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## ***Sagoromo and Hamamatsu on Genji: Eleventh-Century Tales as Commentary on Genji monogatari***

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Although avowed comment on *Genji monogatari* begins only in the second half of the twelfth century, late Heian fiction written under obvious *Genji* influence sometimes suggests how earlier readers interpreted this or that aspect of the tale. This essay cites from *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari* and *Sagoromo monogatari* passages bearing on three issues: (1) the meaning of the *Genji* chapter title “Yume no ukihashi,” (2) the question of what happens to Ukifune between “Ukifune” and “Tenarai,” and (3) the significance of *Genji*’s affair with Fujitsubo. The paper follows each of these threads in *Genji* reception through the medieval and into modern times, in order to show that in each case *Hamamatsu* (for the first issue) and *Sagoromo* (for the second and third) comment significantly on *Genji*. In particular, *Sagoromo monogatari* sheds interesting light on the third issue, which is critical to any interpretation of *Genji monogatari*.

**Keywords:** TALE OF GENJI, GENJI MONOGATARI, GENJI RECEPTION, SAGOROMO MONOGATARI, HAMAMATSU CHŪNAGON MONOGATARI. “YUME NO UKIHASHI,” “UKIFUNE”

### INTRODUCTION

Two works dating from roughly the late twelfth century represent a transition in the reception of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語. The first, *Genji shaku* 源氏釈 by Sesonji Koreyuki 世尊寺伊行 (d. 1175), begins the long line of scholarly commentaries that are still being written today. The second, *Mumyōzōshi* 無名草子 (ca. 1200, attributed to Shunzei’s Daughter), can perhaps be said to round off the preceding era,<sup>1</sup> when *Genji* was simply a *monogatari* among others, enjoyed above all by women. In contrast with *Genji shaku*’s textual glosses, *Mumyōzōshi* gives passionate reader responses to characters and incidents in several tales, including *Genji*. It is a shame that nothing like it remains from even earlier, since by 1200 *Genji* was nearly two centuries old.

However, some earlier evidence of reader reception survives after all, not in critical works, but in post-*Genji* monogatari themselves. Since these show demonstrable *Genji* influence, they presumably suggest at times, in one way or another, what the author made of *Genji*, or how she understood this or that part of it. This possibility has not been much discussed, perhaps because of the old rift between academics and practitioners or performers. The views of monogatari authors, who say nothing about evaluation or interpretation, can be gleaned only from their fiction itself. This article will discuss examples from *Sagoromo monogatari* 狭衣物語 (ca. 1070-1080, by Rokujō no Saiin Senji 六条齋院宣旨, who served the Kamo Priestess Princess Baishi 祓子内親王)<sup>2</sup> and *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari* 浜松中納言物語 (ca. 1060, attributed to the author of *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記). The main issues will be the meaning of the chapter title “Yume no ukihashi”; the question of what happens to Ukifune between “Ukifune” and “Tenarai”; and the significance of Genji’s affair with Fujitsubo.

## Two Introductory Items

A passage from *Hamamatsu* illustrates simply how a post-*Genji* monogatari can shed light on the way a particular *Genji* passage might have been understood by its original audience. It concerns the trials inflicted on Genji’s mother by her jealous rivals (“Kiritsubo”). Their nature remains vague, despite talk of the possibility of a “nasty surprise awaiting her along the crossbridges and bridgeways, one that horribly fouled the skirts of [her] gentlewomen...”<sup>3</sup> Her distress is easy to imagine, but one may still wonder what her rivals did in the end to cause her death.

The stories about curses included in *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 suggest an answer with which the *Hamamatsu* author apparently concurred. At the beginning of the surviving portion of her work (the first scroll of which is missing), she transposed the plight of Genji’s mother to the Chinese court, complete with an unmistakable counterpart of the hostile minister of the right. In *Hamamatsu* this minister “places all sorts of curses”<sup>4</sup> on Kara no Kisaki, the counterpart of Genji’s mother, and many of the Chinese emperor’s women do the same. Nothing suggests that the *Hamamatsu* author meant to portray the Chinese as unusually crude or cruel. In the end Kara no Kisaki, like Genji’s mother, leaves the palace for good, although she does not die—her home, unlike that of Genji’s mother, being a very long way from the Chinese emperor’s palace, hence much safer. Her experience provides nearly contemporary confirmation of a reasonable conjecture about what remains unstated in the *Genji* narrative. It also highlights the contrasting approach taken by Murasaki Shikibu, who, by means of silence and understatement, turned a little world as jealous and vindictive as any other, as her original audience well knew, into a model of elegance for the ages.

A second, more diffuse issue concerns the nature of the hero in *Sagoromo* and *Hamamatsu*. The authors had two models to choose from, Genji and Kaoru, and they seem to have been more at home with Kaoru. Presumably their audiences were, too. The main chapters of *Genji monogatari* (those that cover Genji’s life) are impressive, but, as many writers have remarked,

it is the Uji chapters that announce the fiction of later Heian times and beyond. Genji makes a memorable hero, but he seems to have had no clear successor.

The *Mumyōzōshi* author put the problem succinctly when she wrote of Genji, “There are many things about him that one might wish otherwise.”<sup>5</sup> In contrast, she wrote of Kaoru, “There is not a single thing about him that one could wish otherwise; he seems quite wonderful.”<sup>6</sup> Not that the *Sagoromo* and *Hamamatsu* authors really made their heroes perfect; Sagoromo no Taishō 狭衣の大將 and Hamamatsu no Chūnagon 浜松の中納言, especially the former, are not above betraying husbands and fathers, or ruining women’s lives. Like Kaoru, however, they both enjoy brilliant worldly success in the background, while displaying in the foreground a dreamily melancholy, otherworldly side. Sagoromo’s fantasies of entering religion so resemble Kaoru’s that he has been described as “a second Kaoru”;<sup>7</sup> while in *Hamamatsu* Buddhism as a sort of fantasy world is replaced by China, and by repeated oracles and dream communications. The closing section of *Hamamatsu* even features an extended variation on the rivalry between Kaoru and Niou over Ukifune. Just as the reader of the Uji chapters is constantly invited to sympathize with Kaoru’s sorrows, whatever they may be, so in *Sagoromo* and *Hamamatsu* the hero’s sorrowful feelings alone matter, regardless of what he may have done to arouse them. The author or narrator accords her beautiful hero full indulgence. Her treatment of him little resembles the narrator’s shifting, sometimes critical, and always personally engaged attitude toward Genji in the main chapters of *Genji monogatari*.

#### YUME NO UKIHASHI: THE BRIDGE OF DREAMS

The final chapter of *Genji monogatari* is entitled “Yume no ukihashi.” A good deal has been written about this intriguing expression over the centuries, and it is no wonder in any case that some should have taken the title of the closing chapter to be particularly significant. The range of interpretation has been wide. The reading suggested by *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari* therefore stands at the beginning of a long thread in *Genji* reception.

#### *Yume no ukihashi* in *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari*

At a certain point in *Hamamatsu*, the author has her hero “remember her [a love now inaccessible to him] sadly, feeling just like *yume no ukihashi*.”<sup>8</sup> This occurrence of the expression seems not to be widely recognized as an allusion to the *Genji* chapter title. However, three parallel passages in *Hamamatsu* make it difficult to take it in any other way.

The mention of *yume no ukihashi* is one of four *Hamamatsu* passages that sum up a scene or mood with a brief allusion on the pattern, “[It was] just like X.” In two, “X” is a now-lost monogatari. The first goes, (1) “It was just like a picture from the monogatari entitled *Karakuni*,” while the second simply caps a description with the words, (2) “as in *Ōi no monogatari*.” Similarly, the third allusion runs, (3) “no doubt just like Ono no shigure no yado.”<sup>9</sup> “Ono no shigure no yado” may or may not be the title of a lost monogatari, but the expression clearly refers to a specific story. The fourth is the passage in question here.

