

## Liquid Landscapes: *Tosa Nikki*'s Pioneering Poetic Contribution to Travelogue Prose

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This article seeks to illuminate the innovative contributions of *Tosa nikki* to the representation of travel in Heian Japan through a subtle blending of fact with fiction that employed poetic structures to mark space, time, and affect in its prose representation of the places segmenting its narrative. The diary's placement in a liquid landscape far removed from the capital opens up a distinctive discursive space in which even the most banal sentences are deployed to great effect. Such aspects of the diary enable a greater appreciation of its longstanding significance as a new form of travel narrative, a dimension often overlooked in contemporary Anglophone accounts that focus on its connections to script and gender.

**Keywords:** *Tosa nikki*, Ki no Tsurayuki, Japanese travel literature, *waka* poetry, anthologies, fictionalization, place names, Pacific Ocean, diaries, illustrated narrative

### Introduction

The famous opening sentence of *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (Tosa Diary) by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (d. 945) in the voice of a woman declaring her intent to write a journal akin to those kept by men has been the touchstone for most Anglophone scholarship on the diary, often serving as a point of departure for interrogating the connections between *kana* 仮名 and gender in Heian court literature.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, much less attention has been accorded the succeeding two sentences which describes its content as “those affairs” (*sono yoshi* その由) that took place on the voyage of an anonymous ex-governor back to the capital. Yet it is these two which have arguably played a more longstanding role in evaluations of the diary. For most of its history, *Tosa nikki* has been valued primarily for its contribution to the development of Japanese travel narrative.

As both literature and life increasingly came to take place along a burgeoning transportation network in the Edo period (1600–1867), many writers turned to Heian accounts of travel in *kana* as models for their own autobiographical travelogues.<sup>2</sup> Being the earliest example of such a text, one that moreover was authored by the premier *waka* 和歌

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1 Okada 1991, Miyake 1996, Mostow 2001, Yoda 2004, and Heldt 2005.

2 Nenzi 2008, pp. 93–95.

poet of its time, *Tosa nikki* gained newfound prominence in this period as a paradigm of “travel writing” (*kikōbun* 紀行文).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps its most esteemed reader at the time was Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694), who cited it along with *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 (Diary of the Sixteenth Night, 1283) in his own travel journal *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文 (Knapsack Notebook, 1688), as exemplary “road journals” (*michi no nikki* 道の日記) relating travelers’ emotions.<sup>4</sup> No doubt its combination of prose with poetry and blending of fact with fiction provided a template for his own travel accounts. *Tosa nikki*’s status as a model of travel writing in early modern Japan was eventually ensured by the scholar Hanawa Hokiichi 埴保己一 (1746–1821), who placed it at the head of the Travel section (*kikō-bu* 紀行部) of *kana* writings that follows a diary section (*nikki-bu* 日記部) devoted to memoirs of life at court in his authoritative compendium of earlier Japanese texts known as the *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 (Writings by Category, 1819).

The earliest mention of the diary in English shares this estimation of its import, albeit somewhat less enthusiastically, when it states that, “It contains no exciting adventures or romantic situations; there are in it no wise maxims or novel information; its only merit is that it describes in simple yet elegant language the ordinary life of a traveler in Japan at the time when it was written.”<sup>5</sup> The one scholar to discuss *Tosa nikki* as an instance of travel writing, on the other hand, finds it lacking in descriptive detail, particularly by the standards of the Edo writer who esteemed it so highly: “It is hard to imagine a Japanese diarist passing the whirlpool at Naruto in the Awa Strait without alluding to it. Even if it had been too dark to see anything, Bashō would surely have been able to imagine what the whirlpool was like, and might even have lied to the extent of saying that the starlight was so bright he could see the swirling waters.”<sup>6</sup> This negative evaluation of the diary’s landscapes is also a critical commonplace among modern Japanese scholars.

And yet, Bashō must have had his reasons for revering the *Tosa nikki*’s representation of travel. This article will seek to demonstrate that the diary made a singular contribution to the history of Japanese travelogue writing through an innovative application of poetics to prose. After taking up the predecessors, both literary and historical, that its author might have had on hand as a model for travel writing, I will proceed to identify three ways in which the diary’s prose differs. First, it deploys place names for literary effect rather than geographical veracity to a remarkable extent. Second, despite scholars’ overall negative evaluation of its prose descriptions of landscapes, and despite its own critique of the limits of poetry in describing such scenes, the diary depicts them in vivid sentences that embrace the rhetorical and structural asymmetries of *waka* poetry. Finally, the large number of uneventful days in the narrative, which have been essentially ignored up until now, can be seen to have been carefully sequenced for dramatic effect. The entirely new form of travelogue prose represented by these features, I will argue in conclusion, can be attributed not only to its author’s poetic proclivities and the radical distance of its wintry liquid landscape from the usual court literature settings, but also to the often-overlooked possibility that it was originally illustrated.

3 Ikeda 1971, pp. 4–5.

4 *Oi no kobumi*, p. 47.

5 Aston 1875, p. 117. Aston’s talk would be followed almost two decades later by the earliest translation of the diary (Harris 1891).

6 Keene 1989, p. 23.

### Earlier Travelogues

Scholars from Edo times onward have compared *Tosa nikki* with many earlier travel accounts. Kishimoto Yuzuru 岸本由豆流 (1788–1846), for example, noted its similarities to the early Chinese travelogue *Lai nan lu* 来南录 (A Record of Coming South).<sup>7</sup> This account of a six-month journey from the capital at Loyang 洛陽 to a posting in Guangzhou 廣州 in 809 by the late Tang 唐 literatus Li Ao 李翱 (774–836) shares its daily entry format and content with *Tosa nikki*. Both open with a concise description of the journey's destination and purpose, and both record the names of well-wishers at banquets, along with the birth of a daughter in one and her death in the other.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, the *Lai nan lu* is more concerned than *Tosa nikki* with offering readers the sort of verifiable and quantifiable details, such as the distance covered in a day, that were expected of a travelogue recording an actual journey. Nor, as has been pointed out, does it contain poetry.<sup>9</sup> Subsequent travel writers in the better documented Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) also kept their prose accounts separate from their poetic production. Even when citing older poems in their travelogues, these writers omitted their own compositions.<sup>10</sup>

*Tosa nikki* has also been compared to a Japanese travel account known as the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求巡礼行記 (Account of a Pilgrimage Overseas in Search of the Holy Law, ca. 838–847) by the priest Ennin 円仁 (794–864) when recording his nearly decade-long sojourn on the continent.<sup>11</sup> In addition to such details as the custom of tossing mirrors into stormy waters, the two often follow the description of a scene with a personal observation or feeling informed by an awareness of their distance at sea from the norms of life at court.<sup>12</sup> This or other accounts in literary Sinitic, such as the *Gyōrekishō* 行歷抄 (Notes from a Pilgrimage, ca. 851–858) by Enchin 円珍 (814–891) and the *Zaitō nikki* 在唐日記 (Diary of A Sojourn Overseas, ca. 717–718) by Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (693–775), could have inspired Tsurayuki's interest in a maritime setting and its potential for innovative forms of writing.<sup>13</sup>

While we cannot say with certainty if Tsurayuki read any of the above travelogues, there are others he would have been reasonably sure to have had access to prior to becoming governor of Tosa Province in 930. To begin with, in his role as the palace library custodian (*gosho-dokoro no azukari* 御書所預) tasked with copying and storing its volumes while he was overseeing compilation of the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Old and New Poems, ca. 905–914), Tsurayuki had access to some version of the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720), whose current text includes the earliest known references to Japanese travel journals. The first of these is the *Iki no Hakatoko no fumi* 伊吉博德書 (Record of Iki no Hakatoko) describing the fourth embassy to China from 659 to 661. The four citations from it in the historical chronicle include brief mentions of such details as the route, the weather, and the party's reception by Tang authorities.<sup>14</sup> Overlapping with this account is a brief citation from another text, the *Naniwa no Kishi Obito no fumi* 難波吉士男人書 (Record

7 For a partial English translation, see Schafer 1967, pp. 22–24.

8 Mori 1976, p. 31.

9 Kawaguchi 1982, pp. 215–16.

10 I am indebted to Cong Ellen Zhang for this observation. For a wide-ranging account of Song representations of travel, see Zhang 2011.

