impermanence. The use of poetry for political purposes was not new to the Muromachi Period or to the warrior class, but the warriors adapted the political aspects of poetry to their own needs. Only Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate which endured for nearly three hundred years, was said never to have composed poetry for political purposes.

Poetry was particularly important to the warriors as a tool of diplomacy. It was a means of communication among both the leading warrior families and between the warriors and the court. Ōta Dōkan (1432–1486), a powerful military figure who built the Chiyoda Castle (now the Imperial Palace of Tōkyō) in 1457, and the author of the Heian Kikō (1480), sent a waka to Emperor Gotsuchimikado (r. 1464–1500) in reply to his inquiry about Sumidagawa (Sumida River), a famous utamakura river (now Tōkyō). In all relations with the court, poetry was an important, if not an essential, means of communication.

A number of linked-verse travelogues, such as the Sōchō Shuki (1522–1527) and the Sōchō Nikki (1530–1531), reveal the relationship between itinerant linked-verse poets and provincial warriors. Whenever they could, provincial warriors invited itinerant linked-verse poets to their castles to receive their teachings in poetry and to enjoy its pursuit. Höjō Ujiyasu (1515–1571) is a good example of such a warrior. According to the Tōkoku Kikō (1544–1545, by Sōboku), Ujiyasu frequently engaged in linked-verse meetings with visiting linked-verse poets. His own travel diary, the Musashino Kikō (1546), bears a striking resemblance to the Azumaji no Tsuto (1509), a travel account by Sōchō, one of the poet visitors to Ujiyasu’s formidable Odawara Castle (now Kanagawa Prefecture). The linked-verse poets played an important role in transmitting the poetry of the capital, and especially the poetry of Sanjōnishō SaneTaka, to the provinces. Poetry allowed many a warrior stationed in remote provinces to maintain a cultural link with the capital. At the same time that the warriors developed a distinctive taste and style in poetry, they were vitally interested in the aristocratic traditions, and it was thanks to their concern that Heian culture was preserved at all.

The great warrior families produced many poets, e.g., the Minamoto (especially Sanetomo), Höjō, and Ashikaga clans. Their example was followed by the lesser families such as the Imagawa, Hosokawa, Saitō, Kitabatake, Uesugi, Asakura and Ōuchi. The poetry of the shōguns and military regents was continued at the end of the 16th century by the powerful military dictator Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598).

Toyotomi Hideyoshi had a great liking for the arts, especially the tea ceremony and poetry. He used the arts to legitimize his political power and composed poetry on occasions of political significance. According to the Jurakudai Gokō Ki (1588), for instance, Hideyoshi had the leading daimyō (feudal lords) compose poems of loyalty in the presence of Emperor Goyōzei (r. 1587–1611). Hideyoshi’s biggest poetry party was held in 1594 in Yoshino, a famous utamakura site for cherry-blossom viewing. Participation in Hideyoshi’s poetry and tea-ceremony parties was taken as a symbolic act of submission. Hideyoshi’s passion for poetry was by no means confined to his
sojourns in the capital. Poets accompanied him on military campaigns and wrote numerous travel diaries. Hideyoshi himself originally preferred to write *haiku* (the first three lines of a linked-verse) and *kyōka*, but once he became Kampa (civil dictator), a title traditionally reserved for the aristocracy, he began writing more *waka*.

Hosokawa Yūsai (also Fujitaka or Genshi; 1534–1610), a warrior who served under Hideyoshi, was also a leading poet of his time. He was a member of the Nijō school and received the *kokin denju* teachings from Sanjōnishi Saneeda (also Saneki; 1511–1579). In 1600, when Yūsai's Tanabe Castle (now Kyōto Prefecture) was surrounded by enemy troops, Emperor Goyōzei signed an edict ordering the troops to withdraw from Yūsai's castle. The reason he gave was that if Yūsai were killed there would be no one left in Japan to teach *waka*. Yūsai joined Hideyoshi in two campaigns— the Kyushū campaign of 1587 and the Odawara campaign of 1590. Yūsai, who had been a priest since his former master Oda Nobunaga was assassinated at Hōnōji Temple (1582), did not have to participate in the actual fighting but took part in Hideyoshi's poetry meetings during battles. After the Kyūshū campaign, Yūsai was asked by the defeated Shimazu Yoshihisa to be given the *kokin denju* teachings. Yoshihisa, who had just allied himself with Hideyoshi as the result of the latter's successful campaign, probably sought Yūsai's teachings as an additional act of submission to Hideyoshi. This request was granted.46

Yūsai's journeys with Hideyoshi resulted in three travel diaries: the *Kyūshū Michi no Ki* (1587), the *Tōkoku'jin Michi no Ki* (1590), and the *Oi no Kiso-goe*, an account of Yūsai's premature return from Odawara because of illness. These travel accounts include *waka*, *kyōka*, and *haiku*, often composed as offerings to temples and shrines for magical and divinatory purposes. The poems functioned as prayers of Hideyoshi's success. Yūsai left not only isolated poems and travel diaries but a personal collection, the *Shūmyō Shū*, compiled posthumously by Asukai Masaaki (1611–1679).

It contains some eight hundred poems. Yūsai's *Yūsaiō Kikigaki* and *Nitei Ki* are critical works on poetry. Yūsai passed on the *kokin denju* teachings to Prince Toshihito (1579–1629), the younger brother of Emperor Goyōzei and the founder of the famed Katsura Imperial Villa.

There were several other travel diary writers of note in Hideyoshi's entourage. One was Kusunoki Chōan (1520–1596), who traveled with Hideyoshi to Kyūshū at the advanced age of 68. Chōan also wrote the final copy of the *Jurakudai Gokō Ki* which describes Emperor Goyōzei's visit to Hideyoshi at the latter's Jurakudai Castle. Gamō Ujisato (1556–1595) of Aizu, who converted to Christianity and who participated in Hideyoshi's Jurakudai party of Emperor Goyōzei, was forced to join Hideyoshi's first campaign against China (1592). He kept a travel diary, posthumously entitled *Gamō Ujisato no Kikō*, from Aizu to Ōsaka where he was assassinated. Like many warrior-poets, Ujisato composed a death poem:

As there is an end to life,
The flowers are doomed to fall
Even if the wind does not blow;
I would say that the mountain wind
Of spring is too hasty.47

Kinoshita Katsutoshi (1569–1649), better known under his pseudonym Chōshōshi, became *daimyō* of Wakasa (now Fukui Prefecture) under Hideyoshi in 1594. He had studied poetry under Hosokawa Yūsai but later became one of the major exponents of Kyōgoku poetry. As such, Chōshōshi promoted fresh subjects and diction. The
b) Hermits

During the middle ages the hermits came into prominence as a distinctive and distinguished literary group. Their work differed from that of the official poets and regular priests in subject matter, thought, and aesthetic principles. Instead of discussing individual hermit authors, for which biographical data are too scanty, only the general features of hermit life and literature will be described here.

Hermits differed in many ways from monastic Buddhism. When from the end of the Heian Period on the Buddhist priesthood became increasingly secularized, producing such phenomena as monk-soldiers, many people found hermit life to be the only satisfactory channel for their religious vocation. Taking the vow signified the decision to become a Buddhist priest; adoption of hermit life was referred to as a double vow, for not only did it mean abandonment of the world, but of monastic priesthood as well. By members of society and the priesthood, however, hermit life was scorned as a state of half-vow (hanshukke).

A number of documents support this distinction between orthodox priests and hermit monks. For instance, the *Kaidō Ki* (1223) describes the outward difference thus:

> Wearing an umbrella hat of cypress bark as my adornment: this is the way of monasticism (shukke).
> Wearing straw boots as my means of transportation: this is the way of hermit life (tonsei).

For the author of the *Kaidō Ki*, monasticism was a shallow formality, vain and luxurious in contrast to hermit life. The *Hosshin Shū* (a collection of Buddhist stories of the thirteenth century attributed to Kamo no Chomei) claims that “those who deeply hate the world dislike any dealings with temples.” For such people, temples were considered part of the worldly realm and the corrupt priesthood. This is expressed in the following poem by Saigyō (1118–1190), whose life became a deeply admired example for centuries:

> Those who abandon themselves
> Are they truly abandoning?
> Those who do not abandon
> Indeed do abandon.

Saigyō asks himself whether the priests, who in their ordination undergo a ritual rejection of the world, are really abandoning the world and whether hermits, for whom there are no such ceremonies, are not in fact more truly renouncing it.

The hermits exhibited various degrees and types of religious affiliation. According to his *Hōjō Ki* (The Ten Foot Square Hut), Kamo no Chōmei (1155?–1216) had freed himself from both society and strict religious practices. As a group, hermits were
eclectic in their religious practices and beliefs; indeed, they may have been primarily responsible for the synthesis of Shinto art forms with Buddhist doctrines. Some accounts are devoted to shrines (the Tōdaiji Shuito Sankei Ise Daijingu Ki (1186), and the Daijingu Sankei Ki (1286) by Tsukai all recount pilgrimages to the Ise Shrines) and others are about journeys to Buddhist centers (e.g., the Zenkoji Kikō of 1465 or the Köya Sankei Nikki of 1524). The prominence of mountains in some travel diaries suggests that their authors had close ties with the Shugen or Yamabushi sect, which had both Buddhist and Shintō elements. Examples are Priest Dōkō (1430–1527, author of the Kaikoku Zakki) and Gyōe (1430–?, author of the Zenkoji Kikō and Hokkoku Kikō). Saigyō was also associated with the Yamabushi, for he underwent the thousand-day seclusion ritual in the mountains of Yoshino and Kumano, old Yamabushi centers. The travel diaries consistently refer to both Shintō and Buddhist places, attesting to the influence of honjisuijaku, a theory according to which Shinto deities are "later" incarnations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Hermit who settled semi-permanently were called anju (hut-dwellers) and were the literati of the sōan (grass-hut) tradition. Those who traveled were sometimes called angya-zō or shokoku ikken no sō (itinerant priests). Angya (pilgrimage) and sōan (grass-hut) modes of hermit life engendered two types of literature: the travel diaries as the expression of angya and the sōan no ki as a description of grass-hut dwelling.

Renouncing the world was a physical as well as a spiritual process. Abandoning social and official positions, homes, and, in some cases, temples, necessarily meant abandoning the capital city, the world par excellence. Hermits moved out to take up a solitary existence in small, self-made huts. The huts are usually referred to as temporary dwellings (kari no iori) and were built with fragile materials, such as grass (Saigyō), bamboo (Senshū Shō, a collection of stories of the early Kamakura Period), leaves (Senshū Shō), miscanthus reed (Miyaki no Tsuto of 1350–52), or brushwood (Sōchō Shuki of 1522–27, Utsuyama no Ki of 1509–17). The huts were usually quite small; three ken (one ken measures about 3.30 square meters) was the most common size. As temporary dwellings, such huts were symbolic of temporary human life.

Hermit who had abandoned the world chose to live in the outskirts of the capital; those who were leaving the formal priesthood usually lived in communities of lay-priests called bessho outside but in the vicinity of temple grounds. Most hermits did not move to places beyond all reach of society. Hermit huts are often described as having their faces to "the fields and their backs to the mountains" (Taihei Ki of ca. 1370, Senshū Shō, Sōchō Nikki) or in Bashō’s Genjuan Ki of 1690 as being "at a comfortable distance from human habitation." In the selection of their dwelling places, the hermits placed themselves between two distinct worlds – the secular, man-made world of culture and the primitive world of nature – without completely giving themselves to either. The location of the hermit huts reflected the spiritual situation of their inhabitants; they marked the first step on the road to complete removal from civilization. As the author of the Tōkan Kikō (1240) stated:

It is too soon to go into the mountains to live in a simple hut; I prefer to rest for a while on the outskirts of the capital, as if I were still part of it. This means that my body remains in the capital whereas my mind is already a hermit’s.

Hermit travel was anti-monastic as well. Emphasizing the principle of issho fuju, that is to say, non-permanent dwelling, the hermits refused to become attached to any one place. Freedom from all bonds, spatial and temporal, was the distinguishing feature of
hermit life. Aware of the transience of all life, the hermits tried to live impermanence to the fullest, rather than resist it. Constant travel was a safeguard against the illusion of attachment. The hermit hut became a place of repentance and purification, where the hermit prepared himself spiritually for yet another step in his spiritual journey.

Hermits often responded to summons back to the capital as healers or political advisors. As poets, hermits were also often invited by warriors in the provinces to teach them to write poetry. The travel diaries themselves reflect the hermit’s reluctance to cut all ties with human society. Hermits wrote literature for the benefit not of themselves but of society. The travel diaries, for instance, are a literature clearly addressed to society, though not a product of society like official travel accounts. Hermits continued to speak to their fellow human beings through their writing. They shared with the society they had ostensibly rejected a more universalistic, more philosophical view which they acquired through their study of Buddhism and their travel experiences. The historical criticism found in works such as the Heike Monogatari and Taihei Ki are examples of a wider perspective which hermit literature had developed.

Little information is available as to the specific reasons why these men chose to live as hermits. It can generally be assumed, however, that hermits were the products of crisis. The sudden emergence of a great number of hermits and of the travel diaries as a literary genre at the end of the Heian Period reflects the disruption in the nation. The number of travel accounts written in periods of conflict and chaos supports the view that hermit life and travel were the result of political and social unrest.

Thus, although some hermits embraced their transitory mode of life willingly, most were apparently forced into it. Because the capital was reserved for people of rank and office, those who lost their social positions because of their own failures, intrigues, or the death of a superior, had to leave as a matter of course. Exile was a major force behind hermit life. Even though most hermits were forced into their uncertain existence, many, especially the poets, found it an ideal one as time went on. Hermit literature includes little protest, desire for revenge, or personal rancour, but often a world-weariness.

Consciousness of age is a characteristic feature of hermit travelogues. In their prefaces, the authors frequently introduce themselves as hermits over fifty: the author of the Tōkan Kikō (1242) describes himself as “approaching the middle of one-hundred years.” In the Kaidō Ki (1223), there is a strong awareness of age:

In the meantime, time advances like rapidly flowing waters; life is nearing the end. One cannot restrain its speed even if one wants to. The age of fifty is like a cart on a steep hill let loose.

Examples of travelers of particularly advanced age are many: Ki no Tsurayuki (870?–945) was in his sixties (Tosa Nikki), Sōkyū (exact dates unknown) was in his sixties (Miyako no Tsuto), Jūbutsu (b. 1280 or 1281?) in his sixties (Daijingū Sankei Ki), Ichijō Kanera (1402–1491) was 72 (Fujikawa no Ki), Gyōkū (Sanjōnishi Sanekata; 1455–1537) was 70 (Kōya Sankei Nikki), Sanjōnishi Kin’eda (1487–1563) was 66 (Yoshino Mōde no Ki), 67 (Santo Junrei Ki) and 68 (Ishiyama Tsukimi Ki). Priest Sonkai (1472–1543) was 62 when he traveled to the East (Azuma no Michi no Ki), Kusunoki Chōan (1520–1596) was 68 (Kusunoki Chōan Gekō Ki). Sōchō (1448–1532) traveled between the ages of 74 (Sōchō Shuki, Sōchō Nikki) and 83. Bashō (1644–1694) began his travels only ten years before his death, writing five notable travel diaries during that period. Although not all of the above were hermits, it is a characteristic of travel diary authors that they traveled more in old age than in youth. Travel and art
went hand-in-hand for these writers, and both were pursued vigorously in old age, after having retired from active life or after having entered the priesthood.

These aging writers and travelers were heroic, too, since many obviously were not in good health at the time of their journeys. A number of them died on the roads. Sōgi (1421-1502) died in Yumoto at the foot of Mt. Fuji in 1502, Sōboku, another linked-verse poet like Sōgi, and author of the travel diary Tōkoku Kikō, died in 1545 in Sano on his journey to the hot springs of the East. Bashō died during a journey in Ōsaka.

Naturally, indications of old age were implicitly or explicitly associated with approaching death by these writers. This explains in part the predominant religious orientation of hermit travel diaries. The following poem by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455-1537), included in his Kōya Sankei Nikki, illustrates the spirit of preparation for death. It is permeated with Buddhist beliefs.

When do I wake up
From seventy years.
Of closing my eyes to the final reality?
Even today [I see]
The same world of dreams.

Hermits not always appear in travel diary literature as a distinct category of authorship. The participation of Tōna (1289-1372) and other hermit poets in official schools of poetry like the Nijō indicates their adherence to poetic traditions and time-honored diction. Yet more than the official court poets, hermits engaged in a poetry composed for religious (magical) purposes. Hermits also distinguish themselves by their use of the linked-verse. Hence the large number of hermit linked-verse poets whose names end in 'a' (short for Amida [Amitābha] in the middle ages. They were also fond of humorous (unorthodox) poetry such as the haikai, kyōka and rakusho. The free travel that made these kinds of poetry possible was also the domain of hermits. Courtiers and official poets usually did not engage in free, unofficial travel without having “forsaken the world.”

In subject matter and tone too, the hermits’ poetry differs from official court poetry and gives a distinct flavor to the travel diaries. Solitary travel and grass-hut dwelling created in hermit literature a distinct preference for nature over the city, the solitary over the social man, for the old rather than the new, for the religious rather than secular. An acute awareness of the passage of time, and of the fragility and evanescence of life, characterizes hermit writings in general. Often, too, they strongly reflect the religious discipline their authors underwent and the universalistic world view they have thus acquired.

Despite these distinguishing religious characteristics, hermits are often described as professional poets. As applied to linked-verse poets of the Muromachi Period in particular, the term “hermit” needs some clarification. It is true that linked-verse poets and travel diarists such as Sōgi and Sōchō, for instance, were both hermits and priests (Sōgi Höshi and Sōchō Zenji) and the two travel diaries by Sōgi, the Shirakawa Kikō and the Tsukushi Michi no Ki, reveal a weariness of the world, but there is in the lives of both authors a considerable degree of what one would call today professionalism. There is little doubt that most linked-verse poets, especially from the time of Sōgi on, lived by their poetry, and acted as teachers of poetry and intermediaries between the court poets of the capital and their provincial manors as well as with feudal lords scattered around the country. However, a certain professionalism can already be observed from the end of the Heian Period on in the blind biwa priests and other artists who roamed
around the country to recite tales and expound the laws of Buddhism among the common people.

The term hermit would be applicable to these more than to Sōgi and especially Sōchō, Sōboku and Shōha, whose activities had little to do with the teaching of Buddhism. Even in these authors one cannot entirely separate their lives and literature from religion or at least a religious attitude or world view. Sōgi, Sōseki and Sōchō often lived in hermitages or were at one time or other affiliated with Buddhist institutions; Sōgi practiced Zen at Shōkoku-ji (Kyōto), Sōchō became a Shingon priest after he abandoned the world at age eighteen and later studied under Zen Priest Ikkyū (1394–1481) of Daitoku-ji. Sōchō’s extensive travels at advanced age would also put him in the hermit tradition.

We must therefore see the “hermits” of the Muromachi Period as free, unaffiliated, often itinerant priests who lived by their poetry and by the sponsorship of those who sought their teachings and poetry. It is the hermits’ freedom from both religious and worldly responsibilities which distinguishes them from, for instance, a warrior, a priest or a court poet. It is this relative freedom which allowed them to pursue the literary activities by which they are known. “Free poets” would therefore also be applicable to the hermit authors of travel diaries. We must remember that it was this freedom which allowed them to engage in professional activities, such as teaching poetry to provincial magnates, and travel from one host to the other.

Thus hermit writers and poets do not fit neatly into such preordained categories as “aristocrats who live by their art, and priests and recluses of lower classes” that Origuchi Shinobu has established, nor into the definition “professional artists” offered by Ishida Yoshisada. These are useful guidelines but they fail to give full justice to the idiosyncrasies in the genre, tone and content of hermit writings.

Notes to Chapter IV

1 Meant by “quasi-official travelers” are those kikō-authors who, like the Nun Abutsu, were motivated by semi-official purposes to travel (e.g., a legal affair, an official invitation), and not by their free will.

2 A temporary office of poetry usually established by imperial order in preparation for an imperial anthology of poetry. Ex-Emperor Gotoba in 1201 established a wakadokoro which was to compile the Shinkokinshū.

3 For more on this school, see Ishida Yoshisada, “Utsunomiya kadan to sono seikaku,” Kokugo to Kokubungaku, vol. 24, no. 12 (Dec., 1947). Thirty-five poems of the Utsunomiya school were included in the Shinchokusenshū an imperial anthology comp. by Fujiwara no Tōnoke in 1232. The Shinwakashū compiled by Fujiwara no Tameuji in Kamakura in 1258 is based mainly on Utsunomiya school poetry, one third of which is by priestly poets.


8 Chart of kokin denju transmission in the middle ages (chūsei); Nijō Tameuji – Nijō Tameyō (1250–1338) – Tom’a (1289–1372) – Gyōkō (1391–1455) – Tō no Tsuneyori (1401–1494) Sōgi – Sanjōushi Sanetaka – Sanjōushi Kineda (1487–1563) – Sanjōushi Saneki (1511–1579) – Hosokawa Yūsai – Prince Toshihito, etc. Split tradition: Gyōkō – Gyōken (1442–?) – Gyōe, etc. Many splits in the lines of transfer appeared by the time of Sōgi, who transmitted the teachings to more than ten disciples.


Nambokuchō, the period of the Northern and Southern Courts, is the name of a period (1333–1392) during which two courts, one in the capital (North) and one in Yoshino (South), fought for supremacy. The rivalry between these two courts is a result of the division of the court into a junior and senior line during the Kamakura Period. The Southern Court was established by the Emperor Godaigo (1288–1339) of the junior line.

In Imagawa-jō, Bushidō Ženshū, vol. 1, compiled by Saeke Ariyoshi, et. al. (Tōkyō: Jidaisha, 1942), p. 247, and in Iijichi Tetsuo, Imagawa Ryōshun, Kagakusho to Kenkyū (Toyoohashi: Mikam Kokubun Shiryokkan, 1956), p. 95. There is no definite proof that Ryōshun actually said this, but it reflects Ryōshun’s combination of military activities with the pursuit of poetry.


According to Inoue Muneco, Chūsei Kadan-shi no Kenkyū-Nambokuchō Ki, p. 792.


A travel diary about Emperor Goyōzei’s visit to Hideyoshi’s Jurakudai Castle in the castle is believed to have been written by Kusunoki Chōan (Jurakudai Gyōki Ki, included in Gunsho Ruijō, vol. 29, Teiōbu. This authorship is disputed in Gunsho Kaidai, vol. 2, part 2 (Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijō Kanseki-kai, 1963), p. 60.


Bushō Bunshū, annotated by Suguiara Shōchirō, et. al., Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikai, vol. 46 (Tōkyō: Iwamichi Shoten, 1959), p. 185. For instance, in the Ženshū Shō, vol. 5, one finds the following statement:

In front are the fields, in the rear the mountains
Where a pure waterfall splashes into the valley...
(Zoku Gunsho Ruijō, vol. 32, part 2, Zatsu-bu (Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijō Kanseki-kai, 1927), p. 392. A similar passage can be found on p. 388, ibid. Such phenomena as waterfalls, the sound of insects, the howling of the wind, the cries of the monkeys recur throughout in hermit literature as providing an ideal environment which cleanses the dust accumulated by living in human society.

Tōkan Kikō Shinshaku, annot. by Kasamatsu Sugio, p. 3.

Even retired emperors and sometimes shōguns tended to leave the capital to live in the outskirts.

Two kikō authors are known to have been exiles at the time they wrote their Kikō. The Priest Dōhan (1184–1252) was exiled as a result of the burning of a temple on Mt. Kōya. In 1242, a dispute broke out on Mt. Kōya between the Sōchi-in and Dempō-in Temples. When the latter burnt down it was attributed to arson and Dōhan was exiled to Sanuki Province in Shikoku, although he attributed the fire to natural causes. Dōhan left Kōya in 1243 for his place of exile and was pardoned in 1249. The journey between Kōya and Shikoku is described in Dōhan’s kikō, the Nankai Rurō no K. According to this work, Dōhan profited from his exile to visit the places connected with Kōbō Daishi, the founder of Shingon Buddhism in Japan, who had become a legendary figure.

Konoe Nobutada’s Kyūshū Michi no Ki of 1592 is an account of the author’s journey into exile from Kyōto to Satsuma in southern Kyūshū.

Although one can find an element of protest in the Hōjō Ki, there is a strong positive acceptance of hermit life, almost an idealization of it. Protest against the mundane world is therefore more universalistic and philosophical than personal in the Hōjō Ki.

Tōkan Kikō Shinshaku, annot. by Kasamatsu Sugio, p. 1

Noro Tadashi, annot., Kaidō Ki Shinchū, pp. 4–5.


See pp. 50–53.

For instance, in Sogi’s Azuma Mondō, Buddhist terms such as honkaku (innate Buddha nature, original Buddhism) and shinnyō (truthness, suchness, the true from of things, reality); and ji
Chapter V  Travel Motives

In this chapter we will consider why the travel diary writers traveled and why they went to the places they did. There is a spectrum of travel motives ranging from the secular to the religious, with the journeys undertaken by official poets tending toward the former and those by hermits toward the latter. Most journeys, however, served a complex of overlapping purposes. Whatever the purposes of the journeys in question, we should remember that they all led to the writing of diaries in which poetry was a dominant element. The travel diaries give us good examples of the remarkable role played by poetry in Japanese culture – its politics, religion, diplomacy, and even warfare.

Most of the writers of official diaries traveled because they were ordered to do so by political and military potentates. That is, they traveled because they had to. There is, however, a small class of diaries written by official poets about journeys undertaken primarily for private, secular reasons. A notable example is the *Izayoi Nikki* (1280), written by the Nun Abutsu about her journey to Kamakura to plead her case before the shogunate. She was, it will be remembered, seeking to recover the Hosokawa estate of Ono (Shiga Prefecture) for her son Tamesuke, thereby securing his economic future as well as the continuation of the illustrious poetic tradition of the family.

The journey described in the *Tōkan Kikō* is also thought to have been motivated by a lawsuit. The only explanation for the trip given in the text is, “In the meantime, around the third year of Ninji [1242], I unexpectedly had an opportunity to travel to the East.” From other sources, however, it is known that Minamoto no Chikayuki (d. 1277), the work’s reputed author, journeyed to Kamakura in the hopes of persuading the shogunate to lessen the charges against his father, Minamoto no Mitsuyuki (1163-1244), who had sided with ex-Emperor Gotoba in the Jōkyū War.

The more typical travel diaries written by official poets resulted from journeys which they had been required to undertake. Emperors, shōguns, and provincial military leaders liked to have poets in their entourage on their journeys or as guests in their domains. They also sent them on trips which made use of their diplomatic or military skills, for many of the leading poets were high-ranking officials or warriors as well. Whatever the character of the required journey, the purpose of having poets in attendance or as messengers was, of course, to have the pleasure of their poems about the sights along the way. These poems were then incorporated in diaries which, in many cases, had to be submitted to the leaders who had ordered the journeys. Travel was a standard occasion for the compilation of poetry, and it might not be a gross exaggeration to say that the composition of poetry was always one of the reasons for travel. In a sense, one can say that from the poet’s point of view, the purpose for travelling was to furnish themselves with material for poetry. The question becomes, therefore, what kinds of journeys provided these occasions – that is, what other purposes the poets’ superiors had in mind.
There are two travel diaries by Asukai Masaari which resulted from journeys he took as an imperial messenger. The *Miyakoji no Wakare* is the record of a journey undertaken in 1275 between Kyōto and Kamakura so that Masaari could attend, probably as an imperial representative, the annual ceremony of releasing animals (*Hōjō-e*) at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine. The theme of homesickness for Kyōto and the ex-Emperor’s service suggests that the diary was kept to be submitted to the ex-Emperor upon Masaari’s return.

Masaari’s *Haru no Miyamaji* was probably written to be submitted to the Crown Prince (later to become Emperor Fushimi, who reigned from 1278–98, in exchange for a diary kept by the Crown Prince in his absence. This time, Masaari traveled to Kamakura to ask the shogun to expedite the Crown Prince’s accession to the throne. At the Mishima Shrine (Mishima, Shizuoka Prefecture) Masaari arranged for a divination on the matter.

Nijō Yoshimoto’s *Ojima no Kuchizusami* (1353) was written amidst the turmoil of the struggles between the Northern Court and the Southern Court. The former were based in Kyōto, the latter in Yoshino. In the sixth month of 1353, troops of the Southern Court attacked Kyōto. As a result, Emperor Gokōgon (r. 1352–1371) of the Northern side had to flee, first to Enryakuji Temple on Mt. Hiei to the north of the capital and from there to Ojima in Mino Province (now Ibi-gun, Gifu Prefecture). Despite his ill health, Yoshimoto left Kyōto on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month to join the Emperor in Ojima, returning two months later, after the recapture of the capital by Ashikaga Takauji’s troops. Yoshimoto states in the preface to his work, half-diary and half travel diary, that he traveled in order to serve the Emperor. The two passed their time in poetry meetings while awaiting the recapture of the capital. Thus Yoshimoto’s primary function was to entertain the Emperor with his poetic skills. The resulting diary portion is concerned almost exclusively with poetic matters, and the travel section mentions only *utamakura* places and classical poems.

Imperial and shogunal pilgrimages gave birth to a large number of *zuikō* (accompaniment) diaries. The ostensible purpose of such journeys was, of course, religious, but they were frequently combined with political or military ends. Moreover, pilgrimages were often pleasure trips as well. The composition of poetry was perfectly consonant with the official, religious character of the trips since it was customary to dedicate poems at sacred places. The resulting diaries are official, literary accounts and do not elucidate the covert reasons behind the pilgrimages.

The *Takakura-In Itsukushima Gokō Ki* (1180) by Minamoto no Michichika is an account of ex-Emperor Takakura’s pilgrimage to Itsukushima Shrine (Miyajima, Hiroshima Prefecture). Although it was common for retired emperors to visit the Kamo and Iwashimizu Shrines, which were in the vicinity of the capital, such a long-distance journey, particularly one necessitating seafaring, was quite unusual and shocked the members of his entourage, as indicated in Michichika’s preface. We know from the *Gempei Seisui Ki*, a historical work on the era that Taira no Kiyomori (1118–1181), then holding supreme power over Japan, encouraged general worship at Itsukushima, the ancestral shrine of his clan. It therefore became customary for those with political aspirations to worship at the shrine. Ex-Emperor Goshirawaka (d. 1192) had visited the shrine in 1174. Ex-Emperor Takakura (r. 1168–1180) decided on his pilgrimage shortly after his abdication. It is possible that Kiyomori himself had demanded this act of fealty or the ex-Emperor hoped to mollify him and thereby lessen
the punishment inflicted on Goshirakawa. The journey took place two months before the Taira-related child-Emperor Antoku (r. 1181–1183) acceded to the throne. The Ashikaga shōguns were great travelers. Yoshimitsu (1358–1428) went to Ise eleven times, Yoshimochi (1386–1482), sixteen times, and Yoshinori (1394–1441) five or six times. Some of them even traveled to Mt. Fuji and to Itsukushima. Being noted patrons of the arts, the shōguns saw that their journeys led to a number of travel accounts.

The *Rokuon'in Dono Itsukushima Mode no Ki*, by Imagawa Ryōshun, recounts a pilgrimage to the Itsukushima Shrine by the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1389. Ryōshun gives as follows the reasons for the journey:

Lord [Yoshimitsu], Minister of the Left, went on a pilgrimage to Itsukushima in Aki Province. He wished to use the occasion to sightsee in the province of Tsukushi [Kyushu] where there were the capitals of old. He also decided to visit the unfamiliar places along the shore and to look at Utatsu in Shikoku, a place that owed its name to the poetry of our country, as well as to pay a visit to the lay-priest of Musashi [Hosokawa Yoriyuki], an old friend.

The text states further that: „The boats were provided by the Nyūdō [Hosokawa]; there must have been more than one hundred.‟ The large number of vessels, together with the intended continuation of the journey beyond Itsukushima, indicates a strategic purpose behind the pilgrimage. The pleasure aspect of the trip – visiting the famous places along the San'yō Road – accords with the poetic ends of the journey. Ryōshun, an accomplished warrior and poet, was a perfect attendant for this pilgrimage.

The 1414 journey to Ise by the fourth Ashikaga shōgun Yoshimochi (1386–1428) occasioned the *Muromachi Dono Ise Sangū Ki* by an unknown author. The pilgrimage took place after Yoshimochi’s abdication and, therefore, resembles the abdicated emperors’ numerous pilgrimages to Kumanotō at the end of the Heian and beginning of the Kamakura periods. Distant travel was possible only after an emperor or shōgun retired from political life, in which a constant presence in the palace or military headquarters was a sign of stability, and travel by emperors and military leaders in office generally took place only in times of war. The motivations for the journey are not explained in the account, but they accord with Yoshimochi’s conciliatory policy toward the imperial family. It took place not long after all resistance directed against him by the remnants of the Southern Court had been crushed. The resulting travel diary is a purely poetic account, based on the famous utamakura places.

Journeys ostensibly undertaken for sightseeing were well suited for diary writing. The sixth Ashikaga shōgun, Yoshinori, traveled to the north to see Mt. Fuji in 1433, one year prior to his Ise pilgrimage, described in the *Ise Kikō*. On such trips, pleasure-seeking served to conceal a number of purposes. Sir George Sansom believes that this sightseeing trip had strategic purposes.