It has long been recognized that the *Genji* author must have invented the expression *yume no ukihashi* for the purpose of naming her last chapter, which made it famous. The expression does not appear in earlier literature, although the “Usugumo” 薄雲 chapter of *Genji* itself, as well as a related poem cited by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (both are discussed below), contain the related phrase *yume no watari no ukihashi*. For this reason alone, the *Hamamatsu* mention of *yume no ukihashi* probably refers to the *Genji* chapter, and this likelihood is confirmed by the pattern of allusion just described. In *Hamamatsu* the expression clearly alludes to a monogatari or monogatari-like story familiar to every reader in the author’s time, and that story can only have been the *Genji* chapter. The *Hamamatsu* author’s allusion to it shows that, to her, the chapter title described the painfully precarious bond between Kaoru and Ukifune, as experienced especially by Kaoru.

However, contemporary scholarship refrains from taking the *Hamamatsu* passage that way, at least in any formal context. The relevant headnotes in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (NKBT) and *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (SNKBZ) editions of *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari* treat *yume no ukihashi* as a common noun meaning a perilous passage traversed in dreams (NKBT) or simply a precarious link, for example between lovers (SNKBZ).<sup>10</sup> Neither mentions the *Genji* chapter title.

This position is consistent with recent, conservatively-presented *Genji* scholarship. No recent edition of *Genji monogatari* (*Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* [SNKS] 1985, SNKBT 1997, SNKBZ 1998) suggests such a reading of the chapter title, nor does the *Genji* manual *Jōyō Genji monogatari yōran* 常用源氏物語要覽 (1995).<sup>11</sup> All four note that the expression *yume no ukihashi* is absent from the chapter itself, but that *yume* occurs several times; and all mention, hesitantly, a possible connection between the chapter title and a poem originally cited by Fujiwara no Teika in his *Okuiiri* 奥入 (early thirteenth century), in connection with a passage in “Usugumo.” Two (*Yōran*, SNKBT) tentatively suggest an allusion to Ukifune’s nightmarish life of rootless wandering (*sasurai*). That is all.

The poem first mentioned in *Okuiiri* (one regularly acknowledged by later commentaries) goes, *Yo no naka wa/ yume no watari no/ ukihashi ka/ uchiwataritsutsu/ mono o koso omoe*: “Is this world of ours a [floating] bridge crossed in dreams, that crossing it should call up such sorrows?”<sup>12</sup> The “Usugumo” passage reads:

The lady at Ōi [the lady from Akashi] led a life at once quiet and distinguished. Her house was unusual, but as for herself, Genji admired whenever he saw her the looks and the mature dignity of demeanor that placed her very little below the greatest in the land. If only it were possible to pass her off as simply another provincial governor’s daughter, people would be glad enough to remember that this was not the first time such a thing had happened. Her father’s fame as an egregious crank was a problem, but he had quite enough about him to him to make him acceptable. Genji did not at all want to rush home again, since this visit had no doubt been too short for him as well. “Is it a [floating] bridge crossed in dreams?” he sighed. . . .<sup>13</sup>

Genji’s “Is it a [floating] bridge crossed in dreams?” (*yume no watari no ukihashi ka*, the

words glossed by Teika) refers to the complexities that keep him from visiting Ōi more often. The note in my translation therefore explains that the *yume* (Genji's and the poem's) alludes to erotic liaisons, and the poem's *yo no naka*, too, to matters of love. Nothing about this explanation is controversial, but its theme has vanished from the four discussions of the chapter title "Yume no ukihashi" just cited, despite their acknowledgement of the poem. Instead, two of them mention Ukifune's sufferings, while the other two suggest nothing at all.

### *Yume no ukihashi* in the *Genji* Commentaries

Thus material from either end of the *Genji* millennium suggests an early association between *yume no ukihashi* and Kaoru's longing for Ukifune, and a late reluctance to accept that association. Generally speaking, the pre-modern commentaries encourage this rejection.

Most of the content of these four recent treatments of the chapter title can be found in the commentaries. *Shimeishō* 紫明抄 (late thirteenth century), *Kakaishō* 河海抄 (ca. 1365), and others note as an anomaly the absence of the expression *yume no ukihashi* from the chapter text itself, observe that *yume* occurs five times in the chapter, and suggest a tentative connection between the chapter title and the poem Teika cited. *Ichiyōshō* 一葉抄 (1494) and four sixteenth-century commentaries link the title to Ukifune's painfully rootless life. However, all these works emphasize other matters. As the *Kakaishō* author observed, "[The title's meaning] has always been unclear [*korai fushin nari* 古来不審也]."<sup>14</sup>

The dominant trend is clear already in *Shimeishō*. A questioner who wants to know the meaning of *ukihashi* remarks that "most people" (*yo no hito*) take it as referring to Ukifune's refusal even to open Kaoru's letter. The questioner's expression, *fumi minu* 文見ぬ ("did not read the letter"), implies a word play on *fumi-minu* 踏み見ぬ ("did not tread [the bridge of dreams]").<sup>15</sup> Thus, according to the *Shimeishō* questioner, "most people" take *ukihashi* as alluding to the broken communication between Kaoru and Ukifune. This reading is compatible with the one assumed by the *Hamamatsu* author.

However, the *Shimeishō* author himself disagreed. "This monogatari," he wrote, "reveals impermanence and demonstrates that all living beings come to naught. Therefore this chapter, unlike the others, is founded upon *yūgen*, and is also meant to establish a link with enlightenment [*bodai no en*]." The *Shimeishō* author therefore saw in this chapter a grander, graver theme than the failure of the bond between two lovers. Not that he excluded eros, since he also cited the *ama no ukihashi* ("floating bridge of heaven") story from *Nihon shōki* and wrote, "The distinction between male and female, the separation of man from woman, began with [*ama no*] *ukihashi*. How, then, could the heart of one with a taste for gallantry and a fondness for love not cross this *ukihashi*?" However, he placed greater emphasis on *yume*, which he took in a mainly religious or philosophical sense. Having quoted the *Nehan-gyō* 涅槃經 and other sutras on the theme "Life, death, impermanence are all a dream," he concluded: "Present reality is a dream, good and evil are a dream...Therefore, the final chapter was probably named "Yume no ukihashi" because this title brought together both the

*ukihashi* of this sullied world [*edo*] and the dream of the dharma-nature [*hosshō no yume* 法性の夢].”<sup>16</sup>

Seen in this perspective, *ukihashi* no longer represents the bipolar tension of perilous desire between lovers, but becomes one term of a greater tension on the same pattern: that between “this sullied world” (of samsara) and *hosshō no yume*—the dream of, or the dream that is, pure, timeless truth. Some *Genji* scholars still hold that the chapter title refers to a bridge between earth and heaven, this world and the next, and so on.

*Kakaishō* (followed by others) develops this more expansive sort of reading, one tending to favor *yume* at the expense of *ukihashi*, by suggesting that “Yume no ukihashi” is meant at the same time as an alternate title for all of *Genji monogatari*.<sup>17</sup> This approach of course does not eliminate the erotic dimension of the “dream,” especially considering the tale’s general reputation as an erotic work. However, this erotic dimension receives less and less explicit acknowledgment. *Genji kokagami* 源氏小鏡, a digest from about the same period as *Kakaishō* and perhaps, like *Kakaishō*, a product of the circle surrounding Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388), illustrates this trend. It explains that the title refers to Genji’s rise to dream-like glory and to the “single painful moment” (*tada hitofushi no on-nageki*, probably Murasaki’s death) of his life that at last, before he dies, awakens him to the truth. It also suggests that the final chapter is entitled “Yume no ukihashi” because it is meant to convey impermanence.<sup>18</sup> This sort of reading suggests Chuang-tzu’s dream of the butterfly, or the story of the pillow of Kantan, and indeed, several commentaries mention them.