11 For an English translation of Ennin's diary, see Reischauer 1955.

12 Mekada 1962.

13 Honma 1968, pp. 55–57.

14 *Nihon shoki* (SNKBZ 4), pp. 197, 223, 233, and 243 (Kōtoku 高德 5/2, Saimei 齊明 5/7, 6/7, and 7/5).

of the Naniwa Noble Scholar) kept by an immigrant from Koguryō 高句麗.<sup>15</sup> Like the aforementioned records of pilgrimages, these journals are exclusively concerned with travel to foreign lands. Domestic travel diaries, while perhaps also being written at the time, were not considered important or unusual enough to merit inclusion in the historical chronicle or its five successors.

For records of domestic travel, Tsurayuki could have turned to the accounts of imperial progresses kept by royal scribes (*naiki* 内記) who were charged with recording the sovereign's words and deeds, since he worked in this office from 910 to 917. While no such records survive from his tenure, we can perhaps infer something of their characteristics from similar accounts of a royal tour undertaken by Uda 宇多 (867–931) shortly after his abdication in 898. The three-week affair involving the recently retired sovereign included a hunt at Katano 交野 in emulation of the capital's founder Kanmu 桓武 (737–806) and a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sumiyoshi 住吉.<sup>16</sup> Two records of it have survived in fragmentary form: the *Teijiin no Miyataki gokō ki* 亭子院宮滝御幸記 (Account of His Majesty Uda's Excursion to Miyataki) by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), and the *Kisoigariki* 競狩記 (Account of a Hunt for Wild Herbs) by his colleague Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845–912).

Haseo identifies himself as a court historian (*shishin* 史臣) in his record of the imperial excursion, perhaps suggesting he imagines himself occupying a role similar to that of a *naiki* official but with a different goal in mind. He states the record's purpose is to present Uda's tour as a more suitable mirror for posterity than those of his predecessor Yōzei 陽成 (869–949), whose hunting expeditions allegedly burdened the lives of commoners by requisitioning horses and other possessions.<sup>17</sup> The *Kisoigariki's* detailed description of the expedition's procession from the capital and the ensuing hunt lists the numbers of participants, their clothes and accoutrements, game captured, and the round of drinks at the celebratory banquet afterward before the record is cut short when a riding accident forces Haseo to return to the capital. Its depictions of flirtatious exchanges, breast groping, and kissing of female entertainers in particular shares *Tosa nikki's* bawdiness in entries where fish are kissed and genitalia exposed.

Michizane's more extensive account of the same excursion boasts a *kana* version in addition to one in *kanbun* 漢文.<sup>18</sup> Both texts share the same names of places and people, but are otherwise different in intriguing ways. Whereas the *kanbun* version appears to follow the conventions of royal scribe diaries in its details, the *kana* text takes the form of brief, memo-style jottings.<sup>19</sup> While the *kanbun* record offers such quantifiable details as times of

15 *Nihon shoki* (SNKBZ 4), p. 227 (Saimei 5/7).

16 An account of the journey in English can be found in Borgen 1986, pp. 260–68.

17 Kawajiri 2004, p. 3. *Kisoigariki* appears in the *Kikeshū* 紀家集 (Ki House Collection), an anthology of Haseo's writings that has survived in a partial copy of the original made by the literatus Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886–958) in 919. For the most accessible print version, see *Kisoigariki* in the references. I am grateful to James Scanlon-Canegata for helping me track down this edition.

18 The *kanbun* portion appears in the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (Abbreviated Chronicles of Japan, ca. 1094). The *kana* portions are found in the *Fukuro-zōshi* 袋草紙 (Pocket Book, ca. 1156–1159) and *Gosenshū seigi* 後撰集正義 (Correct Meaning of the *Gosenshū*, ca. 1304). All three can be conveniently found together in Ishihara 1997, pp. 119–21.

19 Ishihara 1997, p. 124. There are lingering doubts about Michizane's authorship of the *kana* record. Ishihara himself has gone on to suggest that it may have actually been written by a female attendant in his household (2002, p. 7). However, it is difficult to imagine the role such a woman would have played in an imperial entourage.

day, the number and type of gifts, and the number of participants at events, moreover, the *kana* version ignores these in favor of an encounter with an old woman who is questioned about the waterfall at Miyataki 宮滝 in the manner of a *monogatari* 物語 tale. Both versions mention poems composed for the event, a distinctively Japanese innovation taken up in *Tosa nikki* as well.<sup>20</sup> The *kana* text includes one *waka* by Uda, while the *kanbun* version features a couplet from a *kanshi* 漢詩 by Michizane and mentions *waka* in passing, often critically.

Given such precedents, it is probably not coincidental that Tsurayuki's earliest known foray into *kana* prose also began with imperial processions. Nine years after Uda's progress to Miyataki, he composed the *Ōigawa gyōkō waka no jo* 大井川行幸和歌序 (Preface to Waka for the Royal Procession to the Ōi River) in order to commemorate smaller-scale processions to the Ōi River made by the same sovereign and his successor.<sup>21</sup> Tsurayuki's achievement in this regard might have contributed to his own appointment as a junior royal scribe (*shōnaiki* 小内記) three years later in 910. Like Michizane's *kana* account, Tsurayuki's preface is accompanied by one in *kanbun*. Unlike it, however, Tsurayuki's *kana* prose draws on the parallel constructions and epithets favored in earlier Japanese poetry. As we shall see, he would turn to still other forms of poetic rhetoric in *Tosa nikki's* novel style of travelogue prose.

Another model for domestic travel which Tsurayuki would have had to hand at the palace library were poem sequences from the eighth-century *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 that were connected by a minimal amount of prose marking their locations, authors, and topics. As early as the eighteenth century, Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734–1809) and Fujitani Mitsue 富士谷御杖 (1768–1873) pointed out the diary's possible links to the longest and most complex such sequence describing the domestic portion of an embassy's departure to and return from Silla 新羅, due to their shared characteristics as texts that include seaside poems of parting and elegies for those who died before returning home.<sup>22</sup> If anything, however, an even closer model from the anthology is provided by a poem sequence attributed to retainers of Ōtomo no Tabito 大伴旅人 (665–731) who describe their travails on a voyage back to the capital from Dazaifu 太宰府.<sup>23</sup> In its exclusive focus on a journey from countryside to capital and its preference for poems from the household followers of a former official—many of whom are so low in status that they (like the majority of *Tosa nikki's* poets) remain anonymous—the sequence is strikingly similar to Tsurayuki's diary.

The most unambiguous source of inspiration for *Tosa nikki* is the *Kokinshū's* unprecedented Travel section (*kiryo-bu* 羈旅部) created by Tsurayuki in his capacity as the anthology's chief editor. Like the diary, every one of its poems either incorporates place names into its words or the accompanying prose.<sup>24</sup> The most detailed study of its tightly organized and compact structure divides the book into five contexts for composing travel poems: at a journey's beginning, mid-journey, returning to the capital, while in a provincial posting, and while on royal processions.<sup>25</sup> All of these situations are evoked to one degree or

20 Watanabe 1991, p. 262.

21 For the most extensive study and translation of this preface, see Ceadel 1953.

22 Nihei 2006, p. 30.

23 *Man'yōshū* poems 17: 3890–99; SNKBZ 9, pp. 149–51. For an English translation of the sequence, see Horton 2012, pp. 360–70.