Yoshinori, having obtained a commission to „punish‟ the rebel, ordered the generals Shiba and Imagawa, with other military leaders, to proceed with a large army to join forces with the northern provinces (Ōshū) and to prepare an attack upon Kamakura. In October, Yoshinori himself left Kyoto under pretense of an excursion to view the autumnal beauties of the country around Mt. Fuji, but in fact for the purpose of inspecting conditions in the eastern provinces and as a demonstration in force.

In the end the journey led to no hostilities. No doubt a certain symbolic purpose was accomplished at least, for Mt. Fuji had represented the nation since Man’yōshū days. Three poetic diaries by three different authors, all devoted to utamakura places, especially Mt. Fuji, resulted: *Ran Fuji-Ki, Fuji Kikō* and *Fuji Goran Nikki* all of 1432. They also contain poems in praise of the shōgun’s benevolent government and prayers.
for its continuation and for the shōgun’s long life. In view of the symbolic purpose of the
journey, it is significant that Mt. Fuji is often written as *fuji* (there are no two [masters])
or in *kana* script, which then could also be understood as „mountain that knows no
death;“ a possible reference to the Ashikaga shōgun. Some of the poems are attributed
to Yoshinori himself.

The symbolic aspect of pilgrimages by high-ranking figures cannot be underestima-
ted. Ex-Emperor Gotoba (abdicated in 1198, d. in 1239) made the journey to Kumano
(Wakayama Prefecture) no less than twenty one times, once a year after his abdication.
One of these pilgrimages produced Teika’s accompaniment diary, the *Gotoba-In
Kumano Gakō Ki* (1202). Although Kumano will be further discussed as the
destination of numerous hermit journeys, its interest for abdicated emperors deserves a
word of explanation here. Kumano was originally important as the burial place
of Izanami, the founding goddess of the nation. With the growth of *honjisuijaku*,
the synthesizing of Buddhist and Shintō deities and practices, Kumano took on a more
universal, Buddhist aspect. The ruling emperors relied upon the Ise Shrines (Mie
Prefecture) for the religious justification of their rule; the abdicated emperors, who
often exercised so much power that the latter years of the Heian Period are called the
Insei Period, the era of „cloistered government,“ sought similar legitimization
by making pilgrimages to a center at least as significant as Ise.

Hunting expeditions, like pleasure trips and pilgrimages, often had strategic
purposes. Hunting was not an uncommon activity in ancient Japan. Emperor Kammu
(737–806), for instance, used the pretext of a hunting excursion to survey the area on
which his capital (now Kyōto) was to be built. Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515–1571), a warrior
based in Odawara (Kanagawa Prefecture), undertook a hawking excursion in 1546 into
the Musashino Plain. Ujiyasu, who was fighting for supremacy in the Kantō area
against Takeda Shingen (1521–1573) and Uesugi Kenshin (1530–1578), may have used
the occasion to survey the land he sought to control. The journey included the offering
of prayers at the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine in Kamakura and produced the
*Musashino Kikō*.

Explicitly military expeditions also produced travel diaries. The author of the
*Michiukiburi*, Imagawa Ryōshun (1326–1414?), was above all a successful warrior: As
a follower of Ashikaga Yoshiakira, he frequently engaged in battles against the forces
of the Southern Court, which, by 1365, had gained supremacy in Kyūshū and even
threatened the main island. In 1371, the Ashikaga leaders sent Ryōshun to Kyūshū. He
first sent a contingent from Onomichi (Hiroshima Prefecture) under his son Yoshinori
on a reconnaissance mission and then sent another contingent under his younger
brother Tadaaki into the northern part of Kyūshū. Ryōshun himself proceeded to
Hizen Province in Kyūshū and crossed to Kokura about five miles over the
Shimonoseki Strait. The three armies then attacked Dazaifu, the stronghold of the
southern forces, which fell after several setbacks in 1372. The whole of Kyūshū was
not reconquered until 1381.

The *Michiyukiburi* is a poetic account which Ryōshun wrote on his way to Kyūshū
from Kyōto. The diary gives scarcely a hint as to the real nature of the journey. Indeed,
it gives the impression of a pleasure trip devoted to sightseeing and poetry. The copy
in the Imperial Household Agency (Shoryōbu) indicates that Ryōshun completed the
work at the Undōji Temple in Chikugo Province (southern part of present Fukuoka
Prefecture) in 1378 and moreover, that he wrote it on horseback between Kyōto and Kyūshū.

Many travel diaries written during military journeys are more explicit about the nature of the journey, usually through statements in the preface. Travel diaries were written about three of Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s military campaigns: 1) The Kyūshū campaign of 1587; 2) the Odawara campaign of 1590; and 3) the first Korean campaign of 1592. The Kyūshū Michi no Ki, written by Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610) during Hideyoshi’s Kyūshū campaign, contains, as we have seen, a clear statement as to the purpose for the journey in the preface. The travel section, however, is a poetic account including waka and linked-verses about utamakura places, presumably composed as a diversion for Hideyoshi and his generals.

In the Chōan Gekō Ki, written about the same campaign, the author, Kusunoki Chōan (1520–1596) had this to say about the journey:

Until now
It was rare
For someone
Of seventy years of age
To go far away with an army.

The Chōan Gekō Ki is also a poetic travel account. The prose passages merely indicate place names and the poems are about the famous poetic places. They were primarily composed by the author except for the poetry exchanges, one of which appears to have been with Hideyoshi. The military nature of the journey is not concealed here, since the character jin (army) appears frequently in the narrative.

Another travel account by Hosokawa Yūsai, the Tōkokujin Michi no Ki of 1590, was written about Hideyoshi’s campaign at Odawara Castle (now Odawara City, Kanagawa Prefecture). Although the military nature of the journey is not concealed, there are many such entries as “On the twenty-ninth of the second month, the army rested at Atsuta in Ōshū.” The account itself is devoted more to sightseeing expeditions than to military affairs. For example, the author writes, “On the twenty-second of the fifth month, arriving at Fukujima in the region of Kiso when the sun was still high, I went to see the sights and came across the gate of a beautiful mountain temple...” The reason for this may have been the fact that Yūsai, as a priest, was free to do as he pleased.

Suggestions of such freedom are found in most travel diaries written by authors who had retired from active life and entered the priesthood. The Azuma no Michi no Ki represents another official travel diary connected with this campaign. It was written by the well-known poetry critic Kinoshita Chōshōji (1569–1649).

Gamō Ujisato (1556–1595), author of the Gamō Ujisato no Kikō, left his domain in Aizu (Fukushima Prefecture) to participate in Hideyoshi’s campaign against Korea and China in 1592:

In the year twenty of Tenshō (1592), in order to follow Hideyoshi in his campaign against China in which all the warriors under the sun participated, I left Mutsu. When I crossed the Shirakawa Barrier, I composed the following poem...

Like Yūsai’s diary, the travel account is short and gives the impression of a pleasure trip to places of poetic interest.

The Kyūshū no Michi no Ki was written about the same campaign by Kinoshita Chōshōshi. Except for a statement in the preface there is little reference to the imminent campaigns. Chōshōshi’s attention is directed towards poetry, the famous places, especially those appearing in the Ise Monogatari, football and gardens on the
way to Kyūshū. The interest is entirely cultural; despite the compulsory nature of the journey, it provided the author with the opportunity to visit famous *utamakura* places along the way.

The journeys undertaken by poets in response to invitations by provincial magnates combined a variety of motives. These trips provide a transition between a discussion of the official journeys and that of the private. However involuntarily the hermits (often linked-verse poets) engaged in such travel, they unfailingly attributed it to their own desires, and the resulting travel diaries clearly belong to the private category. On the other hand, thoroughly official poets who wrote quite official accounts were moved to respond to such invitations for some of the same reasons as the hermit travelers. We have an example in Ichijō Kanera (1402–1481), the grandson of Nijō Yoshimoto. Kanera left Kyōto for Nara in 1468 after his home was burnt, presumably as a result of the Ōnin Wars that ravaged the capital from 1467–1477. From there, upon an invitation from Saitō Myōchin (d. 1480), Kanera went to Mino Province. Myōchin provided Kanera with food, protection, carriers, horses and money.11 The journey was a response to an invitation, but also provided Kanera with the opportunity to retire from active life.11 As mentioned earlier, when life in the capital became increasingly insecure (in the Muromachi Period), famous poets were often invited by such provincial magnates, who welcomed every opportunity to import the refined culture of the capital. Poets were lavishly treated by their hosts, who supplied them with transportation (horses, palanquins, boats, etc.), assuring a minimum of comfort and security. Poets were usually accompanied during their journeys by warriors also provided for by the magnates. With the capital in decline, it was such provincial lords as Hatakeyama, Asakura, Takeda, Tō, Saitō, Ôuchi, Imagawa and Hosokawa, to mention only the most important, who were responsible for the maintenance of Kyōto culture in the provinces.18 Kanera’s journey to Saitō Myōchin’s castle produced the *Fujikawa no Ki*.

Gyôe, author of the *Hokkoku Kikô*, travels from one provincial lord to the next: Taira no Yorikazu (exact date unknown), Uesugi Fusasada (d. 1494), Uesugi Akisada (1445–1510), Fujitobe (Uesugi), Sadamasa (dates unknown), Taira no Tsunekasa (dates unknown).20 During his journey to Kyūshū, described in his *Tsukushi Michi no Ki*, Sôgi is well taken care of by Sagara Masatô, Sue Hiromori, Moji Yoshihide, Sue Hiroaki, Naitô Morimichi (all dates unknown) and, of course, by his host, Ôuchi Masahiro (1446–1495).21

According to his *Amanohashidate Kikô* (1569), Shôha travels from one castle to another. His hosts treated him lavishly with lodgings, baths, and banquets, as a reward for Shôha’s teaching them and composing poetry with them. Sôboku is invited by Oda Nohubide (1510–1551), Hirata Masahide (d. 1553), Höjô Ujiyasu and by many of the latter’s vassals (Tôkoku Kikô).

Poets not only carried their poetry knowledge and art into the provinces but also gifts from leading poets of the capital. Sôgi, for instance, offered his hosts fans and colored paper as gifts from the capital and he received money in return.22 The provincial lords not only welcomed the gifts and teachings the traveler poets would bring them from the capital, but also profited from the presence of a poet to compose poems with them at certain anniversaries of the deaths of their ancestors and friends. They also requested poems upon their departure into battle. On such an occasion in 1504, Sôgi presented a series of one thousand poems, called *Shutsujin*...
Senku, to the Mishima Shrine as a prayer for the success of Imawaga Ujichika’s military campaign. In some cases, it is quite conceivable that the linked-verse poets traveled for other purposes as well. Sōgi traveled on one occasion to Sanjōnishi Sanekata’s manors as the latter’s intermediary. Also, the fact that linked-verse poets traveled to and from enemy camps, met troops, and witnessed battles, suggests that they may also have been used as spies. In 1466, Sōgi visited Nagao Magoroku (dates unknown) who was at war against Ashikaga Shigeuji (1434–1497), and wrote for him the Chōroku-bumi (1466), a critical work on linked-verse poetry. In the second month of 1467, Sōgi met Uesugi Sadamasa (1443–1494) and composed poetry for him while the latter was at war against Ashikaga no Shigeuji. Sōgi, however, was also close to Shigeuji, and wrote the Sōgi Henjō Jōjō, critical remarks on linked-verse poetry, for him. In the winter of 1470, Sōgi compared a beginning verse of a linked-verse sequence for Takeda Kuminobu (Shugo of Wakasa Province, dates unknown) who was fighting against Saitō Myōchin, for whom Sōgi composed the Mino Senku Series of one-thousand poems of 1472. In 1478, Sōgi lectured to Uesugi Fusasada (d. 1472), then went to Asakura (Ujikage, d. 1486, or Toshikage, d. 1481?), where he wrote the Oi no Susami, also a work on poetry. Although these warriors often fought against each other, Sōgi had the freedom to travel between them.

The Sōchō Shuki (1522–1527), a travel diary by Sōchō, includes detailed descriptions of battles and military fortifications:

Utsuyama: After spending one more day in the wind and rain, I arrived in Utsuyama at the castle built on the border dividing the provinces. Utsuyama Castle, on the frontier between Owari, Mikawa, and Shinano provinces, is on constant alert day and night against possible attacks. Lake Hamana, which penetrates deep into the mountains, surrounds the castle like a moat on the east, south, and north. With boats of all sizes which are tied to the shore, one can directly reach Horie Castle in the east, Hamana Castle, Osakabe Castle, Inasa and Hosoe in the north. The west is entirely closed by mountains, giving no opportunity for enemy attack. One or two years ago, the reconstruction of the castle was entrusted to Nagaike Kurozaemon-no-jō Chikayoshi and it is more than half completed. From the bank of the inner castle to the bottom of the valley, a vertical moat has been dug, so that no one can cross it. Since it is situated at the boundary of three enemy territories, one hears the uninterrupted shouts and drums of the sentries day and night. It goes without saying that such a detailed description of a military stronghold surpasses poetic interest.

Hermits, however, took to the road for many reasons besides that of engaging in espionage for their warrior patrons. A complex of intersecting factors inspired most journeys, the pursuit of poetry being a consistently important one. If one can say that most of the official poets traveled because they had to, the same can be said of the hermits. The causes, however, were different. As stated earlier, many hermits were forced into an itinerant existence because the turbulence of society had caused their lives to fall into disarray. Rather than struggle for survival within such a chaotic, strife-torn world, some people—those who became hermits—chose to renounce it altogether. This allowed them to travel freely as unrestricted persons. We can assume that, in the case of travel diaries wherein the authors lament the sad state of the nation, the journeys were necessitated by political and social disruption. Many travel accounts were written during such periods (e.g., the Jōkyū War of 1221, the Nambokuchō Period from 1333 to 1392, and the Ōnin War of 1467–77), supporting the view that social disruption fostered solitary life. One of the earliest travel diaries to illustrate this phenomenon was the Ionushi, dating from the tenth or eleventh century.
There is a passage in which the author, Ionushi, bewails the dilapidation of a structure called the Kyōgoku no In. The building’s identity is uncertain, but it is thought to have been either a structure dating from the reign of Emperor Uda (889–897) or, more likely, a structure built by the powerful Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027), under whom Heian Japan reached its zenith. If it was the latter, which Ionushi had in mind, its burning in 1040 doubtless symbolized the dissolution of the political structure which it represented and, for the author, the crumbling of life as he knew it. For Ionushi, the sad state of the Kyōgoku no In exemplified the laws of human life. Like many hermits, he found in historical events the basis for a universal, religious understanding of the world. The following passage illustrates this process of translating the particular into the spiritual and universal:

Near the bank, the wall of the Kyōgoku no In had fallen so that horses and cows entered freely. As I watched the women with their broad-brimmed hats walking about to the beats of brass drums, the late master came to mind, and I realized how sad the world really was.

Truly,
The world amounts to nothing
But the waves,
The depths and rapids
Of the Kamo River.32

The [Ise] Daijingu Sankei Ki (1342) was written during the turbulent Nambokuchō Period. The Ise pilgrimage, as described in this travel diary, symbolized a widely held yearning to restore Japan to the golden age of the past when the imperial throne was undivided. The author, Saka Jōbusu, (b. 1280 or 1281?) emphasizes this point in his passage lamenting the sorry state of contemporary Japan. Jōbusu criticizes the neglect of the Ise Shrines by the Ashikaga shōguns and regrets the absence of the “Ise Virgin”, (the representative of the Imperial family at the Ise Shrines), another symbol of the golden age of the Heian Period.

For the Priest Shōkō (1412–1494), author of the Shōkō Nikki (1473), the capital was too dangerous a place in which to live with the Ōnin War raging: “Since the world is in turmoil, there is no longer anything that can detain me in the capital.”33 Sōgi left the capital for Kyūshū in the same state of awareness: “...the disturbance had become frequent and life in the capital uncertain in recent times and that made it all the more difficult for me to live on in my grass-hut.”34

A passage in Shinkei’s Hitorigoto (1468) describes the devastation that moved him to travel:

Of the temples and shrines, of the mansions of noblemen and warriors, of the houses of the various families and lower aristocrats in the capital, there was not a grain of dust left. They all lay in waste. Important people and commoners alike were powerless to prevent this and scattered from the capital like petals in the mountain wind or autumn leaves in the cold wind.35

It is worth remembering that, in a sense, the linked-verse poet-priests depended for their trade on such a turbulent climate, for it led to invitations by provincial magnates to enjoy the security of their strongholds. Travel from enemy territory to enemy territory did not seem to have endangered their lives, for warriors were generally reluctant to harm a shaven head, the sign of a priest or hermit. Indeed, hermits and priests were probably the only ones able to travel safely in times of warfare.

The shaven head brings us to the point that the Buddhist word shugyō (also zuda, gyō, jossō, kugyō, etc.) often appears in travel diaries to explain the reasons for hermit travel. The term covers a variety of Buddhist devotions and austerity practices. The itinerant life, often adopted out of necessity, became a vocation for many of its
practitioners. Shugyō, through penitence and various efforts to efface past sins, was a means to enlightenment and salvation. Shugyō involved such activities as endurance of extremely arduous, ascetic practices (aragyō—mountain climbing and dwelling, standing beneath a waterfall, etc.); travel to collect valuables for temples (kanjin); the copying (shakyō) and dedication (nōkyō) of sutras to temples and shrines; the recitation of various prayers (e.g. betsuji nembutsu); pilgrimages; and renunciation of the world. These activities were often accompanied by fasting, observation of silence, recitation of the scriptures or of the Amida (Amitābha Buddha’s name (nembutsu), etc. Shugyō also meant the return of the spirit to nature, according to honjisuijaku, meant union with the Dainichi Buddha (Mahāvairocana). As the Taihei Ki put it, “... although he has not even reached yet the age of forty, he abandoned wife and children, mother and father, and become one of those who undergo austerities in mountains and rivers, ...”

Although the term Shugyō has, as it is used in travel diaries, a religious meaning, it also appears by the Muromachi Period as a term meaning the practice of poetry. But even when it is used in that way, as, for instance, in Shinkei’s Sasamegoto, it is not separate from the religious practices which went with poetry.

Most of the journeys described in hermit accounts were inspired and shaped by several forms of shugyō. At one extreme was mountain worship, for which the basis was provided by the Shugendō or Yamabushi Sect. Shugendō, which was founded in the eight century, enjoyed considerable popularity from the twelfth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. In this sect ritual mountain-climbing (mine-iri) and mountain-dwelling (sanrō, sennichi-gyō) were intended to lead to spiritual rebirth. This was symbolized by the adepts lowering themselves into deep caves and ravines which represented the tellus mater, the mother earth, before climbing to the top of sacred mountains symbolizing the paradise. Endurance exercises represented tours of hell (jigoku-meguri) and constituted preliminary steps in the process toward rebirth and spiritual enlightenment. As far as travel diary literature is concerned, it is noteworthy that the Yamabushi cult has been associated with various art forms, especially poetry, to this day.

The journey described in the Kaikoku Zakki (1486–1487) may have been in part motivated by mountain worship. The author, Priest Dōko (1430–1527), frequently climbed mountains, despite his old age, and regularly composed poetry to accompany these endeavors. The following is his entry at Tateyama (Mt. Tate) (Toyama Prefecture):

When I secluded myself at sacred Mt. Tateyama, I came to the Sanzu River [equivalent of the River Styx], where I put my thoughts into this poem:

I am glad
To cross the Mitsuse River
Alive;
It won’t be a cause for me
To fall into hell in the next world.
The following day, during my descent, I made a tour of the various hells. The air of the hot water was no less fearful than fire itself.
The boiling bubbles
Of the mountain of death
Must show the number of sins
Committed by people
High and low.
In the *Zenkoji Kiko* (1465) and *Hokkoku Kiko* (1486), both written by Gyöe (1430–?), the interest in mountains is striking. Gyöe mentions Mt. Tonami (Ishikawa Prefecture), Tateyama (Toyama Prefecture), Asamayama (between Nagano and Gumma Prefectures), Obasuteyama (Nagano Prefecture); he climbs Mt. Shu (now Yoneyama, Niigata Prefecture) and Mt. Togakushi (Nagano Prefecture) and at the very end of the former, reveals that Mt. Hakusan (between Gifu and Ishikawa Prefectures) is the object of his permanent worship. Mt. Togakushi was an important Yamabushi center in pre-modern Japan. The passage describing this mountain is particularly detailed in the *Zenkoji Kiko*:

The fifteenth: Early in the morning I returned to the inn and arrived at Mt. Togakushi while the forms of things could still be discerned. I offered my prayers at the double fence before I climbed to Okunoin Sanctuary. Towering above the overlapping mountains, there were two peaks in the middle, one to the south and one to the north. Each consisted of rocks of various shapes, one piled above the other, of all different colors. The mountain range, which looked as if it consisted of a thousand peaks and ten thousand mountains, was overgrown with strange trees and plants, some of which were either the incarnation of the Buddhas or the bodhisattvas, others of which were arranged by the dancing of the heavenly beings and sages. It must be the paradise of Kannon. The shrine was located halfway up the northern peak and, built in a large cave, faced east. The deity enshrined is Tajikarao. This passage illustrates Shugendō beliefs in the natural (physical) manifestation of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Since objects, such as mountains, were believed to be Shintō deities, they became, according to honjisuijaku, incarnations of Buddhist deities. As has been suggested of the Shugendō Sect in general, there are even Taoist elements (heavenly beings and sages) detectable in this passage.

Mt. Fuji is a prominent presence in a number of travel diaries, official as well as hermit. Even those sightseeing tours by such figures as Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394–1441) or Emperor Gotsuchimikado (r. 1466–1500), in which ascetic worship was not an objective, carried potent religious, magical symbolism. As previously indicated, Mt. Fuji was already a symbol of the nation in Man'yōshū days (poems 317 and 319) because of its aura of stability and its height, the greatest in Japan. According to legends, it was first climbed by En no Gyōja (also En no Ozunu, b. 634?), the alleged founder of the Shugendō Sect.

Given the traditional symbolism attached to the mountain, visits in time of war may have indicated a quest for peace and stability. Priest Shōkō visited Mt. Fuji, as well as the Ise Shrines in 1473, during the Onin War (*Shōkō Nikki*). He left ten poems about Mt. Fuji, and offered a series of seasonal and miscellaneous poems to the Fuji Asama Shrine (now Fuji Yoshida, Kanagawa Prefecture) dedicated to the mountain deity. Mt. Fuji also plays a prominent role in the *Hokkoku Kiko* (1486), an account which can be characterized by its focus on mountains in general. There are two linked-verse accounts that describe visits to Mt. Fuji: the *Tōkoku Kiko* (1544) by Sōboku and the *Shōha Fuji-mi Dōki* (1567) by Satomi Shōha. Shōha's intent from the beginning was to view Mt. Fuji and to write poems on it.

At the beginning of this year, the tenth of Eiroku [1567], I made up my mind to see Mt. Fuji, which I had long been yearning to do and began to write this diary from the day I started on my journey.

Mountain worship might be regarded as only a more specialized form of pilgrimage, reserved for the more ascetic and rigorous. The more common destinations for hermit pilgrimages were the great popular pilgrimage centers of the middle ages – Kumano (Wakayama Prefecture), Zenkōji Temple (Nagano City), the Ise Shrines (Mie
Prefecture), Sumyoshi Shrine (Osaka City), Mt. Kōya ( Wakayama Prefecture), etc. There were also pilgrimages encompassing numerous places – kaikoku jūrei (pilgrimage around the nation) or angya (aimless wandering). These journeys were sometimes undertaken for benefit in present life but more often, particularly in hermit accounts, for the accumulation of karmic merit. Some pilgrimages were combined with other forms of shugyō such as collecting money for temples (described by Saigyō (1118–1190) and Sōkyū in the Miyako no Tsuio of 1350–52), the copying and offering of sutras or parts of sutras to sacred places (in Lady Nijō’s Towazugatari of 1271–1306), and of course, the pursuit of poetry. Since sacred places such as Kumano and Ise were not only places of personal worship but centers of a national cult, pilgrimages to such places also had political connotations, as described in the example of the Ise Daijingū Sankei Ki (1342).

The Ionushi (11th century) is one of the principal sources for a description of a Kumano pilgrimage. The religious quality of the author’s journey permeates his diary, in both the prose and the poetry sections:

As I approached Kumano, there were shrines at the foot of every tree where I had to pray to the gods [and he therefore lost much time]. I spent that night at Mizunomi, where I wrote:

Praying to the gods
Of past and present
I believe
That all my hopes
Will be realized.

Three days later I arrived at the Sacred Mountain. I walked around the place to see how it looked. There were about two or three hundred hermit huts, each having been built according to the hermit’s fancy, which was a strange sight indeed. Coming to the dwelling of a person whom I knew intimately I saw him lie down fast asleep in all his clothes, using his straw raincoat as a cover and a pile of wood as a pillow.

...when the bell sounded, he [Ionushi] went to the Shrine, covering his head and putting on his straw raincoat. A large crowd had gathered. When the prayers came to a close and the pilgrims dispersed, there were some who lingered in front of the sanctuary and others who, wearing straw raincoats, peered in stealthily or stayed at the foot of the pillars inside the hall. There were some who, bowing deeply, recited magic formulas, some of which were quite unintelligible, but there were also such audible pleas as “Please [o God] make your will manifest!”

This passage is the longest (about any one place) in the diary reflecting the importance of Kumano (Hongū). The many hermit huts the author mentions may indicate the popularity the Kumano pilgrimage was acquiring toward the end of the Heian Period, paving the way for the many visits by retired emperors and the warriors.

Zenkōji Temple (Nagano) was another noteworthy pilgrimage center. The Amida (Amitābha) statue installed in this temple was brought from the continent about the 6th century. Because it had come from the West (the location of Amida’s Pure Land), the statue was identified with Amida himself. The temple, located far to the east of both the capital and Kamakura, was considered the gate leading to Amida’s Western Paradise. The author of the Kaidō Ki (1223), having planned to visit this temple, confirms this belief thus:

The eastern region is the beginning of the way to Buddha’s law and is all the more the place where a novice must practice austerities. Thus the East is where my desire for enlightenment will sprout and where I shall try to open the gate to the Pure Land.

The journey to Zenkōji marked the beginning of the final journey to the West – that is an ideal journey toward Amida’s Western Paradise – which had to start from the East.
The Priest Gyöe wrote two travel diaries about pilgrimages to Zenkōji. In the *Hokkoku Kikō* (1486) he describes a night spent in prayer at the temple:

I felt as if I had reached paradise in flesh and blood. I composed this in the spirit of Amida's original vow:

From the direction Buddha Amida receives our souls,
The coolness of the rain
Which does not choose where it falls
Announces the first wind
Of the autumn we face.  

In the *Zenkōji Kikō* (1465) he refers to the belief that Amida himself had actually come to Japan in the statue:

At six o'clock in the evening, I went to the Main Hall [of the Zenkōji Temple] to pray. Quite unexpectedly, I found a temple guide who guided me so that I was able to pass the night in prayers. Moreover I could circumambulate beneath the central Amida figure. I now recognized the karma that had determined my fate and I shed tears of joy as my thoughts traveled back to the old times when Amida came to this country.

As indicated earlier, many priests and hermits undertook journeys without specific destinations. Terms such as *anyā, shokoku-* or *kaikoku-junrei,* or *henreki hōrō,* all indicate aimless wandering for religious purposes. Although such terms are not always used in travel diaries, statements such as "one should not live in one place" or "there should be no permanent settlement," serve to identify such journeys.

These journeys of aimless wandering had various degrees of specificity. Many, if not most, involved visits to the traditional sacred places. For instance, Priest Dōkō (1430-1501) titled the account of his travels to some sixteen provinces *Kaikoku Zakki* (1486-1487), which suggests that his pilgrimages belonged to the category of *kaikoku junrei,* pilgrimages around the nation. These were traditionally intended to dedicate sutras to sacred places in the provinces, but this custom gradually changed to that of offering poems, possibly under the influence of *honjisujaku.* Some journeys began simply from a desire to go "to the East." In Sōboku's *Tōkoku Kikō* (1544-45), Mt. Fuji seems to be the destination, but the author travels beyond it in the spirit of "Tōkoku rekiran," or tour of the eastern land, with the comment, "I now know the world of aimless travel." Others traveled with absolutely no destination. The Priest Sōkyū wrote in his *Miyako no Tsuto* (1350-52), "Thinking there is no final place of rest in this world, one day, I don't remember, I left Tsukushi [Kyushū] and wandered here and there with no destination..." Sōkō (1412-1494) wrote, "...as a priest, there was no need to settle anywhere, and I thought it fortunate. I left as I was, without a destination toward the East."

What must be emphasized in these various examples is the idealization of travel as a way of life. The principle of permanent travel (*issho fuju*) can probably be traced to *Jōdo* (Pure Land) Buddhism. The Priest Küya (903-972), who had a significant influence on Ippen (1239-1289) and Saigyō, among others, urged the renunciation of all worldly things, a posture typical of Amida Buddhism. "A long time ago, when someone came to see Küya Shōnin and asked how one should recite the "nembutsu, Küya answered simply: "Forsake everything!" Following Küya's example, the Priest Ippen, whose followers founded the Jishū Sect, wrote "Cast your life to the mountains and plains and leave your dwelling place to the wind and clouds.

As Shōtetsu stated in his *Nagusamegusa* (1418), travel for many hermits represented an ideal way of life, a return to nature and freedom. It was also, of course, an ideal way of life for the pursuit of art, particularly for the art of poetry as practiced by the hermit
priests. The rejection of a permanent dwelling place as a principle of life necessarily meant the direct and constant experience of mutability, a pervasive theme in Japanese literature. It also necessitated confrontation with the question of attachment, that supreme delusion according to Buddhist thought. It is evident how the principle of *issho fuju* fits into the notion of *shugyō*. We can also see how the pursuit of art and *shugyō* might intersect. The life of *issho fuju* was a life of art, a characteristically Japanese art, more precisely, in which aesthetic experience and philosophical, religious truth were never far apart.

Given this intertwining of life, religion, and art in the hermit journeys, it should come as no surprise that what might best be summarized as ancestor worship was another potent force in inspiring these journeys and shaping their itineraries. The veneration of one's poetic forebears seems to have had its official beginnings in the establishment of poetic schools such as the Nijō, Kyōgoku, or Reizei in the Kamakura Period. We have seen how religious rituals were used as political symbols by national leaders; the poetry schools also sought support and legitimation through the development of their own religious rituals. Certain schools for instance, claimed the *Man'yōshū* poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro as their founder. This gave birth, at the beginning of the Kamakura Period, to a widespread Hitomaro worship called Hitomaro Eigu; a temple and a shrine were even established in his honor. The deification of several other noted poets of the past such as Ariwara no Narihira (825–880) also coincided with the founding of these schools.

With the establishment of esoteric traditions, the teacher-pupil relationship also assumed a religious significance. The teachers were regarded as spiritual fathers; when they died, the pupils had to pay proper respect to their memories. Religious veneration came to be extended to celebrated poets of the past, whether they were claimed as the founders of one's school or not. No doubt this form of worship was an expression of the wish to cherish certain traditions of art and to emulate a past master's example. As we have seen, it became quite common to travel in the footsteps of a past master. Perhaps, by striving to imbue themselves in the spirit of a celebrated poet, his artistic heirs sought to be graced with his gifts.

The standard anniversaries at which services were held for the dead—the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, etc., became the occasions for paying tribute to later masters and poets of the past. It became a widespread practice to convene poetry meetings at those times and to compose poems in remembrance of the deceased. *Fujiwara Ujinari's Gotoba Tennō Goryō Sankei Ki* (1639), for example, recounts such a meeting on the occasion of a pilgrimage to ex-Emperor Gotoba's grave four hundred years after his death.

Many travel diary journeys coincided with the anniversaries of the deaths of poets important to the authors. Shōtetsu's *Nagusamegusa* journey (1418) to the East took place one year after the death of his teacher Reizei Tamemasa (d. 1417). Shōtetsu refers explicitly to him in the travel account saying “The late Shin Dainagon Tamemasa Ason was a leader of the way of poetry; has it not fallen into decline since his death?” Shōtetsu's death (1459), in turn, was remembered on its thirteenth anniversary with a travel diary by a pupil, the Priest Shōkō (*Shōkō Nikki*, 1473). Ichijō Kanera's *Fujikawa no Ki* of 1473 roughly coincides with the two hundredth anniversary of the death of Fujiwara no Tameie (d. 1275). The title of Kanera's travel account probably refers to Tameie's *Fujikawa-dai Hyakushū* (One Hundred Poems about Fujikawa). Gyōe's
Zenkoji Kikō (1465) coincides with the tenth anniversary of the death of his teacher Gyōkō (d. 1455), from whom he had received the kokin denju teachings and who wrote two travel diaries, the Ran Fuji Ki (1432) and the Ise Kikō (1433).