In *Kachō yosei* (ca. 1470), Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良 (1402-1481) referred the reader to the long *Kakaishō* entry on the closing chapter title, but he suggested on his own that it adds pathos (*aware*) to the situation evoked at the end of “Tenarai” and refers particularly to Kaoru’s longing for Ukifune.<sup>19</sup> This reading agrees with the *Hamamatsu* author’s. However, Fujiwara Masaari 藤原正存, the editor of *Ichiyōshō* 一葉抄 (ca. 1494), soon disagreed. “The source of this tale has nothing to do with talk of love,” he wrote. “It reveals the swift passing of all things and teaches that the mighty must fall.”<sup>20</sup> Regarding the term *ukihashi* itself, he wrote that it has no special meaning apart from the broad notion of the passage from birth to death. *Rōkashō* 弄花抄 (1510), edited by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537), affirms similarly that the meaning of the chapter title is carried by *yume*, and that *ukihashi* has no meaning of its own; so does the *Mōshinshō* 孟津抄 (1575) of Kujō Tanemichi 九条種通 (1507-1594).<sup>21</sup>

The more ambitious, later commentaries such as *Sairyūshō* 細流抄 (1510-1513), *Mingō nisso* 岷江入楚 (1598), or *Kogetsushō* 湖月抄 (1673) tend to reproduce the entries from earlier ones without adding anything new, thus juxtaposing divergent ideas without visibly favoring any. However *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* 源氏物語玉の小櫛 (1796), the influential *Genji* commentary by Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), is different. On the subject of “Yume no ukihashi,” as on others, Norinaga took a new approach. “As the old commentaries say,” he wrote, “the title of this chapter applies to the entire tale. However, it would be wrong to call it a title for the whole. The content of the tale is convincingly real, but all of it is invented.... Everything in it is as though seen in a dream.” Norinaga condemned

the earlier commentators for citing Buddhist and Chinese writings to argue that the chapter title means life is a dream. “That is wrong,” he declared. “It only means that everything written in this tale is a dream.”<sup>22</sup> His focus on the author is of great interest, but more relevant here is the absence of any reference to love or erotic tension, whether particular (Kaoru and Ukifune) or generalized (the “floating bridge of heaven”). The *yume* of the chapter title has obliterated the *ukihashi*. Norinaga’s interpretation has the same noncommittal respectability as the four contemporary discussions of the title cited above.

### Closing Reflections on *Yume no ukihashi*

Still, two of those discussions mention the miseries of Ukifune, the most pressing of which have to do with love. They confirm a tendency in the commentaries, noted by Masuda Katsumi 益田勝美 in 1991, to read the chapter title from her standpoint. Masuda argued that the chapter is really told more from Kaoru’s.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, Mori Asao 森朝男 had already stated in 1988 that the *Genji* chapter title refers to the precarious bond between Kaoru and Ukifune, and especially to the severing of that bond as the chapter ends. Komachiya Teruhiko 小町谷照彦, writing in 1992, agreed: the issue is the breaking of the bond—the *ukihashi*—between Ukifune and Kaoru. “Ukifune [now a nun] goes off into a world beyond Kaoru’s comprehension, leaving Kaoru behind, alone, in the profane world.”<sup>24</sup> Thus Komachiya recognized the *ukihashi* between Kaoru and Ukifune after all but, echoing *Shimeishō*, assimilated it to the unbridgeable gulf between the sacred and the profane.

In *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari*, however, the hero remains in touch by letter with the lady for whom he longs, and although circumstances keep them apart, nothing suggests that she would not meet him if she could. Whether or not they are, in practice, parted forever, the bond between them is not broken. A gap therefore still separates the *Hamamatsu* author’s reading of the *Genji* chapter title from that adopted by Mori Asao or Komachiya Kazuhiko, who hold the break to be final.

My previously published analysis of Ukifune’s story encourages me to side with the *Hamamatsu* author. The events, situations, and relationships described in “Tenarai” and “Yume no ukihashi” make it difficult to believe either that Kaoru will never see Ukifune again, somewhere past the end of the book, or that Ukifune is in any position to reject him indefinitely.<sup>25</sup>

Motoori Norinaga wrote in *Tama no ogushi*, “The closing chapter [of *Genji*] functions as a conclusion, but really it is as though the dreamer had awakened before the dream was anywhere near complete.”<sup>26</sup> Written speculation about events beyond the end of the tale began with *Yamaji no tsuyu* 山路の露, an apocryphal *Genji* chapter now attributed to Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu 建礼門院右京大夫 (1157?-1233?). In *Yamaji no tsuyu* Kaoru does see Ukifune again, and at the end of it the situation remains unresolved. *Yamaji no tsuyu* therefore comments on “Yume no ukihashi” as meaningfully as the work of a medieval or modern scholar. It also seconds the *Hamamatsu* passage. No one will ever know what the title “Yume no ukihashi” “really means,” but the *Hamamatsu* allusion to it belongs squarely

to the history of *Genji* reception. Considering that the author lived 95% closer to Murasaki Shikibu's time than we do, and inhabited the same world, perhaps it even deserves an extra unit or two of weight.

#### UKIFUNE AND ASUKAI

At the end of the "Ukifune" chapter of *Genji*, Ukifune decides to drown herself. In the first scroll of *Sagoromo monogatari*, Asukai no Himegimi does the same. Both then disappear. The *Sagoromo* author adopted so many *Genji* motifs, so obviously, that the *Genji* influence in this case is beyond question. What happened to Asukai therefore begins a particularly curious thread in the history of *Genji* reception. Ukifune will be discussed first.

#### Ukifune's Disappearance

Nearly everyone familiar with *Genji* in any form (including received folklore) assumes that, between "Ukifune" and "Kagerō," Ukifune throws herself into the Uji River to drown, but is then swept away by the current, washed ashore downstream, and saved by Yokawa no Sōzu. A video sold by the Tale of Genji Museum in the city of Uji even dramatizes the moment by showing her leaping off Uji Bridge and floating away amid her streaming hair, looking like Ophelia. Few readers doubt that Ukifune genuinely attempts *jusui* 入水, suicide by drowning, and most of those who do are *Genji* scholars.

In reality, Ukifune never even approaches the water. Yokawa no Sōzu finds her not on the riverbank, but beneath a great tree in a silent wood behind a residence known as the Uji Villa. The text of "Tenarai" provides clear evidence on the subject of how she got there,<sup>27</sup> and it allows only one answer: after stepping out onto the veranda of her house, with the intention of going down to the river, Ukifune was possessed by a spirit that transported her supernaturally to the place where she was found. However, it is true that many of the clues pointing to this conclusion are so fragmented that one cannot rule out excessive authorial artifice, or even purposeful obfuscation.

Being unable to choose between two lovers, Kaoru and Niou, Ukifune decides to drown herself in the river that flows past her house. The ending of "Ukifune" convinces the reader that she is about to act, and at the start of the next chapter, "Kagerō," she is indeed gone; the entire household is hunting for her. Only some way into the chapter after that, "Tenarai," does the author provide a consecutive account of the event, in the form of Ukifune's silent reminiscences.

They were all asleep, and I opened the double doors and went out. There was a strong wind blowing, and I could hear the river's roar. Out there all alone I was frightened, too frightened to think clearly about what had happened or what was to come next, and when I stepped down onto the veranda I became confused about where I was going; I only knew that going back in would not help and that all I wanted was to disappear bravely from life. Come and eat me, demons or whatever

things are out there, do not leave me to be found foolishly cowering here! I was saying that, sitting rooted to the spot, when a very beautiful man approached me and said, “Come with me to where I live!” and it seemed to me that he took me in his arms. I assumed he was the gentleman they addressed as “Your Highness,” but after that my mind must have wandered, until he put me down in a place I did not know. Then he vanished. When it was over I realized that I had not done what I had meant to do, and I cried and cried.<sup>28</sup>

Motoori Norinaga praised this way of conveying what happened to Ukifune as “a most entertaining manner of writing” (*ito omoshiroki kakizama*);<sup>29</sup> but in practice so many readers miss, ignore, or dismiss the passage, at least in modern times, that one can perhaps fairly say it no longer works.