24 Hasegawa, 1982, p. 16.

25 Matsuda 1965, pp. 376–91. On Travel's connection to the world of provincial officialdom, see Heldt 2008, pp. 164–69.

another in *Tosa nikki*. Furthermore, the diary's only named poets also feature prominently in Travel: Abe no Nakamaro 阿倍仲麻呂 (698–770) inaugurates the section, while Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825–880) is its best-represented poet. *Tosa nikki*'s connections to this anthological category would carry over into the *Kokinshū*'s successor *Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集 (Collection of Later Selections, 951), whose Travel section attributes two anonymous poems from the diary to Tsurayuki.<sup>26</sup> Intriguingly, both *waka* in *Tosa nikki* are originally inspired by those of Nakamaro and Narihira, suggesting that Tsurayuki was already being viewed shortly after his death as belonging to a lineage of travel poets that he himself had created in the *Kokinshū*.

References to Narihira's *Kokinshū* travel poems are particularly frequent in the diary. One of the most extended examples occurs on 1/11 when the party come to a place called Hane 羽根 (wings):

Just now we have arrived at a place called Wings. After being told the name of the place, a child who is still quite immature says: "I wonder if this place called Wings actually resembles bird wings." People laugh at these childish naïve words. Then a girl recites this verse: (今し、羽根といふところに来ぬ。わかき童、このところの名を聞いて、「羽根といふところは、鳥の羽のやうにやある」といふ。まだ幼き童の言なれば、人々笑ふときに、ありける女童なむ、この歌をよめる)

まことにて	If it is truly the case
名に聞くと	that there are wings
羽根ならば	in this place whose name I hear,
飛ぶが如くに	then let us fly like birds
都へもがな	back toward the capital!

That's what she said. Men and women alike are thinking in their hearts how much they would like to return to the capital and so, although this poem cannot be said to be a good one, it nonetheless rings true and people do not forget it. The child's query about the name Wings brings back memories of the one who once was. Is there ever a time when she is forgotten? Still, today's events bring her mother fresh grief. Being short one person from the number that originally came out to the provinces, the words from the old song that go "a smaller number now appear homeward bound" come to mind. (とぞいへる。男も女もいかでとく京へもがなと思ふ心あれば、この歌よしにはあらねど、げにと思ひて、人々忘れず。この羽根といふところ問ふ童のついでにぞ、また、昔へ人を思ひ出でて、いづれの時にか忘るる。今日はまして、母の悲しがらるることは。下りし時の人の数足らねば、古歌に、「数は足らでぞ帰るべらなる」といふことを思ひ出でて)<sup>27</sup>

In its use of a hypothetical construct to invoke the connotations of an avian name while longing for the capital aboard a vessel, the girl's *waka* closely resembles Narihira's famous

<sup>26</sup> *Gosenshū* poems 1355 and 1363, pp. 411 and 414.

<sup>27</sup> *Tosa nikki*, pp. 27–28. Diary entries are identified numerically by the month and day in that order. Although the original text uses virtually no *kanji*, my citations adopt the orthography of a modern critical edition for greater ease of reference. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

poem addressing “capital birds” (*miyakodori* 都鳥) at the Sumidagawa 墨田川 river.<sup>28</sup> The prose prefacing this Travel poem is perhaps also echoed on 12/27, when the captain’s brusque command to the party to hurry on board recalls the ferryman’s similarly curt words urging Narihira to do the same.<sup>29</sup>

It is theoretically possible that the diary could be alluding here to the Sumidagawa episode in *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, some version of which is likely to have been in circulation at the time. However, the passage that follows the girl’s poem suggests rather that the *Kokinshū* is its source. When the child’s naïve question brings back memories of the ex-governor’s deceased daughter, the diarist recalls the final two lines from “an old song” (*furu uta* 古歌) that appears as an anonymous verse in the anthology immediately after Narihira’s Sumida poem.<sup>30</sup> Although both poems also appear in the Travel section of the *Shinsen waka* 新撰和歌 anthology completed by Tsurayuki in Tosa, moreover, they are not adjacent there.<sup>31</sup> Further hints that *Tosa nikki* is specifically referencing the *Kokinshū* can be found in the commentary that follows the anonymous song in the latter text, which attributes it to a woman making her way back to the capital after the man she had originally set out with had died while they were in the provinces. This narrative context makes the anonymous song doubly relevant to *Tosa nikki* as both the first poem in Travel to depict the return to the capital from a provincial posting, and the first such to mention a person who died before coming back.

One close reading of the diary suggests that sequencing techniques also organize its poems into four movements, dividing the journey into distinct stages. The first one consists of exchanges with well-wishers, highlighting human relations through the pronouns *kimi* 君 (milord), *hito* 人 (you/that one), and *ware* 我 (myself). Poems in the second movement portray a world in which time is marked through terrain, flora, and fauna. Upon reaching the Kinai 畿内 home provinces, the third movement reenters the human world with poems that mention weaving and, perhaps by implication, the wealth (and greed) of the capital region as well.<sup>32</sup> Trees then appear in all the poems belonging to the riparian final movement as the party go up the Yodo-gawa 淀川 to the city. Individual *waka* are further connected to one another across and within these movements, forming pairs and triads through homonyms, homophones, and antonyms.<sup>33</sup>

The evident attention paid to poetic sequencing in the diary, it has been argued, might indicate it originated as an anthology to which prose was added later.<sup>34</sup> In this sense, *Tosa nikki* could be considered akin to the aforementioned *Man'yōshū* travel poem sequences. As we shall see in the following sections, however, the sophisticated use of poetic devices in its prose distinguishes the diary from both *waka* anthologies and the poem-tales that grew out of them. Whereas the prose of such texts as the *Man'yōshū*, *Kokinshū*, and *Ise monogatari*

28 *Kokinshū* poem 411, p. 175: “If you bear that name / let me ask something of you, / capital birds. / Is the one I think of / alive or no?” (名にし負はば / いざ言問はむ / 都鳥 / わが思ふ人は / ありやなしや)

29 Hasegawa 1991, p. 135.

30 *Kokin wakashū* poem 412, p. 176: “Northward fly / the wild geese I hear cry. / Of those that filed here, / a smaller number now / appear homeward bound!” (北へ行く / 雁ぞ鳴くなる / つれてこし / 数はたらでぞ / 帰るべらなる)

31 *Shinsen waka* poems 194 and 200, pp. 188 and 206. The anonymous song concludes Travel in this anthology.

32 On weaving as wealth in Heian times, see Cavanaugh 1996, pp. 599–605.

33 Ogawa 1985, pp. 244–45.

34 Seto 2000, pp. 12–14.

typically lack figural language—perhaps in order to draw attention to these features in the poems that appear after them—*Tosa nikki* can be seen drawing on *waka*'s rhetorical techniques even in entries without poems.

### Place Names as Poetic Fictions

Unlike the abovementioned travel narratives' shared concern with documenting an actual itinerary, *Tosa nikki* uses fictional place names to mark its route with notable frequency. In doing so, it draws on a poetic tradition that dates back to the earliest extant Japanese texts, in which otherwise unknown locations occasionally appear in songs for their descriptive qualities. Such place names would become categorized and codified after Tsurayuki's time as part of a corpus of poetic toponyms known as *utamakura* 歌枕 (poem pillows).<sup>35</sup> Whereas the treatment of place names as fictional rhetorical devices was limited to poetry in earlier texts, however, the diary does so in prose as well. This fluid mingling of both forms of language is enabled at least in part by the fictional nature of *Tosa nikki*'s liquid landscape.

