Through Several Glasses Brightly: A Japanese Copy of a Chinese Account of Japan

Introduction and Translation
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Introduction

The earliest written records of Japan are found in Chinese sources, notably the dynastic histories. The principal accounts of Japan from these histories were translated over forty years ago by Ryūsaku Tsunoda in his Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories: Later Han through Ming Dynasties.[1] They remain fascinating reading both for the information they contain and for their perspective on traditional Sino-Japanese relations. Here, I would like to introduce a related document that is much less familiar. It appears in a source that is itself remarkable.

On the fifteenth day of the third month in 1072, a group of eight Japanese monks boarded a Chinese merchant ship in Kyushu to begin a pilgrimage to China. Their leader was Jōjin (1011-1081), a distinguished cleric already 62 years old. Jōjin himself remained in China until his death, but in 1073 he sent five of his disciples, along with his Chinese interpreter, back to Japan. With them they took the many texts they had acquired in China--and the diary Jōjin had kept during their travels, San Tendai Godai san ki (The Record of a Pilgrimage to the Tiantai and Wutai Mountains).[2]

The diary covers a period of sixteen eventful months. After crossing the sea to China, Jōjin's party arrived at Hangzhou and made a pilgrimage to the nearby Tiantai Mountains, where their sect had been founded. Then they went to the Song capital of Kaifeng for had an audience with the emperor. There, they also observed the imperially-sponsored sutra translation project, and Jōjin successfully prayed for rain to end a drought. They also made a pilgrimage to the holy mountains at Wutai and witnessed a miracle: a manifestation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Finally, they returned to the region where they had originally landed, and the diary ends as Jōjin parts with his disciples who carried it back to Japan.

The diary is a precious document. It is more detailed than Ennin's diary describing a similar pilgrimage more than two centuries earlier and made familiar through the work of Edwin O. Reischauer.[3] To those interested in Japan, it offers a firsthand account of how Sino-Japanese relations were conducted in a day when Japan is sometimes said to have isolated itself from Chinese influences. Jōjin demonstrates this view to be an oversimplification at best. For sinologists, the diary is a treasure trove of information on diverse topics, ranging from religion and art to court ritual and bureau-

cratic practice. Its description of Song transportation systems is particularly detailed.

In the course of his travels, Jōjin often copied Chinese texts into his diary. They range from official documents--sometimes he seems to have pasted in the originals--to poems, correspondence, and even graffiti. Just three days after returning to Kaifeng from his grueling two-month journey to Wutai, Jōjin went to visit the cell of a Chinese monk at the cloister where the Japanese party stayed. There, he was shown diaries of two previous Japanese pilgrims, Chōnen (938-1016), who was in China 983-86, and Jakushō, who went in 1003 and remained in China until his death in 1034. Only fragments of Chōnen's diary are preserved;[4] this is the only known mention of Jakushō's. In addition, Jōjin was shown a book that included descriptions of their experiences in China, and he copied these passages into his diary.

The Chinese book was Yang Wen gong tanyuan (A Garden of Talks by Lord Yang Wen). Compiled by Song Xiang (d. 1066), it consisted of "talks" by the distinguished literatus Yang Yi (974-1020, posthumous name, Wen) that had been transcribed previously. Thus, the section Jōjin copied begins with the formula, "His Lordship said...," although it certainly appears to be a text that was originally written, not spoken. The original was a work of eight (or perhaps fifteen) fascicles, but now only scattered fragments survive in other Chinese sources. Coincidentally, among them are the two passages that Jōjin copied, which are also found in Songchao shishi leiyuan (A Garden of Classified Information on the Song Court), compiled in 1145 by Jiang Shaoyu (dates unknown).[5] Comparison of the two texts helps correct errors in Jōjin's version. Another aid in reconstructing the original text is the Song dynastic history. Yang Yi had worked in the Historiographic Institute and helped draft the Taizong shilu (Veritable Records of Taizong's Reign [976-98]), which covered the period of Chōnen's visit. These Veritable Records later became a principle source for compiling the dynastic history of the Song, and thus, since the account of Japan in the Songshi (Song History) is drawn from the same sources as the passage Jōjin copied, it too can be used to help correct scribal errors. Fujiyoshi Masumi has collated the various texts to produce a reliable version, which he has annotated and supplemented with a critical study.[6]

If Yang Yi knew Chōnen only through written records, he appears to have known Jakushō personally, or at least corresponded with him directly. This was no mere chance. In the Song court, Japanese visitors were rare enough to merit special treatment, and so when Jōjin was in the capital, important officials took the trouble to meet him. Surely in Jakushō's day the situation would have been the same. Moreover, Yang was a devout Buddhist and a personal follower of the leading representative of the China's Tiantai school. Since Jakushō was a member of the Japanese branch of that school, he wanted to meet the monk. Fujiyoshi suggests that this Buddhist connection brought Jakushō into contact with Yang.[7]

Some of the material Jōjin copied will be familiar to those who have read accounts of Japan from the Chinese dynastic histories. Chinese authors were not shy about recycling earlier writings, and so we find information from previous histories repeated. And, as noted, this passage shares a common source with the Song History. More importantly, it also contains some new and valuable information, most notably excerpts from letters that Jakushō had received from home. One is from the most powerful of all Heian ministers, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1027). Another reports academic laments over the difficulty in acquiring recent (i.e. Song) Chinese books. The latter should make us question the conventional wisdom that Heian scholars were not interested in Chinese writings after Bo Juyi.