### Asukai’s Disappearance

The Asukai no Himegimi of *Sagoromo monogatari* is a Yūgao-like waif (many writers, starting with Hagiwara Hiromichi in 1854, have noted parallels between Yūgao and Ukifune) of decent birth but without future prospects. Sagoromo, the hero, discovers her and imposes himself on her as her lover, but he never tells her who he is. In time she becomes pregnant. Meanwhile Michinari, one of Sagoromo’s retainers, learns about her as well. Never suspecting her relationship with his lord, he decides when he is posted to Kyushu to abduct her and take her there with him on the ship. Asukai’s nurse, who scorns the frivolous ways of noble youths like Asukai’s still-anonymous lover, supports this plan so effectively that the outraged and astonished Asukai is soon bundled aboard.<sup>30</sup> Rejecting Michinari’s blandishments, she resolves to throw herself into the sea.<sup>31</sup>

Surviving manuscripts of *Sagoromo monogatari* differ significantly among themselves, and so do the published texts. I have had access to four: NKBT, SNKS, SNKBT, and *Koten bunko* (KB). With respect to the closing passage of scroll 1 (the one that matters here), SNKS and KB are equivalent; SNKBT adds a sentence; and to this sentence NKBT adds a paragraph.

Asukai’s moment comes as the ship approaches Mushiake no Seto, a narrow passage between Nagashima island and the Bizen coast of the Inland Sea. The passengers are asleep. Tormented by memories of Sagoromo, Asukai wants to write a farewell poem on a fan he once gave her, but tears blind her, her hand trembles, and she has difficulty doing so. Before she can finish, she hears someone nearby (*bito no kehai no sureba*). She therefore

(SNKS Sagoromo, vol. 1, pp. 122-123, KB Sagoromo, p. 137) gazed at the sea before hastening to throw herself in. She was terrified, they say.

(SNKBT Sagoromo, vol. 1, pp. 152-153) gazed down into the sea before hastening to throw herself in. Even this much terrified her, however, and she lay face down, trembling, they say.

(NKBT Sagoromo, pp. 114-115) gazed down into the sea before hastening to throw herself in. Even this much terrified her, however, and while she trembled, someone held her back. “I knew it!” she thought, aghast and feeling as though she were dying; and she said not a word while the person picked her up and carried her aboard another ship. “What is going on?” she wondered in blank horror, with her clothing pulled over her head. Meanwhile, she gathered that day was about to break. She was thinking in bitter disappointment, “I seem not to have managed to do it,” when the person approached her and said, “Do not be afraid. I had been looking for you for years, wondering where you went and how you were, when I heard you were on your way Kyushu and took the same route in the hope of meeting you. . . . What is it that decided you on so desperate a deed?” She could not forget having heard that thin, weeping voice when she was little: it was her elder brother’s.

Asukai’s brother then tells her he lost an eye as a boy and became a monk. She feels reassured. They go together to the Capital, and he takes her to the house of an aunt, now a nun. When the nun asks Asukai to tell her story, Asukai speaks of having wanted to die anyway, and of having then been taken aboard an *ukifune* (“drifting boat”), which made her detest life even more. “I feel safer now I have met you,” she says. “If you would be so kind, please make me a nun.” The nun agrees to do so after Asukai’s baby is born. Asukai’s brother agrees, urging her to remain until then where she is, quiet and unnoticed. He then says he has various pilgrimages to make, and leaves.

Each of these versions corresponds roughly to a step in the account quoted above from “Tenarai.” SNKS and KB leave Asukai at the stage of Ukifune’s fright when Ukifune actually goes outside and hears the noise of the river; SNKBZ leaves her overcome by her fear, like Ukifune; and NKBT then has her carried away, like Ukifune, by a mysterious man. The NKBT text even incorporates the word *ukifune* and has Asukai ask to be made a nun, as Ukifune eventually did.

Asukai’s disappearance devastates the hero, who early in scroll 2 receives an oral report from the abductor’s (Michinari’s) younger brother. The content is the same in all four texts: “Some very strange news has reached me. Michinari’s wife threw herself into the sea. Everything the lady’s nurse told me, weeping, suggests that the lady in question is the very one who has disappeared.” (SNKS Sagoromo, vol. 1, p. 129; KB Sagoromo, p. 141; SNKBZ Sagoromo, vol. 1, pp. 158-159; NKBT Sagoromo, p. 120) His report leaves Sagoromo in the same position as Kaoru, once Kaoru learns in “Kagerō” of the disappearance (and presumed drowning) of Ukifune.

However, the different scroll 1 endings each leave the reader in a different place. The SNKS/KB ending corresponds roughly to the close of “Ukifune”: the reader knows that Asukai plans to drown herself and cannot yet assume that either the presence of someone nearby (*bito no kehai* 人の気配), or fear itself, guarantee failure. The SNKBZ reader knows fear has mastered her (as Ukifune recalls it doing in “Tenarai”) and so can reasonably take her failure for granted. However, only NKBT actually tells what happens next. Presumably

the NKBT narrative is meant to explain a surprise present in all four versions: Sagoromo's discovery, late in scroll 2, that Asukai is alive and in her brother's care.<sup>32</sup> (She dies before he can see her again.) However, what "really happens" to Asukai, as to Ukifune, remains in the end unfathomable—unless one simply accepts in Ukifune's case that a spirit carried her off bodily, and in Asukai's that her brother appeared from nowhere, in the middle of the night and out at sea, to do the same.<sup>33</sup> Regarding Ukifune, readers and scholars in recent times have been reluctant to accept supernatural intervention. They have therefore tended to replace what the text says with something more intelligible. Confusingly enough, the silent assumption, or the reluctance to deny, that Ukifune somehow threw herself in after all has been encouraged since at least the fifteenth century by ambiguous use of the term *jusui* and related expressions. Modern insistence on finding source materials for the *jusui* motif in Heian times may also have played its part.

### Ukifune's *jusui* in the Commentaries

*Shimeishō* and *Kakaishō*, the earliest of the major commentaries, say nothing to suggest that the content of Ukifune's experience is anything other than self-evident. Later works (*Genji kokagami*, *Kachō yosei*, *Mōshinshō*, *Bansui ichiro*, *Mingō nisso*, *Kogetsushō*) note that she was carried off either by someone she thought was *miya* 宮 ("the prince"), or, more explicitly, by a spirit she believed to be Niou. These two readings amount to the same thing. They refer to Ukifune's memories—memories that Motoori Norinaga apparently accepted, since he praised the way the author let the reader know what had happened to her. Meanwhile, *Genji kokagami* and *Hikaru Genji ichibu uta* 光源氏一部歌 (seconded by the Noh play *Kodama Ukifune* 木霊浮舟),<sup>34</sup> say that Ukifune was carried off by a *kodama* ("tree spirit"); and in 1854 Hagiwara Hiromichi 萩原広道 agreed.<sup>35</sup> Finally, several medieval commentaries or digests identify the place where Ukifune was found as the site of the Byōdōin 平等院, thus tacitly accepting the inevitable conclusion that the spirit carried her bodily *across* the river.<sup>36</sup>

The first hint of what looks like ambiguity on the subject occurs in the mid-Muromachi *Genji ōkagami* 源氏大鏡, which begins its account of "Kagerō" as follows: "Everyone is distraught that Ukifune should have thrown herself [into the river], but they are wrong. She meant to do so, but once she opened the door and went outside. . . ." <sup>37</sup> The text then summarizes Ukifune's later memories. Nonetheless, the "Tenarai" section says: "[At the Uji Villa 宇治院 the nuns] gathered her up and put her in the carriage. The time when Ukifune threw herself in [*mi o nagetarishi toki*] was the end of the third month."<sup>38</sup> Taken out of context, this passage suggests that the writer believed Ukifune literally threw herself into the river. However, he clearly did not. Perhaps he meant the expression *mi o nagu* 身を投ぐ (equivalent to *jusui su*, "drown oneself") to acknowledge intention over failed execution. More probably, however, he simply found no more economical way to refer to an otherwise untidily enigmatic event—an event the real content of which no one in his time seemed to doubt.