The alien and terrifying nature of a maritime journey would have been sure to arouse horrified fascination in a readership who rarely left the environs of the capital, as attested to by its dramatic treatment in such contemporaneous tales as *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 (Tale of the Bamboo Cutter) and *Utsuho monogatari* 宇津保物語 (Tale of the Hollow Tree). Fear of its dangers is also hinted at in *Tosa nikki* poems likening waves to snow and blossoms, a formula that some have argued is used in the *Man'yōshū* to pacify water spirits.<sup>36</sup> The terrors of journeying by sea from Tosa would have made it a particularly attractive setting in this regard, as its Pacific coast was deemed to be especially treacherous. One popular *imayō* 今様 song from the late twelfth century gives us a striking description of its pelagic perils:

土佐の船路は恐ろしや	How fearsome the sea route of Tosa!
室津が沖ならでは	No way to avoid the offing at Murotsu.
しませが岩は立て	Reefs near shore jut out like islands.
佐喜や佐喜の浦々	At Saki, ah Saki, bay after bay!
御厨の最御崎	The mighty sacred cape of Hotsu.
金剛浄土の連余波	Kongō's Pure Land awash in waves. <sup>37</sup>

Like the diary, this song maps out a route dominated by waves and reefs, both of which forced boats to head far out into the ocean. Such dangers would explain why the journey back to the capital from Tosa could also take place partly by land across Iyo 伊予 Province, making it at least possible that Tsurayuki substituted the Pacific coast for his actual route back to the capital in the interests of dramatic appeal.

The infinite expanse of the open Pacific itself blurs the line between fact and fiction due to its liminal location at the edge of the perceptible world. In the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Engi Codes, 927) that details court governmental posts and procedures in Tsurayuki's day, Tosa

35 For an extensive treatment of *utamakura* in English, see Kamens 1997.

36 Satō 1993, p. 82.

37 *Ryōjin hishō*, song 348, p. 278.



Province represented the southernmost border of the Heian realm.<sup>38</sup> The vanishing point on its horizon where sky and water merge also marked the boundary between this world and the mythic land of eternal life known as *Tokoyo* 常世 (Everworld) described in the legend of Urashimako 浦嶋子 who, like the diarist, returns to a home changed beyond recognition.<sup>39</sup> Its space is so vast that it erases normal visual distinctions and reduces the viewing subject to a forlorn mote swallowed up by its surroundings in an anonymous poem on 1/17:

かげ見れば	Reflections reveal
波の底なる	beneath the waves
ひさかたの	a far-off firmament,
空漕ぎわたる	rowing across whose sky
われぞわびしき	is this forlorn I! <sup>40</sup>

Through a play on reflective images, the boat in this poem drifts over both waves and sky, bringing together real and imagined spaces in the same manner as the diary merges autobiography with fiction.<sup>41</sup> In addition to removing distinctions between sky and water, the diary's ocean also causes landscapes to appear the same from a distance or close up, for the cardinal directions to disappear, and for the seasons to blur as waves morph by turns into winter snow or spring blossoms.<sup>42</sup> Taken together, these aspects of its maritime setting unmoor *Tosa nikki's* landscape from the tangible coordinates of physical space.

The fictional quality of *Tosa nikki's* liquid landscape is also suggested by its frequent foregrounding of language's role in its construction. The omnipresent wind and waves, representing a causal relationship between an invisible entity and its temporary manifestation in visible traces, has even been likened to the relationship between signified and signifier.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, the boat captain's recurring inability to read the weather parallels his failure to recognize poetry throughout the diary. Language's capacity to represent the experience of travel also decreases in tandem with the contraction of the diary's liquid landscape, from the open ocean at its beginning, to a dried-up pond choked with pine saplings at its end.

These connections between liquid, language, and landscape all come together in a poem on 2/4 marking a place named Izumi 和泉 whose literal rendering as "wellsprings" inspires a verse about its paradoxically dry coastline:

手をひてて	Our dipped hands
寒さも知らぬ	do not know cold
泉にぞ	at a wellspring which
くむとはなしに	we never once drew from
日頃経にける	for all these many days! <sup>44</sup>

38 *Engi shiki*, p. 558.

39 Higashihara 2009, pp. 7–9.

40 *Tosa nikki*, p. 31.

41 Watanabe 1985, p. 80.

42 Nishinoiri 2005, pp. 115–16.

43 Kanda 1997.

44 *Tosa nikki*, p. 44.

The poem's waterless wellspring draws on the phrase "fountain of words" (言泉) used to describe an upwelling of poetic language gushing forth from emotion. Originating in the sixth-century *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature, ca. 520), this figure of speech also appeared in Tsurayuki's preface to the *Shinsen waka*.<sup>45</sup> The association of liquid with language here is further deepened through the verb *kumu* くむ, which can refer either to the actions of scooping (汲む) or assembling (組む), thereby making it a comment on the length of the days spent with nothing to do but put poems together to pass the time.<sup>46</sup>

In the prose surrounding this poem, the same place name presents the single most puzzling geographical detail in the diary when it appears as Izumi no Nada 和泉の灘 on 1/30 and then again on 2/5. Beginning with the eminent linguist Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄 (1873–1958), many have suggested that when Tsurayuki was assembling the diary from earlier notes and poems he mistook the first "Nada" chiasmatically with the Tanagawa 多奈川 river the party passed later that same day.<sup>47</sup> Others view the place name's repetition as a rhetorical device for conveying stasis, since *nada* 灘 can refer to a long stretch of beach as well as to a location where the wind and waves are fierce.<sup>48</sup> In fact, there is no such unbroken shoreline in the region.<sup>49</sup> The length it represents is thus likely to be temporal rather than spatial, reflecting the diary's tendency to map the passage of time through the placement of toponyms.

Other instances in which fictional concerns appear to determine place names include a Fawn Cape (Kako no Saki 鹿兎の崎) on 12/27, where we are first introduced to the deceased girl whose ghost subsequently haunts the party throughout the journey. Similarly, the name Great Harbor (Ōminato 大湊) marks the place where the diarist's ship experiences the greatest amount of time at anchor. Place names in prose are also put to poetic ends through an orthographic twist on 2/5 when the first syllable of Ozu 小津 (little port) is written with を (thread), rather than the more typical お (little), in order to introduce a poem that seamlessly weaves together its endlessly onward-stretching shoreline with a lengthy skein.<sup>50</sup> Conversely, the absence of place names in the diary is as deliberate as their presence. Fear entirely subsumes geography, for example, when they disappear for eight days beginning on 1/21 during the party's frantic flight from rumored pirates, as if to suggest that the diarist no longer cares where she is as long as she can be elsewhere.

Although the above instances are typically viewed as anomalous, moreover, many other locations along the Pacific coast mentioned in the diary could very well be fictional. Beginning with *Tosa nikki chiri ben* 土佐日記地理辨 (Geographical Observations of the Tosa Diary, 1857) written by the Tosa native Kamochi Masazumi 鹿持雅澄 (1791–1858), much effort has been expended by generations of scholars in retracing *Tosa nikki*'s precise itinerary, an undertaking reflected in the maps that invariably accompany modern annotated

45 *Shinsen waka*, p. 188.

46 Ogawa 1985, p. 245.

47 Yamada 1935, p. 9. See also Mitani 1960, pp. 95–97.

48 For an overview of scholarly controversies surrounding the diary's treatment of this place name, see Higo 1988, pp. 58–64.

49 Nakazato 1968, p. 35.

50 *Tosa nikki*, p. 45: "What we cannot go past, / however far forth we go, / is the lovely lady's skein / of Thread Port's winding line / of shore-side groves of pine!" (行けどなほ / 行きやられぬは / 妹が績む / をづの浦なる / 岸の松原)

editions.<sup>51</sup> However, the majority of the diary's place names are first documented in early modern times, with only a handful that can be dated prior to the thirteenth century.<sup>52</sup> What is more, these exceptions only appear in songs: Saki and Murotsu from the aforementioned *imayō* and Nawa no tomari 縄の泊まり as Nawa no ura 縄乃浦 in the *Man'yōshū*.<sup>53</sup>

Unless they had happened to be posted to the same province, Tsurayuki's initial readership would not have been expected to possess any detailed knowledge of the locales the travelers pass by during the maritime leg of their journey. This is perhaps why geographical references only start to become reliable once the party enters the mouth of the Yodo-gawa leading up to the capital. By contrast, his aristocratic audience's limited geographical knowledge of the Pacific coastline would have given Tsurayuki free rein to select toponyms for their imagistic effects in that portion of the journey. Certainly, the many descriptive names populating its itinerary—such as Ōtsu 大津 (great port), Urado 浦戸 (bay mouth), Narashizu 奈良志津 (level port), Ishizu 石津 (stone port), and Kurosaki 黒崎 (black cape)—would have helped readers picture their landscapes.