Similarly, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka's pilgrimage to Mt. Koya (recounted in the Koya Sankei Nikki, 1524) occurred approximately thirty-three years after the death of his teacher, Asukai Masachika (d. 1490). Sanetaka, at the time of the pilgrimage, had already entered the priesthood and went by the priestly name of Gyökū. His son, Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (1487–1563), whose priestly name was Jōkaku, went on a similar pilgrimage to Mt. Koya (Yoshino Mōde no Ki of 1553) and performed memorial services for his father. According to the text, he planned to go on this pilgrimage annually for the next ten years.81

Sōgi traveled to the Shirakawa Barrier (Shirakawa Kikō) in 1468 some four hundred years after Nōin (b. 988 d. sometime after 1050) had made the supposed journey. The poem Nōin had allegedly composed there became famous despite the controversy over whether he had actually traveled there:

I left the capital
With the spring mist
But now
The autumn wind is blowing
At the Shirakawa Barrier.82

Sōgi alludes to this poem in his first composition at the Barrier:

Looking for both
The mist that left the capital
And the autumn wind
I see only a dream in the empty sky
From which the winter rain is falling.83

Sōgi himself was actively remembered by his disciples after his death in 1502 in an inn at the foot of Mt. Fuji. Sōchō wrote a famous essay on his death, the Sōgi Shūen Ki. Various poetic meetings were held to keep his memory alive. The Sōchō Shuki (1522–27) and Sōchō Nikki (1530–31) contain frequent mention of poetry meetings marking the anniversaries of Sōgi's death. Sōchō followed in his master's footsteps and embarked on a journey to the Shirakawa Barrier in 1509 (Utsuyama no Ki and Azumaji no Tsuto) but was prevented by warfare from reaching his destination. The Tōkoku Kikō (1544) by Sōboku, another disciple, was written about thirteen years after Sōchō's death (1532). In the Shōha Fujimi Dōki (1567) written more than thirty-three years after Sōchō's death, the author revisits Sōchō's old hut at Utsunoyama, which the latter described in his Utsuyama no Ki (1509–1517), and other places related to Sōchō. So does Sōboku in his Tōkoku Kikō.

Some of Bashō's journeys and travel diaries may have resulted from a desire to pay tribute to his poetic ancestors. Yamamoto Tadakazu has suggested that his masterpiece, Oku no Hosomichi of 1689 was written to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of Saigyō's death (1190).84 The theory is supported by Bashō's numerous allusions to Saigyō. Moreover, in the Sora-bon Oku no Hosomichi, Sora (1649–1710), his traveling companion, composed the following in Hiraizumi (Iwate Prefecture), a place also visited by Saigyō:

Early summer rain
Year after year falling
Five hundred times.85
The death of friends and relatives, as well as teachers, led many poets to renounce the world and embark on journeys. Ogata Tsutomu has pointed out that Bashö’s journey described in his *Oi no Kobumi* (1687-88) was an act of mourning over the death of his friend Tôkoku. The latter’s death also moved him to write the *Genjuan no Ki* (1690) recounting his period of mourning in a grass hut. An old but plausible theory explains Kino Tsurayuki’s adoption of a female persona in his *Tosa Nikki* (934-35) as an attempt to write a diary in memory of his daughter. Tsurayuki served as governor of Tosa from 930-34. His daughter dies shortly before the governor’s journey back to the capital, which is the subject of the diary.

As we have been seeing, death is an ever-present topic in travel diaries. On a philosophical plane, travel diary writers had a heightened sensitivity to the laws of mutability. More personally, they mourned the deaths of those who had been important to them, which, no doubt, sharpened the sense of their own mortality as well as their responsibility to maintain and nurture poetic traditions.

A different nuance is added to travel diary passages in which the author visits battlefields and other historic scenes of violence. Whether he personally knew the victims or not, there is a sense of concern over the unappeased spirits of persons who died premature and unnatural deaths. The Priest Shinshô’s journey of 1225 marked several deaths. Ostensibly, he went to Kamakura to offer *nembutsu* prayers at the temple hall built to the personal Buddha of Höjö (also Taira) Masako (1156-1225), the Shôgun Yoritomo’s widow. However, his account of his sojourn there is replete with mournful reminiscences of his deceased master, the shôgun Sanetomo (1192-1219), for his journey also coincided with the seventh anniversary of the latter’s assassination:

> ... counting the days that passed like dreams, I find that already seven years elapsed, a fact which it is futile to be surprised or saddened over. One should neither regret nor grieve over the laws of life, yet when the Buddha died on the fifteenth of the second month, when the sky was darkened by the smoke of his cremation and the leaves of the twin-trunked trees turned white and withered, there was no one, not even the saints, who have been saved from the Six Paths [of the world, to which living things are condemned according to their karma], who did not grieve. Even the trees and grasses that have no feelings grieved over the death of their master as if they were themselves dying, and their colors changed into colors of mourning. How much less could I, who was born into the wretched world of Mappô, [the last days of the law of Buddha], possibly prevent my tears from soaking my sleeves and how much less could I contain my voice of grief? I regretted seeing the sky at dawn unchanged from those days [when the Lord Sanetomo was alive]:

> In sorrow I can hardly
> Gaze at the moon of dawn
> Veiled like the image
> Of the late Lord who turned to smoke.

Shinshô continues to praise the life of Sanetomo, his virtues as a military leader and a scholar of Chinese and Japanese. For Shinshô the poet-priest, it was as a poet that he most remembers his late master:

> among many experiences I cannot forget is the favor he showed me [by sending me his poems] on the occasions of seeing the cherry blossoms, the moon and the snow, or hearing the songs of the cuckoo.

From Kamakura Shinshô headed for Zenkôji Temple. There he received news of Masako’s death, whereupon he returned to Kamakura. The passage on that occasion is rather short, revealing that Shinshô considered her death at seventy more natural than Sanetomo’s: “Though we should not complain of her death at the age of seventy, it seemed sad indeed that she should have left us before our eyes.”
From Kamakura, Shinshō returned to his home province. The journey home was motivated, as the text indicates, by religious wanderings, shugyō, at the occasion of the thirty-third anniversary of his wife's death.

The author of the Kaidō Ki (1223) expresses deep sympathy for the Jōkyū War imperialists who were executed by the order of the Kamakura government. At Kisegawa (river of Shizuoka Prefecture), he takes up the story of Muneyuki (d. 1221) who carved a poem into a pillar at an inn. He visits the pool where another imperialist, Ichijō Nobuyoshi (1190–1221), was drowned. At Aizawa (Shizuoka Prefecture), he refers to two other victims of the Jōkyū War:

Here Azechi Sahyōe no Kami Mitsuchika and Sahyōe no Kami Arimasa lost their lives one after the other like evaporating dew. A man cannot live forever nor can a house stand in perpetuity. That is the custom of the world and the nature of things. Yet if one were to die after having lived to the [natural] end of life, it would be easier to resign oneself to death; or, if one were to leave one’s home after having cut all ties, one would be consoled to die knowing the ways of the world. But these two parted from this world in an unnatural place, a deserted field far from the capital and in the midst of a journey. It was too early for them to lose their lives; the autumn evening sky must have despaired at their plaints. One can say that they were the victims of their times, yet, what befell them here was their fate determined by their former lives.

Having said this much, the author closes this episode with the hope that they were saved in spite of their sins:

... if their faith in Amida [Amitābha] and Kannon [Avalokiteśvara] was strong enough... Oh Amida and Kannon in the Western Pure Land! If their faith in you was sincere enough at the time, I believe they could count on your guidance into Paradise. And this is the field where they left their lives.

As I passed by, the wind rose across the reed field, causing the dew to fall from the grass. Though this was called the place of transience, it was painful for me to leave it behind.

The pilgrimage to the northern provinces described in the Kaikoku Zakki (1486–1487) takes the author to Okabenohara (now Okabe, Saitama Prefecture), an old battlefield:

At a place called Okabenohara, where the memory of the warrior Rokuyata still lives, a great number of warriors were killed in a recent battle of the Kantō and the bones of the men and horses were piled in mounds, some of them remaining to this day. For some time I performed memorial services, then composed the following poem out of a fancy:

Over an old mound
At Okabenohara
Where I mourn the dead
The wind blows through the pine tree,
Signalling autumn.

The author's performing memorial services here recalls the itinerant priests in Nō plays (shokoku ikken-zō) who pray for the unappeased spirits of warriors and others who died violent or misguided deaths.

Of all battlefields, one that never goes unmentioned by travel diary authors who traveled along the San’yō Road is Dannoura (now Yamaguchi Prefecture). There in 1185 a naval battle was fought between the Taira (Heike) and Minamoto (Genji) clans, resulting in the ruin of the former. Seeing that the battle was lost, Nii no Ama, the widow of the Taira chieftain, Kiyomori, threw herself into the sea with her grandson, the Emperor Antoku, who was at that time only seven years old. Here is Imagawa Ryōshun on Dannoura (from his Michiyukiburi of 1371):

In the east of [Kameyama] is a temple called Amidadō. After the Emperor Antoku lost his life near these shores, the daughter of [Taira no] Tomomori, called the Nun Shōshō, stayed here to pray for the fallen Taira soldiers. Later the hermitage was changed into a temple for the worship of
the dead [Emperor]. There is portrait of the Emperor Antoku. The main object of worship is a statue of the Amida Buddha which Kiyomori had installed and worshipped at his Jibutsu-do in Fukushima. Also there stands a statue of Shaka [Sakyamuni] which the Minister of Komatsu [Taira no Shigemori] kept as his personal statue. As I have often dreamed of the Emperor Antoku recently, I prayed for the peace of his soul many times.

Notes to Chapter V

Tōkan Kikō Shinshaku, annot. by Kasamatsu Sugio, p. 5.

According to the Azuma Kagami, Mitsuuki visited Kamakura for this purpose in 2/8/1221 (Shōkyū 3) Yoshikawa-bon, vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankō-kai, 1926), p. 173. Other visits are recorded: 19/3/1230 (Kangi 2), ibid., p. 264, 13/9/1231 (Kangi 3), ibid., p. 278, etc.


This is the view of the Heike Monogatari, annotated by Takagi Ichinosuke, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taisetsu, vol. 32 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), p. 272. Ex-Emperor Goshirakawa was put under close confinement as a result of the Shishigatani Affair of 1177. Emperor Takakura, Goshirakawa’s son, abdicated, perhaps to avoid his father’s being sent into exile.


Ibid.

A History of Japan, 1334–1615 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 195–196. This is also the opinion expressed in contemporary Japanese sources such as the Kannon Gyoki and the Mansai Jōgō Nikki.


Another example of a poetic diary describing a hunting expedition is the Kagane no Onkari written in 1795 when the eleventh shōgun Tokugawa Ietsugu hunted in Shimōsa Province (included in Zoku Teikoku Bunko, Zokukusoku Kikō-bunshū).

I am indebted here to G. Sansom, op. cit., pp. 109–113.


Gunsho Ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 765. Atsuta (Shrine) is now in Nagoya.


Saitō Myōchín, for instance, sent Kamera 2500 rolls of cloth and promised him a further supply of 500 a month should he agree to visit. 6/2/Bummei 2 (1470), p. 378, Daijōin Isha Zōjīki, vol. 4 (Tōkyō, 1932). Two of Myōchín’s poems were included in the Shinsen Tsukubashū.

This is the view expressed in the Daijōin Isha Zōjī Ki, entry for 23/6/Bummei 5 (1473) and 26/6/ of the same year, vol. 5 (Tōkyō: Sanyō Shoin, 1933), p. 370 and p. 372.

A detailed study on the cultural activities of Muromachi Period warriors has appeared recently, Sengoku Bushi to Bungei no Kenkyū by Yonehara Masayoshi, (Tōkyō: Ōfusha, 1976).

Taira no Yorikazu: Son of Tō no Tsuneyori (1401–1494). Uesugi Fusasada: Sagami-no-kami. Two poems of his were included in the Shinsen Tsukubashū, compiled by Sōgi. Uesugi Akisada: Son of Uesugi Fusasada. Fujitobe (Uesugi) Sadamas: Saba-no-kami. Two of his poems were included in the Shinsen Tsukubashū. Taira no Tsunezaku, Son of Tō no Tsuneyori, from whom Sōgi received his kokin denju teachings, and brother of Yorikazu (supra).

Sagara Masato (dates unknown): Tōtomi-no-kami. In 1478, he wrote the Masato Ki, about Ōuchi Masahiro. Three poems of his were included in Sōgi’s Shinsen Tsukubashū under the name of Masato Hōshi (Priest Masato). Sue Hiroomi (dates unknown): Shugodai of Suwo Province. A retainer of the Ōuchi family. Moji Yoshhide (dates unknown): Shimofusa-no-kami. Five poems of his were included in the Shinsen Tsukubashū. Sue Hiroaki (dates unknown): Became Shugodai of Chikuzen Province in 1479. Naitō Morimichi (dates unknown): Two poems of his were included in the Shinsen Tsukubashū. Ōuchi Masahiro (1446–1495). Feudal lord of Suwo Province. 75 poems of his were included in the Shinsen Tsukubashū.


Nagao Magoroku: Owari-no-kami Kagetada?

Also known under its other title, Moshiogusa, in Ijichi Tetsuo, Rengaronshū, Iwanami Bunko, no. 98 (Tokyo, 1957).

Manuscript in possession of Professor Ijichi Tetsuo (Waseda University).


In Rengaron Shishū, Koten Bunko, part 3 (Tokyo, 1963).

In Sōchō Nikki, Iwanami Bunko, p. 126. All place names belong to Shizuoka Prefecture. Nagaaki (dates unknown) was a vassal of the Imagawa clan.

In the Nara Period (710-784), all travel other than the official was prohibited (Shoku Nihongi). In the Heian Period even official travel was viewed in the light of exile by members of the high aristocracy. From the end of the Heian Period on, private, individual travel began to assume a religious character.


Sōgi Tabi no Ki Shichū, Kaneko Kinjirō annot. p. 29.


Ibid., p. 783.

Perhaps an opposite form of pilgrimage is the one undertaken for healing. Two journeys to hot springs have been recorded in travel diaries, Sōhokū's Tōkoku Kōki (1544-45) and Rennyo's Arima Michi no Ki (1483). In the latter, the Priest Rennyo prayed frequently at temples on the way to and at Arima, where the hot springs whose healing waters he sought were located. They were apparently efficacious, for he composed the following poem:

"After several days
The hot springs of Mt. Arima
Seems to have shown its effect.
Healed,
The traveler goes home."

(Kokubun-)-Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho, vol. 7, Kikō-bu, p. 110.) Such visits to hot springs later developed into pilgrimages including a number of hot springs, combining religious and therapeutic ends.


Ionishi Honbun oyobi Sakuin, Masubuchi Shōichi (annot.), pp. 5-7.


Gunsho Ruijō, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 670. Hongan: Amida's vow to save all sentient beings who call upon him. Hence the practice of nembutsu, the invocation of Amida's name.

(Kokubun-)-Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho, vol. 7, Kikō-bu, p. 102.


Gunsho Ruijō, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 642. Like Bashō in his Kashima Kikō, Sōkyō's travels come closest to the Zen meaning of angya which is to travel in search of an ideal teacher.
Chapter VI Writing Motives

The question of why travel diaries were written becomes by and large a question of why the poems in them were written; for, as often indicated, poetry is a dominant element in all but the purely historical accounts written in Chinese, and, in many cases, the diary form is but a vehicle for the arrangement and presentation of verses composed on a journey. When we discuss writing motives, the distinction of hermit versus official becomes less important, and religious and artistic purposes become more intertwined than ever.

With their inclusion of poetry and their concern with form and the tradition of Japanese literature, one can safely assume that the travel diaries were written to be read. How much a travel diary could circulate among readership is indicated in the epilogue of the Katsura no Miya-bon copy of the Michiyukiburi. According to this, Ryōshun had to make additional copies of his travelogue because it was circulated in Kyōto and Kamakura.

In the case of most of the official accounts, the zuikō, it is clear that the authors wrote them because they had to, just as they traveled because they were ordered to. They tended toward disregarding their personal feelings and preferred to write about matters of official or common interest. For example, Fujiwara no Teika had to appear at poetry meetings during the imperial journey to Kumano in 1201 even when he was seriously ill.

7 Ippen Hōji-e, Nihon Enmakimonō Zenshū, vol. 10 (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1966), plate 90, pp. 78–79, text is on p. 69.
8 One of the most famous products of such a meeting is the linked-verse series Minase Sangin. Two hundred fifty years after the death of ex-Emperor Gotoba (d. 1239), three linked-verse poets, Sōgi, Sōhaku, and Sōchō, traveled to Minase, where Gotoba’s palace had stood, to compose a series of linked-verses beginning with a verse alluding to a poem by the ex-Emperor. Gunsho Ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 584. In 1490, Shōkō composed the Ei Hokke Nijūhappon Waka, poems on the basis of the Twenty-Eight chapters of the Lotus Sutra in the memory of Shōtetsu.
9 (Kokubun-) Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho, vol. 7, Kikō-bu, p. 226. Another example of ancestor worship in the motivation for writing may be found in the Köya Nikki, written by Ton’a on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of his teacher Tameyo’s death.
10 Goshūshō, poem no. 518 (vol. 9 Kiryo), Kokka Taikan, vol. 1, p. 94.
11 Sōgi Tabi no Ki Shichū, Kaneko Kinjirō, p. 15.
13 (Kohonbun-) Bashō Zenshū, vol. 6 (Imoto Nōichi et al., annot.) (Tōkyō, Kadokawa Shoten, 1962), p. 121, note 43.
15 According to Kayama Kageki, quoted in Narukami Katsumi, Nihon Kikō Bungei-shi, p. 36.
17 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 (Kokubun-) Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho, vol. 7, Kikō-bu, p. 131. Okabenohara, the center of the Okabe clan, has been the site of frequent battles in the latter Muromachi Period. Rokuyata refers to Okabe Rokuyata Tadasumi, a warrior who fought for the Miramoto during the Gempei Wars of 1180–1185.
and moreover was assigned the themes on which to write (e.g., sixth and fourteenth and possibly the ninth day). On such journeys, the poems that were composed and the travel account which incorporated them were reviewed by the leader. A number of examples illustrate this practice; for example, the entry for the twentieth day of the twelfth month (1414) in the Muromachi Dono no Ise Sangū Ki, when the shogunal party arrived in Ise, states: "I was ordered to record and submit all poems composed on the way. There is no greater honor for a poet, and I felt deep gratitude..." Later, at the Yōda Inn (Yamada, Mie Prefecture), "Again a messenger came with the order to quickly add forewords to the travel poems."

The Ise Kikō of 1433 was also the result of a shogunal order to the poet:

On the thirteenth of the tenth month, I was ordered to compile the poems I had composed on the way in one volume and to show it to the shōgun. So I wrote it quickly and submitted it the next day."

On the 14th of the tenth month, over seven months after the completion of the journey, the diary was submitted to the shōgun. The Mansai Jugō Nikki reveals that all three travel diaries written on the occasion of Ashikaga Yoshinori's journey to Mt. Fuji in 1432 had to be submitted to the shōgun: "The poems composed on the way had to be written down, accompanied by a text giving the circumstances." The numerous poems of praise addressed to the shōgun which the zuikō accounts usually contain point to the importance of poetry in political affairs. Political ambitions were often expressed and supported by poetry. It is not surprising, therefore, that political potentates preferred to surround themselves with poets of official schools. Yoshinori, for instance, was accompanied on his journey to Mt. Fuji by official Nijō school poets. Hosokawa Yūsai, in both the Kyōshū Michi no Ki and the Tōkoku-jin Michi no Ki, is strongly conscious of the military leader Toyotomi Hideyoshi. This suggests that these travel accounts were written as official documents.

Although the journeys made by linked-verse poets in response to the invitations of feudal lords were far less official than the zuikō journeys, there is some indication that the diaries were written to be submitted to the hosts. For example, the following epilogue to the Tsukushi Michi no Ki (1480), which Sōgi wrote during his stay at the castle of Lord Ōuchi Masahiro (d. 1495) in Yamaguchi (now Yamaguchi City, Yamaguchi Prefecture), suggests that this was the case:

Thirty-six days have passed since my departure. During that time, I traveled a long way, which was not lacking in difficult mountains and rivers. However, since man's heart is at peace with itself in times of good government, I encountered no hindrance in crossing the rapids of the gorges and was able to proceed without fear on the highways, traveling with ease. Today is the twelfth day of the tenth month. I returned to my lodge in Yamaguchi and finished this travel diary."

Sōgi's disciple Sōchō also submitted his Utsuyama Ki to Imagawa Ujichika presumably in recognition that Ujichika allowed Sōchō to live in his territory."

A thoroughly literary concern with the maintenance of certain poetic traditions and the prosperity of poetry in general motivated the writing of many travel diaries, both official and hermit. Indeed, some accounts seem to have been written to serve as textbooks for the composition of poetry, particularly those written by the leaders of the established schools. The mere fact that many recipients in the Nambokuchō and Muromachi Periods of the esoteric kokin denju tradition of poetry—Ton'a, Gyōkō, Sōgi, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, Ichijō Kanera, Sanjōnishi Kineda, Sōchō, Hosokawa Yūsai and others—wrote travel diaries supports this view.
A prime example is the Nun Abutsu’s *Izayoi Nikki* (1279–1280), which has been referred to in a number of contexts. Abutsu sought to protect the tradition of Fujiwara no Teika – Tameie – Tamesuke at all costs. According to the text, she sent the travel section of the diary to her children. Tamesuke, her son by Tameie, composed a series of fifty poems on the basis of this section, which he sent to his mother in Kamakura. Abutsu then made comments on how some of the poems should have been written. She added:

*I was also given thirty poems by the Chamberlain’s younger brother, Tanemori.* “Please give marks [of excellence] to them and also record in detail the bad [points],” he told me. This year he was just sixteen. Since his wording was poetic, [his poems] seemed sweet to me, and time and again in the darkness of my [mother’s] heart I was quite ridiculous [about them]. He, too, appeared to have composed his travel poems while thinking of me. They seemed to have been composed on the basis of the diary of my trip down here, which I had sent them.”

Inoue Muneo observes a similar motivation in the writing of Sōboku’s *Tōkoku Kikō* (1544).

It will be recalled from the last chapter that Shōtetsu mourned the decline of poetry after the death of his teacher, Fujiwara no Tamemasa. His *Nagusamegusa* (1418) was written in part in an effort to revitalize the practice of poetry, especially the poetry of the Reizei school. This work contains a travel diary followed by a poetry treatise, touching on the author’s view of the *Genji Monogatari* and linked verse. The postscript indicates that the travel diary was written after the poetry treatise, perhaps as an illustration of its theories:

However, someone had asked me to write something that would illustrate my views in the pamphlet on the poetry in the *Genji Monogatari*. In the course of writing it, I continued, almost in spite of myself, to describe what had happened to me since I left the capital, thinking it might be a consolation on sleepless nights.

The influence of the *Genji Monogatari* is evident in the prose sections as well as the poetry in the travel diary. The *Genji Monogatari*, like the poetry of Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), offered a model of *yūgen* (mysterious depth), and Shōtetsu may have wished to illustrate its importance in the composition of poetry. Through the Sōchō Shuki (1522–1527), we know that the *Nagusamegusa* has been available to later travel diarists.

A similar concern for the way of poetry is evident in the *Tsukushi Michi no Ki* (1480) by the linked-verse poet, the priest Sōgi: “In front of the sanctuary I prayed for nothing but the way of poetry.” At the Sumiyoshi Shrine (now Hakata, Fukuoka City, Fukuoka Prefecture), Sōgi held a poetry meeting in honor of the Shintō deity, a protector of poetry, and offered prayers for the “true way” of poetry. The Dazaifu Tenmangū Shrine (Fukuoka Prefecture), his ultimate destination, enshrined the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane (845–903), another god of poetry. Such motivations also appear to be applicable in those accounts which are heavily based on *utamakura*, such as the *Miyako no Tsuto* or the *Kyūshū no Michi no Ki*. Through their concern with *utamakura*, the authors show their concern with *utamakura* traditions, which they want to preserve.

From the Heian Period on, one of the most highly sought honors by poets was inclusion of their compositions in the imperial anthologies. In the last chapter, it was indicated that some journeys were apparently taken to provide occasions for the composition of poetry. Lady Nijō, on such a journey, shows a strong concern about the poetic tradition of her family, when she expresses at the end of her *Towazugatari*:
None of her father’s poems were selected for the Shingosenshū of 1303. She may therefore have written her Towazugatari as a quest for consideration in the following Gyokuyūshū of 1313. The timing of her diary, written between 1307 and 1313, seems significant.

The poems in the Sumiyoshi Mōde of 1364 were written by the second Ashikaga shōgun Yoshiakira (1329–1367) and later compiled and made into a travel diary, presumably by an accompanying person. This account came shortly before the compilation in 1364 of the Shinshūshū, an imperial anthology of poetry ordered by Emperor Gokōgon (r. 1352–1371) at the request of Yoshiakira. The Sompi Bannya (a genealogy of aristocrats written in the Nambokuchō Period) reveals that Yoshiakira attached great importance to this anthology. It is therefore possible that Yoshiakira’s pilgrimage to the Sumiyoshi Shrine (Osaka) was undertaken at least in part to compose poems for inclusion in the anthology. The passage at the Sumiyoshi Shrine, which enshrines a god of poetry, attests to Yoshiakira’s interest:

Since ancient times it has been said that this god protects those who are deeply devoted to the way of poetry. One who wishes to write good poetry will certainly be successful if he visits this god and prays.

How little I know
Of the Way of Poetry
Handed down
Since the age of the Gods.

The practice of poetry dedication to sacred places may not explain the writing of entire travelogues, but it did constitute the raison d’être of many travel diary poems. The intertwining of poetry and religion has been raised several times in our discussion; let us examine this link in greater detail.

There were two traditions behind the practice of poem dedications. The first was the Shintō practice of tamuke offerings to road deities as a prayer for travel safety, described in the chapter on utamakura. Many such poems appear in the Man’yōshū. Although the need to worship road deities was recognized less and less in later periods, the tradition of offering poems at strategic points remained vital, nurtured by sessuwa-stories about the mishaps of travelers who neglected such offerings, as well as a continued awareness of the magical properties of poetry (kotodama). According to this awareness, as stated by Ki no Tsurayuki in his preface of the Kokinshū (905):

It is poetry which, without exertion, moves heaven and earth, stirs the feelings of gods and spirits invisible to the eye, softens the relations between men and women, calms the hearts of fierce warriors.

The Fujikawa no Ki (1473) has examples attesting to the vitality of the practice of composing poems at borders:

Imasu Pass at the border of Mino Province looks like a fortress. It might well be said that even a single barrier guard could keep ten thousand warriors from passing through:

I will make an offering
In case a god dwells
In this mountain,
Even though I have not time enough
To present crimson leaves.

In the Michiyukiburi (1371), Imagawa Ryōshun, when crossing the Iwakuni Mountains (Yamaguchi Prefecture), composed three poems alluding to the old
Man’yōshū poem which said, “The day you cross the Iwakuni mountains / Present your offerings, earnestly, / The road is rough.” Further on in the Michiyukiburi, Ryōshun offers poems at the Sumiyoshi Shrine (Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi Prefecture) presumably to effect a change in the wind direction that had been keeping him from continuing his voyage.

In the Rokun’in Dono Itsukushima Mōde no Ki (1389), Ryōshun refers to a travel ritual of offering straw to the spirit of the boat in order to avert danger.

Ondo no Seto [Ondo Strait] was a narrow place where the currents flowed swiftly like a waterfall. The boatmen rowed fiercely to keep the boat in course:

Hurriedly making offerings
To the ship deity,
We crossed the channel
As swiftly as a waterfall.

This reminds us of a similar ritual performed at the start of Empress Jingo Kōgo’s Korean campaign described in the Nihongi (720).

Tamuke poems appear here and there in Hosokawa Yūsai’s Kyūshū Michi no Ki (1587). Upon his arrival at Izumo Shrine (Shimane Prefecture), Yūsai explains his offering of a poem to the deity thus:

As this god was the first
To compose a [Japanese] poem,
The poem I composed
Barely counting the syllables
Will serve as an offering.

As for the Buddhist tradition, the custom of dedicating poems probably goes back to the great T’ang poet Po Chü-i, who in 835 gathered his literary works and presented them to the Tung-Lin Temple in Lu-shan. In Japan this practice was adopted, for one, by Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241) who selected forty-eight poems symbolizing the Forty-Eight Vows of the Amida (Amitābha) Buddha and dedicated them to Amida. The development of the Buddhist and Shintō synthesis under the theory of honjisuisaku naturally came to encompass poetry. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the Priest Sensai asserted that the Shintō deity Sumiyoshi, the god of poetry, was also a bodhisattva. Therefore, poetry could be a medium of worship of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and poetry used in Shintō worship could also be used in Buddhist worship. Sensai was equating sutra copying and recitation, which had been recognized as an appropriate Buddhist worship, with poetry composition and dedication; since the latter was a recognized means of worship of Shintō deities, it should also be applicable to Buddhas who had manifested themselves as Shintō deities. Thus poetry, using a language more familiar to the Japanese, acquired a status equivalent to that of the secret formulas (dharani or shingon) of Buddhism. In this spirit, a large number of sutra and prayer poems were composed from the end of the Heian Period on, and poetry began to play a part in a number of Buddhist practices, such as shikan-meditation, pilgrimage, prayers, proselytism, mountain austerities, nembutsu, kōshiki, kangaku-e, and ancestor worship. Here, we shall be particularly concerned with the custom of dedicating poems or series of poems to sacred places, which became an important occasion for the composition of poetry.

Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114–1204), the leading poet of his time, was instrumental in making poem dedications to sacred places and established practice. He organized a number of poetry meetings at temples and shrines. In 1190, he dedicated several series
of one hundred poems to Kasuga, Hiyoshi, Sumiyoshi, Kamo and Ise Shrines (Shunzei Kyō Bunji Rokunen Gosha Hyakushū). In 1186, he composed a series of one-hundred poems at the Ise Shrines thanks to the funds raised by Saigyō. In 1217, he organized a poetry contest at Kimbusenji Temple (Yoshino, Nara Prefecture), made possible with funds collected by his son Teika. When he dedicated a poem to the Kasuga Shrine (Nara), the deity is said to have appeared to him in his dream.

Shunzei’s practice was followed by the Priest Jien (1155–1225), who continued to select sacred places for composing poetry. Like Shunzei, he dedicated several series of one hundred poems to the Sumiyoshi, Hiyoshi, Kamo and Kasuga Shrines, often adding forewords explaining the synthetic nature of Buddhism and Shinto (Gyoku-yōshū). In 1192, he dedicated a series of one-hundred poems to the Sumiyoshi Shrine.

As far as travel literature in concerned, these activities can be directly linked to those described in the Gotoba-in Kumano Gokō Ki (1201). Gotoba held poetry meetings at several shrines during his pilgrimage. Such gatherings at sacred places became popular from the Insei Period on.

The Ionushi (11th century) gives us an early example of the use of poetry in hermit travel diaries. The following prayer and poem were dedicated to the Sumiyoshi Shrine:

One cannot live long in this world; life is more evanescent than the bubbles on the water or the dew drops on a blade of grass. From the depths of my heart I wish to blot out the sins of my past life and to become a Buddha in times to come. My hatred of the world is unceasing. Please teach me to see the cherry blossoms in spring and the maple leaves in autumn without feeling their fragrance or enjoying their hues and to look upon the morning dew or the evening moon knowing the transiency of this world!

When I have retired from this world,
I will only rely upon the Pine Tree
Standing at Suminoe, waiting
For my rebirth in Pure Land.

Such poem dedications or poem prayers are numerous in travel diaries. The Köya Nikki, written by the hermit-priest Ton’a (1289–1372), recounts the gathering of four poets before a portrait of Kōbō Daishi (774–835), the founder of a Shingon Sect of Buddhism in Japan. They met to compose poems in the iroha order of the Japanese syllabary, the invention of which was attributed to the great religious leader. The use of Buddhist vocabulary and allusions to sutras are common in poems dedicated to temples. The Ishiyama Tsukimi Ki (1555), presumably dedicated to the temple of Ishiyama (Shiga Prefecture), ends in a collection of sixteen waka of which the initial syllables spell the full name of Kannon bodhisattva, the main object of worship at the Ishiyama Temple – “Namu Niyoirimu Kuwamuseomu Hosatsu” (Namu Nyoirin Kanzeon Bosatsu).

The Ise Daijingū Sankei Ki (1286), by Saka Jūbutsu, describes the origins of the practice of dedicating linked-verse (renga) poetry to the Ise Shrines. Jūbutsu proposed the use of linked-verse poetry in the worship of the deities of the Shrines:

So after making pilgrimage to these various places, I returned to the Sambōin at Yamada and there several poetry lovers came and proposed a set of Renga, it being the time to make farewell offerings. As it seemed to me that the opportunity for the fulfilment of my long-mediated desire had come when they said, “This country is called the land of Yamato and Japanese poetry is called Yamato-kotoba or Yamato language. And this Shrine is the very foundation of the country, so is not this Deity the origin of our poetry? But though poems are written often when making pilgrimages to other shrines, a set of Renga dedicated to these two shrines has never been heard of.”

Some travel diaries, like the Hakkoku Kikō (1486), consist almost entirely of poem dedications. For example:
On the thirteenth of the sixth month, I arrived at the beach of Fuchū in Echigo Province. I visited an old friend, the Priest Shōzai, whom I had known in the capital, and spent several nights in his simple hut. Near the beach there was an old shrine. When I went to offer prayers, an old shrine priest by the name of Nagakisa came out to meet me and said this deity had been the protector of the northern sea since the time of the attacks against the three kingdoms of Korea and that the name of the deity was Kōta no Myōjin. As he asked me to offer something, I composed the following:

Does the deity who protects Japan  
Send cool air from the sea  
Up to the Plain of Heaven  
Beyond the clouds?  