*Kachō yosei* and *Sairyūshō*, followed respectively by *Mōshinshō* and *Rōkashō*, do much the same thing. In *Kachō yosei*, the first gloss on “Kagerō” reminds the reader of Ukifune’s obvious plan to take her own life and goes on, “It would have been pointless to write about her actually throwing herself in, since no one [among the household at Uji] knows she did it.” Further on, however, the writer accepts Ukifune’s memories and explicitly acknowledges her recognition that she had failed.

Similarly, *Sairyūshō* glosses the first words of “Kagerō” (*kashiko ni wa*) as meaning “the place [Uji] where Ukifune threw herself in [*mi o nage-tamaishi ato*],” even though later on it acknowledges the same evidence that she did not. In connection with a mention of heavy rain,<sup>39</sup> it likewise states that the rain fell “on the day after Ukifune’s *jusui* [drowning].” Interestingly enough, the renga poet Satomura Jōha 里村紹巴 (1527-1602) used the same sort of language on the subject, at about the same time. In his *Sagoromo shitaibimo* 狭衣下紐 (1590), a short commentary on *Sagoromo monogatari*, Jōha wrote that the moment when Asukai seems about to throw herself into the water “recalls Ukifune’s *jusui* in *Genji*.”<sup>40</sup> Thus Jōha included under the rubric of *jusui* two incidents in which no *jusui* takes place. Modern scholars have often done the same.

In the Edo period, Motoori Norinaga and Hagiwara Hiromichi seem to have recognized, either tacitly or explicitly, that Ukifune was abducted.<sup>41</sup> In his *Kogetsushō* (1673), Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 quoted the *Kachō yosei* and *Sairyūshō* glosses on the first words of “Kagerō,” but he also glossed Ukifune’s vision of the “beautiful man,” in “Tenarai,” by quoting *Mōshinshō*: “The spirit [that had possessed Ukifune] appeared to her, and she saw it as Niou.” Regarding Ukifune’s memories of what happened, he wrote nothing at all. Presumably he accepted them. However, if the Confucian thinker Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619-1691) had been able to carry *Genji gaiden* 源氏外伝, his ambitious commentary on the tale, beyond “Fujinouraba,” he would probably have rejected both the “beautiful man” and the *kodama*. Banzan’s approach was resolutely historical and rational. He attributed Yūgao’s death not to the phantom woman that Genji saw, but to fear, and he denied that Rokujō’s spirit actually left her body to torment Aoi.<sup>42</sup> This quasi-psychological view of spirit possession foreshadows an influential line of interpretation put forward in recent decades—one that strives to rationalize and psychologize Ukifune’s experience as well.

### Ukifune’s *jusui* in Modern Times

Since scholarly books and articles still refer routinely to *Ukifune no jusui*, one might assume that their authors and readers nonetheless know what really happened, as people apparently did in medieval times; and perhaps in most cases, nowadays, they really do. However, it is not clear that they always have. Much evidence suggests that Ukifune’s literal *jusui* has long been taken for granted not only by the reading public at large, but even by many academics. How did this happen?

Meiji scholars and readers, caught up in the spirit of enlightenment and progress, and eager to set *Genji monogatari* beside the greatest novels of the nineteenth-century West, might

easily have rejected the tale's supernatural elements in favor of rationally modern readings. Patrick Caddeau has suggested that they did so, citing as evidence the headnotes in the first modern, popular edition of *Genji*: the five-volume *Nihon bungaku zensho* 日本文学全書 text published by Hakubunkan in 1890.<sup>43</sup> The notes at the start of “Kagerō” sound tersely confident that Ukifune genuinely threw herself in. However, they are based ultimately (via *Kogetsushō*) on the corresponding *Kachō yosei* and *Sairyūshō* glosses, so that their intended meaning is not really obvious. The “Kagerō” and “Tenarai” headnotes in a 1927 edition of *Genji* (Kokumin Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha 1927) say nothing bearing on the question of what happened to Ukifune.

The source of the confusion therefore remains unclear. Simple convenience may help to explain why articles, chapter titles, and so on still refer to *Ukifune no jusui* as though it really happened.<sup>44</sup> However, given the near-universality of the misreading, it is puzzling that some who presumably know better should still have written within the last few years that, “Having thrown herself into the river [*jusui shita*], bearing her burden of sin, Ukifune is saved by Yokawa no Sōzu...”;<sup>45</sup> that, “Having given herself to two men, [Ukifune] plumbs the depths of suffering and as a result throws herself into the Uji River [*Ujigawa ni mi o nagete shimau*];”<sup>46</sup> or that, “[Caught between two lovers, Kaoru and Niou, Ukifune] soon threw herself into the Uji River [*Ujigawa ni mi o tō-ji*], was saved, and became a nun.”<sup>47</sup> Perhaps these writers indeed take intention for achievement, but if they do, their view of the matter little resembles Ukifune's; for when Ukifune understood her failure, she wept. Meanwhile, they perpetuate an error.

On this subject, current *Genji* summaries, dictionaries, and manuals are not necessarily helpful. Five representative examples are *Genji monogatari no makimaki* 源氏物語の巻々 (1987), *Genji monogatari jiten* 源氏物語事典 (Akiyama 1993), *Genji monogatari o yomu tame no kenkyū jiten* 源氏物語を読むための研究事典 (1995), *Jōyō Genji monogatari yōran* 常用源氏物語要覧 (Nakano 1995), and *Genji monogatari jiten* 源氏物語事典 (Hayashida 2002). Only the 1993 *Genji monogatari jiten*, edited by Akiyama Ken, clearly recognizes that Ukifune became possessed at all. The article states that she seems to have fainted on the way to the river, that she was possessed by the spirit of a monk, and that “she wandered between dream and reality” until she collapsed behind the Uji Villa.<sup>48</sup> Unlike such texts as *Genji okagami*, it says nothing about what Ukifune herself remembers happening. A particularly modern touch is the explanation that Ukifune walked to the Uji Villa. Reason demands something similar, but reason in this case is not good enough. At the time, Ukifune's house was surrounded every night by guards, posted by Kaoru to keep Niou away and severely enjoined by him to be vigilant. They would have noticed her. Moreover, she was found without a mark on her. Her passage to the Uji Villa, like Asukai's passage from a Kyushu-bound ship to her brother's care at Kokawa-dera 粉河寺, simply defies reason. Nothing can be done about this.