This creative use of place names even extends to the diary's title which, like the aforementioned example of Izumi, can be read as a form of meta-commentary on the discursive nature of its landscapes. Like Izumi, Tosa is both the name of a province the party passes through and a site where poems are composed. Although its title is ostensibly derived from the party's point of departure, *Tosa nikki's* eponymous place name appears only once on 1/29 as a Tosa Anchorage (*Tosa no tomari* 土佐の泊まり) the party reach after they have already left behind the province bearing that same name:

Our ship draws near an intriguing place. I hear that someone asking where we are was told the place is called Tosa Anchorage. Apparently a woman who lived long ago in a place said to bear the name of Tosa is with us now here on board! She spoke, saying: "Why, it is the same name as that of the place where I once lived for a while in the past! How moving!" Then she recited this verse: (おもしろきところに船を寄せて、ここやいどこと問ひければ、土佐の泊まりといひけり。昔、土佐といひけるところに住みける女、この船にまじれりけり。そがいひけらく、「昔、しばしありしところのなくひにぞあなる。あはれ」といひて、よめる歌)

年ごろを	Since it bears the name
住みしところの	of a place I had lived in
名にし負へば	for many long years,
来寄る波をも	even approaching waves
あはれとぞ見る	are a moving sight to see! <sup>54</sup>

Tosa Anchorage's chief significance for the episode lies in the opportunity it provides for a poem by a woman who has lived in another place with the same name. Moreover, this other Tosa is not even the province the party have departed from, since the diarist relates its name

51 For an annotated edition of the *Tosa nikki chiri-ben*, see Ide and Hashimoto 2003. Other book-length studies of *Tosa nikki's* geography are Takemura 1977 and Shimizu 1987.

52 Takata 2006, p. 31.

53 *Man'yōshū* poems 3: 354 and 357; SNKBZ 6, pp. 211 and 212.

54 *Tosa nikki*, pp. 40–41.

as hearsay from an unspecified past in the manner of a *monogatari*: “long ago in a place said to bear the name of Tosa” (*mukashi, Tosa to iikeru tokoro* 昔、土佐といひけるところ). In its preference for exploring the poetic possibilities of fictional place names over the prosaic ones of actual historical locations, this episode can be seen as emblematic of the diary’s overall divergence from earlier travelogue prose.

### Landscapes in Poetic Prose

A similarly poetic approach can be detected when we turn from place names to their landscapes. At first sight, these seem to be little more than a formulaic recitation of pine trees, waves, and moonlight.<sup>55</sup> The narrator’s impressions of them are equally limited, with *omoshiroshi* 面白し (alluring) being the most frequent response to its scenes. Often used to describes song and dance in Heian texts, the adjective retains a performative dimension in the diary, where it typically precedes poetic composition. The other predominant adjective, *kurushi* 苦し (trying), plays a similar role in generating poetry toward the end of journey as the party’s sluggish progress upriver inspires poems seeking to assuage growing impatience.<sup>56</sup> Overall, the waves, wind, and rain appearing throughout *Tosa nikki* are sources of frustration rather than aesthetic inspiration. This apparent lack of interest in describing landscapes is at least partly due to the diary’s wintry waterborne setting, removed as it is in time and space from the autumnal and springtime gardens favored in Heian court literature. Even snow, the quintessential seasonal motif for winter and early spring in the *Kokinshū*, only appears in *Tosa nikki* as a visual simile for surf.

Pine trees are perhaps the landscape element most saturated with poetic connotations, yet even here *Tosa nikki* differs from the imperial anthology. The pine saplings (*komatsu* 小松) that bring the diary to a close with a final recollection of the dead girl occur only once in the *Kokinshū*, where it represents the future promise of a long life.<sup>57</sup> By contrast, *Tosa nikki* draws on less auspicious poetic conventions. Pine saplings glossed as 子松 (child pine) appear in two funerary *banka* 挽歌 from the *Man’yōshū*.<sup>58</sup> The tree’s association with death is even more common in Heian elegiac *kanshi* where pines often appear beside graves.<sup>59</sup> At the same time as they constitute the most paradigmatically poetic landscape element in the diary, however, pines also appear to represent the limits of this mode of representation in a famous vignette on 1/9 in which a poem is portrayed falling short of its setting:

And so we pass by the Uda Pines. It is beyond knowing how many they are, or how many thousands of years they have passed in this place. Waves lap against each root, and cranes alight on each branch. Overcome by the charm of this sight, someone on board recited this verse: (かくて、宇多の松原を歩き過ぐ。その松の数いくそばく、幾千歳経たりと知らず。本ごとに波うち寄せ、枝ごとに鶴ぞ飛びかよふ。おもしろしと見るに堪へずして、船人のよめる歌)

55 Kondō 1959, p. 28.

56 Yamada 1972, pp. 2–6.

57 *Kokin wakashū* poem 907, p. 343: “Of catalpa bows / is the stony strand of the pine sapling, / In whose reign was it, / thinking of reigns to come, / that its seed was planted?” (梓弓 / 磯辺の小松 / たが世にか / 万世かねて / 種をまきけむ).

58 *Man’yōshū* poems 2: 146 and 3: 357; SNKBZ 6, pp. 108 and 212.

59 Kojima 1968, p. 433.

見わたせば	My gaze sweeps out to see
松のうれごとに	piners on whose every branch
すむ鶴は	there roost cranes who
千代のどちとぞ	I think must surely be
思ふべらなる	millennium-old companions.

Those were the words. This poem cannot surpass seeing the place. (とや。この歌は、ところを見るに、えまさらず)<sup>60</sup>

In keeping with the diary's fictional treatment of toponyms in its prose, the otherwise unknown locale of Uda Pines contains the posthumous name of the recently deceased sovereign who was largely responsible for the efflorescence of court *waka* in Tsurayuki's day. Consequently, the diarist's declaration that the poem cannot surpass seeing its landscape has been taken as a manifesto of sorts, rejecting court poetry's mannered conventions in favor of a spontaneous and unmediated response to the actual scene.<sup>61</sup> However, the birds in this landscape make it an imaginary one: the party would have been more likely in reality to have seen storks on the coastline rather than cranes (which favor wetland areas).<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, cranes appear frequently on pine branches as felicitous symbols of long life in the screen poems Tsurayuki composed for the birthday celebrations of his patrons before and after his tenure as governor of Tosa. One such poem written in 915 is particularly close to the above *Tosa nikki* poem in its wording.<sup>63</sup>

Rather than rejecting poetic convention out of hand in depicting landscapes, it could be argued that the diarist's comment points instead to the importance of also including *waka's* formal features in prose describing such scenes. This is accomplished through the entry's opening description of the setting, which creates a symmetrically pleasing picture of complementary oppositions in hue and motion by matching the poem's implicit color combination of dark green pine needles and white birds with that of seawater and white crested waves in the prose, which also creates a contrast between the stillness of its roots and the movement of the waves. It has been suggested that a screen painting inspired this carefully balanced landscape description.<sup>64</sup> If so, the prose description of moving waves would have provided a critical additional dimension by bringing to life the static imagery of the original depiction. Regardless of its source of inspiration, however, it is the poetic structures of crafted juxtapositions in the prose which provide vivid detail in this passage.

Unlike Tsurayuki's earlier forays into *kana* prose, which were largely structured through such parallel clauses and archaic epithets, *Tosa nikki's* sentences at times also draw on the asymmetry of *waka* poetry. One strikingly vivid example of their intermingling can be found in a sentence on 2/1 that describes Kurosaki's landscape through an enumeration of the five primary colors (*goshiki* 五色) associated with the cosmos' cardinal directions:

60 *Tosa nikki*, pp. 25–26.