Other poems are dedicated to Tanabata, Suwa Shrine, Shirai, etc., by the author, who attributed divine qualities, not only to temples and shrines, but to beautiful scenery as well.

In the _Kaikoku Zakki_ (1486–87), Priest Dōkō dedicates a number of poems to shrines and particularly to mountains. It almost seems as if Dōkō climbed mountains in order to compose poems upon completion of the ordeal. The following series, written at Mt. Kiyozumi (Chiba Prefecture), Mt. Tsukuba (Ibaragi Prefecture), and Lake Chūzenji (Tochigi Prefecture) illustrates this:

After passing the night in prayer at Mt. Kiyozumi in Awa Province, I composed this poem before dawn:

Even the stars  
Shining in the twilight  
Rise out of pure [kiyozumi] plains of the sea  
In the distance  
Like a mountain.  

Today I have come  
Without hindrance  
To the mountain of Tsukuba  
Where trees grow in abundance  
As a blessing of the god.  

Chūzenji Temple, the sanctuary of an avatar, stands thirty ri [120 km] up this mountain. I climbed there and passed the night. It was the thirteenth, and the moon was more beautiful than in any other place. There was a wide lake. At Uta no Hama the autumn maple leaves were most beautiful under the moonlight and I boarded a boat to compose a poem:

Poling my boat  
Near the Beach of Poetry  
And pulling a branch of crimson leaves  
Through my hair  
I look at the moon.

Many of the Shintō _tamuke_ poems described earlier fall into the category of votive prayers. Poem dedications came to be made for a wide range of purposes, from the general to the particular and personal. Poems as a prayer for peace were quite common, of course. Warriors dedicated poems both as a request for success in battle and thanks for victory won. Imagawa Ujichika (1470–1526), for instance, sent the first verse of the _Shutsujin Senku_ series offered by Sōchō to the Mishima Shrine at the foot of Mt. Fuji to pray for a successful campaign. The _Shutsujin Manku Mitsumono_ by Yoshikawa Hiroie (d.1625) presents another example of poetry presented as a prayer for military success. This series of ten-thousand poems was presented to the Daisen-ji Temple (Mt. Daisen, Tottori Prefecture) in 1592 as a prayer for the success of Hideyoshi's Korean campaign. The Nun Abutsu offered poems as prayers for success in her suit at several
points in the course of her journey of 1280. One of the poems she offered to the Atsuta Shrine (Nagoya) is an example:

Oh, I pray that what I wish comes to be Narumi beach.

be partial to me, The ebbing tide, even it is as the gods will. 

Indeed, most of the travel and writing motives discussed previously — the preservation of poetic traditions, paying homage to poetic ancestors, the abolition of personal sins produced poems as votive offerings. The variety of motivations for the composition of travel poems in travel accounts is appropriately explained by Sōgi in his Tsukushi Michi no Ki (1480):

So far on this journey, I have composed twenty poems, some of which are prayer poems, some are prayers for the way of poetry, some are about myself, and some about poets of the past. 

In the last two chapters, in which we discussed the traveling and writing motives in travel diary literature, we became aware of the complexities involved. Motivations appear to have been so complex that no medieval travel diary can be said to have been written for one single purpose, that is, in response to a purpose of travel which corresponds to that of writing. Of course, we have limited ourselves not only to known or documented motivations, but also to other motivations implied in each travel diary. To better understand the problems of motivations, let us discuss both traveling and writing motivations, and their interrelationship, on the basis of a limited number of travel diaries.

As an example of a hermit-priest, Shinshō traveled at the occasion of the seventh anniversary of Minamoto no Sanetomo’s death, and the thirteenth anniversary of his wife’s death, to perform memorial services for Hōjō Masako. But he wrote a travel account most probably in an effort to keep up the traditions of the Utsunomiya School of poetry. However, to judge by the content of the account, and Shinshō’s attitude toward the world and life, it is also highly probable that he traveled for personal purposes — to become spiritually aware of the futility of life, to seek awareness of the passage of time that underlies all existence on earth and to prepare himself thereby for his own death. There is a confessional attitude in his Shinshō Hōshi Nikki. In this regard, the writing of a travel diary could also have been, for Shinshō, an opportunity to keep a record of his own spiritual evolution toward the religious aims of his journey.

A similar combination of religious purposes for traveling and poetic aims for writing can also be observed in the Kaidō Ki, Towazugatari and others. We should remember, however, that poetry by the middle ages became an accepted way of expressing religious attitudes and insights and that, therefore, there is no large discrepancy between purposes in traveling and writing.

Ichijō Kanera (Fujikawa no Ki) traveled, as we know, as a response to an invitation by a feudal lord. The text, however, suggests other travel motivations; to visit his wife who was living under the protection of Saitō Myōchin in Mino Province, and, at least partially, to avoid the Ōnin wars which had been raging in and around the capital. Furthermore, he intended to teach Myōchin the art of poetry and to compose poems with him. He may also have wished to travel preparatory to entering the priesthood. Kanera’s motivations for writing a travel diary are less clearly known but indications exist to conclude that he did it: 1) in an effort to revive Nijō School poetry, 2) to present to his host, in the form of a travel diary, something to illustrate his teachings of poetry.
3) to compose poems about *utamakura* places (Kanera included a list of fifteen poems about *utamakura* places in Mino Province in the *Fujikawa no Ki*), and 4) to follow in the family literary tradition, since his grandfather, Nijō Yoshimoto, had also written a travel diary on a journey to the same province (*Ojīna no Kuchizusumi*).

Gyöe, in his *Hokkoku Kikō*, traveled to sacred places and from one provincial lord to the other; he wrote poems about sacred mountains. But presumably he wrote a travel account also because his teacher Gyōkō had written travel diaries and to preserve the secret poetic traditions (*Kokin denju*) that had been handed down to him by Gyōken (1442–?). These traditions rivalled those handed down by Sōgi, who also wrote travel diaries.4

Such a combination of various motivations for traveling (invitations, avoidance of war, a lawsuit – as in the *Izayoi Nikki* – and shugyō) and of writing (as a pamphlet to illustrate and maintain certain poetic traditions) can be observed in most travel diaries. A greater discrepancy between both motivations probably underlies the strategic journeys by military leaders and the pursuit of poetry during such ventures. But here again, one must point out the role of poetry in political and strategic matters.

Notes to Chapter VI

1 Zoku *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, part 2, p. 1272.


3 *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 600.


9 Hosokawa Manor at Ono in the same *kikō* is a further indication of the author’s concern with traditions of poetry. On the Hosokawa Manor, see pp. 32–33.

10 *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 595. This “someone” was, according to Tanaka Shinichi, a young man whom Shōtetsu was fond of. “Shōtetsu no ko,” *Kokugo Kokubungaku* (September, 1966), p. 34–40.

11 Here referred to as “Shōtetsu Azumi Michi no ki,” *Shōchō Nikki*, Iwanami Bunko, p. 84.

12 Sōgi *Tabi no Ki Shichū*, Kaneko Kinjirō, p. 75.


14 On Yoshiakira’s concern with the *Shinshūshū*, see *Gunsho Kaidai*, vol. 11, pp. 114–115 and Inoue Muneco, *Chūsei Kadan-shi no Kenkyū–Nambokuchō Ki* (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1961), pp. 647–648. Also, a possible motivation for Yoshiakira’s pilgrimage was to offer prayers for peace to the Sumiyoshi Shrine, which he does in the form of poetry – *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 555.

15 *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 555.

16 See pp. 18–19.


18 *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 633. The last line refers to Sugawara no Michizane’s having offered maple leaves in Nara in the Heian Period. For further examples of poetry composed at political boundaries, see Tōkan Kikō *Shinshaku*, p. 63 and *Tsukushi Michi no Ki*, *Sōgi Tabi no Ki Shichū*, p. 37.

19 *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 28, Kikō-bu, p. 565. The *Man’yōshū* poem is no. 567.

20 *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 570.


22 *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 739. The poem by Susanoo no Mikoto: The eight-fenced palace of Izumo / Of the rising eight clouds / To dwell there with my wife / I build an eight-fenced palace / Ah, that eight-fenced palace. (*Kojiki*).


*nembutsu*: invocation of the name of the Buddha Amida by the formula “Namu Amida Butsu.”

*Kōshiki* are gatherings for prayer usually in front of *mandala* or other Buddhist symbols. By the 13th century, through the introduction of poetry in Buddhist worship, the so-called wakakošiki came into use. *Kangaku-e* are gatherings for the study of meditation. There are other Buddhist ceremonies in which poetry was used, e.g., *hōon-e* (thanksgivings), *nehan-e* (memorial day of Buddha’s death), etc.

Poems were often dedicated to sacred places for the purpose of *kanjū*, the collection of money for construction or reconstruction. The shōgun Ashikaga Yoshikira sent *waka* to allow for the reconstruction of the Nii Tamatsushima Shrine, which had burnt down. (See Inoue Munéo, *Chūsei Kado-shi no Kenkyū, Nambokuchō Ki*, pp. 638–640.) Also, Sōchō engaged himself in the selling of poems (uta-kanjū), according to his *Sōchō Shuki*.

*The Gojo-sha-in Kumanon Gokō Kī* is a valuable source for the study of the role of poetry and the arts in general in pilgrimages. It reveals that in addition to poetry contests, there was music and dancing, wrestling, and horse racing, at various sacred places on the way (the so-called Ninety-nine Ōji Shriners), all intended as offerings to the deities. *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 426.

*Ionushi Hombun oyobi Sakun*, Masubuchi Shōichi, p. 2. Suninoe is another, more ancient name of Sumiyoshi (Osaka).

*Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 27, Zatsu-bu (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1933), pp. 411–13. The first part of the *Ishiyama Tsukimi Kī* is a thousand-link series of verses on the theme of the *Genji Monogatari*, composed by the author, Sanjōshin Kin’eda, and three other poets. The legend that Lady Murasaki wrote her *Genji Monogatari* at Ishiyama Temple created the intimate relation of the temple with literature and linked-verse poetry in particular. Linked-verse poems often took the *Genji Monogatari* as a basic textbook for their poetry. The Sanskrit name of Namu Nyorin Kanzeon: Namah (Hail) to Jōbutsu’s example a century later.

A. L. Sadler (transl.) “The Ise Daijingu Sankei Kī or Diary of a Pilgrim to Ise,” p. 73. The *Sanro no Watari* (1522) by linked-verse poet-priest Sōseki, a disciple of Sōgi, gives us proof of the flourishing of *yobutsu’s* example a century later. It recounts a pilgrimage to Ise with the purpose of dedicating a thousand verse series he had composed with Sōchō to the Shrine. The first verse of the series was sent by Hosokawa Takakuni, (1484–1531) a powerful feudal lord, who probably subsidized both the pilgrimage and the poetry meeting. His verse reads:

In the morning sun
The mist spreads its fragrance
Into all directions.


For instance, *Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 675. Tanabata: festival of the seventh day of the seventeenth month when two stars, the Shepherd (Altair) and the Weaver (Vega), separated by the Milky Way, could reunite. Suwa Shrine (Suwa Taisha): Nagano Prefecture. Shiran: Kitagunma-gun, Gunma Prefecture.


Ibid., 144.


Ujichika went to war to assist his nephew Hōjō Sōun (Ise Nagauji) (1432–1519) in his campaign against the Yamauchi Uesugi clan. Ujichika’s home territory was roughly in Shizuoka Prefecture of today.


Sōgi no Ki Shichū, Kaneko Kinjirō, p. 92.

As suggested by the passage “Masashino no kusa no yukari o kakutsu beki yue aru...” *Fujikawa no Ki, Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, p. 631.

On the kokin denju lines of Sōgi and Gyōe, see: “Kokin denju no saikento–Sōgi-ryū, Gyōe-ryū no miki-den o chūshin to shite—,” *Bungaku*, vol. 5, no. 9 (September, 1977).
Chapter VII  The Lure of Saigyö

a) Saigyö’s life and poetry

The name Saigyö has recurred frequently in this account of Japanese travel diaries. Although Saigyö himself never wrote a travel diary as far as we know, many of his poems in the Sanka Shū (a collection of Saigyö’s poems) are arranged so as to constitute a geographic progression, and are preceded by forewords which resemble the prose passages of travel accounts. Indeed, the Sanka Shū may have well served later travel diary authors as a model. Saigyö, as we have seen, served as a model for the journeys and writings of the hermit poets, so much so that consciousness of his life and works constitutes an important feature of many travel diaries.

Saigyö was born in 1118 and became a hermit in 1140 at the age of twenty-two. Various reasons have been given for this decision: the Saigyö Monogatari (date unknown) suggests that it was caused by the death of Saitö Noriyasu, once his superior officer in the imperial guard; the Gempei Seisui Ki (a work of history covering the years 1160-1224) points to an illicit love affair with a court lady of superior rank. It is more likely, however, that the decision was prompted by the events that were to result in the downfall of Emperor Sutoku (r. 1124–1141, d. in 1164) with whom Saigyö, only a year older, had been closely associated. In 1141, Sutoku was forced to abdicate by the ex-Emperor Toba (r. 1108–1123, d. in 1156). Saigyö continued to maintain ties with him, even corresponding with him, after he had been exiled to Shikoku for his role in the abortive Hōgen War of 1156. In a poem sent to Sutoku in exile, Saigyö explicitly refers to what may have been his reason for entering the priesthood:

I would not have
Abandoned the world,
Had you not suffered
So sad a fate1.

According to the Mandai Shū, a private collection of poetry of 1248, Saigyö sent the following poem to the ex-Emperor Toba, whom he served as a palace guard, asking him to forgive his decision to enter the priesthood:

It is not enough to say
That the world is a dreadful place;
Only by forsaking it completely
Can one be saved2.

The rapidly disintegrating Heian world was increasingly perceived as a hindrance to salvation. The road to salvation led away from the world and, therefore, from the capital in a one-way journey of no return. Saigyö was one of many who took this path in medieval Japan.

Saigyö’s first destination was Hanase, a place [bessho] near the Kurama Temple (Kyöto Prefecture) where other hermits like him had gathered. Later he moved to Saga, still in the vicinity of the capital. Saigyö’s first journey of physical and spiritual separation from the capital was to Ise. On his way, Saigyö composed the following poem at Suzuka Pass (between Shiga and Mie Prefectures):

Crossing Mt. Suzuka
I now renounce the world,
Wondering
What will become of me1.

For Saigyö the Suzuka Pass, an utamakura place, was not only a geographical boundary between the provinces of Ōmi and Ise, but a boundary between the profane world of the capital and the sacred world of Ise3.
Approximately three years after his vows, Saigyō traveled to the northeast of Japan, his first long-distance journey. The poems composed on the road reveal that the example of the Priest Nōin (988–?), who had lived about a hundred years earlier, was very much on his mind. At the Shirakawa Barrier (Fukushima Prefecture), recalling Nōin's poem, “I left the capital / Together with the mist / But now / The autumn wind is blowing / At Shirakawa Barrier,” Saigyō composed the following verse:

At Shirakawa Barrier
The moon
Shines through the holes
Of the barrier guard's house
Making our hearts stop.

Years had passed since Nōin's visit, and the barrier house had fallen into ruins. In this poem, it is Nōin's spirit, how associated with the moon, rather than the barrier guard, that causes Saigyō to stop in his steps.

Saigyō alludes to Nōin throughout his journey to the north, referring to him at Shinobu (vicinity of Fukushima City, Fukushima Prefecture), Takekuma (Takekoma, Miyagi Prefecture), Natorigawa (River of Miyagi Prefecture), Miyagino (now Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture), Sue no Matsuyama (Iwate Prefecture), Hiraiuzumi (Iwate Prefecture) and Nishi Kisagata (Akita Prefecture). The poetic journey beyond the Shirakawa Barrier had been initiated by Nōin and continued by Saigyō. Nōin's journey therefore represents the first "Oku no Hosomichi" [Narrow Road to the Deep North] in Japanese literature, imitated one hundred years later by Saigyō and six hundred years later by Bashō, as described in his famous travelogue, the Oku no Hosomichi (1689).

Either before or after his journey to the north, Saigyō had been invited by the head priest of the Shugendō Sect, and apparently succeeded in completing thousand-day austerities (sennichi-gyō) in the mountains of Yoshino (Nara Prefecture). In the midst of these severe endurance tests, Saigyō recalled the Priest Gyōson (1055–1135), who was also a poet and author of the Gyōson Daisōjō Shū collection.

Seeing the crimson leaves of autumn scattered about the stèle where the name Gyōson was inscribed, I was sure that it was here that he wrote "nobody else but the blossoms themselves..." I felt deep sympathy and wrote:

Though the name of the poet
Who called to the cherry blossoms of the mountains
To share his feelings still remains on the peak,
It is now and old memento
Where the leaves of autumn have fallen.

For approximately thirty years, from 1148 to 1179, Saigyō lived primarily on Mt. Köya (Wakayama Prefecture), the center of Shingon Buddhism. As in Kurama and Saga, Saigyō probably lived in a simple grass hut rather than in one of the established temples. It is possible that he was one of the Köya hijiri (saint of Mt. Köya), a group of lay priests who lived in huts they themselves had made on the mountainside near the temples. Although not officially associated with these temples, these hijiri, and Saigyō as well, engaged in fund-raising activities for the temples of Mt. Köya and specifically for the study of Köbō Daishi (774–835), the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan. For Saigyō, Shingon teachings were inseparable from their teacher, and he was at least as interested in Köbō Daishi as in Shingon doctrine. Interest in the life of Köbō Daishi prompted Saigyō to undertake one of his excursions from Mt. Köya to western Honshū.
and Shikoku. The journey took place, and, in 1167–68, according to legend, Saigyō visited places related to Kōbō Daishi such as his birthplace in Shikoku. In Shikoku, Saigyō apparently retraced Kōbō Daishi’s footsteps in a pilgrimage which later became popular under the name of the “Eighty-eight Sacred Places of Shikoku” (shikoku hachijū hakkasho). The following episode illustrates the spirit in which Saigyō traveled through Shikoku:

In the same province (Sanuki) I lived in a hut that I built on the mountainside where the Daishi once lived. One day the moon was quite bright and I could gaze over the sea under a cloudless sky. So I wrote:

Looking at the moon
From a cloudless mountain
The islands look
As if they were floating
On the frozen sea.

According to Mezaki Tokue, this poem reflects Kōbō Daishi’s teachings of shinnyo (Sansk. bhūtatahā; suchness). Shinnyo expresses the essential unity of all phenomena, the absolute reality which transcends all form.

... The attributes [of One] are many, but they are one; Though they are one, they are many at the same time. Thus, the name “Suchness of Oneness” is called for. The oneness here is the oneness of multiplicity ...

The above poem, like many others by Saigyō, described a world in which unrelated phenomena are brought together metaphorically, thereby being reduced to oneness. Metaphoric expression of unity is, of course, a fundamental source of poetry, but Saigyō’s metaphorical reduction of multiplicity to unity most likely reflects the influence which Kōbō Daishi’s Shingon Buddhism exercised on his poetry.

Saigyō also went to Shikoku to visit the grave of the ex-Emperor Sutoku at Shiramine (Kagawa Prefecture). Sutoku, who had favored Saigyō as a poet and, like him, had even traveled to Mt. Kōya, had died in exile in 1164. Three years later, Saigyō composed this poem as a memorial service:

Even though, Your Majesty,
You sat on the jeweled throne,
What is the use,
Now that you have gone
To another world?

In 1180, more than sixty years old, Saigyō traveled to Ise:

Having tired of living on Mt. Koya, I moved to a mountain temple at Futami in Ise Province.

Now the sacred mountain of the Great Ise Shrine was called Kamijiyama (Mt. Divine Path).

Thinking of it as an incarnation of the Dainichi Buddha [Mahāvairocana], I wrote:

As I entered deeply into the sacred grounds
I inquire about what lies beyond
The Pathway of the Gods [Kamiji]
But only hear the wind blowing
Through the pines on the lofty peak.

In this poem, as in many of Saigyō’s compositions, nature (here, the mountain peak and the wind in the pines) appears as a manifestation of the Dainichi Buddha. Therefore, Buddhism (here Dainichi Buddha) and Shintō (Kamijiyama) are basically identical.

Saigyō’s second and last journey to the north took place in 1186 when he was 68. The purpose of the journey was to raise funds to help finance the reconstruction of the Tōdaiji Temple in Nara, which had been burnt to the ground in 1180 by Taira no Shigehira. At Mt. Fuji, Saigyō wrote:
On my way East in order to perform shugyō, I saw Mt. Fuji:
Blown by the wind
The smoke of Mt. Fuji
Vanishes into the sky,
Unknown, like my heart,
Of its destination

After having returned from an extensive journey which took him to the northeast, Saigyō had gathered what he thought to be his best poems into two collections, the Mimosusogawa Utaawase and the Miyagawa Utaawase (1187–89). He dedicated the former to the Naikū (Inner) Shrine and the latter to the Gekū (Outer) Shrine of Ise.

Saigyō died in 1190. With the prospect of imminent death before him, he composed the following poems:

I hope
I shall die
Beneath a blooming cherry tree,
On the day of Buddha's death,
On a night of the full moon

Let him offer cherry blossoms
To the Buddha,
If there be someone
Who wishes to pray
For my afterlife

Years hence,
Pray for my afterlife,
Oh Pine Tree!
There is none else
Who will remember me

The relationship of Saigyō's life to his poetry continues to puzzle scholars to this day. He left about 2000 poems, some of which rank among the best in the history of Japanese poetry. However, what we must remember is that Saigyō spent most of his life in religious pursuits. Most scholars study him as a poet, neglecting to give full weight to the religious inspiration behind his works. Some, like Ishida Yoshisada, even suggest that Saigyō entered the priesthood for the sake of his poetry and not religion.

Although Saigyō left no religious writings, and although we can know him only through his poetry, there are indications that we should not take a purely aesthetic approach to his life and work. The forewords to his poems state that Saigyō traveled for the purpose of shugyō. Saigyō's seclusion on Mt. Kōya, his travels in the footsteps of Kōbō Daishi, the three years he spent in the mountains between Yoshino and Kumano, his sojourns in grass-huts, and his fundraising journeys were all activities and hardships undergone for the sake of shugyō. Not only are these activities characterized as "religious" in the forewords to Saigyō's poems, but they are well-known Buddhist practices. There is no reason to believe that they had any but a religious purpose. Saigyō's endurance of the thousand-day rite in the mountains of Yoshino and Kumano, acknowledged to be one of the most severe ascetic tests in Japan, can hardly have been motivated by sheer passion for poetry. His travels to raise funds for the Kura, Rengejūin, Gangōji, Kannonji and Tōdaiji temples also had an indisputable purpose other than the composition of poetry. Yet there remains the fact that Saigyō consistently wrote poems while engaging in austerities.

The combination of poetry writing with various forms of Buddhist worship was not begun by Saigyō. He was preceded by such illustrious figures as Kōbō Daishi (according
to legend), Gyögi, Nōin, and Gyöson. Yet it was not, in Saigyō's day, a universally accepted practice. According to the Priest Ton'a's Seita Shō and other medieval story collections, poetry writing was viewed by some as a heretical activity. One of the stories recounts the oath made by Priest Mongaku (dates unknown, Heian/Kamakura Periods) to smash Saigyō's head if he should ever meet him, so critical was he of the latter's poetic activities. In fact, however, when a meeting did take place, Mongaku was so impressed by Saigyō that he asked his disciples to smash his own head instead.

From the point of view of religious history, the use of poetry as a means of worship can be traced to the development of honjisuijaku. As indicated in the previous chapter, poetry, which had long been a part of Shintō worship, acquired equal status as the magical formulas (dharani or shingon) and sutras of Buddhism beginning in the Kamakura period. At the same time, poetry came to be used in the worship of mandala (pictorial representations of the Buddhist universe), nembutsu, and other Buddhist religious practices. The synthesis of Buddhist and Shintō practices was vigorously pursued in the esoteric Shingon sect of Buddhism; less so in the Tendai. Saigyō's lengthy sojourn on Mt. Köya, the center of the Shingon sect, suggests a thorough exposure to honjisuijaku practices. Indeed, many examples from his life indicate that Saigyō was a practitioner of honjisuijaku. For instance, he dedicated poems to sacred places, a practice which supplanted sutra dedications with the rise of honjisuijaku. He traveled to both Buddhist and Shintō centers. Many of his compositions, such as the one cited below, attest to his adherence to both Shintō and Buddhist beliefs.

Vulture Peak
Where the Buddha preached
Is far removed in the past;
Yet clear in my heart
Shines the moon of dawn.

This poem was dedicated to the moon deity of Ise, Tsukiyomi; the Buddha preached his last sermon on Vulture Peak.

Thus, in studying the relationship of Saigyō the poet to Saigyō the religious, it is possible to say that on one level, Saigyō was following a recognized religious practice when he composed poetry. In other words, religion provided occasions and purposes for the composition of poetry. We should also consider the internal role played by religion in his works. It is probable that Saigyō met the Priest Kakuban (d. 1143) during his stay on Mt. Köya; certainly he would have been familiar with Kakuban's use of the moon in religious practices, described in his work, the Ajigachirin-kan. Moon meditation was called gachirin-kan (moon-circle meditation). Closely related to it was yae renge-kan, in which the meditator sat before a picture depicting eight bodhisattvas seated on the eight petals of the lotus flower with the letter 'a,' (aji) drawn in the central circle, which symbolized the moon. The aim of this meditation was to unite one's heart with the moon. Saigyō left numerous poems about the moon, many of which resulted from such practices.

Covered by the clouds
Over Mt. Futakami
The moon is invisible
Yet in my mind
I see it clearly.

In this poem, whose foreword states that it resulted from yae renge-kan, the moon is a reflection of the shining heart of the poet.
Sometimes the content of the poem reveals Saigyö's religious interests, such as the Vulture Peak poem given above. Another poem gives pithy expression to the Shingon theory of enlightenment of Buddhahood during one's lifetime:

Enlightenment comes
In the very shape
Mother gave me,
In which I have been raised.

Saigyö also alluded to the Buddhist scriptures in some of his poems. In the Mimóusogawa Utawase, poems 28 to 33 make references to four sutras – Kongō Kyō (vajra-chedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra), Hokke Kyō (Myōhō Renge Kyō, Sansk: Saddharma-puṇḍarikā-sūtra), Hannyo Shingyō (Hannya Haramitta Shingyō, Sansk. Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra), Kegon Kyō (Avalokiteśvara-sūtra) – and to the Ten Pleasures (jūraku) of the Ōjōyōshū (985) by Genshin. These quotations and allusions show Saigyö's familiarity with the Buddhist scriptures.

As far as we know, Saigyö never wrote on the relationship of poetry and religion. His theoretical views on poetry can only be deduced from two recorded conversations. The first, between Saigyö and the Priest Myōe (1171-1232), is given in the Myōe Shōnin Denki. The other, between Saigyö and the Priest Jien (1155-1225), appears in a collection of stories called the Saseki Shū.

In the early Kamakura Period (1185-1333), towards the end of his life, Saigyö often paid visits to the young Priest Myōe. To judge from the content of one of their conversations, Saigyö must have given Myōe poetry lessons from the Buddhist point of view or teachings in Buddhism with special attention to the practice of poetry. The Myōe Shōnin Denki recounts the following scene:

Saigyö Shōnin often came for a talk, one of which went as follows: “The poems I compose are quite unlike ordinary poems. People's feelings are aroused by all living things of the universe, such as cherry blossoms, cuckoos, the moon, and the snow; yet, they are unable to see or to hear the nonsubstantiveness of all phenomena. But poems composed about these things are they not 'True Words' [Shingon]? I compose poems about the cherry blossoms yet I am not conscious that they are cherry blossoms, and though I may write about the moon, I do not think of it as the moon. Thus I merely compose poetry according to a communion [en] with things and following my inspiration [kyō]. The red rainbow, rising against the sky, looks as if the empty sky is making itself visible in colors. The bright sunshine looks as if it were the empty sky that is brightening itself. However, the empty sky is not the origin of the light or the creator of the colors. This is the same with me. Realizing that the empty sky is but an apparition, I color [in my poetry] various kinds of appearances but these appearances are not properties of my heart. Such poetry is the true body of the Buddha and therefore to compose a poem is the same as carving a statue of Buddha. To conceive a verse is the same as reciting the esoteric True Words [Shingon]. Through this kind of poetry, I can understand the Law. If you fail to reach this stage, and if you study poetry without care, than it becomes a serious heresy.”

This passage suggests that poetry for artistic effect is heretical; rather, the composition of verse should be conducted as a religious meditative practice. Crucial to this is the apprehension of the nonsubstantiveness of all phenomena, as expressed in Kōbō Daishi’s theory of Shinnyo which means “suchness”. Suchness cannot be described or analyzed in words. It is regarded as ultimately real; on the other hand, as sūnyatā or emptiness. The realization of the nonsubstantiveness and emptiness of phenomena, however, should not be arrived at consciously or intellectually. Saigyö says that the source of his poetry is en, a “communion”. En (also kechien) is a term frequently encountered in Buddhist texts indicating a communion or union with a Buddha, a bodhisattva, a divinity or a sacred place. Saigyö, however, seems to use it in his passage as a type of perception excluding consciousness. This communion
eliminates the illusory physical reality of an object and clarifies its permanent essence. Thus Saigyō is less drawn by a particular cherry blooming in front of him than by cherry blossoms in their universal aspects; the former is but a vehicle of perception of the latter.

If a sculptor carves a statue of Buddha, it cannot be said that the statue represents the artist as much as what it symbolizes, the power of Buddha. Like the sculpture, the poet in his creation recedes into the background and is merely an intermediary between the creative force and the created. According to esoteric teachings, all creation participates in the creative force despite the fundamental difference of the former from the latter. A statue of Buddha is not a fetish, but an object of symbolic yet real value. A poem must be the same: a creation with a power surpassing its creator. Just as the empty sky is not the origin of the rainbow, so the poet is not the origin of what he creates. It is rather the depth of his heart or mind (kokoro).

In another conversation reported by Priest Muju in his Saseki Shū (collection of stories written in the spirit of Buddhism), Saigyō advised the Tendai priest Jien to use a poetry as a means of practicing esoteric Buddhism:

When Jien Oshö of Yoshimizu [Otani]) asked Saigyō, after Saigyō had renounced the world, for his teachings on the essence of esoteric doctrines, Saigyō said: “You should first practice poetry. If you are unable to compose poetry then you cannot understand the essence of the True Words [Shingon].” Having been told this, it is said that Jien practiced poetry and Saigyō transmitted the teachings to him 25.

The Priest Muju (1226–1312) – a famous poet in his own right – goes on to explain the transmission of teachings according to esoteric precepts. He emphasizes the importance of purity of heart in the communication between teacher and disciple. Muju further describes what may have been the content of Saigyō’s teachings to Jien:

The letter ‘a’ (aji) is the unchanging essence of all things, it is impossible to transmit it in words. It is simply the eternal, unchanging essence of one’s heart. This is what the letter ‘a’ represents; this is where the true meaning of esoteric teachings lies. The letter ‘a’ can be conceived after having eliminated all sins and all conflicts from one’s heart. The letter ‘a’ is nothing but the unchanging, primordial essence of man. This is probably why [Saigyō] told [Jien] to use waka poetry rather than any other superficial means. As a means of forgetting the pains of sin which are caused by the bustling afflictions of this world, as well as a means of attaining the stage of enlightenment, the way of poetry is a truly effective one. This is also the reason why the deities of our country, who were incarnations of the Buddhas, took pleasure from ages past in the composition of poetry 26.

The composition of poetry as a result of meditation upon the Sanskrit Letter ‘a’ (aji-kan) is a technique often related to that of moon meditation.

For all the Buddhist scriptures and practices adapted by Saigyō to his poetry, there is not a hint of the doctrinaire religious poet in his works. He strikes us above all as a nature poet. We must not be deceived, however, by the apparent accessibility of his nature poetry into ignoring its profound philosophical and religious basis. Nature in Saigyō is a nature transcending physical appearance. The grass-huts, the pine breeze, the moon, and the cherry blossoms are not just natural phenomena taken up for their own sake but are phenomena perceived by a mind trained by Buddhist discipline 27. It is probably this aspect of Saigyō that led to his becoming a model for travel diary authors.

b) Saigyō and the travel diaries

If it is true that Saigyō was less interested in Shingon doctrine than in the life and activities of Kōbō Daishi, then Saigyō participated in the cult of one man, in the early stages of its development in Japanese religious history. Likewise, medieval Japanese
travel poets seem to have been drawn to Saigyō the man. They found in Saigyō a religious attitude and a poetry to emulate. Hence the importance of Saigyō, his activities, and poetry in the formation of medieval Japanese travel diary literature and especially that of the hermit type.

As we have indicated, many travel diarists through the ages were inspired by Saigyō's example. Lady Nijō was one who was influenced most strongly by Saigyō. At the very end of the travel section of her Towazugatari (1285–1287), Lady Nijō writes:

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 wished to emulate.28

Earlier, in Book One, she indicates:

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

Winds scatter the white blossoms,
Whitecaps break on the rocks;
How difficult it is
To cross the mountain stream.