The first of the other works just mentioned (*Genji monogatari no makimaki*) treats parallels between Yūgao and Ukifune, then discusses Ukifune's state of mind after she recovers.<sup>49</sup> The second (*Genji monogatari o yomu tame no kenkyū jiten*) discusses *mononoke* 物の怪

in *Genji* without stating that a *mononoke* possessed Ukifune.<sup>50</sup> The third (*Jōyō Genji monogatari yōran*) has Ukifune found “on the bank of the Uji River” (*Ujigawaberi de*), when she was not.<sup>51</sup> The fourth (*Genji monogatari jiten* 2002), the most recent, summarizes Ukifune’s experience without mentioning either spirit possession or her memory of what happened; and a separate article presents “the prototypes of the suicide-by-drowning motif” (*jusuitan no genkei* 入水譚の原型) without acknowledging that Ukifune did not commit *jusui*.<sup>52</sup>

There are of course more noteworthy aspects to Ukifune’s story than can be accommodated in a dictionary or manual entry, but considering the prevalence of the error at issue, such works might at least ensure that those who consult them do not make it. Instead, discussions of Ukifune often ignore the subject completely, if possible; or, if they must address it, they may argue in effect that it is irrelevant. Thus Mitani Kuniaki 三谷邦明 granted the *mononoke* exorcised by Yokawa no Sōzu no other significance than to reveal the unconscious preoccupations of the Sōzu himself and then of Ukifune when, after the exorcism, she remembers seeing the “beautiful man.”<sup>53</sup> In a similar mood, Fujimoto Katsuyoshi 藤本勝義 denied that the man Ukifune remembers seeing has anything to do with the spirit that speaks to Yokawa no Sōzu (claiming once to have been a monk), because Ukifune does not remember ever having been possessed by a monk.<sup>54</sup> This sort of argument reduces Ukifune’s memories to the fantasies of a young woman suffering a nervous breakdown and the exorcism to a psychotic episode on the part of Yokawa no Sōzu. Meanwhile, Ōasa Yūji 大朝雄二 presented Ukifune as a steadfast heroine, firm and rational in her resolve to drown herself, whose last-minute fears and hesitations are all quite normal in terms of the “psychology of suicide”; and he presented the spirit as a mere literary device to achieve the author’s aim, which is to save Ukifune by making sure she does not drown.<sup>55</sup> If the conundrum of Ukifune’s possession amounts to no more than that, the author could have arranged more simply to have her throw herself into the river and be washed ashore downstream.

### Concluding Reflections on the Case of Asukai

Asukai no Himegimi’s experience at Mushiake no Seto is interesting as the earliest surviving post-*Genji* step toward the anomalous situation just described, unless by any chance *Asakura monogatari* 朝倉物語 came first. Like *Hamamatsu*, this now-lost tale has been attributed to the author of *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記. Scholars have reconstructed some notion of it thanks to the many poems from it included in *Shūi hyakuban utaawase* 拾遺百番歌合 and *Fūyō wakashū* 風葉和歌集. The heroine’s mother is dead, and her father has become a monk and disappeared. Alone in the world, she accepts Sanmi no Chūjō (later, Asakura no Kanpaku) as a lover, but meanwhile she is also courted by Shikibukyō no Miya. Eventually she sets out for Michinoku to find her father, but on the way, at Awazu no Hama, she throws herself into Lake Biwa. *Fūyō wakashū* 1047 is a poem written by Asakura no Kanpaku on a pilgrimage to Ishiyama, “upon hearing that a woman he had loved had thrown herself [into the lake] at Awazu no Hama.” However, the heroine seems actually to have been saved (perhaps by her father). Asakura no Kanpaku takes her in, and she serves the court

under the name Kōtaigō no Miya no Dainagon.<sup>56</sup> Things worked out much better for her (if *Asakura* really ended on that note) than for Ukifune or Asukai, but otherwise the similarity is obvious.

Murasaki Shikibu presumably knew the *jusui* motif well, since it was established in literature and art. The *kotobagaki* to *Yoshinobu shū* 389 (Ōnakatomi Yoshinobu 大中臣能宣, 921-991) describes a painting of a woman looking down from a high bank while a man watches her from below; the poem suggests she is about to drown herself because her lover has stopped coming. Likewise, the *kotobagaki* to *Dōmyō Ajari shū* 道命阿闍梨集 17 (Dōmyō, 974-1020) evokes a painting in which a woman looks down from a high bank before throwing herself in; the poem has her regretting only the reputation that will survive her. Finally, *Yoshinobu shū* 389 concerns a scene similar to the one that begins “Kagerō.” The *kotobagaki* describes a picture illustrating *Sumiyoshi monogatari* 住吉物語. Jijū (a gentlewoman) stands at the outlet to a pond named Narabi-no-ike. She is looking for her mistress, Himegimi, who has thrown herself into the pond. The poem says, “If only she had told me where she went in, I would go in search of her, even if that meant parting the water-weeds myself to do so.”<sup>57</sup>

However, these poems capture only moments in stories that remain otherwise unknown. As prototypes for the *jusui* motif, reference works and scholarly studies repeatedly cite two stories from *Yamato monogatari*. In no. 147, a young woman’s two suitors are so equal in all ways that she cannot decide between them. When a test to set one above the other fails, she drowns herself in despair, and both young men drown while trying to save her.<sup>58</sup> In no. 150, an *uneme* at the Nara court rejects every suitor and reserves herself for the emperor, who finally summons her. However, he never does so again, and she drowns herself in Sarusawa-no-ike.

The similarity between these stories, especially no. 147, and those on the Ukifune “*jusui*” pattern is self-evident, but it goes only so far. The two *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 heroines really throw themselves into the water and genuinely drown, whereas Ukifune, Asukai, and apparently the *Asakura* heroine do not. In no. 147 the two suitors drown as well, whereas in *Genji* Kaoru and Niou live on in good health.<sup>59</sup> Nor does Asukai’s predicament convincingly parallel the dilemma affecting Ukifune and the heroine of *Yamato monogatari* 147. No doubt two men claim her attention, but she is not caught emotionally between them; she is a kidnap victim. Obvious though all this is, the academic emphasis on prototypes and sources tends to obscure it, and perhaps even to encourage withholding explicit recognition that, in Ukifune-pattern stories, no *jusui* occurs at all.

While acknowledging a motif from the past, Ukifune’s failure to drown herself thus establishes what amounts to a new monogatari device: the unrealized *jusui* that serves to move the heroine to a new life-situation. The *Sagoromo* author’s version of it follows that of the *Genji* author faithfully in the sense that she, too, left her reader unable to picture sensibly how her heroine passed, physically, from her old life to her new one. However, the *Sagoromo* author removed from this passage the element of the supernatural. (So, apparently, did the author of *Asakura*.) This change in turn highlights a difference between her tale and

*Genji monogatari*. Divine visions, visitations, and oracles certainly figure in *Sagoromo*, but not possessions or *mononoke*. One can only speculate why. The reasons can hardly be the same ones that for most modern scholars cast such a shadow over Ukifune's possession, but the coincidence is intriguing. Considering that medieval readers seem to have accepted Ukifune's possession without question, the *Sagoromo* author's avoidance of it comments interestingly on an enigmatic *Genji* issue.

Asukai's experience dramatically changes her circumstances (as the *Asakura* heroine's apparently does hers), but nothing suggests that it changes Asukai herself. The reader never even sees her again. Psychologically, it is flat. Is Ukifune's? Most writing on her seems to assume that the way she gets from her house to Uji no In is immaterial; all that matters is what happens after she gets there. She might just as well have been swept downstream, and nothing is lost if, for the sake of convenience, that notion is allowed to stand. This assumption is debatable. Perhaps the *Sagoromo* author disagreed with it and, to keep things simple, adjusted her use of the motif accordingly.<sup>60</sup>

#### SAGOROMO'S ENTHRONEMENT

Early in *Sagoromo monogatari* the hero (a second-generation Minamoto) secretly violates a princess (Onna Ninomiya), as Genji violates Fujitsubo. To save this princess's reputation her mother, the empress, presents the resulting son to the emperor as her own, thus placing herself voluntarily in the same position as Fujitsubo. Then, near the end of the tale, the emperor wishes to abdicate in this young prince's favor. An oracle from Amaterasu Ōmikami at Ise immediately identifies the prince's real father (Sagoromo himself) and requires the emperor to cede *him* the throne instead, on the grounds of proper precedence. The oracle also describes Sagoromo as so gifted and beautiful that his being a commoner has long offended the gods.<sup>61</sup> Thus Sagoromo becomes emperor thanks to beauty and other gifts that resemble Genji's, and thanks above all to his having a secret son by an imperial woman. This woman is a princess, not the empress, which suggests that the *Sagoromo* author may have found Genji's intercourse with Fujitsubo too strong to adopt undiluted. However, in *Sagoromo monogatari* the emperor assumes after the oracle, and after recognizing Sagoromo's features in the boy, that the boy's mother is indeed his now-deceased empress. Thus he gathers that his empress had intercourse with the hero just as Fujitsubo did with Genji.