61 Konishi 1975, pp. 982–87.

62 Hagitani 1967, p. 167. Perhaps for this reason, Porter renders *tsuru* つる as “storks” (1912, p. 45).

63 *Tsurayuki-shū* poem 51, p. 67. “In my garden / are pines on whose branch tips / there roost cranes who / I think must surely be / a millennium of snow.” (我が宿の / 松の梢に / 棲む鶴は / 千代の雪かと / 思ふべらなり)

64 Katagiri 1991, pp. 50–52.

The name of the place is black and the color of the pines is green, while the waves of its reefs are like snow and the colors of its shells are red, leaving it just one short of all Five Hues. (ところの名は黒く、松の色は青く、磯の波は雪の如くに、貝の色は蘇芳に、五色に今一色ぞ足らぬ)<sup>65</sup>

The sentence intricately interweaves sound and meaning in a structure that is located somewhere between prose and poetry. End rhymes bind the first four clauses into couplets, as does the repeated use of the particles の and は. Both paired clauses also share a common trajectory as they move from a locale to an object situated within it. While these parallelisms adopt the structure of a *kundoku* 訓読 vernacularized rendition of a *kanshi*, the hallmark symmetry of such poems is avoided by substituting a simile for the color white in the third clause and by ending with the comment that a single color is missing in the final one.<sup>66</sup> This subtle yet insistent deferral of precise parallelism through both an asymmetrical five-clause structure and differences in those clauses' internal wording make the sentence remarkably reminiscent of *waka*'s metrical and rhetorical contours.

The most concisely powerful example of this figural flow from parallelism to asymmetry occurs in the final entry's depiction of the river port of Yamazaki 山崎. The densest site of human habitation outside the capital, its thriving environs are famously portrayed by the literatus Ōe no Mochitoki 大江以言 (955–1010) several decades after *Tosa nikki* in a *kanbun* preface entitled “On viewing women entertainers” (*yūjo wo miru* 見遊女):

The vicinity of Kaya lies between the three provinces of Yamashiro, Kawachi, and Settsu, making it the most important port in the realm. People traveling back and forth from west, east, north, and south all follow its roads. As for its folk who sell the pleasures of women to people from all over the realm at exorbitant prices, both old and young mingle and support each other in towns and hamlets gazing out at one another. Boats are tethered before the gates and customers are eagerly awaited in the middle of the river. (河陽則介山河撰三州之間、而天下之要津也。自西自東、自南自北、往反之者、莫不率由此路矣。其俗天下街売女色之者、老少提結、邑里相望、維舟門前、遲客河中)<sup>67</sup>

Unlike Mochitoki's relatively expansive prose—which dwells on Yamazaki's strategic location at the convergence of three provinces, the volume of its traffic, its economy, and the intimate proximity of its inhabitants to one another—*Tosa nikki*'s description of the river port deploys the poetic devices of metonymy and pivot-words (*kakekotoba* 掛詞) to convey its physical density and bustling activity in a single sentence:

There has been no change to the small sign depicting a chest at Yamazaki, or to the large effigies of a conch-shaped rice cake and fishing hook off the great road curving along the river bend at Magari. (山崎の小櫃の絵も、まがりのおほちの形も、変はらざりけり)<sup>68</sup>

65 *Tosa nikki*, p. 42.

66 The one missing color, yellow, represents the center from which all the other cardinal directions branch out.

67 *Honchō monzui*, p. 272. For a complete translation of Mochitoki's preface, see Kawashima 2001, pp. 33–34.

68 *Tosa nikki*, p. 53.

The objects represented in this noun-heavy sentence carry more than one meaning, as well as an ambiguous spatial relationship to one another. The picture is either painted on a small chest of the sort used to store utilitarian objects and dolls, or it is the depiction of such a chest on a shop-sign.<sup>69</sup> The second half of the sentence is even more ambiguous: *magari* まがり might refer to a place name, a rice cake, a water container, or a prominent bend on a road or river. Similarly, *おほち* (pronounced as either *ōchi* or *ōji*) could also refer to roads or rice cakes, as well as to hooks or conch shells.<sup>70</sup>

The two most popular translations of the diary address these ambiguities in different ways. Porter's version places the picture on the box and omits the place name of Magari, instead rendering まがりのおほち as rice cakes twisted into the shape of shells in a fusion of two meanings.<sup>71</sup> McCullough's rendering, on the other hand, reads the sentence as a series of complementary relationships: Yamazaki and Magari are place names representing mountains and rivers respectively, while the small two-dimensional pictorial representation of a chest is contrasted with the large three-dimensional effigy of a hook.<sup>72</sup> Her interpretation is consonant with the parallelisms favored in premodern East Asian texts, but it can also be augmented by following Porter's example and adding on other potential meanings to the translation of the second half of the sentence. In addition to marking a place name, in other words, the curved shape common to all meanings of *magari* could simultaneously describe a fishhook, a rice cake, a turn in the road, and a river bend, with all of these objects being both spatially similar and adjacent to one another. Such semantic ambiguities complicate and thicken the initial parallelisms of the sentence to form an asymmetrical distribution of figural language in its second half through pivot-words that produce a wealth of objects and shapes packed into a few syllables whose semantic density matches the spatial one of a site filled with human activity and objects.

Even when their sentences do not mingle parallelism with asymmetry, prose depictions of landscapes in the diary at times draw on the spare descriptiveness of poetic language, as seen in the following brief passage from 2/3 in which a single word that denotes the movement of water metonymically connotes an adjacent landscape:

Since the surface of the sea is the same as yesterday, we don't set out in the ship. Since the blowing gusts don't let up, waves are rolling back from shore in rising crests. The following verse was recited about this: (海の上、昨日のやうなれば、船出さず。風の吹くことやまねば、岸の波立ち返る。これにつけてよめる歌)

緒を繕りて	Twining hemp strands
かひなきものは	serve no purpose,
落ちつもる	when piles of fallen

69 Hagitani 1967, p. 410. Hagitani further notes that the latter interpretation would make this the first mention of shop signs in Japan prior to the fourteenth century.

70 Hagitani 1967, pp. 402–403.

71 Porter 1912, p. 125: "He saw in the shops at Yamasaki the little boxes painted with pictures and the rice-cakes twisted into the shape of conch shells."

72 McCullough 1985, p. 289: "We noticed there had been no changes in the pictures of small boxes at Yamazaki or in the shapes of the big fishhooks at Magari."

涙の玉を	tears are the jewels
貫かぬなりけり	remaining unstrung! <sup>73</sup>

The seaside setting of this entry is outlined with masterful economy through a single verb, *tachikaeru* 立ち返る (rolling back), whose motion implies the existence of a level sandy shore nearby. If it had instead been a rocky coastline of the sort the ship encounters elsewhere, the windswept waves would have dashed against it in a fine spray.

Unlike the prose of anthologies and poem tales, which typically introduce the wording of the poem that follows, the imagery in this sentence is entirely separate from that of the *waka*, which replaces the rhythmic lapping of waves with the equally repetitive act of twining threads for a jeweled necklace. Moreover, metonymy in the *waka* moves in the opposite direction from the prose: the poem's objects imply movement rather than the other way around. Hemp was a particularly time-consuming material to work with. After the plant was soaked to disentangle its fibers, they were twined together into threads of a similar thickness before being bundled into long loops piled up and stored in a wooden container.<sup>74</sup> The circular shapes produced by this repetitive process evoke the rhythmic movement of the waves and subsequent swaying roll of a boat at anchor. As we shall see in the next section, the lack of forward movement characterizing both this entry and the diary overall is conveyed through a detailed chronology that distinguishes it from its putative daughters in the genre of diary literature (*nikki bungaku* 日記文学).