I envied Saigyō's 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 feel with the dew under the blossoms and to express the bitterness of the scattering autumn leaves, and make from this a record of my travels that might live on after my death.29

Thus, Saigyō served as a model for Lady Nijō both through his penitent travels and his writings. Lady Nijō traveled to the east, west, north, and south, probably more than any other medieval travel diary author that we know of. Allusions to Saigyō's poems during her journeys are numerous. For instance, at Saya no Nakayama (Mt. Saya no Naka, Shizuoka Prefecture) she notes:

My friends supplied me with a palanquin to transport me from way station to way station, and, in no time at all, I had reached Mt. Saya no Naka, where Saigyō had once composed the poem, "Yet here I am alive." Recalling it, I wrote:

How painful to cross
In the dead of night
Mount Saya no Naka;
Even if I live
Will I ever come again?29

Lady Nijō also recalls Saigyō during her visit to the imperial mausoleum of the ex-Emperor Sutoku at Shiramine in Shikoku:

When Saigyō visited here, he wrote a poem about the emperor that ends with the question: "What will become of you?" ... These expressions of past emotions moved me to write this:

If you remember the grief
Borne in this life,
Then from your mossy grave
Look upon me with compassion.31

Another travel diarist, Jūbutsu, dedicated a long passage to Saigyō at An'yōzan in his Ise Daijingū Sankei Ki (1342):

As we go along the path under the cliff by the sea, we come to another ancient and solitary temple that is a melancholy sight. It is called An-yō-zen and here they say once lived the Buddhist monk Saigyō. He who of old fixed his hope on the Pure Land of the Western Paradise, and awaited the Heavenly Host promised in the forty-eight vows of Amida [Amitābha] Buddha, has kept his memory green for us by captivating our hearts with the thirty-one syllables of his poems. He became a Buddhist anchorite, it is true, but he also revered the Way of the Deities. The perfume of the plum blossoms of Naniwazu is wafted of the spring mists of Kamijiya as the moon of Asakayama shines on the autumn waters of the Mimosusogawa. Here they say he wrote the collection called the Miyagawa Collection of Poems [Miyagawa Utaawase] and the Ritualists of
The Two Shrines were his pupils while the monks of the Buddhist temple also followed in his footsteps. Lines that are written for pleasure are the things that survive like the sea-weed washed up on the shore, while there is no way of finding the pearls that are picked up out of the sea. Remembering how he sung of the dream of yore of the spring of Naniwa while the winter blast blew through the withered reeds on the shore, I wrote:

On another beach,
Not the shore of Naniwa
Which the poem sang,
When the winter frost comes on,
Spring seems like a fleeting dream.

To remember Saigyō at An’yōzan seems to have been a tradition dating back to Kamo no Chōmei, who traveled to Ise in 1186(?) to visit Saigyō’s hut at An’yōzan:

We composed poems and linked verse at a place called An’yōzan where the Priest Saigyō had lived. I wrote a verse on the leaves on the seashore:

The colors fade at Kamishimayama,
I come in autumn,
And a salt-burning fire can be seen
As the wind from the mountain
Ceases to blow.

In spite of his life-long admiration for Fujiwara no Teika, Shôtetsu (1381-1459), a priest, poet and critic, was also drawn to Saigyō in his travels and poetry:

Saigyō traveled all through his life and composed poems. So he [Shôtetsu] thought them over as he walked around the country seeking a communion with the Buddha and, opening a bit the northern door, he composed poems about the moonlight he saw...

Shôtetsu followed Saigyō’s example in using poetry as a means of religious worship.

During his journey to the east in 1473, Ichijō Kanera visited the place where, in according to legend, Saigyō had died:

While I was descending from Surihari Pass toward the south, I saw, looking back toward the right, Chikubu Island lying faintly in the distance. I had to strain my eyes to concentrate on the distant view. At the foot of the pass, I saw a place called Kanda [Field of God], but I was unable to find even a single field. Now looking toward the left, I saw a rock with a single pine tree growing on its top. On the foot of this rock stood a small pagoda said to mark the grave of the Priest Saigyō. ... Remembering Saigyō’s poem “I hope / I shall die / Beneath a blooming cherry tree, / On the day of Buddha’s death / On a night of the full moon,” I wrote:

He who said,
Beneath the cherry blossoms –
How can it be
That he now dwells
In the shade of a pine?

During his journeys to the east of 1486–87, when Priest Dōkō reached a place called Shigittatsu-sawa (Snipe-Rising Pond, Ōiso, Nakagun, Kanagawa Prefecture), he recalled Saigyō’s famous poem:

Even a priest
Who should have no heart
Knows the sadness of things;
Snipes rising
From the pond of autumn evening.

and alluded to it in his own:

Remembering the poet
Who “knew the sadness of things”
I have come to Shigi-tatsu-sawa
With deep sorrow in my heart.
Linked-verse poets were especially conscious of Saigyō in their works. Sōchō, for example, refers to Saigyō's poem at Suzuka Pass in his own:

I feel the sorrow
Of not having abandoned the world;
Being carried on a palanquin
With my back bent
Over Mt. Suzuka.¹⁰

At Kamijiyama (Mt. Kamiji, Ise, Mie Prefecture) Sōchō writes:

Deep autumn!
A voice echoes at the end of the valley
Beneath Mt. Kamiji.³¹

Ton'na's alleged Kōya Nikki (exact dates unknown, 14th century) is more of a "grass-hut record" (sōan no ki) than a pure travelogue but it gives us an indication of the esteem in which Saigyō's Sanka Shū was held during the middle ages:

Saigyō's Sanka Shū, which he had written out himself, had been kept by the Priest Shūsei. It was lost when the priestly quarters of the Hoshō-ji Temple burnt down. Shūsei then wrote it again according to his memory exactly as Saigyō had written it. It was once shown to me. It seemed to me a good example of the saying "an exact copy in calligraphy and illustration".¹⁷

Ton'na, who was a poet-priest like Saigyō, traveled to the East following Saigyō's path, and, while in the capital, lived in a hut built at the site of Saigyō's hermitage.

Allusions to Saigyō in travel diaries are so numerous that it would be tedious to list them all. The above examples should suffice to give an idea of the example Saigyō provided for later poet travelers.

Notes to Chapter VII

¹ There is reference to a "Saigyō ga Shugyō no Ki" (an account of Saigyō's Austerities), not extant, in the Towazugatari, annotated by Fukuda Hideichi (Tōkyō, 1978), p. 73 and p. 330. Sōchō in his Sōchō Shūkai refers to a "Saigyō Shōnin Azuma Michi no Ki" (Saint Saigyō's Account of the Road to Azuma [the East]), Gunsho Ruijū, vol. 18, Nikki-bu, p. 293.

¹¹ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 1319, p. 690. The poem is addressed to the former Empress, for it was taboo to send letters directly to emperors.


¹³ Ibid., poem no. 796, p. 414.

¹⁴ The pass was to assume a similar significance for Bashō; see p. 23.

¹⁵ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 1213, p. 633. Also in Shinshūishū, vol. 9, etc. Nōin's poem figures in Goshūshū, no. 518, Kokka Tiukan, vol. 1, p. 94.

¹⁶ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 1201, p. 625. Saigyō is referring to Gousou's poem composed at Ōmine: "Will you lament with me / Cherry blossoms of the mountains! / But nobody else but the blossoms themselves / Will know about me."

¹⁷ As suggested in poem no. 138 of the Sanka Shū, Sankashū, Kinkaishū, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, vol. 29, annotated by Kazamaki Keijirō, et al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1961), p. 41. Saigyō's nonaffiliation with any specific sects or temples appears in the fact that none of the temples where he had once lived registered his name.

¹² (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 1447, p. 742.


¹⁵ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 1446, p. 741.

¹⁶ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 2108, p. 1055. This poem is also included in the Mimorusogawa Usawase (Poem no. 36, left).

¹⁷ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 2138, p. 1070; also in Shinkokinshū, vol. 17.

¹⁸ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 88, p. 49. Saigyō composed this poem on the 25th, a day commemorating the death of Buddha.

¹⁹ (Saigyō-)Sankashū Zenchūkai, poem no. 89, p. 51.
Kurnon Tokugawa squarely in the medieval tradition. Yet, coming historically at the culmination of the nature of his journeys and the circumstances of his writing. Thus, apart from tradition, and being a supremely gifted artist as well, Bashō also stands apart from his predecessors. His language has greater power and directness; he is more informative about the nature of his journeys and the circumstances of his writing. Thus, apart from

Chapter VIII Bashō and Medieval Travel Diaries

The travel diaries of Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694) constitute the apex of Japanese travel diary literature. Although he is often viewed as an isolated phenomenon of the Tokugawa Period (1600-1868), a study of both his travels and writings places him squarely in the medieval tradition. Yet, coming historically at the culmination of the tradition, and being a supremely gifted artist as well, Bashō also stands apart from his predecessors. His language has greater power and directness; he is more informative about the nature of his journeys and the circumstances of his writing. Thus, apart from
their intrinsic merit, his diaries provide clues to understanding hitherto unclear aspects of earlier works.

Before considering Bashō’s travels and writings, it may be well to consider the background in which they took place. First of all, he lived in an age in which, in contrast to the preceding periods, travel was popular. Travel guides appeared in booklet form, combining practical information with humorous episodes. In the middle ages, as in the preceding Nara and Heian Periods, the social ideal had been one of the same, permanent residence for all social classes. Travel was limited to officials, priests, and those whose professions required them to travel, such as doctors and linked-verse poets. Pilgrimages, exile, and military campaigns were the major occasions of travel. Some of the highway barriers (seki) which had been established in the seventh century were still maintained for the purpose of controlling the movements of the population. Although these barriers continued to obstruct large-scale travel in the Edo Period, travel in general, and pilgrimages in particular, became less restricted. Pilgrimages were undertaken by all social classes, and moreover, under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Ise, it was possible for almost anyone to abandon home and its attendant responsibilities (kage-mairi or nuke-mairi). The widespread use of money was an important development, enabling the traveler to purchase food and lodgings. Earlier, the traveler had had to rely on manors, often his own, and on territories along the way which had been ordered by the central government to supply food and lodging. A variety of traveling facilities emerged in the Tokugawa Period — inns, teahouses, litter carriers, horses for hire, ferries, etc. The phenomenon of Tokugawa urbanization must be attributed in good measure to increased travel; for example, a considerable number of towns developed around temples and shrines (monzen machi). The highways saw the growth of inn towns (shukuba-machi), which provided a variety of services and entertainment for travelers: pleasure-seeking had become an aspect of travel by the Tokugawa Period. Pleasure girls were a common sight along the highways. Travel for pleasure, and pilgrimages as an excuse for pleasure seeking, produced such accounts as the Tokaidōchū Hizakurige (1802–1822). It should also be mentioned that scientific journeys, such as surveying trips into the provinces, also developed in this period.

Bashō embarked on the journeys that were to result in five travel diaries somewhat late in life — in the spring of 1684, ten years before his death. In his twenties he had renounced his official position as a retainer of the Tōdō Clan in Ueno (Mie Prefecture) upon the sudden death of the young Yoshitada, the son of the daimyō whom he was to have served. This Yoshitada had been fond of haikai poetry, and his death is generally cited as the reason for Bashō’s withdrawal from worldly affairs. This conforms with a pattern we frequently encountered with the medieval poet-travel diarists. When Bashō prepared to leave Edo (now Tōkyō) on a journey that was to last for two and a half years, he disposed of his house. He was thereafter faithful to the tradition of isshō fuji; rejecting the notion of a permanent home, he alternated between grass-hut dwelling and wandering. In the Genjuan Ki he puts it thus: “... the winds and clouds took possession of me, and I wanted to penetrate the feelings of the flowers and the birds ...” The flowers represent Bashō’s grass-hut dwelling, the birds his travels. As with many of his medieval predecessors, the grass-hut became a place for awaiting departure:

In a grass hut
A many stays for a while
Then takes off again.
Bashō's travels, in their various dimensions, recall those of his predecessors. There is the ascetic, severely disciplined aspect of the shugyō and angya traditions of religious travel; Bashō, like the hermit travelers, sought to immerse himself in nature and experience the law of eternity in its midst. He was acutely conscious of the fragility of his own life, and his travels were a metaphoric preparation for death. (Bashō did, in fact, die on the road, at Osaka in 1694.) This stern philosophical character is qualified by aesthetic concerns and sheer pleasure in the beauty of nature and the interests of travel. In the _Oku no Hosomichi_ he writes, "It did not matter if I should have the misfortune to grow grey on my travels, for I wanted to see places I had heard much about but never visited"—a sentiment shared by many of the earlier hermit poets, who looked forward to seeing the "famous places" in the course of their penitent travels. The word taste frequently appears in Bashō's writings in distinctive combinations with ascetic, philosophical interests:

This use of the word _taste_ reflects an interesting merger of different values. There is a hint of the culture of the emerging Tokugawa merchant class, which developed its own pleasures and refinements, with which Bashō was surely acquainted; yet the "people of taste" he refers to above expressed their taste in an arduous fashion. We get an indication here of an essential link between aesthetics and ethics in Bashō. For all the religious quality of his travels, it is difficult to detect a religious attitude in his writings. In his poetry, Bashō appears far more worldly than his medieval predecessors, and more inclined to use mundane material and prosaic matters typical in the literature of _haikai_ poetry. Subject matter in Bashō's travel diaries is still dependent upon the "world" of poetry. But his attitudes toward nature—indeed, toward all experiences, with nature, other human beings, and human artifacts—reveal an ethical basis of a kind which has always been a part of Japanese religion. It has to do with _makoto_, or truth. One attains _makoto_ in a state of oneness. In order to enter this state, it is necessary to abandon subjective preoccupations such as intellect and knowledge. Bashō's _makoto_ links him to a number of religious beliefs. Taoism teaches that man should eliminate desire, knowledge, and selfishness and that he should go back to nature. The religious practices of "wandering and seated meditation" of Tendai and Zen Buddhism were meant to be aids to the attainment of _makoto_. _Makoto_ became a poetic principle long before Bashō's time. For example, it appears as such in the _Tamekane Wakashō_ of Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254–1332). Bashō succinctly puts it thus, as recounted in the words of a disciple:

_The Master said, "Learn from pine trees about pine trees and learn from bamboos about bamboos." What he said is that we should rid ourselves of our self-preoccupation."_  
Thus, one might say that Bashō traveled in order to experience truth. One truth that he repeatedly encountered was the experience of change, caused by the passage of time. A characteristic of Bashō's writings is an appreciation for natural and man-made objects that illustrate the passage of time. Indeed, one might even say that _sabi_, the aesthetic appeal thought to epitomize Bashō's work and through him, the Tokugawa Period, is a subdued celebration of the effects of time.

_Makoto_ could also be found in the present, often through accidental human encounters. We tend to think of travel diary journeys as solitary excursions into nature
and oneself, but Bashö always traveled with one or more disciples and recorded many
of these human encounters along the way, going so far as to say:

There is no greater pleasure than to meet a man of taste on the road. Even old and narrow-
minded people I usually avoid turn out to be friendly companions when I talk with them on a
distant road. When one comes upon such a person in a remote place, it is as if one had unearthed a
precious stone among broken tiles or a treasure buried in mud, and one cannot resist writing about
the meeting to share it with friends. This is one of the many pleasures of travel.

As with earlier linked-verse poets, these meetings became occasions for poetry writing.

More often than not, however, as in medieval travel diary literature, the perspective
turns to the past:

I looked at the beautiful landscape of mountains and valleys, sea and shore as marvels of nature; I
visited the remains of huts where the ancient hermits had spent their lives in poverty and
imagined how men of taste had composed poems in such places.

Needless to say, one of Bashö’s objectives in traveling was to visit the famous places.
In this he strongly remains in the medieval tradition of travel literature. Given his
concern with experiencing and conveying the effects of time, it is not surprising that
places of historical significance particularly draw his attention. The prominence of
temples and shrines in his itineraries reflects a historical as well as a religious interest.
Like so many of his predecessors, he was also drawn to the sites of ancient battlefields,
such as Hiraizumi (Iwate Prefecture) in the Oku no Hosomichi and Ichinotani (Hyögo
Prefecture) in the Oi no Kobumi. In such instances, the war between the Heike and the
Genji, which took place five hundred years before his time, is woven into his poetry and
narrative.

Poet that he was, Bashö’s most passionate interest was reserved for the places
associated with his artistic forbears:

The famous poet of Kyöto, Yasuhara Teishitsu, once went to enjoy the mid-autumn moon at
Suma Beach and composed the poem, “From under the shade of the pine trees / I gaze at the
beautiful moon of the fifteenth, / Remembering the story of Middle Councillor Lord Yukihira.”
This autumn, remembering dearly this man of taste, I decided to view the moon over the
mountains of Kasima.

The most prominent presence from the past in Bashö’s writings is, inevitably, Saigyö’s.
Even more than his medieval predecessors, Bashö quoted from or alluded to
Saigyö. It has already been mentioned that the journey described in the Oku no Hosomichi
coincides with the five-hundredth anniversary of Saigyö’s death.

The following excerpt from the Nozarashi Kiko is a typical example of the way in
which Saigyö appears in Bashö’s writings:

The remains of Saigyö’s thatched hut are reached by pushing some two hundred yards to the
right, beyond the inner shrine, over what is scarcely a woodsman’s trail. A steep valley lying in
between produces a most powerful impression. The “clear spring dripping through the rocks” does
not appear to have changed since Saigyö’s time, and its water still falls drip-drop.

Ultimately, it must be stated that Bashö was a consummate artist and that all these
influences and interests were exploited for their artistic values and integrated to
constitute a whole. Accordingly, many utamakura places were visited and described for
their poetic values. For example, he went to Obasuteyama (Mt. Obasute, Nagano
Prefecture) to view the moon (which resulted in the Sarashina Kiko) for the richness of
its connotations, deriving from the legend associated with it and its renown as a moon-
viewing spot.

When it came time for him to assemble his material into a diary, Bashö was apt to
couch his reasons for writing in deliberately modest, understated terms. For example,
he states in the Oi no Kobumi:
I have written these notes because here and there, in the course of my travels, I was impressed by the scenery, and I thought that the deep melancholy I felt in the isolated mountain buts or the lonely country inns would move others and help them immerse themselves in nature. This is why I have collected the notes of my unforgettable experiences without attempting to impose any order on them. My words are like those of a drunkard, spoken in delirium. Make of them what you will 15.

This passage recalls similar statements from the Kaidō Ki (1223), the Tōkan Kikō (1242), and a number of older travel diaries. Such statements tend to belie the care which the authors put into their works and their hopes for finding an audience through the ages.

A passage from the Sarashina Kikō gives some hint of the passion which went to the writing of such “notes”:

At night we found lodgings. I took out my brush and lay on the floor with my eyes shut underneath the lamp. I beat my head and moaned as I tried to get down on paper the sights of the day which I had thought of turning into verse, as well as various hokku on which I had not quite finished working 16.

We know from several of the diaries, such as the Oi no Kobumi, that Bashō traveled with a portable inkstone and paper.

Japanese scholars have made numerous detailed studies comparing Bashō’s travel diaries to the medieval diaries 17. To summarize, their research has pointed out numerous similarities between Bashō’s works and the Kaidō Ki, the Tōkan Kikō, the Shinshō Hōshi Nikki (1225), and the Miyako no Tsuto (1350–52) as well as almost all the linked-verse diaries of the later middle ages. Bashō’s writings themselves indicate his familiarity with his predecessors’ works:

All the travel diaries that have been written since the time Ki [no Tsurayuki), [Kamo no] Chōmei, and the Nun Abutsu created their excellent styles and described their noble feelings are but mere imitation and no work approaches their excellence. It is therefore all the more impossible for a brush guided by such low wisdom and limited talent as mine to equal theirs 18.

Thus Bashō was quite conscious of the tradition in which he was writing. The authors whom he mentions admiringly in this passage were probably more influential on his prose than on his poetry, for Saigyō and Sōgi were his acknowledged masters in the latter:

Saigyō in poetry, Sōgi in linked-verse, Sesshu in painting, Rikyū in the tea ceremony—all were guided by a desire to follow nature and to make friends with the four seasons 19.

Bashō’s many allusions to Chinese literature constitute another strong link with the medieval diaries, especially the Tōkan Kikō and the Kaidō Ki. At the beginning of the Nozarashi Kikō, for instance, Bashō refers as follows to the Chinese classics:

When I set out on my journey of a thousand leagues, I packed no provisions for the road. I clung to the staff of that pilgrim of old who, it is said, “entered the realm of no-mind [enlightenment] under the moon after midnight” 20.

At the Ōgawa (Ōi River, Shizuoka Prefecture), he writes:

A waning moon hung pale in the sky, but it was very dark on the path at the base of the mountain. I let my whip dangle over the horse, and rode several leagues before cockcrow. The “lingering dream” of Tu Mu’s Early Departure was suddenly shattered when I arrived at Sayo no Nakayama 21.

As we have discussed above, Bashō was interested in many of the same places and people—temples, shrines, battlefields, places associated with legends, hermits, and pleasure girls—as the earlier travel diarists. It stands to reason that the same elements appear in his writings 22.

Bashō’s thoughts on form, as reported by his disciple, Hattori Dohō (1657–1730), elucidate certain rules which apparently had existed long before his time:
On the question of [haikai] prose, the Master said, "There are three styles of prefaces: yujo, raijo, and naijo. The yujo gives the reasons for writing, the raijo describes the circumstances preceding the narrative, and the naijo summarizes the contents to be described. We sometimes combine the three into one. Epilogue [that is, the Chinese character for hatsu or epilogue] means "to hold one's ground." Where there is a preface there must be an epilogue. The preface and the epilogue have the same content. The epilogue is the detailed presentation of what has been said in the preface." Thus Bashö made explicit for us what we can empirically observe, that the travel diaries were intended as an art form with particular distinguishing characteristics.

If the travel diaries constitute an art, then the question of truth versus fiction looms large. Here again, Bashö's works are illuminating. In addition to being a literary masterpiece, the Ooku no Hosomichi has added value as a document of literary history because it can be compared to the factual diary kept by Bashö's traveling companion, Sora (1649–1710). One example of the altering of reality to meet the demands of art is Bashö's description of how he lost his way and came upon Ishinomaki (Miyagi Prefecture). Sora's diary reveals that in fact, Ishinomaki had been included in the itinerary from the start. There are numerous other examples in the Ooku no Hosomichi. At Iizuka (north of Fukushima City, Fukushima Prefecture) Bashö writes about his illness, which the careful Sora neglects to mention. Bashö also writes that he visited a temple there where Yoshitsune's sword and Benkei's portable altar were preserved, but Sora says they did not enter the temple. At Kisagata (Akita Prefecture) (and also at Nikkō) Bashö praises the clear sky, although Sora's diary tells us it was raining. Such transformation of raw material in the service of artistic ends can be observed in diary and travel literature as early as the Tosa Nikki and may stem from the association between diary literature in general and monogatari fiction. No doubt many of the medieval travel diaries also show this transformation, although we can only be certain in the cases where independent documentation is available.

Through the fictionalized episodes in Bashö's travel diaries one can further understand how travel diary literature defines a world strongly determined by poetry with all its traditions and rules. Like his predecessors, Bashö travels not to discover the present so much as to rediscover the past and to serve as a link in a chain of literary transmission. Tradition demanded that he fictionalize certain events, especially when, as often happened in travel diaries, the true events and tradition were incompatible. This is not to say that Bashö did not innovate, but his innovations, like those of medieval travel diarists, are limited to details and often serve to maintain traditions, rather than to eliminate them.

Notes to Chapter VIII

1 These were the Kanazoshi, written in the kana syllabary. An example is the Tōkaidō Meisho Ki by Asai Ryōi (died in 1691), included in Yuzankaku Bunko, vol. 50 (Tōkyō, 1940).
2 They had existed in the Kamakura Period as well but had decreased during the Muromachi.
3 They are the Nozarashi Kikō (lit. Exposed in a Field Travel Account) about a journey from Edo to Iga, Yoshino, Nara, Kyoto and back to Edo by way of the Kiso Road, 1684; the Kashima Kikō (Account of a Journey to Kashima) about a trip from Edo to Kashima Shrine (Ibaragi Prefecture) for moon-viewing, 1687; the Oi no Kobumi (Records of a Travel-Worn Satchel) about a journey from Edo to Nagoya, his home in Iga, Ise, Yoshino, Mt. Kōya, Nara, Ōsaka, Akashi and Kyoto, 1687; the Sarashina Kikō (Account of a Journey to Sarashina) about a journey from Ōtsu (Shiga Prefecture) to Sarashina (Nagano Prefecture) and Edo, 1688; and the Ooku no Hosomichi (Narrow Road to the Deep North) about a journey to the north from Edo to Hiraizumi, Kisagata, along the Japan Sea coast to Tsuruga and Ōgaki, 1689.
As was the case with his medieval predecessors, Bashö's journeys also seem partly to reflect his Buddhist or Shinto perspective, has been pointed out by Asaka Tadashi, p. 117.

A comprehensive study of the possible influences of medieval travel diaries upon Bashö's can be found in Kidö no Kobumi, "Chüsei no kikō to Oku no Hosomichi," Bungaku, vol. 66, p. 98.


A similarity between the Oku no Hosomichi, passage at Ichihuri (Niigata Prefecture) and the Shishō Hōshi Nikki, passage at Ono no Shaku, both of which mention pleasure girls from a Buddhist perspective, has been pointed out by Asaka Tadashi, "Kikō bungei no honshitsu," Nihon Bungeigaku, no. 1 (Feb., 1964), pp. 69-69.


Another interpretation suggested by Professor Keene is that Bashö wanted to write about Ishinomaki, which was not among the famous places of poetry. In Bashö Bunshū, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, vol. 46 (Tōkyō, Kadokawa Shoten 1959) p. 84 and "Sora zuikō Nikki," Oku no Hosomichi annals by Ebara Taizō et al., Kadokawa Bunko, vol. 426 p. 253. This, however, is refuted on p. 121, note n. 63 (Bashö Bunshū, op. cit.).

Bashö Bunshū, op. cit., p. 78, and "Sora zuikō Nikki," op. cit., p. 250. Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189) escaped the henchmen of his brother Yoritomo by fleeing to the North with his faithful companion Benkei. Both were killed not far from Hiraizumi.
Conclusion

With their emphasis on time-honored poetic imagery and *utamakura*, the Japanese travel diaries differ significantly from medieval European pilgrim diaries, which include information about distances, prices, the quality of inns, food and ship services. The non-*kambun* accounts which we have covered here offer few such indications. Unlike their European counterparts, Japanese travel diaries belong more to the world of aesthetic creation and art. Given their fidelity to tradition in questions of form and content, many works could have been written as imaginary travel records at home without recourse to actual travel.

Accordingly, the travel diaries do not constitute a literature of geographical discovery. Travel diarists took well-established highways which led through places celebrated in ancient poetry, providing the traveler with both the inspiration and justification for composing their own verses. However beautiful and impressive a landscape, the traveler-poet was willing to ignore it in favor of the scenes appearing in the poetry of the past. The traveler saw his surroundings not as he found them but through the eyes of the ancient poets.

Turning to the past for the appropriate description of a place and even for the emotions he should feel and convey about it, the travel diarist superimposed a traditional structure upon reality. He traveled a road of literary history and tradition, hiding his individuality and creativity behind a mask of tradition. Only the date of the journey, given in the preface of the diary, reveals that it took place in the sixteenth century rather than the thirteenth. By his strict adherence to tradition, the traveler-poet seemed to maintain and transmit it to future generations. The travel diarist was a transmitter of established practice but rarely an innovator.

If the traveler-poet happened to be a hermit as well, then religious dimensions came into play also. For this traveler the road was not only a link between two geographical points of literary interest, or the distance separating them, but a path of spiritual evolution as well. He imposed a spiritual structure, in addition to a literary one, on the road he traveled. In the travel diaries of the hermit poets, therefore, fiction assumed a spiritual reality, reflecting a state of mind. Nature was seen and described from the viewpoint of one undergoing religious austerities. Thus, nature was taken as a source of universal truths.

A significant characteristic of most travel accounts is that travel starts at the capital or its vicinity and moves away from it. The emphasis on travel away may be interpreted as an attempt by the traveler-poet to establish a constant link with his home through the poetry he composed on the way. In hermit literature the travel away assumes a different meaning, that of rejection. The same places where the poet-traveler composed poetry and was painfully reminded of home became important milestones on the road of rejection for the hermit. For a hermit, the road marked a passage from a social being to an enlightened one; he starts from the world (the capital) of society, and, ideally, ended at a destination representing enlightenment.

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An example of this is the *Izumi Shikibu Nikki* (Diary of [Lady] Izumi Shikibu) an alternative title of which is *Izumi Shikibu Monogatari* (Story of [Lady] Izumi Shikibu). A further illustration of the relationship between diary literature and fiction is a statement attributed to Kamo no Chōmei, according to which he considered the *Okagami* (a work of historical fiction) as a model for diary-writing. See (Kōchū-) *Kamo no Chōmei Zenshū*, Yanase Kazuo annot. (Tokyo, 1938), "Mumyō Shō," p. 98.
It could be a sacred place but might also be any place where the goal of complete rejection of society was attained.

Regardless of the author, travel is almost never treated as a pleasure in travel diaries. Almost until modern times, pleasure-seeking was not a purpose of travel. In the travel literature, both ancient and medieval, hardship is the most frequent theme. However, a particularly difficult or dangerous place that might be unwelcome for the official travelers would be embraced by the hermits. Passages through rivers and forests, over mountains, and seas were a potentially dangerous break with home for the former; for the latter they constituted welcome hardships to hasten them away from the world.

For the hermit the topography assumed a symbolic character and served a spiritual function. Flat land offering relatively unhindered movement was interrupted by places of difficult and even dangerous passage. Difficult points of passage and unpleasant changes in the weather were physical and spiritual obstacles the traveler had to overcome in order to attain his destination.

As the hermit moved away from the capital, each step on the road was a step of abandonment and any distance, once covered, became for him the world. It was as if the world constantly followed at his heels. Even the sacred places, once visited, became a part of the world which ever pursued him. Abandonment for the hermit meant continuous flight from the world.

Not only space but time can also be seen as having a symbolic value in travel diaries, especially those kept by hermits. Hermits tended to travel in autumn (which was winter according to the lunar calendar). The dying of nature made the hermit acutely aware of the evanescence of life. It opened his eyes toward the laws of nature, reminding him of the fragility of his own existence, and the spiritual values of nature and time.

A strong awareness of the impermanence of the world (mujō) underlies most hermit accounts. Travel was an exercise in impermanence. The itinerant priest tried to perceive the immutable and transient world by transcending the passage of time; he did this, paradoxically enough, by trying to live transiently, by exposing himself to the anguish of impermanence. Travel, whose essence is change, was to help the traveler understand the permanent truth underlying the passage of time. Thus evanescence assumed a positive religious value. It was chosen willingly by the pilgrim, a choice of motion over stagnation, and impermanence over permanence. Travel implied willingness to undergo the solitude resulting from emancipation. The medieval traveler preferred danger to security, nature to culture, monologue to dialogue. He sought discovery of himself, and through this, the discovery of humanity. Through travel he attempted to leave the “here” to arrive at a “there”, the transcendental “there” of spiritual enlightenment, a realm beyond life. Therefore, travel often appears as a conscious movement toward death.

The death motif is reinforced by the age of many hermit travelers. Autumnal journeys by travelers in old age—are they not symbolic journeys into death? Surely such travelers must have been aware of the possibility of dying on the road. What was sought, however, was not physical death but a spiritual death and rebirth, a rebirth which would come, to use nature’s language, after winter. It is likely that the hermit saw his spiritual itinerary reflected in the changes of the seasons during which he traveled.

Notes to Conclusion

1 On travel as a way into death, see Hori Ichirō Minkan Shinkō, Iwanami Zensho vol. 151 (Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1964), pp. 224-245; and see Hirose Tamotsu, “Yügyō-teki naru mono,” part 1, Bungaku (Iwanami) vol. 33, no. 2 (Feb. 1965), p. 120.
A Short History of Travel

1) The Highways: The Tōkaidō as an example

Tōkaidō is the name of one of the major highways in Japan officially established in the Nara Period (710–784). It linked Nara and later Heian (Kyōto) with the provinces beyond the Hakone Pass – in other words, with the Tōkyō area of today and beyond. It ran from Ise through fifteen provinces to Ibaragi. In the Kamakura Period there apparently existed two branches of this highway: a) the Ise road and b) the Ōmi and Mino roads, which separated at Kusatsu and met in the area of Nagoya of today. The Ise road appears in “Yamato Takeru no Mikoto” (mythical figure who, according to the Kojiki of 712 and Nihongi of 720, was sent to subdue the eastern barbarians), the Ise Monogatari (9th century), and the Kaidō Ki (1223); the Ōmi and Mino branches of the road figure in the Tōkan Kikō (1242) and the Izayoi Nikki (1279–1280), and other works. In the province of Sagami (Shizuoka Prefecture) the road again divided, one branch crossing Mt. Ashigaru and the other Mt. Hakone. The Hakone road was built after Mt. Fuji’s eruption in the year 864, which made the Ashigaru road impassable. (It was later reopened.) The Izayoi Nikki describes the Hakone road as a shortcut. The Ashigaru road was taken in the Kaidō Ki, the Hakone road in the Tōkan Kikō, the Izayoi Nikki, etc.