The *Mumyōzōshi* author objected violently to Sagoromo's accession. Actually, she disliked all the supernatural manifestations in the tale, but this one was just too much. "More than absolutely anything else," she wrote, "the hero's becoming emperor is utterly revolting and appalling." She then went on to venture the opinion that Genji should not have become honorary retired emperor, either. "However," she wrote, "he at least was genuinely an emperor's son..."<sup>62</sup>

Thus the author of *Mumyōzōshi* noted and discussed the unmistakable parallel between Sagoromo's enthronement and Genji's appointment as honorary retired emperor. This parallel has probably struck many readers over the centuries, although the works collected in *Sagoromo*

*monogatari kochūshaku taisei* 狭衣物語古注釈大成 say nothing about it. Motoori Norinaga acknowledged it,<sup>63</sup> and Mitani Eiichi 三谷栄一 wrote about it in 1968, speculating that the *Sagoromo* author's initial idea for the plot involved an adulterous affair between the hero and Sen'yōden no Nyōgo (an imperial consort and a minor figure in the existing tale), patterned on Genji's affair with Fujitsubo.<sup>64</sup> Mitani went on to suggest that when Sagoromo's affair with Asukai made this idea unworkable, the author fell back on Onna Ninomiya instead. "In order to have Sagoromo, her hero, succeed to the throne," he wrote, "the author had to devise an adulterous affair between him and an imperial daughter or consort."<sup>65</sup>

Others, too, have acknowledged this *Genji-Sagoromo monogatari* parallel.<sup>66</sup> However the corollary reading, to the effect that the *Genji* author devised Genji's affair with Fujitsubo as a natural step toward having him appointed honorary retired emperor, is not to be found in *Genji* scholarship.<sup>67</sup>

The parallel shows that the *Sagoromo* author saw in Genji's transgression the engine, so to speak, that drove his rise, and that she therefore adopted a similar engine for her own work. Sagoromo may personally resemble Kaoru, but the trajectory of his life shadows the first part of Genji's—faintly, as the dim outer arc of a rainbow repeats the bright, inner one. In "Fujinouraba" Genji becomes honorary retired emperor, while near the end of *Sagoromo* the hero becomes the reigning emperor. In each case it is the hero's violation of an imperial woman, and the consequent birth of a son, that make possible his rise to imperial grandeur.

Why should the author of *Sagoromo monogatari* have wished, or even dared, to repeat a pattern of which the *Mumyōzōshi* author disapproved in about 1200, and which later became a scandalous problem for many *Genji* admirers? Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) had excruciating difficulty with it,<sup>68</sup> and in 1703 Andō Tameakira 安藤為章 wrote of people who, because of it, could not even pick up the book.<sup>69</sup> Inoue Mayumi 井上真弓 highlighted the issue in her article on *Sagoromo monogatari*. After explaining the link between the hero's affair with Onna Ninomiya and his eventual enthronement, she suggested that Sagoromo knows he violated a taboo, deceived the emperor, committed *lèse-majesté*, and so on, and therefore feels that as emperor himself he is an imposter; and it is to these sentiments that she attributed at least a part of his gloom at the end of the book.<sup>70</sup> Sagoromo's self-criticism, as she understood it, is the same criticism long directed at Genji himself. It makes the *Sagoromo* author's adoption of the motif difficult to explain.

However, an explanation is possible. Genji's affair with Fujitsubo cannot have offended Murasaki Shikibu's patrons as it did the *Mumyōzōshi* author, let alone a Kumazawa Banzan or the ultra-nationalist readers of the 1930s and early 1940s. If it had, Murasaki Shikibu would have devised something else. Sure enough, Amaterasu's oracle in *Sagoromo* contains no such criticism, either. The deity has not a word of reproach for the hero's uninvited lovemaking with Onna Ninomiya, even though this lovemaking ruins both Onna Ninomiya's life and her mother's. On the contrary, Amaterasu makes it clear that, thanks to the hero's behavior, she can at last act on her only concern, which is to do him justice. Amaterasu's championing of Sagoromo resembles the Sumiyoshi deity's championing of Genji in *Genji monogatari*. Genji's transgression with Fujitsubo is precisely what enabled Sumiyoshi at last to give him his due.<sup>71</sup>

Written only fifty or sixty years after *Genji monogatari* itself, *Sagoromo monogatari* therefore appears to support a reading of Genji's transgression that has long been almost inconceivable. Genji's lovemaking with Fujitsubo was no crime in eyes of the gods, but instead an opportunity toward merited glory. It is remarkable that the *Sagoromo* author should have grasped this and exploited it in her own tale of supernatural success, especially since, just a century and a half later, the motif seems no longer to have meant anything to the author of *Mumyōzōshi*, let alone the many readers who followed her. In adopting this pattern from *Genji monogatari*, the *Sagoromo* author left an exceptionally powerful comment on the whole tale.

#### CONCLUSION

The *Sagoromo* and *Hamamatsu* authors did not identify themselves as commentators on *Genji monogatari*, nor have they been recognized as such. However, their work contains passages and motifs that illuminate *Genji* reception in a time before formal *Genji* commentary began—a time when *Genji* was still a monogatari among others and not yet a recognized cultural monument. This essay affords a glimpse of what might be gained from reading post-*Genji* fiction not as simple imitation of *Genji monogatari*, or even sometimes as reaction against it, but as interpretation and commentary in the context of undoubtedly changing reader assumptions and tastes. The material it presents suggests in particular that Genji's affair with Fujitsubo was not perhaps taken from the start as the self-evident crime seen in it by readers of later times, and so offers at least the possibility of a new approach to the tale. It also highlights the greater complexity and richness of *Genji*, when compared with later fiction, as well as some of the profound originality that makes this great masterpiece so endlessly fascinating.