### The Banality of Travel

The extended periods of stasis within *Tosa nikki* are another remarkable aspect of its travelogue prose, one sustained by a format that is unique among works of diary literature: the consistent opening of each entry with a date, even for days when nothing noteworthy occurs. Such non-events contribute to a remarkably long journey. Its fifty-five days are more than double the twenty-five allotted for a voyage from Tosa to the capital in the *Engi shiki*.<sup>75</sup> Frustration at the snail's pace of progress in an early spring setting suspended between wintry desolation and vernal promise is compounded by the additional delay forced on the ex-governor's household by his replacement's tardy arrival, forcing them to risk dangerous sailing conditions in a desperate attempt to make it back in time for the New Year's promotions at court. Fear of pirates subsequently gives added urgency to this frantic attempt to race back home.

In addition to providing a detailed chronology, the introduction of the date for each entry is remarkably uniform throughout the diary—with the exception of a few days in the early stages that involve formal actions such as the prayer for safe travel that begins the voyage in the second entry, the observances on the Seventh of New Year, and the final round of farewells from provincial well-wishers two days later. In its use of this daily entry format, *Tosa nikki* resembles the annual almanacs (*guchūreki* 具注曆) given to officials, which marked each day in the calendrical year by its date, zodiac sign, and auspicious or

<sup>73</sup> *Tosa nikki*, p. 43.

<sup>74</sup> Hagitani 1967, pp. 308–309.

<sup>75</sup> *Engi shiki*, p. 618.



inauspicious nature. The higher-grade versions belonging to an aristocrat or a governor included a few blank lines (*ma-aki* 間明) in which one could write down personal notes about the day's events.<sup>76</sup> Given both the diarist's status as an attendant of a former governor and the simplicity of their format, such almanacs are likely to be the sort of men's diaries she claims to draw inspiration from. The latter characteristic in particular makes it possible for her to mimic the almanac's format without having to ever see one itself, much less possess it. Thus she can use *kanji* for her dating system when these are otherwise largely absent from the diary, while at the same time omitting zodiacal information and occasionally departing from the standard opening in the abovementioned entries.

A similar uniformity is used to mark non-events in the diaries of nobles that were assembled from such almanacs. At times their language can be strikingly similar to that of *Tosa nikki*. For example, the opening sentence on 1/8 declaring, "We are still in the same place on account of a hindrance" (障ることありて、なほ同じ所なり)<sup>77</sup> is virtually identical to a comment made by Tsurayuki's patron Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880–949) in his diary *Teishin kōki* 貞信公記 (Account of Lord Teishin, ca. 907–948) when similarly unspecified hindrances cause the aristocrat to miss an important rite (有障無參).<sup>78</sup> Terse expressions of annoyance, irritation, or disapproval at violations of protocol, minor social disappointments, setbacks, and inconveniences caused by weather or astrology are par for the course in later noblemen's journals. However, *Tosa nikki* occasionally betrays signs that such expressions are intended to further fictional aims. By virtue of its banality, for example, the abovementioned sentence lends plausibility to the subsequent description of the moon sinking behind the ocean horizon, a sight that would have been precluded in reality by the boat's orientation.<sup>79</sup>

An even more telling example of the conscious crafting applied to such banalities can be found in the brief entry for 1/12, which simply notes: "No rain falls. The ships of Fumutoki and Koremochi have come from Narashizu, where they had fallen behind, to join us at Murotsu" (雨降らず。ふむとき、これもちが船の遅れたりし奈良志津より室津に来ぬ).<sup>80</sup> The opening sentence's terse mention of the absence of rain is peculiar given that the same condition has implicitly obtained on preceding days without the need to note it overtly. As it happens, however, this turns out to be the last day with clear weather for an extended period. Through its connections with the entries before and after it, this simple and seemingly superfluous observation thus lays the groundwork for a bitterly ironic situation within the larger narrative arc of the diary, as it becomes apparent in hindsight that the party has foregone a critical opportunity to make forward progress. Other brief and seemingly trivial passages also seem carefully crafted. For example, the terse comment about the weather on 1/28 contains a deadening rhythm as the growing disappointment at a lack of change in the party's situation is conveyed first through a negative verb and then by omitting verbs altogether: "All night long the rain doesn't let up. Next morning too"

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76 For the most recent book-length study of *guchūreki*, see Yamashita 2017.

77 *Tosa nikki*, p. 24.

78 *Teishin kōki*, p. 134. For a partial translation of the diary, see Piggott and Yoshida 2008. Teishin was Tadahira's posthumous name.

79 Kikuchi 1980, pp. 124–26.

80 *Tosa nikki*, p. 29.

(夜もすがら雨やまず。今朝も).<sup>81</sup> Similarly, the repetition of the phrase “the ship isn’t put out to sea” (*fune idasazu* 船出ださず) in the opening sentence for three days in a row beginning on 1/18 accentuates both the narrative’s lack of forward movement and the diarist’s growing frustration.

The attention to sequencing evident in the above examples of banal detail can also be seen in the arrangement of non-events within *Tosa nikki* as a whole. On the one hand, its daily entry format has been critiqued for hindering the sustained treatment of any single emotion.<sup>82</sup> However, it could also be argued that consecutive stretches of uneventful days are placed strategically throughout the diary in order to structure the progression of emotions within it. For example, the longest periods of stasis—clustered around the diary’s middle portions at Ōminato, Murotsu, and Izumi—delineate more eventful periods and establish a stark contrast with the sense of excited anticipation at returning home that characterizes the journey’s initial and final portions. Smaller sequences within these larger units amplify the underlying sense of frustration, as can be seen in the following series of days at Ōminato in which brief banal entries contrast with longer, more eventful ones to create narrative progressions in affect:

The second. Still at rest in Ōminato. The bishop has sent over food and wine. (二日、なほ大湊に泊まれり。講師、物酒おこせたり)

The third. Still in the same place. Perhaps the wind and waves have a heart that hopes for us to stay a while. The thought fills my heart with dread. (三日、同じところなり。もし風波のしばしと惜しむ心やあらむ。心もとなし)

The fourth. A gale blows, making it impossible for us to set out to sea. Masatsura offers up liquor and various delicacies to the former governor. Since we can hardly stand by and do nothing in response to such generosity, we return the kindness with some trifle. There is nothing of much worth with which to do so. Everything seems fine on the surface, but it feels as though we have lost face. (四日、風吹けば、え出で立たず。まさつら、酒よき物奉れり。このかうやうに物持て来る人に、なほしもえあらで、いささけわざせさす。物もなし。にぎははしきやうなれど、負くる心地す)

The fifth. Since the wind and waves don’t let up, we are still in the same place. People come visiting us one after the other in an endless stream. (五日、風波やまねば、なほお同じところにあり。人々絶えず訪ひにく)

The sixth. Same as yesterday. (六日、昨日のごとし)<sup>83</sup>

Initially, perhaps there is an attempt to find humor in the delay. After noting the bishop’s solicitude in the first entry, the second one suggests a similar concern for the travelers on the part of the wind and waves, which “have a heart” (*kokoro aru* 心ある) befitting that of a well-wisher seeking to detain the party. But it is not the sort of concern that the diarist finds desirable, giving rise rather to anxiety in her own heart. The next entry describing the awkward reciprocities entailed by the receipt of unsolicited gifts also avoids monotony by omitting mention of the waves that accompany the windy weather in the entries before and after it. Their return with the wind in the fourth entry also heralds a return to witticism in

81 *Tosa nikki*, p. 39.

82 Shibuya 1961, p. 24.

83 *Tosa nikki*, p. 21.

a sentence likening the waves' endless movement to the stream of people visiting the ship, perhaps further suggesting both are equally undesirable. However, this renewed attempt at humor vanishes entirely in the final entry, whose abruptness suggests the diarist's inability to continue making light of the situation.