The first description of the Tōkaidō appears in the story of Yamato Takeru no Mikoto in the Nihongi. Thanks to the military campaigns for the subjugation of the northern aborigines, the migration of settlers to the newly opened lands, and the discovery of metal resources in the north, the Tōkaidō developed rapidly. The Man’yōshū (mid 8th century) is also a rich source for accounts of the early Tōkaidō. The “Azuma-kudari” in the Ise Monogatari (mid-Heian Period) describes a trip on horseback with cooked, dried rice (karehi) for sustenance. By the Sarashina Nikki (date of journey 1020) the Tōkaidō became an established object of literature. Indeed, no road has such an important place in Japanese literature as the Tōkaidō.

Travel facilities gradually appeared along the highway. Relay stations (eki) are mentioned as early as the Nihongi. Regular relay stations were established in 646, at which time they appeared in all provinces and were categorized as large, intermediate, or small. All highways were also designated as big roads (for example, the Dazaifu road from Kyōto to Kyūshū), intermediate roads (the Tōsandō and the Tōkaidō), and small roads, the last-named linked the two larger categories to the provincial capitals. In each district (gun) there was to be a messenger provided with five horses. The ferry boat stations were called mizueki, and were equipped with two to four boats. The buildings of such stations were called ekika. The houses of the stations’ headman, the ekichō no iie, later developed into inns. In the Kamakura Period the Tōkaidō had sixty-three stations; in the Edo Period, fifty-three. Such facilities were for official use, however, rather than for private travelers; the same rule applied to overnight accomodations. According to the Yōrō Ritsuryō code promulgated in 757, only persons of the fifth rank or above could be given shelter, but in particularly inconvenient locations, persons of any rank were accepted.

Such edicts made travel by the lower classes almost impossible until the Kamakura Period. Sleeping equipment and food had to be brought along, which made travel arduous, however short the distance. Travelers were generally met with inhospitality,
for superstitious beliefs made people suspicious of strangers and fire, making it impossible to cook. Sudden death on a trip was believed to pollute the entire area where it took place.

Purchase of food was difficult. Money and gold were used as a means of exchange only rarely, and peasants in rural areas had little use for them. The Tosa Nikki (934-935) gives an example of how food was procured:

Not having...money, he [the governor] exchanged rice for sea bream caught yesterday by the captain of the ship... There were others who had to do such things on fast days. The captain has come again with bream, and we exchange now rice, now sake, for the food4.

Lady Nijō, the author of the Towazugatari (travel section, 1289-1306), sold gifts and clothes to provide herself with sustenance. We know very little about how early, and medieval travelers ate on the road because reference to food is seldom made in travel diaries. Steamed, dried rice (karehi) was evidently the stable5. The lunch box or bag (ebukuro) might contain dried rice (hoshū), crushed rice (warigo), or sake and bean curd (tōfu)6.

The early relay stations seem to have rapidly declined, for there is no mention of them in either the Ise Monogatari or the Sarashina Nikki. Travelers in the Heian Period stayed in temples, at times passing their nights in the open. The author of the Kagerō Nikki (travel sections, 968, 970) stayed in temples on her pilgrimage to Hatsuse (Hase)7. So did Fujiwara no Michiraga (966-1027) on his pilgrimage to Mt. Kimbu8. The Sarashina Nikki described another such night on the author's pilgrimage to Hase-dera Temple (Nara Prefecture):

We left Hase Temple before dawn. On our way back to the Capital we could not find any proper lodging for the night and were obliged to stay on the far side of Nara Slope in another simple little cottage. “There's something strange about this place”, one of my people warned me “Don't fall asleep whatever you do! If anything unusual happens, just stay quiet and pretend you have heard nothing! Try to breathe as softly as possible!” I was terrified, and the night seemed longer than a thousand years. When dawn finally came, I was told that the place was a thieves' den and that the mistress of the house had been up to something suspicious during the night...

...We returned to the Capital after three days in the temple, but this time there were too many people in our party for us to stay in the little house by Nara Slope. My men built a temporary hut for me in the field and I slept there while they bedded down under the open sky, lying on their leather leg-pieces, which they had spread on the grass and covered with straw matting. In the morning their hair was damp with dew. The moon was wonderfully clear and beautiful that dawn, and I wrote the poem...

The foundation of the Kamakura shogunate promoted travel between Kyōto, the seat of the imperial family, and Kamakura, the headquarters of the new military government. Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199), the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, issued a law for the regulation of the highway in 1185. It provided for the establishment of ferry services, bridges, and milestones9. Yoritomo also ordered that roads be cut through the mountains at the entrance to Kamakura, to facilitate access to the city. In 1256 the shogunate, in response to frequent robberies, ordered guards to be stationed at each relay station and express messengers in case reinforcements should become necessary10.

The time indications in the various travel diaries reflect the development of travel facilities on the highway. The journey, varying between 125 and 130 ri11 depending upon the branch taken, took the following number of days in each diary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travel Diary</th>
<th>Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarashina Nikki(1020)</td>
<td>91 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaidō Ki(1223)</td>
<td>15 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izayoi Nikki(1279-1280)</td>
<td>14 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōkan Kikō(1242)</td>
<td>13 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These figures might be compared with such examples as Minamoto no Yoritomo's thirty-four-day expedition to Kyōto at the head of his army in 1190. The twenty-day journey by the Shōgun Yoritsune (1218–1256) in 1238, reduced to eighteen days when he returned to Kyōto in 1243.

The messengers seem to have provided consistently reliable service; in the early Kamakura Period it was determined by law that a messenger could take a maximum of seven days. The messenger who brought the news of Shōgun Minamoto no Sanetomo's death took five days. He left Kamakura by night in 1219, on the 28th day of the first month, and arrived in Kyōto on the second day of the second month. On the 9th he was already back in Kamakura. Another messenger, in 1244, left Kamakura on the 25th day of the fourth month and returned on the 5th of the following month. A record was established in 1246, when the news of the death of Hōjō Tsunetoki was delivered to Kyōto only three days later.

The Kamakura Period also saw the rise of the so-called shuku (inns), no doubt a development of the earlier relay stations. Their rapid increase resulted in the emergence of villages and towns which owed their existence to travelers. In the Kaidō Ki, the Tōkan Kikō, and the Izayoi Nikki, the term shuku appears most frequently, though eki is used once in the Kaidō Ki and umaya twice in the Izayoi Nikki. These inns are described in detail in the Kamakura travel diaries. For example, the Kaidō Ki tells of how

Under every tree, blue curtains have been suspended under which travelers could rest. For everyone who passed the night there, reed pillows are prepared for comfortable resting.

When important people traveled, it often happened that the official inns were reserved and could not be occupied by others. Such an instance is mentioned in the Kaidō Ki: "Under the misty moon, shadows appeared. Since the lodging house (ryoten) was reserved, I wove grass into a pillow and stayed overnight at Kayatsu Shuku." The same thing happened to the Nun Abutsu in Tegoshi no Shuku (now Nagoya City). The same thing happened to the Nun Abutsu in Tegoshi no Shuku (now Shizuoka City):

Since some bishop, I believe, was there on his way to the capital, there were crowds of people. We could not [at first] engage lodging, but we nevertheless did [at last] find a stopping place where there were no guests.

There were also instances in which visitors stayed in private houses. The Tōkan Kikō gives an example:

I stayed in a hut, which seemed to be the dwelling of a poor fisherman living on netting and fishing. There was a strange smell about the place and I could hardly find space to lie down.

Many of these shuku were associated with prostitution. Pleasure girls appear throughout travel diary literature in the middle ages. Singing girls are mentioned as early as the Sarashina Nikki, though it was in the Kamakura Period that prostitution became an established traveling service. According to the Kaidō Ki, at Sekimoto no Shuku, (Minami Ashigara City, Sekimoto, Kanagawa Prefecture), "the inhabitants of this village take in people as overnight guests. Singing at the windows, pleasure girls stop the travelers and make them their husbands." The Tōkan Kikō describes a night in Hashimoto (now Arai, Shizuoka Prefecture):

Now in this station there was an inn where I spent the night. It was a straw-thatched cottage with leaking eaves. Here and there through the crevices in the roof, the moon shone in with full brightness. Just then a group of pleasure girls appeared, among them one who looked somewhat mature and who hummed, "Throughout the night I see from my bed the blue heaven," which impressed me very much.
Although Kamakura regulations facilitated travel in a period when it was still dangerous, they also prevented “free” travel. The effects of the se regulations on itineraries can be clearly seen in the Kaidō Ki, the Tōkan Kikō, and the Izayoi Nikki, in which the number of days and the stopover points generally coincide. A freer mode of travel was not to be depicted in travel diary literature until the Mumiyo no Ki (1268-69) and especially the Miyako no Tsuto (1350-52) when travel appears closely associated with hermit travel and grass-hut dwelling.

In spite of attempts made by the Kamakura military government, travel even on well-kept highways such as the Tōkaidō, was still dangerous. Asukai Masaari in his Haru no Miyamoto humorously describes such mishaps as falling from his horse and losing it in the currents of the river. During travel other than on the Tōkaidō, travel diary authors complain about robbers (Miyako no Tsuto) and about pirates (Tosa Nikki, Michiyukiburi).

In the Muromachi Period, when warfare frequently and seriously disturbed the country, travel became not only difficult but even dangerous. Ichijō Kanera complains about the many arbitrary barriers set up by the warrior factions during the Ōnin Wars (1467-77) in his travel diary (Fujikawa no Ki). The author of the Tōkoku Kikō, Sōboku, complains in his travelogue of the impassibility of roads because of ongoing battle, and that warriors were checking even his underwear. Gamō Ujisato, who wrote the Gamō Ujisato Kikō, was assassinated during his journey at Ōsaka. These examples tell us of the inconveniences of travel in those days when a change in weather or in the political situation could force a traveler to remain waiting at a place for a long time or to take an even less certain side road. Such situations, naturally, added to the wretchedness the travelers expressed in their literature.

Notes to a Short History of Travel

4. 14th day, first month, Miner, Japanese Poetic Diaries, p. 70.
5. They ate a meal of parched rice.” McCullough trans., Tales of Ise, op. cit., p. 75. Kareki also appears in such travel diaries as the Tōkan Kikō, the Mumiyo no Ki, the Rokun’n Dono Tsukushima Mōde no Ki, the Tsukushi Michi no Ki, and the Kaikoku Zakki.
6. In the Usubo Monogatari, the Ujishū Monogatari, the Ōkagami, and the Azumai no Tsuto respectively.
12. Between 305 and 317 miles. The journey normally took thirty days at that time but was prolonged in this case because of illness. Wamyō Ruju Shō, Nihon Koten Zenshū (Tōkyō: Nihon Koten Zenshū Kankō-ki, 1930) p. 5.

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Pilgrimages

Pilgrimages constituted a principal occasion for travel in medieval Japan. The origin of pilgrimages may be found in the regular visits paid by Nara and Heian Period aristocrats to their family temples or shrines, usually situated at short distances from their homes. More extended pilgrimages began to take place in the Heian Period with the annual Kasuga-mōde (pilgrimage to Kasuga Shrine in Nara), undertaken by members of the Fujiwara clan. Similar pilgrimages were made by the Genji clan to their family shrine, the Yawata Jingū (Iwashimizu Hachimangū, Kyōto Prefecture), and by the Heike clan to Itsukushima (Miyajima, Hiroshima Prefecture).

As the systems of land distributions and tenure instituted in the Nara Period began to deteriorate, temples and shrines relied increasingly on direct appeal for support. Some holy places, such as those mentioned above, became associated with particular clans; others sought a broader appeal. One technique of promoting worship (and therefore contributions) was the propagation of miraculous stories connected with the origin of the temple or shrine. The virtues of pilgrimage to a given temple or shrine were effectively disseminated through the engi, legends on the history of a temple or shrine. The Gempei Seisui Ki, for instance, refers to engi about Zenkōji Temple (Nagano), Kasuga Shrine (Nara), Kumano Shrine (Wakayama Prefecture) and Hakusan Shrine (Niigata Prefecture). Some of these engi were written in the form of picture scrolls. The Tenjin Engi and the Kasuga Gongen Reigen Ki are early examples. The Shigisan Engi Emaki is one of the most famous. In the Kamakura Period, when pilgrimages increased significantly, such engi appeared in great numbers. They were presented in the capital.
and elsewhere by the etoki, nuns (bikuni) who traveled around for the purpose of propagating the religious merit of the temples with which they were associated.

Another instrument of religious propagation was the mandala, a pictorial representation of the universe originally used in esoteric Buddhism. An example is the Kumano Mandala, revered by ex-Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239)⁴. Widespread mandala faith in the middle ages encouraged pilgrimages for the purpose of seeing and worshiping the original mandalas.

In the Heian Period pilgrimages that included several holy places came into being. These pilgrimages ranged in scale from the Nanto Shichi Daijii Junrei (Pilgrimage to the Seven Big Temples of Nara) and the Kyōto Hyakuto Junrei (Pilgrimage to the One Hundred Pagodas of Kyōto), to the ambitious Sensha Mōde (Pilgrimage to One Thousand Shrines). The Saikoku Sanjū-san Kannon Junrei (Pilgrimage to the the Thirty-three Kannon (Avalokitesvara) of the the West), the Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho (Pilgrimage to the Eighty-eight Sacred Places of Shikoku), the Rokujūroku-bu, (Pilgrimage to the Sacred Places around the Country), and the Honzan Mōde (Pilgrimage to the Sacred Head Temples) were other pilgrimages which flourished at that time.

Other pilgrimages took the form of repeated visits to one or a group of holy places, such as the Sanjūsando Mōde (Thirty-three Times Pilgrimage, mostly to Kannon temples), the Hyakudo Mōde (One Hundred Times Pilgrimage), Sendō Mōde (One Thousand Times Pilgrimage), and the Mando Mōde (Ten Thousand Times Pilgrimage). Some of these pilgrimages were named according to the intervals at which they occurred: the Hi Mairi (Daily Pilgrimage), the Tsuki Mairi (Monthly Pilgrimage), and the Toshi Mairi (Annual Pilgrimage).

Certain temples and shrines welcomed pilgrims from a broad sector of society. The popularity of the Hasadera (Hatsuse in the Heian Period, now Nara Prefecture), for instance, is attested to in such works as the Sarashina Nikki, the Kagerō Nikki, the Genji Monogatari, the Utsubo Monogatari (all Heian Period), and the story sixteen of the Konjaku Monogatari (Kamakura Period). The author of the Tosa Nikki, Ki no Tsurayuki (879?-945), is said to have made a pilgrimage (tsukimairi) there once a month¹. Unlike many holy places, Hasedera welcomed both men and women. The Hase Kannon enjoyed great popularity in the Heian Period as part of the developing Kannon cult, which culminated in the famous Pilgrimage to the Thirty-three Holy Places (Sanjū-san Kannon Junrei). The Hasedera Reigen Ki and the Hasedera Engibun helped propagate the merits of the temple.

Mt. Kōya (Wakayama Prefecture) became another famous pilgrimage center. There are two principal explanations for its popularity. One is that Mt. Kōya (like Kumano, another major center) lies to the south of the capital, and it was believed that the south was the destination of the dead – the yomi no kuni of Shintō and the location of Kannon's paradise according to the honjisuijaku synthesis of Buddhist and Shintō beliefs. This may be the reason why Mt. Kōya became the largest graveyard in the country. A second reason for its popularity was the belief that Kōbō Daishi (774-835), the founder of the Shingon sect, still lived there although his spirit had entered paradise. The virtues of Mt. Kōya were enumerated in works such as the Shūi Ōjō Den and the Kōya-san Ōjō Den, which states: "If you desire to be reborn in Paradise, you must live on Mt. Kōya," or "if you go once to Mt. Kōya, then all your sins will be exonerated on the way". Pilgrimages to Mt. Kōya were particularly popular at the end
of the Heian Period and the beginning of the Kamakura Period but declined in the Muromachi Period.

According to the *Nihongi* (720), the area of Kumano (another major pilgrim center, in Wakayama Prefecture) was believed from ancient times to be the world of the dead, the *yomi no kuni*. At the end of the Heian Period, as this belief became amalgamated with Jōdo Buddhist concepts, Kumano became associated with the Pure Land of the Buddha Amida (Amitābha). Because of its location south of Kyoto as well as its remoteness, Kumano was also interpreted to be the location of Kannon's southern paradise, Fudaraku (Potalaka). Accordingly, to travel to Kumano was a symbolic attempt to attain the southern paradise. There is evidence that some people, like Koremori of the *Heike Monogatari*, set themselves adrift on light vessels from Nachi's Fudaraku Sanjū Temple in search of the land of bliss.

The places of worship in this area were the Kumano Sanzan (the Three Mountains of Kumano): Kumano nimasu Jinja (Hongū), enshrining the goddess Izanami; Kumano Fusumi Jinja (Nachi waterfall) enshrining Izanami's son Hayatama no O no Mikoto. According to *honjusuijaku*, the deity of Hongū was taken to be an incarnation of Amida, Shingū of Yakushi (Bhaiśajya-guru) and Nachi of Kannon.

The virtues of the Kumano pilgrimage were propagated by such guidebooks as the *Kumano Honji* and the *Kumano Engi*. The later states:

If all human beings from the sixty-odd provinces of Great Japan would respectfully make a pilgrimage together to our shrine, the poor would turn rich so that they could live happily in this world and be reborn in the Pure Land.

Pilgrimages were also promoted by the Kumano bikuni (Kumano nuns), who traveled into the provinces, and by the sendachi (also sendatsu) of the Yamabushi sect, who also traveled to propagate the Kumano cult although their main function was to guide pilgrims on the road.

The Kumano pilgrimage became particularly popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when a great number of monk- and ex-emperors traveled on it, thus giving the shrine national importance. This practice began with ex-Emperor Uda (r. 889–897) and the ex-Emperor Kazan (r. 985–986). It became customary for all former emperors to make pilgrimages to Kumano, and during the approximately one hundred years of the Insei Period (1086–1221), Kumano witnessed ninety-seven imperial visits. Shirakawa (r. 1073–1086) is recorded as having made twelve pilgrimages, Toba (1108–1123) twenty-three, Goshirakawa (r. 1156–1158) thirty-three, and Gotoba (r. 1184–1198) twenty-one. The increased prestige which their visits had conferred upon Kumano in turn proved useful to the Insei emperors in legitimizing their power. The pilgrimage was also popular among the aristocrats. It usually took place at the height of the autumn harvest. After the Jōkyū War (1221), however, when the court lost much of its power to the warrior class, fewer ex-emperors and aristocrats undertook this pilgrimage. They were succeeded by members of the warrior class, particularly those from the northern provinces.

What gave Kumano a special distinction was the breadth of its appeal. From the early days of its history, it welcomed all visitors. At a time when most shrines had strict rules concerning purification and did not admit pilgrims other than those from specific families or local inhabitants, the Kumano Shrine was more open. According to the *Chōkan Kannon*, Kumano even accepted women and (Buddhist) monks: Kumano is liked by all people, even monks.

In the Kamakura Period, it continued to attract people from a wide range of backgrounds. Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241) speaks of the
poor and rich who visited there. Kumano also attracted priests: Saigyō, and Ippen, for example, made pilgrimages there. There were also women: Izumi Shikibu (mid-Heian Period) and the authoress of the Towazugatari, Lady Nijō (125S-?), went there. Masako (1156-1225), the wife of Minamoto no Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, twice undertook this pilgrimage.

The Kumano pilgrimage normally took between twenty and thirty days from Kyōto and back. The pilgrims usually went by boat down the Yodo River; from the area of Yodoyabashi (in Ōsaka of today), they proceeded along the coast to Tanabe (Wakayama Prefecture). From there they could either take the Ōheji Road around the southern extremity of the Kii peninsula through Nachi and Shingū, or they could take the Nakaheji Road to Hongū through the mountains. In the Heian and Kamakura periods only the latter was used. The ninety-nine so-called ōji shrines provided shelter as well as serving as places of worship.

Food was scarce on the roads to Kumano. In 1109 the courtier Nakamikado Munetada met a blind peasant suffering from hunger and gave him food. It should be noted, however, that the imperial and aristocratic pilgrims were supported by the manors they owned and therefore did not suffer from lack of food.

Nevertheless, the Kumano pilgrimage was one of the most difficult to perform, even for well-supported royal and aristocratic pilgrims. According to the Sambō Ekotoba, written in 984, Kumano was difficult to reach:

There is mountain after mountain and river after river and the way is far. When spring goes or autumn comes there are few people to tread the road. Those who live at the foot of the mountains survive by eating the fruit of the trees.

After enumerating the hardships, the text goes on to expound on the virtues of this pilgrimage. The difficulties of the journey and the miracles awaiting at the end naturally went hand in hand. The road was intended to prepare the pilgrim for the destination and thus to render him worthy of enlightenment.

Many imperial experiences bear witness to the difficulties encountered in the course of the pilgrimage. Ex-Emperor Uda wrote of the dangers of a road stretching through mountain and sea. The monk-Emperor Kazan, aware of these dangers, planned to proceed by boat from Ise on his pilgrimage in 999. The monk-Emperor Goshirakawa omitted Nachi and Shingū nineteen times out of his thirty-three pilgrimages, probably because the road was impassable. He had this to say of the dangers of the Kumano road:

I wish to go on a pilgrimage to Kumano
But the road is too long;
And the mountains are steep;
On horseback, I could accumulate no [religious] merit;
Give me wings, Nyakuōji,
I want to fly through the sky (to Kumano)!

Kumano declined as a pilgrimage center in the Muromachi Period in favor of Ise. The early rivalry of the two places is indicated in the Chokan Kanmon, which concerns the years 1163-1165; there it is suggested (no doubt in an attempt to attract Kumano pilgrims to Ise), that the Kumano avatar and the Ise avatar are the same. The Yasui-in no Shinō Shū, written in the Nambokuchō Period, casts doubts on the effectiveness of the Kumano pilgrimage and warns of the dangers involved. The Kumano pilgrimage was revived, however, in the Edo Period.

The Ise Shrine was considered the ancestral shrine (ujigami) of the emperor. Therefore, only members of the imperial family were received until the Heian Period.
With the merging of Shintoism and Buddhism, or honjisuijaku, the Japanese gods (kami) became avatars of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The Ise Shrine naturally assumed the role of protecting the entire country. The Sasekishi states:

Outwardly, the Ise Shrine has little to do with Buddhist law. Inwardly, however, because it bestows protection on the Three Treasures [of Buddhism], the Buddhist law of our country relies solely upon the Great Shrine for protection

In 1182, during the decline of Heian Japan, Minamoto no Yukiie visited the shrine to ask for permission to subdue the Heike. In 1186, Minamoto no Yoshitsune undertook a pilgrimage to Ise before starting on a campaign which led to the downfall of the Heike. The Ise pilgrimage was equally popular with the Hōjō family. The night before the Jōkyū War broke out (1221), Masako, the wife of the shōgun Minamoto no Yoritomo, had a dream in which the goddess of Ise appeared, asking for the restoration of peace by military force. Given the shrine’s relation with the imperial family, Ise pilgrimage and Ise worship were important assets for political power.

Buddhist priests began to visit Ise as early as the Heian Period. Among them were such well-known figures as Gyōgi (668-749) and Kūya (903-972), later followed by Zōki, the author of the Ionushi (11th century). In 1186, (Kanjin Shōnin Shunjō) Chōgen went to Ise with sixty-six monks to present the Daihannya Sutra (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra) to the Great Shrine, with the request that they be permitted to build the Daibutsuden (the Great Buddha Hall) at the Tōdaiji of Nara. Among the priests, those belonging to the Jishū had particularly close connections with Ise Shrine. Pilgrimages by Ippen, Ta’a in the second Jishū generation, and Kokua in the Namboku-chō Period have been recorded.

The Japanese victory over Mongol invaders, attributed to the powers of Kamikaze, a deity enshrined at Ise, gave great impetus to the increasing influence of the Shrine. The Kanchū Ki mentions the “pilgrims from the Ten Thousand Provinces — one does not know how many tens of millions...” This probably marked the starting point of the Shrine’s acceptance of people from all social classes, and the breakdown of the exclusive nature of ancestral shrines in general. The Shrine began to welcome all pilgrims and even encourage general pilgrimages. The Ise goshi (Ise Guides) fulfilled the same function as the Kumano sendachi and contributed considerably to the popularization of the Ise cult. The Ainōshō describes the extent of this popularization: “For those who have received life in our country it is a matter of course that they should go on a pilgrimage to the Great Shrine.” In the Muromachi Period and particularly in the Edo Period, Ise became the most popular pilgrimage center in Japan.

Notes to Pilgrimages


Chōkan Kanmon, (Shinkō-Gunsho Ruijū), (Tōkyō: Naigai Shoseki K.K., 1928), pp. 312-327.
Travel and Picture Scrolls (emakimono)

In the Heian and Kamakura Periods developed an art form which gained great popularity. It was the picture scroll, in which stories were narrated through continuous illustrations. The pictures were drawn on a long scroll which the viewer looked at by unrolling it with the left hand and rolling it up again with the right hand, leaving a comfortable space in between. Some scrolls were painted without a text; others included poetry, histories of temples and shrines, the text usually preceding the pictures. Some scrolls depicted famous literary tales, not in the hand of their creators, but by others who were amateurs or artists. Famous passages were followed by illustrations. The Genji Monogatari Emaki is a typical example.

This combination of literature and painting can be found in other literary genres, including poetry, histories of temples and shrines (engi), essays (the Makura no Soshi), and diaries. The diary scrolls are of particular concern here. There are two types of diary scrolls, 1) the so-called e-nikki (picture diary), drawn by the author himself as his own diary, and 2) the Nikki-e (diary scrolls), by artists using already existing diaries. No e-nikki have been preserved. That Tsurayuki himself painted illustrations for the Tosa Nikki can only be surmised from a passage in the Egyo Shu. Most of the famous diaries seem to have been made into scrolls: the Ise Monogatari, the Kagero Nikki, the Izumi Shikibu Nikki, the Murasaki Shikibu Nikki and the Sarashina Nikki.

Of particular interest from the standpoint of travel are the Kibi Daijin Nittö-e, a scroll on the fantastic exploits of Kibi no Makibi (695–775) in T’ang China, and the Ise...
Monogatari Emaki (Ise Monogatari Scroll), of which only two scrolls remain, seven sections of painting and two sections of text. The Sarashina Nikki scroll has been lost, but it must have resembled the Ise Monogatari Emaki in that the pictures were not realistic depictions of landscape but conventionalized products of the imagination. For instance, the drawings of Mt. Fuji in the Ise Monogatari Emaki have little or no resemblance to Mt. Fuji.

In the Kamakura Period there appeared two now famous picture scrolls on travel, the Ippen Hijiri-e, and Saigyō Monogatari Emaki, both of which are more realistic than the Ise Monogatari Emaki. They have probably contributed more than any travel diary to our knowledge of travel in the Kamakura Period.

The Ippen Hijiri-e, owned by the Kankikōji Temple in Kyōto, describes the deeds of the wandering saint. The postscript indicates that the text (e-kotoba) of the scroll was written by Shōkai in 1299, ten years after the death of Ippen. The text is not unlike a travel diary with its indications of time and place names, but it is little concerned with nature descriptions or with information on the circumstances of travel. The text is more a juxtaposition of different episodes, stories of Ippen’s activities at various places. In effect, it is a biography, with a focus on Buddhist thought and practices as well as on certain legendary elements. It was common for scrolls depicting the history of temples and the lives of priests to be created for didactic purposes and as an instrument of proselytizing.

The illustrations are primarily concerned with the idea of travel. They give a realistic picture of places like Enoshima, Zenkōji Temple, Mt. Fuji (the oldest realistic depiction of this mountain in history?), Shitennoji Temple, the shrines of Kumano, Mt. Yoshino, Itsukushima, the Straits of Naruto, etc. These pictures show the characteristic features of each place. These illustrations give a vivid picture of what travel was like in the Kamakura Period.

What has been said about the Ippen Hijiri-e largely applies to the Saigyō Monogatari Emaki as well. The Saigyō scroll was also painted in the Kamakura Period. Only the first two scrolls remain of the original four or five. The life of Saigyō has already been discussed; the illustrations are of principal concern here. Like the Ippen scroll, the Saigyō scroll offers important evidence about Kamakura Period travel.

Of particular interest is the structure of such emakimonô. Illustrations appear at places where, in the travel diaries, one would expect to find poems. Thus both travel diaries and picture scrolls share the same basic structure.

Notes to Travel and Picture Scrolls (emakimonô)

Summary of the Texts

The following provides information about the authorship, dates, itinerary, style, and content of each travel diary in alphabetical order. For more detailed information about different titles and the various manuscripts the reader is advised to consult the Gunsho Kaidai, vol. 11 (Tôkyô, 1958). For a complete listing of travel diary place names with indication of stopovers, see Fukuda Hideichi and Herbert Plutschow, Nihon Kikô Bungaku Binran (Tôkyô, 1976), or Medieval Japanese Travel Diaries, unpubl. diss., Columbia University, 1973.


3) Azuma no Michi no Ki (Account of the Azuma Road). Author: Sonkai (1472-1543), high priest of Ninnaji Temple. Date of journey: 24/10/1533--after 14/11/1534 (lengthy stays on the way). Itinerary: Capital - Asama Barrier along the Tôkaidô Road. Summary: The AnMnK is a poem diary about a journey to the East with the purpose of visiting an unidentified grave (?) and seeing Mt. Fuji. The poems, mainly about famous places, bear the imprint of the Nijô style. It includes waka, hokku, and wakan renku (hokku plus a verse in Chinese), some of which are by other poets.

4) Azumaji no Tsuto (Souvenir from the Azuma Road). Author: Söchô (1448-1532), disciple of Sôgi (see Shirakawa Kiko) and Ikkyû (1394-1481), and a leading linked-verse poet of his time. Date of journey: 16/7/1509-8/12/1509 (with lengthy stays on the way). Itinerary: Mariko (Shizuoka) - Nikkô - Katsunuma - Chiba - Edo - Meigetsuin Temple. Summary: In 1509, Söchô sets out from his hut at Utsunoyama (see Utsuyama Ki) in order to see the Shirakawa Barter, but is unable to go beyond Mt. Kurokami (Shimôtsuke Province) because of military disturbances at Hasunodonohara. He therefore visits Nikkô and Kusatsu Spa. Söchô meets various persons on the way: a feudal Lord at Katsunuma, the Priest Seiki in Közuke Province, and the Priest Sokô. Near Muronoyashima he is met by a retainer who guides him to the castle of the Lord of Chikugo. At Utsunomiya, he meets Koga no Kôshun, a physician. At Funahashi he stays at the house of warrior, and at the residence of Lord Echizen where he meets a friend of Sôgi. Most of these encounters produce poetry; for instance, Söchô composes a 100-chain linked-verse with Lord Shimôfsusa. Söchô mentions the Ashikaga School, sarugaku and ennen performances. The AnT is written in a mixed Japanese-Chinese documentary style with waka, hokku and Chinese poems.

5) [Ise] Daijingû Sankei Ki (Account of a Pilgrimage to the Great Shrines). Author: Jûbutsu, (b. 1280 or 1281?) a physician and poet who also participated in Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's pilgrimage to Itsukushima (see Rokuen in Dono Itsukushima Môde no Ki). Date of journey: 10/1342 (no detailed dates). Itinerary: Anonotsu - Ise Shrines - Futamigaura - Irakojima - Narumigata - Yamada. Summary: The first part of the DSK is an account of a journey from Anonotsu to Ise. The second part describes the author's visit to the Ise Shrines, Futamigaura and Sambôin Temple. A considerable portion of this part is dedicated to Ise Shintô (Watarai Shintô); the author records his conversation with Watarai (Muramatsu) Ieyuki. The author

* Dates will be given in the order of day/lunar month/year.
also displays an interest in poetry by including poems (both waka and chōka), by visiting the remains of Saigō's hut at Futamigaura (Anyōzan) and by composing with priests of the Ise Shrines the first set of linked-verse ever presented to the shrines.

6) Daijingū Sankei Ki (Account of a Pilgrimage to the Great Shrines). Author: Tsakai (dates uncertain), acting high priest of Sambōin Temple and son of a high official of the Ise Shrines. Date of journey: 14/8/1286 – 7 Itinerary: Tour of the Ise Shrines beginning with the Geku (Outer Shrine). Summary: The author recounts his visit to the Ise Shrines on the occasion of the ridgepole-raising ceremony of the 20-year rebuilding of the shrine, with reference to the history and legends of the various shrines, Ise's role in the Mongol invasions, and theological notes on the various shrines. The DSK includes one poem.


8) Fuji Goran Nikki (Diary of Viewing Mt. Fuji). Author: Unknown. The latter part of the FGN is identical with the Imagawa Ki (Shiseki Shūran copy). The author of the latter, Imagawa Norimasa (1384–1433, grandson of Imagawa Sadayo’s elder brother), who is known to have accompanied Ashikaga Yoshinori to Mt. Fuji, is a possible author. Date of journey: 10/9/1432–18/209/1432 (in Fuchū). Itinerary: Capital – Fuchū (Shizuoka) – Kiyomi Barrier. Summary: The FGN is an account of Ashikaga Yoshinori’s sightseeing tour to Mt. Fuji; it includes poems by the shōgun and Imagawa Norimasa, feudal lord of Suruga Province. It consists of simple forewords followed by waka and linked-verse. The epilogue was written by Sōchō (see Azumaji no Tsuto).