#### REFERENCES

##### Abbreviations

- |               |                                                                                                                                                 |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| KB Sagoromo   | Yoshida Kōichi 吉田幸一, ed. <i>Sagoromo monogatari: renkūbon</i> 狭衣物語 : 蓮空本. 3 vols. Koten Bunko, 1955.                                            |
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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Hikaru Genji ichibu uta* (1453) by the nun Yūrin (fl. ca. 1450) and the work of Kaoku Gyokuei (1526-after 1602) constitute the only significant writing on *Genji* by women between *Mumyōzōshi* and modern times. I thank Gaye Rowley for this information.
- <sup>2</sup> On the author of *Sagoromo monogatari* and her context, see D’Etcheverry 2000, pp. 42-69.
- <sup>3</sup> T, p. 4; SNKBZ *Genji*, vol. 1, p. 20.
- <sup>4</sup> SNKBZ Hamamatsu, p. 44.
- <sup>5</sup> SNKBZ *Mumyōzōshi*, p. 198.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.
- <sup>7</sup> Gotō 1994, pp. 68-89.
- <sup>8</sup> SNKBZ Hamamatsu, p. 250.
- <sup>9</sup> SNKBZ Hamamatsu, pp. 32, 324, 354.
- <sup>10</sup> Endō and Matsuo 1964, p. 300, n. 4; SNKBZ Hamamatsu, p. 250, n. 3. However, the headnote in Kuge Haruyasu’s edition of *Hamamatsu* (Kuge 1988, p. 125, n. 13) recognizes the allusion to the *Genji* chapter title and notes its reference to Kaoru and Ukifune.
- <sup>11</sup> Nakano 1995.
- <sup>12</sup> T, p. 352, n. 11. In the published translation I wrote “tossing” instead of “floating.”
- <sup>13</sup> T, p. 352; SNKBT *Genji* 2:440.
- <sup>14</sup> Tamagami 1968, p. 600.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178. This explanation, which strains credulity as well as grammar, is spelled out explicitly in *Genji monogatari teiyō* 源氏物語提要 (1432).
- <sup>16</sup> Tamagami 1968, pp. 178-179.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 601.
- <sup>18</sup> Takeda 1978, p. 411.
- <sup>19</sup> Ii 1978, p. 347.
- <sup>20</sup> Izume 1984 p. 498.
- <sup>21</sup> Ii 1983, p. 328; Nomura 1982, pp. 333-334.
- <sup>22</sup> *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* 源氏物語玉の小櫛 (first published 1799), p. 521.
- <sup>23</sup> Masuda 1991, p. 367.
- <sup>24</sup> Mori 1988: passage discussed without page reference in Komachiya 1992, p. 214.
- <sup>25</sup> Tyler and Tyler 2000, especially pp. 204-205.
- <sup>26</sup> *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi*, p. 521.
- <sup>27</sup> Tyler and Tyler 2000, pp. 180-183.
- <sup>28</sup> T, pp. 1083-1084; SNKBZ *Genji*, vol. 6, pp. 296-297.
- <sup>29</sup> *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi*, p. 516.
- <sup>30</sup> Charo B. D’Etcheverry discussed all this in D’Etcheverry 2004.
- <sup>31</sup> SNKBZ *Sagoromo*, vol. 1, p. 143.
- <sup>32</sup> SNKS *Sagoromo*, vol. 1, pp. 152-154; KB *Sagoromo*, pp. 294-296; SNKBZ *Sagoromo*, vol. 1, pp. 301-302; NKBT *Sagoromo*, pp. 212-213.
- <sup>33</sup> Judging from the materials collected in *Sagoromo monogatari kochūshaku taisei* 1979, the NKBT version was poorly known in Sengoku or Edo times.
- <sup>34</sup> *Genji kokagami*, p. 409; Imai 1979, pp. 284, 288. Janet Goff discussed this issue and translated both the *Hikaru Genji ichibu uta* passage and *Kodama Ukifune* in Goff 1991, pp. 81-83, 193-197.

- <sup>35</sup> Caddeau 2004, p. 2; Hagiwara 1999, p. 342. In Tyler and Tyler 2000, pp. 183-186, Susan Tyler and I showed that this idea, equally based on the text, does not contradict what Ukifune remembers.
- <sup>36</sup> Other commentaries question this identification, but there is no reason to believe they do so because the author rejected the notion of the spirit carrying off Ukifune.
- <sup>37</sup> Ishida and Kayaba 1989, p. 392.
- <sup>38</sup> *Genji ōkagami*, p. 393.
- <sup>39</sup> “Unfortunately a downpour was threatening”: T, p. 1079, SNKBZ Genji, vol. 6, p. 284.
- <sup>40</sup> *Sagoromo monogatari kochūshaku taisei* 1979, p. 463.
- <sup>41</sup> In his *Genji monogatari taii* (1830), Amano Naokata, too, noted that Ukifune was taken away by “someone she believed to be the prince [*miya*]” and left by him under a tree at the Uji Villa (Shimauchi et al. 1999, vol. 2, p. 201).
- <sup>42</sup> McMullen 1999, pp. 329-330.
- <sup>43</sup> Caddeau 2004, pp. 11-15.
- <sup>44</sup> For example, “Ukifune no jusui o megutte,” ch. 18 of Ōasa 1991.
- <sup>45</sup> Haraoka 2003, p. 550.
- <sup>46</sup> Setouchi 2000, p. 9.
- <sup>47</sup> Hasegawa et al. 1989, p. 299, n. 20. I owe this reference to Patrick Caddeau.
- <sup>48</sup> Akiyama 1993; article “Tenarai,” pp. 59-60.
- <sup>49</sup> *Genji monogatari no makimaki* 1987, article “Tenarai no kimi: Tenarai, Yume no ukihashi,” pp. 138-141.
- <sup>50</sup> *Genji monogatari o yomu tame no kenkyū jiten* 1995, article “Genji monogatari no mononoke,” pp. 114-115.
- <sup>51</sup> Nakano 1995, p. 63.
- <sup>52</sup> Hayashida et al. 2002; articles “Ukifune,” pp. 67-68, and “Jusuitan,” p. 214.
- <sup>53</sup> Mitani 1982, pp. 100-102.
- <sup>54</sup> Fujimoto 1994, pp. 95-99.
- <sup>55</sup> Ōasa 1991, pp. 495-527, 563-564, 570.
- <sup>56</sup> Morishita 1994, p. 113.
- <sup>57</sup> All three poems are cited in *ibid.*, p. 114. The extant *Sumiyoshi monogatari* is a Kamakura-period work, but the original one dated from the tenth century. Narabi-no-ike, near the southern end of the Narabi-ga-oka hills in present Ukyō-ku, Kyoto, seems to have disappeared in the seventeenth century.
- <sup>58</sup> This is the story of the Maiden Unai, told earlier in the *Man'yōshū* by Takahashi Mushimaro and others, and dramatized in the Noh play *Motomezuka*.
- <sup>59</sup> In Tyler and Tyler 2000 (pp. 205-206), with my co-author dissenting, I playfully suggested a scenario according to which, beyond the end of the tale, both Kaoru and Niou would come to grief over Ukifune.
- <sup>60</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 195-201, for a discussion of the difference that Ukifune’s possession can be construed as making.
- <sup>61</sup> SNKBZ Sagoromo, vol. 2, p. 343.
- <sup>62</sup> SNKBZ Mumyōzōshi, p. 223.
- <sup>63</sup> *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi*, vol. 4, p. 232.
- <sup>64</sup> Mitani 2000 (originally published in *Kokugakuin zasshi* 69:11 [1968]), p.135.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- <sup>66</sup> Horiguchi 1994 (originally published in *Ronkyū* [Chūō Daigakuinsei kenkyū], March 1981), pp.

250, 272; Inoue 1994, p. 58.

<sup>67</sup> I argued this position in Tyler 2003.

<sup>68</sup> McMullen 1999, p. 321. Being unable to take Genji's affair with Fujitsubo at face value without condemning the entire work, Banzan interpreted it as the author's signal to the reader not to take the tale's amorous tone seriously. To make sure the reader understood her higher intent, the author invented an incident so gross that no one could fail to do so; and just to make sure, she then turned this incident into what Banzan called (in McMullen's translation) "the climax of the novel."

<sup>69</sup> Shimauchi et al. 1999, vol. 1, p. 220.

<sup>70</sup> Inoue 1983, p. 58.

<sup>71</sup> Tyler 2003, pp. 257-271.

## 要旨

11世紀の物語に見る『源氏物語』の評論：  
『浜松中納言物語』と『狭衣物語』を中心に

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ロイヤル・タイラー

「源氏物語」の注釈書は十二世紀後半以降輩出するが、それ以前の、「源氏」の顕著な影響を受けて書かれた物語も、その当時の読者はどういう目で「源氏」を読んだかを暗示する。本稿では「浜松中納言物語」と「狭衣物語」を引用した上で、中世以降現代にいたるまでの解釈を通して、三つのテーマ（「源氏」の巻名「夢浮橋」の意味、浮舟のいわゆる入水の本質、光源氏の藤壺との密通の意味）を追求する。