Another series of brief entries from 1/23 to 1/25 also hints at an emotional progression as it builds dramatic tension through growing fear and frustration at the inability to continue sailing despite the threat of pursuing pirates:

The twenty-third. The sun shines and then is clouded over. Talk of pirates in the area leads us to pray to the gods and buddhas. (廿三日、日照て、曇りぬ。「このわたり、海賊の恐れあり」といへば、神仏を祈る)

The twenty-fourth. The same place as yesterday. (廿四日、昨日の同じところなり)

The twenty-fifth. That captain fellow says, "The northerly looks ominous," so we don't row out. All day ears are filled with rumors of pursuing pirates. (廿五日、梶取らの、「北風悪し」といへば、船出ださず。「海賊追ひく」といふこと、絶えず聞こゆ)<sup>84</sup>

The ordering of the two sentences in the first entry, in which clouds gather in the sky while rumors of pirates lead to entreaties for it to clear, succeeds at concisely enfolding the human world within its surroundings. The seemingly banal comment that nothing has changed in the single sentence of the next entry thus also implicitly contains the bitter observation that the previous day's prayers have gone unheard. The last entry then returns to paired observations of the heavenly and human realms as it contrasts the stillness of the boat with the perceptible movement of the wind and the rumored one of pirates. Variety is thus maintained at the same time as tension builds in both diarist and readers at the prospect that pirates will appear at any moment.

The last protracted period of stasis, extending from 2/12 to the penultimate day of the journey on 2/14, is also ripe with narrative and emotional connotations that build through seemingly minor details in its description of an extended stay at Yamazaki:

The twelfth. We stay over in Yamazaki. (十二日、山崎に泊まり)

The thirteenth. Still in Yamazaki. (十三日、なほ山崎に)

The fourteenth. Rain falls. We send for carriages to take us to the capital today. (十四日、雨降る。今日、車、京へとりにやる)<sup>85</sup>

While no reason is given for this extended delay, it is easy to attribute it to protracted negotiations over payment with the captain, whose greed is foregrounded throughout the diary. Stasis in the first entry is amplified the following day by omitting verbs entirely. Growing impatience is then conveyed by the word "today" (*kyō* 今日) in the succeeding entry. The downpour mentioned that day is a telling detail, suggesting that the party's frustration at being cooped up in close quarters on board the ship so near to the end of the journey has reached the point where they cannot bear waiting any longer, regardless of the weather. Such terse notations of non-events endow *Tosa nikki's* narrative with taut webs of suppressed affect

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<sup>84</sup> *Tosa nikki*, p. 37.

<sup>85</sup> *Tosa nikki*, p. 53.

that intermingle the language of *kanbun* diaries with an anthological attention to sequencing in order to create dramatic progressions within the emotional arc of the narrative.

### Conclusion

The static quality of so many entries in *Tosa nikki* is one example of the diary's tendency to organize its narrative spatially around the names of places the party moves to or stays in.<sup>86</sup> By plotting time through the linear progression of contiguous spaces, and by possessing a clearly delineated beginning and end, travel provided a ready-made structure for narrative development. Such characteristics would also have been ideally suited to pictorialization, and it is worth noting in this regard that Tsurayuki was composing many screen poems in the year immediately following his return from Tosa. One scholar has even suggested that the diary's combination of self-contained narratives binding together each individual entry with a retrospective viewpoint framing the entire journey was inspired by the doubled perspective of such screen poems, whose viewpoint is often simultaneously located inside and outside the frame of the painted scene.<sup>87</sup>

A related possibility is that a pictorial dimension to the original text may have helped shape its prose. Evidence for the existence of this visual element has survived in the headnote to a poem in the *Egyō hōshi shū* 惠慶法師集 (Reverend Egyō Anthology) expressing the thoughts of a character from the diary that appears in a painting of its final scene:

On the feelings aroused by a house that had become dilapidated over the course of five years depicted in an illustration of Tsurayuki's *Tosa Diary*. (つらゆきがとさの日記を絵にかけるを、いつとせをすぐしける家のあれたる心を)

くらべこし	Even the wave-path
なみちもかくは	I came to compare it with,
あらざりき	was never such as this.
よもぎのはらと	The weed-choked moorland
なれるわがやど	my grounds have become. <sup>88</sup>

Its combination of painting with poetry and prose could have made this early version of *Tosa nikki* akin to the more detailed description of the journal created by Genji 源氏 while in exile at Suma 須磨, which triumphs at the picture contest in the Eawase 絵合 chapter of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語:

86 Takahashi 1992, pp. 110–11.

87 Horikawa 1974, pp. 63–78

88 *Egyō hōshi shū*, poem 192, p. 184.

The appearance of various locales, bays, and stony shores that were otherwise obscure to his audience were depicted for them in full. Kana writings were mingled with grass-style calligraphy here and there and, though it lacked the details of a proper diary, it included many moving poems with great appeal. (所のさま、おほつかなき浦々磯の隠れなく描きあらはしたまへり。草の手に仮名の所どころに書きまぜて、まほのくはしき日記にはあらず、あはれなる歌などもまじれる、たぐひゆかし)<sup>89</sup>

Like Genji's Suma journal, Tsurayuki's Tosa diary portrays a landscape of bays and beaches unfamiliar to its audience, omits many of the quantitative details found in a normal diary, and includes many poems expressing the diarist's feelings. Given the frequency with which *Genji monogatari*'s author mentions Tsurayuki in her tale, it is possible she may have had this early illustrated version of *Tosa nikki* in mind when she envisaged her hero's journal.

We have no way of knowing if this pictorialization was originally made by Tsurayuki or added on to it later by an early reader such as Egyō, who was an acquaintance of Tsurayuki's son Tokifumi 時文 (ca. 922–966). Nor is it clear whether the illustration is from a picture scroll or a folding screen. The poem inspired by it is clearly in the voice of a character from the diary, making it similar to *waka* from the roughly contemporaneous *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 created by women viewing illustrations of the tragic tale of the maiden of Ikutagawa 生田川 and her two rival suitors that are composed in the voices of all three protagonists.<sup>90</sup> Although it is typically assumed that these illustrations were painted on folding screens, there is nothing in the prose of the poem tale that specifically supports that assumption. Moreover, the fact that the *Egyō hōshi shū* headnote mentions the *final* scene from the diary suggests it is referring to a complete version of the text, which would have been easier to assemble and view as a picture scroll. Some of *Tosa nikki*'s characteristics would have made it especially amenable to this format. Expressions such as *kaku aru uchi ni* かくあるうちに (meanwhile) or *kakute* かくて (so then) dividing separate locations within a day's entry, for example, could have provided cues for the unrolling of the next scene on a scroll.

Regardless of its original format, the distinctive aspects of the diary's prose identified in this article would also have lent themselves to pictorial adaptation. Fictional place names marking locations within the narrative would have augmented otherwise generic painterly depictions of landscapes, as would the attention to detail of color and shape that the diary's more poetically-structured sentences provide. Likewise, the brief enumeration of a sequence of days spent at the same place could convey temporal duration in an economical manner by combining multiple entries with a single picture. The fact that *Tosa nikki* continued to attract a readership without illustrations in ensuing centuries is no doubt due in part to Tsurayuki's posthumous fame, but it can also be attributed to the diary's innovatively fluid intermingling of poetic fictions with prosaic details in the vivid depiction of a voyage over liminal liquid landscapes that were far removed from the Heian court's familiar environs.

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89 *Genji monogatari*, SKNBZ 21, pp. 387–88. One other illustrated diary is briefly mentioned earlier in the Akashi 明石 chapter (SKNBZ 21, p. 261) when Murasaki 紫 consoles herself in Genji's absence by "drawing out pictures and putting them together with writings in the manner of a diary" (絵を描き集めたまひつつ、日記のやうに書きたまへり).

90 *Yamato monogatari*, episode 147, p. 371.

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Abbreviations

- KST *Kokushi taikai* 国史大系  
SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集  
SNKBT *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 新編日本古典文学大系  
ZZGR *Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū* 続々群書類従

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