9) Fuji Kikō (Account of a journey to Mt. Fuji). Author: Asukai Masayo (1390–1452), a Nijō School poet, compiler of the Shinshokukokinshū (1438) and a priest after 1441, following the death of the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshinori. Date of journey: 10/9/1432–27/9/1432 (last date at Tarui). Itinerary: Capital – Seikenji (Shinizu) – Capital. Summary: The FK is a poem diary about Ashikaga Yoshinori’s (1393–1441) journey to Mt. Fuji, with emphasis on the famous places along the Tōkaidō Road. The FK includes poems of praise addressed to the shōgun. Not all poems in the FK are by the author.

10) Fuji Rekiran Ki (Account of a Sightseeing Tour to Mt. Fuji). Author: Asukai Masayasu (1436–1509), second son of Masayo (see Fuji Kikō) and a priest after 1482. Date of journey: 3/5/1499–7/7/1499 (last date at Seki). Itinerary: Capital – Sayo no Nakayama – Seki (now Sekimoto). Summary: The FRK is an account of Emperor Tsuchimikado’s sightseeing journey to Mt. Fuji. Because of military disturbances, the party is unable to proceed further than Sayo no Nakayama, where 10 poems about Mt. Fuji are composed. The FRK includes references to the ancestors of the Asukai family. An entire portion of the account is apparently taken from the Fuji Kikō (supra).

11) Fujikawa no Ki (Account of Fujikawa). Author: Ichijō Kanera (1402–1481), grandson of Nijō Yoshimoto (see Ojima no Kuchizusan) and a priest after 1473. Date of journey: 2/5/1473–28/5/1473. Itinerary: Nara – Shōhōji (Gifu) – Nara. Summary: Kanera leaves Nara in response to an invitation by Saitō Myōchin and travels to Mino Province, describing the famous places along the way in prose and poetry. Kanera enjoys travel, poetical meetings, dance, theatrical performances (sarugaku), village festivals, coromant fishing, etc. At Shōhōji, Kanera teaches poetry to Saitō Shinsaburō Toshikuni (Myōchin). He tries to return upon receiving news of the death of Hosokawa Katsumoto but is prevented by the ensuing disturbances and therefore resigned himself to visiting the famous places in the vicinity of Gifu. He returns to Nara on 20/5.

12) Gamō Ujisato Kikō (Account of Gamō Ujisato's Journey). Author: Gamō Ujisato (1555–1594), who studied linked-verse poetry under Shōha (see Amanoshashidate Kikō). A daimyō of the Aizu clan and husband of a daughter of Oda Nobunaga, he served Hideyoshi
after Nobunaga’s death. Date of journey: 1592 (no other dates). Itinerary: Aizu Wakamatsu—Capital (along Kisō Road). Summary: Giving Hideyoshi’s campaign against China as the purpose for the journey, Ujisato describes in prose and poetry a pleasure trip along places of poetic interest in the form of a poem diary.

3) Gen’yo Nikki (Gen’yo’s Diary). Author: Gen’yo (unknown poet). Date of journey: 10/7/1596-23/3/1597. Itinerary: Kagoshima – Osaka (mainly by boat through the Inland Sea) – Capital – Ise – Osaka – Shōnai. Summary: Gen’yo accompanies the former Minister of the Left, Konoe Nobusuke (1565–1614), on his way back to the Capital from Kagoshima. They take the boat from Ōsumi to Hamanoichi, where they enjoy poetry composition and Nō plays. Between Hososhima and Imanoumi they witness a shipwreck and the destruction by tidal waves resulting from an earthquake. At Osaka they are met by a messenger sent by Tocotomi Hideyoshi and proceed to the Capital. Later, Gen’yo is taken by a messenger from Hosokawa Yūsai (see Kyūshū Michi no Ki) to Fushimi. In the 11th month, Gen’yo visits the Miidera temple. In the second month of the following year, he goes to Ise where he composes poetry, enjoys Nō plays, go and shōgi. At the beginning of the third month, he starts on his return journey. The GN includes poems by Nobusuke, Shōha and Yūsai as well as the author.

4) Gotoba-in Kumano Gokū Ki (Account of Ex-Emperor Gotoba’s Journey to Kumano). Author: Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), a poet favored by Gotoba (abd. in 1198, d. in 1239) and compiler of the Shinkokinshū (1205). Date of journey: 5/10/1201–26/10/1201. Itinerary: Capital – Tennyō – Sumiyoshi – Tanabe – Hongū – Kumano – Shingū – Nachi – Tanabe – Capital. Summary: The GKGK is a travel diary written in kambun (Chinese) existing both independently (Gunsho Ruijū) and as part of Meigetsu Ki. It was written on the occasion of ex-Emperor Gotoba’s pilgrimage to Kumano. Teika describes the preparation for the imperial pilgrimage (cleansing ceremonies), the visits and offerings of music, poetry, dances, sumo-wrestling, and other competitive arts and sports to the so-called Ninety-nine ōji shrines of which Teika mentions only 94. Teika was suffering from illness during most of the pilgrimage. The GKGK includes waka and Chinese poems.

5) Haru no Miyama (Mountain Road in Spring). Author: Asukai Masaari (1241–1301). Date of journey (travel section): 14/11/1280–26/11/1280. Itinerary: Capital – Kamakura (along the Tōkaidō Road). Summary: The first part of the HnM is a court diary dealing mainly with Masaari’s function as a teacher of football (kemari) and poetry to the crown prince, then 16 years of age (later Emperor Fushimi, r. 1287–1298). The latter part is an account of Masaari’s official journey to Kamakura with the purpose of effecting the crown prince’s early accession to the throne. The HnM included details about places of historical and poetic interest, conditions of travel (falls from his horse), and a divination held at Mishima Shrine about the outcome of his mission. There are 16 poems but large portions of the travel section include no poems, and are reminiscent of the documentary diaries written in Chinese.

6) Heian Kiko (Account of a Journey to Heian [Kyōto]). Author: Ōta Dōkan (1432–1486)? (Dōkan’s authorship refuted by Watanabe Yōsuke). Date of journey: beginning 6/1480 (no further dates). Itinerary: Edo – Capital along Tōkaidō Road. Summary: Dōkan, a Nijō School poet, describes his journey to the Capital, motivated by a severe drought in eastern Japan. The HK is centered upon the famous places and structured like a poem diary.

7) Hokkoku Kikō (Account of a Journey to the Northern Provinces). Author: Gyōe (1430–? ). A disciple of Gyōkō (see Ise Kikō) and probably an adept of the Shugen Sect (Yamabushi). (See also Zenkōji Kikō). Date of journey: 5/1486–28/11/1487. (Long stays on the way, e.g. 2 weeks at Kusatsu Spa, 1 week at Itako Spa.) Itinerary: Gujō Hachiman – Zenkōji – Kamakura – Mikuniyama (Mikuni Pass). Summary: Gyōe leaves the mountain retreat of Taira no Yorikazu in Mino Province and heads towards Zenkōji Temple, composing poetry on the way. On 20/10 his journey is interrupted by warfare but he is saved by the Governor General of Kantō, Uesugi Akisada (1454–1510). In the middle of the 12th month he sees Mt. Fuji. In the first month of the following year he travels to Kamakura again to see Mt. Fuji. Gyōe’s attention to mountains is striking (see also Zenkōji Kikō).

* A reference to the Crown Prince (Haru no Miya).
18) Iōnushi (Name of author). Author: Iōnushi has been identified with a priest called Zōki (Yamato Monogatari, Gosenshū). Conclusive identification is impossible. Date of journey: The Gegenshū, a collection of poetry compiled in 1086, includes poems taken from the Iōnushi. The indication of the date 1/10 of Kanshi (a combination of cyclical signs) suggests 925/956 or 1049 as possible dates. Itinerary: (Kumano Kikō): Capital–Sumiyoshi–Fukigate–Kumano–Ise (?)–Capital. (Tōtomi no Michi no Kō): Hamana Bridge–Narunonohama. Summary: Iōnushi consists of three originally independent works: 1) Kumano Kikō (Account of a Journey to Kumano), 2) A private anthology of poems, 3) Tōtomi no Michi no Kō (Account of the Tōtomi Road). The KK is a diary of a pilgrimage to Kumano by way of Sumiyoshi (Ōsaka) and Fukigate (Wakayama) and back by way of Ise. The prayer at Sumiyoshi, the legends of Shinoda, Fukigate, Hana no Iwaya, the description of Kumano and the reference to the Miroku (Sansk. Maitreya) cult and the 30 poems (some of them poem exchanges, many of them composed in a Buddhist vein) are important elements in the diary. The TnMK begins at 3/10 of an unknown year. It describes, in the style of a poem diary (49 poems), a journey between the Capital and Hamana Bridge. A visit to a hijiri—saint who had taught him the Buddhism of Fugen (Sansk. Samantabhadra), whom he finds dead, contributes to the melancholy tone of the TnMK.

19) Ise Ki (Account of a Journey to Ise). Author: Kamo no Chōmei (1143–1216). Date of journey: Ca. 1186 (acc. to Yanase Kazuo). Itinerary: Capital–Futamigaura (Ise). Summary: The IK is a diary reconstructed by a later compiler on the basis of a series of poems and forewords of the Fuboku Wakošū, Sankoku Iishi and a manuscript entitled Kamo no Chōmei Ise Ki Nukigaki of the Jingū Bunko Library. The IK is a poetic diary of 1) a journey between the Capital and Futamigaura and 2) a sojourn at the remains of a hut built by the poet Saigyō (Anyōzan).

20) Ise Kiko (Account of a Journey to Ise). Author: Gyōkō (1391–1455), a Nijō poet. (See also Ran Fuji Ki.) Date of journey: 17/3/1433–23/3/1433 (last date at Kashiwagi no Sato). Itinerary: Capital–Ise–Capital. Summary: The IK is a poem diary-like travel account of the pilgrimage to Ise by Ashikaga Yoshinori. Poems were offered to the Ise Shrines.

21) Ise Sangō Kairiku no Ki (Account of a Pilgrimage on Sea and Land to the Ise Shrines). Author: Saionji Nobuhisa (dates uncertain), Lord (daimyō) of Uwajima (Shikoku), a branch family of the aristocratic Saionji family of the Capital. Date of journey: 6/1576–8/1576. Itinerary: (Shikoku)–Arima–Capital–Ise–Hase–Nara–Yamazaki–Marukushi (now Uwajima). Summary: The beginning part of the ISKnK is missing; the first entry is at Tomo (now Fukuyama). The ISKnK is an account in prose and poetry of the daimyō’s pilgrimage to Ise and back.

22) Ishiyama Tsuki-mi Ki (Account of Viewing the Moon at Ishiyama). Author: Sanjonishi Kin’eda (1487–1563). Date of journey: 14/8/1555–21/8/1555. Itinerary: Capital–Ishiyama Temple. Summary: The ITK is the account of a journey to see the moon at Ishiyama and to dedicate to the temple a 1000 chain linked-verse on the theme of the Genji Monogatari, composed jointly with Sōyō (1526–1562) and Shōha (1524–1602). The latter part of the ITK consists of 15 waka, the beginning syllables of which, read horizontally, spell Namu Nyoirin Kanzeon Bosatsu, the name of the main object of worship at Ishiyama Temple.

23) Izayoi Nikki (Diary of the Waning Moon).* Author: The Nun Abutsu (see also Uiatane) (d. 1283). Date of journey: 1280 (1279 acc. to Taniyama Shigeru). Itinerary: Capital–Kamakura along the Tōkaidō Road. Summary: In the preface of the IN, the author explains in poetic language her intention to bring before the Kamakura military government the dispute between the sons of Fujiwara no Tameie’s first marriage and those whom she bore him. She is concerned with the faithful continuation of Tameie’s poetic traditions. The travel section (Azuma Kudari), with 55 poems and short forewords was sent to her children as a textbook on travel poetry. This is followed by a diary (Azuma Nikki), dealing mainly with her correspondence with people in the Capital and a long poem (chōka) of 151 lines offered to the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine in support of her plea.

* As translated by Edwin O. Reischauer.

25) Kaidō Ki (Account of [a Journey along] the Tōkaidō Road). Author: Uncertain. Authorship theories: a) Kamo no Chōmei, acc. to manuscript of 1664 (apocryphal); b) Minamoto no Mitsuyuki (1163-1235), acc. to Guansho Ruijū copy; and c) Fujiwara no Hideyoshi (Nyogan Hōshi), acc. to Noro Tadashi. According to the text, the author was a hermit, probably a victim to the Jōkyū War of 1221. Date of journey: 4/4/1223-5/1223. Itinerary: Capital - Kamakura along the Tōkaidō Road (16days). Summary: The author, a hermit living in the vicinity of the Capital, leaves his aged mother to go on a pilgrimage to the Zenkōji Temple (now in Nagano), but returns to the Capital from Kamakura upon hearing of his mother's sudden illness. He describes in a Chinese style (kambun chokuyaku - tai), with numerous allusions to Chinese literature, the scenes along the Tōkaidō Road. Special attention is given to the history and legends of places and to the victims of the Jōkyū War. In Kamakura, where he stays for 10 days, the author visits the shogunal residence, temples and shrines. The author devotes lengthy passages to Buddhist thought (karma, mujō, mui, yui, paradise and hell, affection for all living beings - animals, peasants, fishermen, pleasure girls, etc.). Of particular interest are the passages in which the author praises the Kamakura military government and those dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Jōkyū War. The abundance of Buddhist thought in the KK has led scholars to consider it a work of Buddhist literature (Kobayashi Chishō). The KK contains more than 60 poems.

26) Kaikoku Zakki (Miscellaneous Notes about a Journey around the Country). Author: Dōkō (1430-1527), son of Civil Dictator Fujiwara no Fusatsugu, supervisor the three Sacred Mountains of Kuman no of the Onjōji (Miidera), head priest of the Shōgō-in, and a known poet whose works appear in the Shinsen Tsukuba Shū. Date of journey: 16/6/1486 - after 2/3/1487 (last date at Tonegawa). Itinerary: Capital - Obama - Tsuruga - Mt. Haku - Mt. Tate - Kazawaki - Nikkō - Kamakura - Matsushima - Natori River (exact itinerary difficult to trace). Summary: The KZ is a record in prose and poetry of ten months of wandering through approximately twenty provinces with special attention given to places of poetic, literary, religious, historical, and legendary interest. On the way Dōkō meets a number of priests and feudal potentates with whom he exchanges poems. Before leaving the Capital, he exchanges farewell poems with Ashikaga Yoshimasa and Ashikaga Yoshihisa. The 57-year-old Dōkō climbs Mt. Haku, Tate, and other mountains, and often stays at Yamabushi and Jishū Sect mountain lodges. In his attention to ancient battlefields (Okaben9hara), Dōkō resembles the itinerant priest (shokoku ikken no sō) of the Nō plays. The KZ is possibly incomplete. Until the theory was refuted by Sekioka Yashūrō (1772-1832), it was believed to have been by Sōgi (see Shirakawa Kikō). Because it had been believed to be Sōgi's work, it was copied on the 200th anniversary of his death.


28) Kōun Kikō (Account of Kōun's Journey). Author: (Kōun Kazan'in Nagachika) (? - 1429), Minister of the Interior and compiler of the Shin'yōshū. Date of journey: 21/9/1418 - 25/9/1418. Itinerary: Capital - Ise - Capital. The KK is a diary in prose and poetry of a pilgrimage to Ise, on which Kōun had accompanied Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428). The author at that time had entered the priesthood and led an itinerant life modeled after Saigyō's.

29) Köya Nikki (Köya Diary). Author: Ton'a (1289-1372), an important poet of his time and adherent of the Nijō School. He studied poetry under Jō'a and Nijō Tameyo (1250-1338).

* According to E. Seidensticker's translation.
During the Nambokuchō Period (1334–1392), he sided with the Ashikaga shogunate, tried to revitalize the Nijō School and was commissioned by the military government to travel to Mt. Kōya to compose the Köya-san Kongō Sammai-in Nōkyō Waka. His theories of poetry are included in works such as the Ōsanshū, Seaisō, Gomon Kenchū, etc. He completed the Shinshūishū after the main compiler Tameaki had died in 1364. Ton’a lived in sōan (grass huts) like those of Saigyō, who was his ideal. Date of journey: Unknown. Summary: One day Ton’a was about to climb Mt. Kōya when he met an old friend. This friend, Tsunamoto guided Ton’a on a tour of various temples on Mt. Kōya. When Ton’a asked Tsunamoto where his hut was, Tsunamoto replied that he built it in the direction of the setting sun in order to await the arrival of the Buddha Amida when he dies. Ton’a replied with his poem:

If I would ever
Build a hut on Mt. Kōya,
I too;
I would have it face the West
In the same desire.

In Tsunamoto’s grass-hut was a portrait of Amida and Köbō Daishi. An old hermit of over 70 visited them, telling them about the invention of the 48 iroha syllables by Köbō Daishi during the building of Köbō Daishi’s temple on Mt. Kōya. Ton’a then composed 48 poems in the iroha order. The KSN is a forgery according to Saitō Kiyoae, Ton’a Hōshi no Issho. Probably the material of the KN was taken from Ton’a’s private collection the Ōsanshū.

30) Köya Sankei Nikki (Diary of a Pilgrimage to Mt. Köya). Author: Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), who studied waka poetry under Asukai Masachika (1417–1490) and linked-verse under Sōgi (see Shirakawa Kikō). A one-time Minister of the Interior and a priest after 1516 (priestly names: Gyōkū and Shōyōin). A noted scholar of the Genji Monogatari. Date of the journey: 19/4/1523–3/5/1523. Itinerary: Capital—Sumiyoshi—Mt. Köya—Sakai—Capital. Summary: At the age of 70, Sanetaka undertakes a pilgrimage to the Sumiyoshi Shrine and there, having met with Sōhaku, a linked-verse poet, decides to go on a pilgrimage to Mt. Köya. The KSN is a record in a mixed Sino-Japanese style of Sanetaka’s visit to the temples and famous places where he and his companions compose poems. On Mt. Kōya (at Köbō Daishi’s grave), he deposits his teeth and locks of hair (of an emperor?). The KSN also includes verses by other poets (Shōkaku, Shūkei, Sōseki, Sōhaku, Sōchū, Kōten, etc.).

31) Kusunoki Chōan Kyūshū Gekō Ki (Account of Kusunoki Chōan’s Journey down to Kyūshū). Author: Kusunoki Chōan (1520–1596). Date of journey: 23/2/1587 – 21/5/1587. Itinerary: Capital—Akama Barrier—Kokura—Capital along San’yō Road. Summary: Kusunoki Chōan accompanies Toyotomi Hideyoshi and his army, traveling to Kyūshū in order to subdue the Shimazu family. Together with Hideyoshi, Chōan offers prayers at the Itsukushima Shrine. He records Hideyoshi’s dedication of a poem to the soul of Emperor Antoku (r. 1181–1183) at Amidajī Temple in Dannoura. Chōan falls ill and returns from the Akama Barrier. The KCKGK includes numerous waka and hokku.


33) Kyūshū no Michi no Ki (Account of the Road of Kyūshū). Author: Kinoshita Katsuoshi (Chōshōji) (1569–1649), an adherent of the Kyōgoku School of poetry. Chōshōji was a retainer of Hideyoshi who was first based in Tsuruno and later in Osaka. After the battle of Sekigahara (1600), he retired from active life and dedicated himself to the pursuit of poetry. Date of journey: 15/1/1592 – ? (almost no dates). Itinerary: Capital—Itsukushima—Akama Barrier (mainly by boat through Inland Sea) — Nagoya (Kyūshū). Summary: Beyond the
preface, in which Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s campaign against China is given as the purpose for the journey, Chôshôji devotes his attention exclusively to cultural activities and the description of the famous places along the way. Chôshôji apparently never crossed to Korea. This account of exceptional interest ends in a long poem (chôka).

34) **Michiyukiburi (Along the Way).** Author: Imagawa Sadayo (Ryôshun) (1325–1420). Feudal lord and Reizei School poet. Date of journey: 20/2/1371 – 24/11/1371 (last date at Akama Barrier). Itinerary: Capital – Akama Barrier (Shimonoseki) along San’yô Road. Summary: Ryôshun travels to Kyûshû to assume the post of Governor General of Kyûshû (Kyûshû Tandai), but the Michiyukiburi makes no mention of this, concentrating instead on the poetic, historical and religious places along the way. During the nine months it took him to reach the Akama Barrier, Ryôshun takes pleasure in composing poems at the sites of ancient poetry, at places of legendary and historical interest and at sacred places. Written in conventional Heian prose, the Michiyukiburi contains 60 poems.

35) **Minoji Kikô (Account of a Journey along the Mino Road).** Author: Toan Röjin, an unknown poet of old age according to a poem in the text; probably related to Ichijô Kanera (see Fujikawa no Ki). Date of journey: ca. 17/9/1573 – 28/9/1573. Itinerary: Capital – Gifu along the Nakasendô Road. Summary: The author leaves the Capital on unspecified business, travels through Uchide Beach, visits the Miidera Temple and crosses Lake Biwa by boat. He visits an old friend at Jôgodaiin, a mountain temple near Kashiwabara. From there he proceeds through Tarui and the Fuwa Barrier to Gifu. On the 23rd he starts on his way back, visiting the daughter of the late Ichijô Kanera and seeing cormorant-fishing on the way. At Ono he stays at a lonely hut and composed a poem in the Man’yôsha style. From Shina, he takes a boat to Ôtsu. On the 27th he visits the Enman’in Temple once again before reaching the Capital. The account includes waka and Chinese poems. The epilogue was written by Sanjônishi Sanezumi.

36) **Miyako no Tsuto (Souvenir of the Capital).** Author: Sokyû (dates unknown), member of the Ôtomo clan (Kyûshû), acc to Kawazoe Shôji, and poet of the Nijô School. Date of journey: 1350–1352. Itinerary: Tsukushi (Kyûshû) – Tamba Province – Capital – Kamakura – Edo – Shirakawa – Matsushima – (Exact itinerary difficult to retrace). Summary: The MnT is an account in prose and poetry about a journey between Kyûshû and Matsushima with special attention to the famous places, ancient poets (Sanetaka, Noin, Saigyô, etc.), classical literature (Genji Monogatari, Ise Monogatari, Kokinshû) and hermit priests. Sokyû’s main motive in traveling was to undergo Buddhist austerities. The MnT ends in an epilogue by Nijô Yoshimoto (see Ojima no Kuchizusami). Sokyû seems to have traveled in the footsteps of Saigyô.

37) **Miyakoji no Wakare (Parting from the Capital).** Author: Asukai Masaari (1241–1301). Date of journey: ca. 20/7/1275 – 13/8/1275 (last date 15/8, Hachimangû, Kamakura). Itinerary: Capital – Kamakura (along the Tôkaidô Road). Summary: Masaari is reluctant to leave the imperial palace where he serves as football (kenari) teacher but must travel to Kamakura to officiate in the annual ceremony of releasing the animals (hôjô-e) at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. The poems express the pain of leaving the Capital. The passages about the shirabyôshi dancer, the albino, and the pleasure girls (one of who is referred to as the daughter of a courtier) give a monogatari (tale) quality to the MnW.

38) **Mogami no Kawaji (Mogami River Road).** Author: Asukai Masaari (1241–1301). Date of journey: 12/1269 (there are no dates, only place names). Itinerary: Capital – Kamakura (along the Tôkaidô Road). Summary: The MnK is a travel diary, in prose and poetry, describing the famous places along the way between the Capital and Kamakura. Winter is the general theme of the poems. The MnK is probably a continuation under a different title of the Saga no Kayoi[ji], a diary of Masaari’s trips to the Saga retreat of Fujiwarâ no Tameie (1193–1275) and the Nun Abutsu (see Izayoi Nikki).
39) Mumyö no Ki (Account of no Name; also Butsudö no Ki). Author: Asukai Masaari (1241-1301). Date of journey: 7/1268 - summer 1269. Itinerary: Hashimoto - Capital (along Tökaidö Road) - Akashi. Summary: Masaari describes the famous places between Hashimoto and Saga in the vicinity of the Capital (the Kamakura - Hashimoto section has been lost), from where he travels to Ashiya. From Ashiya he undertakes excursions to famous places: Ikuta no Mori, Akashi, and Suma, where he passes the night on a boat to view the moon. He visits a friend living in a simple hut among the ruins of an old temple of present-day Mt. Rokkō. From there on the MnK assumes the style of a sōan, or grass-hut account, in which Masaari combines poetic nature descriptions with Buddhist thought. The remainder of the MnK deals with his return to the capital, his visit to Minase, Uji, Nara and Ise, etc. in the form of a poem diary.

40) Muronomachi Dono Ise Sangū Ki (Account of Lord Muronomachi's Pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine[s]). Author: Unknown, probably a poet of the Nijö School. Authorship theories: a) Asukai Masanori, according to Gunsho Kaidai; b) the Priest Köun (see Köun Kikö). Date of journey: 14/12/1424 - 20/12/1424. Itinerary: Capital- Ise - Capital. Summary: The MDISK is a poem diary kept by an accompanying poet during Ashikaga Yoshimochi's (1386-1482) pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine[s]. The poet writes mainly of famous places of poetry along the way. The MDISK was written at the request of the ex-shōgun.


42) Nagusamegusa (Grasses of Consolation). Author: Shōtetsu (1381-1459), a Zen priest and Reizei School poet. Date of journey: 3/1418 - 6/1418 (stayed for over 3 months at destination). Itinerary: Capital- Kuroda (Mino Province). Summary: The first part of the Nagusamegusa is a diary of a journey along the Tökaidö Road with emphasis on the famous places. Shōtetsu was invited by "a certain person" to whom he lectured on the Genji Monogatari and poetry. The second part is dedicated to the author's views on literature and poetry. From Kuroda he goes to Ise, a journey which he says he will describe in a separate diary (not extant). The style is a mixture of Heian and wakan konkö prose. The Nagusamegusa was probably written to illustrate Shōtetsu's literary theories.

43) Nakatsukasa Naishi Nikki (Diary of Nakatsukasa Naishi). Author: Nakatsukasa Naishi (dates uncertain), daughter of Nagatsune (-1297) and descendant of Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu (775-826). Served the Emperor Fushimi (r. 1287-1298) from the time he was Crown Prince until 1292. Date: 15/12/1280- 3/1292. Travels: a) Capital - Amagasaki 9 1285 - after 2019, b) Capital - Hatsuse (Hase) - Capital ca. 10/15/1287. Summary: The NNN is mainly a court diary with an account of the author's travels and pilgrimages in section 12.

44) Nankai Rurō Ki (Account of Wanderings in Nankaidö [Shikoku]). Author: Dōhan (1184-1252), a priest of Shōchī'in, a temple on Mt. Köya. Date of journey: 30/1/1243 - 12/1243 (returned to Mt. Köya in 7/8/1249). Itinerary: Capital - Sanuki Province (Shikoku) by way of the Yodo River and Awaji Island. Summary: Having been exiled in 1243 for his involvement in a conflict between two temples on Mt. Köya, the result of which was the burning of the Dembōin (later Negoro Temple), Dōhan left the capital for exile in Shikoku. On the way he described the famous places in prose and poetry. In Shikoku, he visits Zentsūji and other places related to Kōbō Daishi (774-835), as well as Mt. Shiramine (grave of ex-Emperor Sutoku). Pardoned in 4/1249, Dōhan could not return to Mt. Köya until the eight month because of illness.

45) Nyōhōji Dono Kikō (Account of a Journey of Lord Nyōhōji). Author: Unknown. A woman according to Taniyama Shigeru. Date of journey: 8/1306 - 20/9/1306. Itinerary: Capital - Musashino Province along the Tökaidö Road. Summary: Strikingly similar to the Izayoi Nikki (supra), a NDNK includes numerous references to the Izayoi Nikki in both prose and poetry. The author took 13 days to reach Musashino Province (it took the Nun Abutsu 14 days).
46) *Oi no Kiso-goe* (An Old Man’s Journey along the Kiso Road). Author: Hosokawa Yūsai (see also *Kyūshū Michi no Ki*). Date of journey: 10/9/1573 – 27/9/1574. Itinerary: Capital – Kojimachi – Fukuoka – Fukuoka. Summary: The *Oi no Kiso-goe* is an account of Hosokawa Yūsai’s return journey to the Capital. It combines documentary passages (meetings with provincial lord, weather conditions, etc.) with poetic ones. The prose is poetic, interspersed with passages in Chinese.

47) *Ojima no Kuchizusami* (Monologue of Ojima). Author: Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388), a celebrated poet of waka and linked-verse, one-time Prime Minister and twice Regent. Date of journey: after 20/7/1353 – after 21/9/1353. Itinerary: Capital – Ojima (Mino Province). Summary: In spite of his ill health, Yoshimoto leaves the Capital to join the Emperor Gokōgon (r. 1352–1371) of the Northern Court who, at the approach of the army of the Southern Court, had to flee from the Capital first to Enryakuji Temple and then to Ojima. At Ojima, Yoshimoto passes his time by composing poetry with the Emperor and by visiting the famous places in the vicinity (e.g. Yorō Falls). He returns to the Capital after its recapture by Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358). The first part is a travel section, the second an account of his sojourn at Ojima’s temporary palace and of the return journey to the Capital. The *OnK* is written in the Heian prose style with numerous waka.

48) *Ran Fuji Ki* (Account of Viewing Mt. Fuji). Author: Gyökö (1391–1455), a Nijō poet. Date of journey: 10/9/1432–27/9/1432 (last date at Samegai). Itinerary: Capital – Seikenji (Shimizu) – Capital along Tōkaidō Road. Summary: The *Ran Fuji Ki* is a poem diary describing Ashikaga Yoshinori’s sightseeing journey to Mt. Fuji, with emphasis on the famous places. It includes poems by the shōgun as well as by the author. Several poems praise the shōgun’s benevolent government. The author speaks of Mt. Fuji as a deity (Fuji Gongen). The prose is poetic, interspersed with passages in Chinese.

49) *Rokun’in Dono Itsukushima Mode no Ki* (Account of Lord Rokunin’s Pilgrimage to Itsukushima). Author: Imagawa Sadayo (Ryōshun; see also *Michiyukiburi*). Date of journey: 4/3/1389–27/3/1389. Itinerary: Capital – Shikoku – Itsukushima – Shikoku – Capital. Summary: Ryōshun kept the RDMNK during the pilgrimage of the Ashikaga shōgun Yoshimitsu (Rokun’in Dono, 1356–1408) to Itsukushima and beyond. On the way, the shogun is met by feudal lords such as Hosokawa, Ōuchi, Kōno, and Akamatsu. The boats for this voyage were provided by Hosokawa Yoriyuki (1329–1392). The shōgun apparently wanted to continue the voyage to Kyūshū but was prevented from crossing the straits by strong winds. The diary combines documentary passages (meetings with provincial lords, weather conditions, etc.) with poetic ones.

50) *Saga no Ki* (Account of Saga). Author: Kujō Naomichi (1507–1594). Date of Journey: after 24/12/1573–9/1574. Itinerary: A tour of the temples and places of poetic interest in Saga (northwestern vicinity of the Capital). Summary: In order to avoid the calamities in the Capital Kujō retreats at the age of 67 to a temple in Saga from where he undertakes short excursions to places of religious and poetic interest. He visits, for instance, the mountain retreat once occupied by Fujiwara no Teika, Fujiwara no Tameie (see *Saga no Kayoji*), and Saiyō. He composes poems in various places.

51) *Sano no Watari* (The Sano Crossing).* Author: Sōskei (1474–1533), a disciple of Sōgi and close associate of Sōchō (see *Azumaji no Tsuto* and Sanjō no Nikyokar). Date of journey: 20/7/1521–24/8/1521. Itinerary: Capital – Hase – Ise – Futamigaura – Kuwana. Summary: In 6/1521 Sōskei receives a letter from Sōchō inviting him to join in the composition of a 1000-chain linked-verse to be dedicated to the Ise Shrines, the first link being provided by the Governor General of the Capital, Hosokawa Takakuni (1484–1531). During his sojourn at Ise, Sōskei composes linked-verse poetry with priests of both the Inner (Naikū) and Outer (Gekū) Shrines.


* An allusion to a poem in the *Man’yōshū*.
company of Shōha (see Amanoishidate Kikō). The passage about a priest who, believing in
the Buddhahood of plants, recites sutras in front of blooming cherry trees, the allusion to a
poem by Saichō (Dengyō Daiishi, 767–822), and the dedication of 15 poems to the Hiyoshi
Shrine constitute the highlights of this account.

53) Sarashina Nikki (Sarashina Diary). Author: Daughter of Sugawara no Takasue (1008–71).
Date of journey: 3/9/1020-2/12/1020. Diary covers 1020–1059. Summary: The SN is an
autobiographical court lady’s diary with travel sections. It begins with author’s journey from
Kazusa Province, where her father served as vice-governor to the Capital, along the Tōkaidō
Road when she was 13. She recounts in a monogatari (tale) style legends about places on the
way and her encounter with a group of dancers at Mt. Ashigara. From here on she records her
life as a court lady, her fondness for romantic tales, her marriage, the death of her husband
and her lonely life in the years that followed. She undertakes pilgrimages to Kiyomizu,
Ishiyama, Hatsuue, Kurama and Uzumasa. She confesses here and there her attachments to
romantic tales which kept her from realizing and accepting the reality of the world.

54) Shinna Tadamoto Jōraku Nikki (Diary of Shinna Tadamoto’s Journey to the Capital).
Author: Shinna Tadamoto (dates unknown), castellholder of Ōguchi (Satsuma Province).
Muronotsu (?). Summary: The author, a retainer of Satsuma who resisted Toyotomi
Hideyoshi to the last, goes to the Capital as a hostage for Lord Shimazu, and describes his
journey in prose and poetry (waka and hokku), with indication of the places of passage
and stopover, weather conditions, and distances. On the way he meets Konoe Nobuchika, the
author the Kyōshū Michi no Ki (Sanbakuin Ki), who was on his way to exile in Satsuma.

55) Shinshō Hōshi Nikki (Diary of Priest Shinshō). Author: Priest Shinshō of Shiyo, retainer of
Shōgun Sanetomo, whose assassination in 1219 forced him into the priesthood. Member of
the Utsunomiya School of poetry. Date of journey: 10/2/1225– after 5/5/1225 (last date at
Zenkōji Temple). Itinerary: Capital – Kamakura (along the Tōkaidō Road) – Zenkōji –
Kamakura – Shiyoa. Summary: Shinshō describes in the form of a poetic diary his journey to
Kamakura, where he performs nembusu (invocation of the name of the Buddha Amida) at
Masako’s (wife of Minamoto no Yoritomo) jibutsu-dō (hall of the personal Buddha) and visits
Sanetomo’s grave. Before reaching Zenkōji, he visits a friend at Mt. Obasute. At Zenkōji he
receives news of Masako’s death and returns to Kamakura. From there he visits his home
province on the thirtieth anniversary of his wife’s death and sees his children for the last
time. The SHN includes a number of passages on Buddhist thought. It is written in a mixed
Japanese-Chinese style (wakan konkō-tai) and includes a number of waka poems.

56) Shirakawa Kikō (Account of a Journey to Shirakawa). Author: Sōgi (1421–1502), leading
Barrier. Summary: A short account of the author’s journey to Shirakawa and a description of
his destination constitute a lengthy foreword to a series of 100 linked-verse which he
composes with four companions.

57) Shōha Fuji-mi Dōki (Shōha’s Account of the Road to see Mt. Fuji). Author: (Satomi) Shōha
(1524–1602). He studied the Genji Monogatari under Sanjōnishiki Kin’eda, whom he
accompanied to Yoshino; see the Yoshino Mode no Ki (infra). He was favored by Oda
Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598); his son Kenchū became an
official poet under the Tokugawa Shogunate. Date of journey: 26/1/1567–27/8/1567.
Itinerary: Kankikōji Temple (Capital) – Seikenji Temple (Shimizu) – Capital. Summary:
Shōha leaves the Capital to see Mt. Fuji. He travels through Iga and Ise, takes a boat from
Kuwana to Owari Province and visits Sōchō’s hut (see Utsugyama Ki) at the foot of Mt.
Utusu. At the capital of Suruga Province, he passes the days in poetry meetings and boating, staying
for over a month before starting on his way back. During the journey, Shōha visits several
feudal lords and witnesses a battle. The SFD included waka, hokku and humorous poems.
Considerable attention is given to the places of classical poetry and Sōchō (supra). The style is a
documentary wakan konkō with passages in Chinese. In spite of the title, SFD fails to
include a description of Mt. Fuji.
58) Shökō Nikki (Diary of Shökō). Author: Shökō (1412–1495), poet of the Reizei School and disciple of Shōtetsu (see Nagusamegusa). Date of journey: 7/8/1473–21/10/1473 (last date at Sagara). Itinerary: Hase Temple – Ise – Fujieda – Kiyomi Barrier – Sagara. Summary: Invited by Setsu Shuri Daiyu Yukichika to see Mt. Fuji, Shökō sets out from Hase and travels to Fujieda, where he composes a series of poems about Mt. Fuji. The style of the SN is reminiscent of Heian diaries.

59) Sōchō Nikki (Diary of Sōchō). Author: Sōchō (see also Azumaji no Tsuto). Date: 1530–1531. Summary: Diary of Sōchō's activities at age 83, including travel sections. The SN includes the following kyōka poem, composed at a New Year's celebration:

When I die
I wish to become
The wind, wind, wind
And crazy about things,
Crazy!

60) Sōchō Shuki (Notes of Sōchō). Author: Sōchō (see also Azumaji no Tsuto, etc.). Date: 5/1522–6/1527 (between the ages of 75–80, exact dates unavailable). Summary: Diary of the author's activities, especially his travels. He travels twice to the Capital from Mt. Utsu, as far south as Tachibana Temple, as far west as Arima, as far north as Kaisunuma and as far east as the Kiyomi Barrier. Of interest are Sōchō's relations with feudal lords (he goes to see Asakura Yoshikage of Echizen concerning the construction of the Sanmon Gate of the Daitokuji Temple); description of the destruction of the Capital and of the battles of Imagawa Umichika; his historical notes on warrior families; mention of a now lost travel diary by Saigyō (Saigyō Shōnin Azuma Michi no Ki), in the possession of Matsuoka, a retainer of the Imagawa family; and an account of a journey to Ise (about which see Sōseki, Sano no Watan).

The SSH includes a number of poems composed on the anniversaries of the deaths of poets and friends.

61) Sumiyoshi Mōde (Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi). Author: Attributed to Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1330–1367), but this attribution refuted by Iwahashi Koyata. Date of journey: 4/1364. Itinerary: Capital – Sumiyoshi Shrine – Capital. Summary: In spite of the presence of enemy troops, Yoshiakira goes on a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi, where he presents poems as prayers for the way of poetry and for peace in the nation. Because of the dangers, Yoshiakira travels back to the Capital at night (which is very unusual in medieval travel diaries).

62) Takakura-in Isukushima Gokō Ki (Account of Ex-Emperor Takakura’s Journey to Itsukushima). Author: Minamoto no (Tsuchimikado) Michichika (1149–1202). Date of journey: 17/3/1180–8/4/1180. Itinerary: Capital – Fukuhara (Kōbe) – Takasago – Miyajima – Capital (mainly by boat). Summary: The account begins with the abdication ceremony, the temporary palaces on the way, the boats, meals, and entertainment, the meeting with Taira no Kiyomori at Fukuhara, the sacred dances at the shrine and the imperial offerings made to it, and the visits to places of interest are described in chronological sequence.

63) Teisai Chōkan Oboegaki (Notes by Teisai Chōkan). Author: Watarai Teitoku (dates unknown). Date of journey: 29/5/1598–15/6/1598. Itinerary: Capital – Ōsaka – Kyūshū – back to the Capital (mainly by boat through Inland Sea). Summary: Teisai Chōkan wrote TCO on the occasion of Ishida Mitsunari’s (1560–1600) journey to Kyūshū. The purpose of the journey was for Mitsunari to take charge of the landholdings of the Kobayakawa family, confiscated by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Chōkan and Kahi Yūshū accompany Mitsunari through the Inland Sea to Hakata. The TCO is written in the form of a poem diary.

64) Teitoku Takō Michi no Oboe (Teitoku’s Reminiscences of the Road of Travel). Author: Watarai Teitoku (dates uncertain), an official of the Ise Shrines. Date of journey: 5/1583 (no other dates available). Itinerary: Ise – Capital – Ōsaka – Sakai. Summary: the author leaves Ise to go to the Capital and Ōsaka; he describes in prose and poetry the famous places on the way. The beginning part of the TTMnO seem to be missing.
65) Tōkan Kikō (Account of a Journey to the Eastern Barrier). Author: Uncertain. Authorship theories: a) Kamo no Chōmei, according to a manuscript at Kyōto University Library (apocryphal); b) Minamoto no Mitsuyuki, according to the Fuboku Wakashō (apocryphal); c) his son Minamoto no Chikayuki (d. 1277), according to the Gunsho Ruiji; and d) the Priest Chōgen, according to Gotō Tanji. Date of journey: 13/8/1242-23/10/1242 (last date in Kamakura, where he stayed for 2 months). Itinerary: Capital – Kamakura along the Tōkaidō Road (party Nakasendō). Summary: The author describes in prose and poetry (waka) the scenes along the Tōkaidō Road, with reference to classical poetry; he reveals considerable interest in historical, legendary, and sacred places. His eulogy of the Kamakura military government, his description of the pleasure girls at Hashimoto, the expression of sadness over the victims of the Jōkyū War and his visit to the famous places of Kamakura (e.g., Great Buddha) belong to the highlights of TK. The TK is written in wakan konkō style.

66) Tōkoku Kikō (Account of a Journey to the Eastern Provinces). Author: Sōboku (d. 1545?), a linked-verse poet and a disciple of Sōseki and Shōhaku. He studied poetry under Konoe Naomichi (1448-1532). Date of journey: after 20/9/1544-7/3/1545. Itinerary: Capital – Edo (along the Tōkaidō Road). Summary: After taking his leave from Sanjōnishi Kin’eda (1487-1562) and Konoe Naocie (1503-1566), who entrusts him with an annotated edition of the Genji Monogatari, Sōboku leaves the Capital on a much-postponed journey to the East with a visit to the hot springs in mind. At Ishiyama Temple he composes a 100-chain linked-verse as the start of a 100,000 chain to be dedicated to the temple on the theme of the Genji Monogatari. On the way to the East, Sōboku meets several feudal lords; he delivers to Oda Nobuhisa (1510-1551), a letter from the court thanking him for the repairs of the imperial palace and another letter to Hirate Masahisa (d. 1553); he stays with Hōjō Ujyuasa (supra) at Kamakura. At the capital of Suruga Province he meets Reizei Tamekazu (1486-1549), with whom he enjoys poetry composition and drinking. He visits Mt. Hōrai, Tsurugaoka Hachimangō Shrine, and the Kannon Temple at Asakusa. The TK ends with a farewell bid to an army about to cross the Sumida River. Sōboku travels from territory to territory, and is well received everywhere. The style is a documentary wakan konkō with waka, hokku and Chinese poems.

67) Tōkoku Kūn Michi no Ki (Account of the Road of the Army Headed to the Eastern Provinces). Author: Hosokawa Yūsai (see also Kyōshū Michi No Ki). Date of journey: 29/2/1590-27/7/1590. Itinerary: Atsuta- Odawara – Kamakura (along the Tōkaidō Road) – Kōfu – Gifu (along Kiso Road) – (Capital). Summary: Yūsai travels to Odawara with Toyotomi Hideyoshi and his army on their campaign against Odawara Castle. Ignoring the true nature of the journey, the TMNK gives the impression of a sightseeing account written about the famous places along the way. From Odawara, Yūsai visits Kamakura and describes the devastation of the city. Taken ill during the journey, Yūsai returns to the Capital by way of the Kiso Road (see Oi no Kiso-goe). The TMNK is a poem diary including a number of humorous poems.

68) Tosa Nikki (Tosa Diary). Author: Attributed to Ki no Tsurayuki (859-945), celebrated poet and compiler of the Kokinshū (905), to which he wrote the Japanese preface (kanajo). He served as governor of Tosa Province from 930 to 934. The TN has also been attributed to his wife, but the style suggests a man. Date of journey: 12/12/934-16/2/935. Date of work: 935? Itinerary: Kokufu (capital of Tosa Province) – Urato – Tosa no Tomari – Izumi no Nada – Kawajiri – Capital. (By boat.) Summary: Tsurayuki wrote the TN in the guise of a female companion who records the departure of the Governor (Ki no Tsurayuki), the painful separation from her daughter who died in Tosa, the hardships and dangers (pirates, storms, etc.) of the voyage along the southern coast of Shikoku, across the Naru and Kitai Straits, and up the Yodo River, and the joys of approaching the Capital – all in the chronological sequence of a personal diary. Style: The TN was presumably written in wabun (pure Japanese) on the basis of notes taken during the voyage in kambun (Chinese). It includes 57 waka-poems, and numerous critical remarks on poetry.


* As translated by K. Brazell.
Kamakura—Sayo no Nakayama, b) Nara—Taima Temple, c) Yawata—Atsuta—Ise—Atsuta, d) Fushimi Palace—Kasuga Shrine, etc. e) Nara—Kasagi Temple, f) Toba—Itsukushima—Mt. Shiramine—Matsuyama—Ede, g) Ebara—Capital, h) Capital—Fushimi Palace—Tennōji, i) Capital—Kasuga—Grave of Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, k) Capital—Nachi—Capital, l) Nara, m) Yawata. Summary: Chpts. 1–3 concern the author's life as an imperial concubine with emphasis on her intimate relations with ex-Emperor Gofukakusa (r. 1247–1259). Chpts. 3 and 4 describe her life as a wandering Buddhist nun. The Towa zugatarī is a confessional diary about the author's passionate love life and her penitent travels, written with the intention of preserving her family's waning literary prestige. The account includes numerous poems, most of which are the author's own, the rest being those sent her by others.

70) Tsukushi Michi no Ki (Account of the Tsukushi [Kyūshū] Road). Author: Sōgi (see Shirakawa Kikō). Date of Journey: 6/9/1480–12/10/1480. Itinerary: Yamaguchi—Shimonoseki—Hakata—Dazaifu Shrine—Yamaguchi. Summary: Sōgi sets out from Yamaguchi, where he enjoys the hospitality of Ōuchi Masahiro (1446–1495), Lord of Suwo, for a tour of the famous places in northern Kyūshū. He mentions mainly famous places of poetry, shrines and temples as well as historic places (e.g., Amida Temple at Dannoura). He composes poems at the request of priests as well as feudal magnates. The TMNK includes some Buddhist and Shintō thought, and statements about the state of affairs in various feudal territories. Sōgi also shows a concern for the way of poetry. The TMNK includes both waka and hokku (beginning verse of a linked-verse poem).

71) Utatane (Half Awake, Half Asleep). * Author: Anka Mon'in Shijō (also known as Uemon no SUke, Echizen and later under her Buddhist name Abutsu d. 1283; see also Izayoi Nikki). Date of journey: 1283. Itinerary: Capital—Hamana—Capital along Tōkaidō Road. Summary: The first half of Utatane is a court lady diary about an unsuccessful love-affair, a visit to Uzumasa and Hōkongōin, and escape into a nunnery. The second half is a travel diary kept from the time the author accompanied her father to Hamana (Totomi Province) until she returned to the Capital upon the news of her wet nurse's death. Utatane includes a number of poems, many of them about famous places.

72) Utsuyama Ki (Account of Mt. Utsu). Author: Sōchō (see also Azumaji no Tsuto). The account covers the period 1509–1517 (exact dates unavailable). Summary: The UK is a diary about the author's stay in his hut, the Saiokuken, at the foot of Mt. Utsu, from which he undertakes excursions.


74) Zenkōjī Kikō (Account of a Journey to Zenkōji Temple). Author: Gyo (1430–?), a disciple of Gyōkō (see Ise Kikō), and probably an adept of the Shugen Sect (Yamabushi) (see also Hokkoku Kikō). Date of journey: 3/7/1465–21/7/1465 (last date at Hayatsuki River). Itinerary: Kanetsurugi no Miya (Kaga Province)–Zenkōji—Hayatsu River, partly along Hokuriku Road (Kaga—Echū—Echigo). Summary: The ZK is an account in prose and poetry about the author's pilgrimage to Zenkōji Temple, giving special attention to mountains (Mt. Togakushi, Mt. Haku, Mt. Tate). The style is a mixture of Chinese and Japanese.

* Title taken from a poem in the diary.
A Note of Studies of Travel Diaries

Studies of travel diaries began in the Edo period, usually by scholars of the School of Native Learning. The Kaikoku Zakki and the Izayoi Nikki were already being carefully annotated by the Edo period. Bashō mentioned the travel diaries which by the 17th century had become classics: the Tosa Nikki, the Kaidō Ki and the Izayoi Nikki. These diaries continue to be classics into modern times. Like the Edo period, the Meiji period continued to ignore the large body of medieval Japanese travel diaries. It was not until the period during and immediately preceding the second world war that comprehensive studies of travel diaries appeared. Narukami Katsumi’s Nihon Kikō Bungei Kenkyū (Study of Japanese Travel Literature) was the first monograph discussing a great number of medieval travel diaries. It was published in 1943. It was also the last book in the Japanese language to have appeared on the subject.

A great number of articles, however, have been written about individual travel diaries. Philological studies prevailed before the war, it was not until recently that a wider range of studies came out discussing style, content, comparisons with other travel diaries, etc. Yet these studies, unfortunately for travel diary scholarship, have been written by scholars of small colleges and sometimes published in rather obscure journals. Travel diary literature is still an ‘ignored’ subject in Japanese scholarship, especially at high levels. The fact that there are literally hundreds of travel diaries of the Edo period yet untouched by scholarship reveals that travel diary literature has not yet become a standard object of study and discussion. The bibliography includes only the most important studies of travel diaries and travel diary authors.

Reference Works

Reference works that proved most helpful in the study of travel diaries are discussed below. Studies about the manuscripts can be found in the articles about specific titles (cf. Bibl.), but also in Tamai Kōsuke, Nikki Bungaku no Kenkyū, Hanawa Shobō (Tōkyō, 1965); the Gunsho Kaidai, vol. 11 (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kansei-kai, Tokyo, 1960); Araki Yoshio, Chūsei Bungaku Jiten (Shunshusha, Tōkyō, 1961); and in “Nihon bungaku shomoku kaisetsu”, Kamakura jidai and Muromachi jidai (Iwanami Köza-) Nihon Bungaku, vol. 4 (Iwanami Shoten, Tōkyō, 1931–1932).

Extensive bibliographies of published studies about travel diaries can be found in Ishida Yoshisada, “Chūsei no nikki, kikō bungaku” (cf. Bibl.), in Chūsei Bungaku no Kenkyū comp. by Tōkyō Daigaku Chūsei Bungaku Kenkyūkai (Shibundō, Tōkyō, 1965). Also the Gunsho Kaidai (supra) is helpful as well as the “kaidai” (explanatory notes) attached to other collections of travel diaries. Kubota Jun has an excellent selective list in his article “Chūsei nikki, kikō zuhitoku kenkyū no gendankai,” Kokubungaku (Gakutōsha), vol. 12, no. 6 (May, 1967). At present this bibliography is the most complete on the subject. Other relevant works are Fukuda Hideichi, “Chūsei nikki, kikō bungaku ichiran,” Kokubungaku, no. 2. This includes a list of diaries and travel diaries of the middle ages and references to their location in print.

Besides the monographs and articles dealing specifically with travel diary authors, works that are helpful are the Chūsei Bungaku Jiten (supra), the Gunsho Kaidai and Inoue Muneo; Chūsei Kadan-shi no Kenkyū, 3 vols., Nambokuchō Ki, Meiji Shoin; Muromachi Zenki, Kazama Shobō; and Muromachi Kōki, Meiji Shoin.
Standard dictionaries of Japanese literature were consulted. Also dictionaries of
names (*Shinsen Dai Jimmei Jiten*, Heibonsha); dictionaries of Buddhism and Shintoism
(*Nihon Bukkyō Jimmei Jisho* or the *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* and *Shintō Daijiten*).
The *Waka Bungaku Daijiten* and the *Kokka Taikan* were useful in reference to poems
or poetic allusions in travel diaries.

A necessary tool for this study was the recently compiled dictionary by Hase Akihisa
devoted to place names in classical Japanese literature: *Koten Bungaku no Fūdo*, 2 vols. (Gakutōsha)
and the *Bungaku Iseki Jiten*, 2 vols. (Tōkyōdō).

Furthermore the *Dainihan Chimei Jiten* (Fuzambō, Tōkyō) and historical maps of
Japan such as the *Nihon Rekishi Chizu* (Zenkoku Kyōiku Tosho) have been useful for
geographical references.

For a good general introduction to the medieval literature of Japan, with reference to
the methods of finding sources, I suggest Kanai Kiyomitsu, "Chūsei shiryō, sankō
bunken no sagashikata, mochiikata" (*Kokubungaku*- Kaishaku ta Kanshō, vol. 29
(June, 1964).

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**A Note on Place Names**

The transcription of Japanese place names can be carried out according to three
systems. The first consists in place names transcribed in one word, disregarding the fact
that they might be composed of more than one semantic element. For instance:
Sayononakayama (Mt. Sayononaka). In the second system the semantic elements of
place names are separated by a dash when they are connected by the particle 'no' or 'ga'
(of), for instance Sayo-no-nakayama (Mt. Sayo-no-naka). A third system consists in
translating the elements following 'no' or 'ga', for instance Middle Mountain of Sayo
(Sayo-no-Nakayama). All these systems have their shortcomings. According to the
first, place names tend to become tediously long and cumbersome to pronounce. This
problem is largely avoided in the second system which, with certain exceptions, is the
most satisfactory system of place name transcription. The problem here is the modern
Japanese transcription of place names into one word, such as Utsunomiya (the capital
of Tochigi Prefecture) and Amanohashidate, a unit one is tempted to preserve for
reasons of recognition. The third system is the most unsatisfactory. Translation of place
names or of elements of place names result in a bad aesthetic mutilation of the phonetic
harmony of Japanese place names. I have therefore been reluctant to translate place
names like Ichi-no-tani into Ichi Valley. Japanese place names suffer even if one omits
terms like Temple (ji), Shrine (jinja or sha) from their corresponding names. Thus for
instance, I have preferred to say Tōji Temple than just Tō Temple in spite of the fact
that 'ji' stands for temple. The same is true for place names ending in 'kawa' or 'yama'
meaning River and Mount which are phonetically attached to the place names. A
further difficulty of translating place names elements is the impossibility of knowing
whether or not such elements corresponded to the topographical features at the times
the accounts were written. A place like Oiso-no-mori can be translated into Oiso Forest
if it can be determined that Oiso is the name of an existing forest of the time. Often, as
in the case of Oiso-no-mori, there is no forest. Oiso-no-mori is merely the name of a
shrine (mori meaning shrine) extended later to an entire village. By the same token
Utsu-no-miya should not be translated into Shrine of Utsu, nor Ama-no-hashidate into
Heavenly Bridge. Also, in translating Sayo-no-nakayama into Middle Mountain of
Sayo, Sayo seems to refer to the name of a village, a province or to a province near that
in which the Middle Mountain is located; it may have been located there in ancient Japan but not in the middle ages. An exception has been made in this study, but not without a certain reluctance, in case of well-known Japanese place names. Fuji-nōyama is therefore given as Mt. Fuji and Tenryū-gawa as Tenryu River.

The system adapted in this study is the second, but without the dashes. Thus Sayo-nōnakayama is transcribed as Sayo no Nakayama. The reader who is eager to translate place name endings can easily do so by looking up the elements succeeding ‘no’ or ‘ga’ in a Japanese dictionary.

**List of the Texts**

Explanations: * a diary with one or more travel sections.

The numbers following each title indicate, according to the list of collections (b), the location of the diary. Some works are also known under other titles; they are given in parenthesis.

Readings of the titles have been adapted from the *Gunsho Kaidai*, vol. 11.

a) The Texts (alphabetical order):

1) Amanohashidate Kikō  
   Kokubungakkō No. 53 (May, 1970)

2) Arima Michi no Ki  
   15

3) Azuma no Michi no Ki  
   4/30/15

4) Azumaji no Tsuto  
   4/30

5) [Ise] Daijingū Sankei Ki  
   10

6) Daijingū Sankei Ki  
   2/3/10/Fuzambō Hyakka Bunko, etc.

7) Echizen Gekō Ki  
   32 (Masayori Michisugara no Ki)

8) Fuji Goran Nikki  
   4/31

9) Fuji Kikō  
   2/4/30

10) Fuji Reikiran Ki  
    2/4/31 (Kantō Kaidō Ki)

11) Fujikawa no Ki  
    2/4/31/1

12) Gamō Ujisato Kikō  
    4/30/etc.

13) Genyo Nikki  
    5

14) Gotoba-in Kumano Gokō Ki  
    4

15) *Haru no Miyamaji  
    28

16) Heian Kikō  
    4/31

17) Hokkoku Kikō  
    4/etc.

18) Ionushi  
    4/15/Masubuchi Shōichi, Ionushi Honbun oyobi Sakuin Shikashū Taisei Chūko vol. 1

19) Ise Ki  
    10/Kamo no Chōmei Zenshū

20) Ise Kikō  
    4/10 (Ise Sangū Kikō)

21) Ise Sangū Kairiku no Ki  
    10

22) Ishiyama Tsuki-mi Ki  
    2/7

23) Izayoi Nikki  
    2/4/21/24/14/25/9/21/23/17/(Kōchū)-Abutsu-ni Zenshū

24) *Kagerō Nikki  
    18/24/22/14/25/9/11/19/20/etc.

25) Kaidō Ki  
    4/30/26/9/21/23/Noro Tadashi, Kaidō Ki Shinchū

26) Kaikoku Zakki  
    4/30/15/25/Kaikoku Zakki Hyōchū, Kyōto University Library

27) Kii no Kuni Kikō  
    15

28) Kōun Kikō  
    10

29) Kōya Nikki  
    13/Gunsho Ruijū, Zoku niki-ku

30) Kōya Sankei Nikki  
    2 (Sumiyoshi Kikō)/4/30/15

31) Kusunoki Chōan Kyūshū Gekō Ki  
    13

32) Kyūshū Michi no Ki  
    2/4/30/25/Hosokawa Morisada, Hosokawa Yūsai

33) Kyūshū no Michi no Ki  
    2/30

34) Michiyukiburi  
    2/4
35) Minoji Kikō
36) Miyako no Tsuto
37) Miyakoji no Wakare
38) Mogami no Kawaji
39) Muromachido Dono Ise Sangū Ki
40) Musashino Kikō
41) Nagasamegusa
42) *Nakatsukasa Naishi Nikki
43) Mokami Kawaji
44) Asukai Masaari Nikkō Kokugo Kyoiku, Val. 15, Nos. 3/4 (Mar./Apr., 1930)
45) Miyako no Tsuto
46) Miyakoji no Wakare
47) Nankai Rurō Ki
48) Oi no Kiso-goe
49) Ojima no Kuchuzasami
50) Rōkunin Dono Itsukushima Mōde no Ki
51) Saga no Ki
52) Sano no Watari
53) Sanno Junrei Ki
54) *Sarashina Nikki
55) Shinnō Tadamoto Jōraku Nikki
56) Shōha Fuji·mi Dōki
57) Shirakawa Kikō
58) Shōha Fuji-mi Dōki
59) Shōha Fuji-mi Dōki
60) Sōchō Shukki
61) Sumiyoshi Mōde
62) Takakura·in Itsukushima Gokō Ki
63) Teisai Chōkan Oboegaki
64) Teitoku Takō Michi no Oboe
65) Tōkan Kikō
66) Tōgoku Kikō
67) Tōgoku-jin Michi no Ki
68) Tosa Nikki
69) *Towazugatari
70) Tsukushi Michi (no) Ki
71) *Utatane
72) Utsuyama Ki
73) Yoshino Mōde (no) Ki
74) Zenkōji Kikō
75) Zenkōji Kikō

b) Collections (alphabetical order)
1. Bungei Sōsho Vol. II (Kikō-bun Hen)
2. Fusō Shōyō Shū
3. Gunsho Ruijū (Jingi-bu)
4. 17/Asukai Masaari Nikki/Kokugo Kyōiku, Vol. 15, Nos. 3/4
5. 17/Asukai Masaari Nikki
6. 17/Asukai Masaari Nikki
7. 27/10/Shiseki Shūran etc.
8. 2/4/30
9. 2/4/31/etc.
10. 2/4/18/26/Tamai Kōsuke, Nakatsukasa Naishi Nikki Shinshū/etc.
11. 4/15
12. Kōkubungaku (Dec., 1965)
14. 2/4/30/1
15. (Fuji Kikō)/4
17. 27/8/Kaneko Kinjirō, Sōgi Tabi no Ki Shichū/Imoto, Nōichi, Sōgi
18. 4/40
19. 4/31
20. 4/9/Sōchō Nikki, Iwanami Bunko 30-123-1
21. 5/9/Sōchō Nikki, Iwanami Bunko 30-123-1
22. 2/4/31
23. 2/4/30/Minamoto no Michichika Nikki
24. 32 Kiroku-bu/13 (Kyūshū Gekō Ki)
25. 32
26. 2/4/31/14/25/9/21/23/Tōkan Kikō Shinshaku, Daidokan Shoten
27. 4/31
28. 4/31/18/24/22/14/25/9/21/19/Hagitani Boku, Tosa Nikki Zenchūshaku/etc.
29. 12 vol. 15/21/11/Tomikura Tokujirō, Towazugatari, etc.
30. 4/31/8/Kaneko Kinjirō, Sōgi Tabi no Ki Shichū/Imoto Nōichi, Sōgi
31. 2/4/15/23/ Eguchi Masahiro, Utatane no Ki Sōshakuini(Kōchū-) Abusui-ni Zenkō
32. 7
33. 2/4/30/15
34. 4/31/15/etc.
4. Gunsho Ruijii (Kikō-bu)
5. Gunsho Ruijii (Nikki-bu)
6. Gunsho Ruijii (Teiō-bu)
7. Gunsho Ruijii (Zatsu-bu)
8. Haikai Sōsho Vol. 6 (Haijin Itsuwa Kikō Shū)
9. Iwanami Bunko
10. Jingū Sampo Ki Taisei (Daijingu Sōsho)
11. Kadokowa Bunko
12. Katsura no Miya Sōsho
13. (Kinsen Shōto-)Kyōshū Kikō Shū (Kyōshū Shiryō Sōsho)
14. (Kōchū-)Nihon Bungaku Taikei
15. (Kokubun-)Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho (Kikō-bu)
16. (Kokubun-)Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho (Second Series) (Jishi-bu)
17. Koten Bunko
18. Nihon Bungaku Zenshō
19. Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei
20. Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshō (Shōgakkan)
22. Nihon Koten Zenshū
23. Shinchū Kokubungaku Sōsho (Kōdansha)
24. Shinshakun Nihon Bungaku Sōsho
25. Yūhōdō Bunko (Heian-chō Nikki Shū)
26. Yūhōdō Bunko (Nikki Kikō Shū)
27. Zoku Gunsho Ruijii (Kikō-bu)
28. Zoku Gunsho Ruijii (Nikki-bu)
29. Zoku Gunsho Ruijii (Teiō-bu)
30. Zoku Teikoku Bunko (Zoku Kikō Bunshū)
31. Zoku Teikoku Bunko (Zoku Kikō Unshū)
32. Zokuzoku Gunsho Ruijii

List of Travel Diaries with no or Minor Literary Value

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<td>Kia</td>
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</table>
When I went to Kyoto in 1969 to begin research on medieval Japanese travel diaries, I consulted with a well-known professor at Kyōto University. He scorned my interest in a genre of Japanese classical literature which, in his opinion, was not interesting enough to be "introduced" in the West. I was rather disappointed but continued the project nevertheless, under the guidance of Professor Okami Masao of Kyōto. I do not regret at all the time and effort this project has required and hope the reader will not accuse me of introducing him to a "secondary" genre of Japanese literature. I hope that I have not failed to demonstrate in this book, in spite of all its shortcomings, that travel is not only an important but also an interesting and a "representative" theme of Japanese writing.

Many persons have helped me in this project. I must especially thank Professors Donald Keene and the late Ivan Morris of Columbia University for their encouragement and patience. Many thanks also to Professor Okami Masao (Kyōto), Fukuda Hideichi (Tokyo), Kubota Jun (Tokyo), Ōshima Takako (Tokyo) for their help in the reading of individual travel diaries, Hiroiwa Motosuke for having helped me with the bibliography and Norma Field and Margaret Robe for having purified my English style of the annoying influences of several other languages.

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Finally I must apologize to my wife Yoshiko and our children Tarō and Jirō for having spent so much time on this project which should have been dedicated more to my family.

Herbert Plutschow

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13. Shinshō Hōshi Nikkii:


14. Tōkan Kikō (see also Kaidō Ki):


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29. Kōun:

30. Gyōkō:

31. Travel to Mt. Fuji:

32. Gyoe:

33. Sōgi:
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34. Ichijō Kanera:

35. Shōkō:

36. Ōta Dōkan:

37. Renryo:

38. Kaikoku Zakki:

39. Sōchō:


40. Sanjōnishi Sanetaka:

41. Musashino Kikō:

42. Shōha:

43. Kusunoki Chōan:

44. Hosokawa Yūsai:

For more bibliographical information see Herbert Plutschow, Japanese Travel Diaries of the Middle Ages, unpublished dissertation, Columbia University, 1973.
Section 1 of third scroll. Ippen's journey to Kumano in company of an unnamed nun and two children. This reproduction depicts the dangerous road through the mountains of the Kii Peninsula.
Section 3 of eleventh scroll. Ippen takes a boat to the Kannon-do Temple in Hyōgo Province. The boats are apparently pulled upstream.

Detached segment from sixth scroll. Enoshima Island seen from Katase Beach.

Section 3 of fifth scroll. Ippen writes a poem onto the Shrine of the Barrier God at the Shirakawa Barrier.
Section 4 of fifth scroll. Snow covers the northern part of Japan (Ōshū). The picture depicts an increased number of followers, some of whom carry drums for *nembutsu* recitation.

Section 3. Saigyō in Yoshino, carrying a portable shrine on his back.
Section 4. Saigyō writes a poem on the Yagami Oji Shrine at Kumano.
Section 5. Saigyō stays overnight in a hut at Chisato Bay.

Section 6. Saigyō is seen with Yamabushi (mountain ascetics at Ōmine).