The significance of this passage goes beyond the various details its contains, fascinating though they are. More importantly, it tells us something of Chinese and Japanese attitudes towards one another in the eleventh century. It suggests that each of the two nations took an active interest in its neighbor across the East China Sea. Our Chinese author manages to get most of his facts right and treats the Japanese respectfully. He notes that they have an impressive assortment of Chinese books, the mark of a truly civilized culture in Chinese eyes. They even had Chinese books that were lost in China, as Song scholars had come to recognize.[8] And he admires their calligraphy, the sign of a cultivated individual. Since the descriptions of Japan are among the fragments of A Garden of Talks by Lord Yang Wen that are preserved in China, we must assume that Chinese literati shared its author's interest in Japan.

Jōjin's decision to copy these passages too is noteworthy. For one thing, it presages the modern Japanese fascination with how Japan is perceived abroad. Also, it reflects a general pattern in Jōjin's own behavior. He was always interested in recovering information about previous Japanese pilgrims in China. In part, this was nothing more than natural curiosity, since some of them, Jakushō for example, had never returned to Japan. But it also had symbolic meaning. The conventional wisdom that Heian Japan had lost interest in Chinese culture would lead us to believe that Jōjin was merely the exception that proved the rule of Japanese isolation. Jōjin's own perception, however, seems to have been quite different. He regarded himself as representing an continuous tradition of pilgrimage to China, and he wanted to call attention to the achievements of his predecessors. Yang Yi's laudatory account of Chōnen and Jakushō's experiences in China was precisely the sort of information that Jōjin wished to preserve. In fact, after he transcribed these passages into his diary, he purchased a copy of the whole book and sent it back to a patron in Japan. Yang Yi may not be absolutely reliable in his account of Japan, and Jōjin occasionally compounded the problem by getting a few characters wrong when he copied the text. The attitudes implicit in what these two men wrote, however, may be as important as the information they recorded.

The following translation consists of Jōjin's entire diary entry for the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month, 1072, the day he copied the passages from A Garden of Talks by Lord Yang Wen. It takes place in the Chuanfayuan, the cloister where Jōjin resided during his stay in Kaifeng. This was not an ordinary monastery. It was the center for a government-sponsored sutra translation project, and its abbot was an Indian monk who had been awarded nominal court rank and office. Apparently, it also served as a lodging for visiting foreign monks, most of whom were from India or Central Asia. As a semi-official institution, perhaps the government found it a convenient place to keep watch over its foreign guests. Whatever the reason, foreign monks stayed there and, on this day, four Indian monks had tea with Jōjin. He also concludes some official business pertaining to his recently completed pilgrimage to Wutai.

For the translation of Jōjin's own writing, I have consulted all available editions. The passage by Yang Yi is based principally on Fujiyoshi's reconstructed text; although the various editions of Jōjin's diary were also consulted. Translation of official titles follows Charles O. Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

Translation

The Record of a Pilgrimage to the Tiantai and Wutai Mountains
Chapter Five

[Twelfth Month] Twenty-ninth Day [1072]:

Clear skies. In the cell of Master of the Tripitaka Fancai,[9] I discovered the diaries kept by Dharma Bridge[10] Chōnen and Great Master Jakushō during their travels in China. I also borrowed A Garden of Talks by Lord Yang Wen and copied the following passage:

His Lordship said:

At the beginning of the Yongxi era [984-987], the Japanese monk Chōnen[11] came to our court. He presented his nation's Shikiin ryō (Personnel Code) and Nendaiki (Chronological Record).[12] According to the records, Chōnen said that he came from the Fujiwara family and his father was Matsura,[13] a national official of the fifth rank. Chōnen was skilled at calligraphy but could not speak Chinese. If asked a question, he would answer it in writing. His nation has the Five Confucian Classics along with the sutras and teachings of Śakyamuni, all of which were acquired from China. It also has Bo Juyi's anthology in seventy fascicles. Its territory is administered in sixty-eight provinces. The land is vast; the people, few. Most are long-lived and many are over a hundred years old. The nation's kings come from a single family that has passed down the kingship through sixty-four generations. The civil and military bureaucracies

are all hereditary.

When I was employed in the Historiography Institute,[14] I was able to peruse the secret court records, including The Chronological Record of Japan in one fascicle and Chōnen's memorial in one fascicle. Thus I was able to learn details of that country's history. Later, Chōnen returned to his native land and, in appreciation, had a merchant ship bring local products from Japan as tribute.

In my opinion, the Japanese are a branch of the Wa people. Because the nation is near the sun, it is named "The Land of the Rising Sun." Some say that they disliked the name "Wa" because of its inelegance and so changed it. Generally, they are familiar with Chinese writing. In the past, they sent the minister Mahito[15] to bring tribute to Chang'an during the Tang. They all read the classics and histories and were skilled at writing. Afterwards, successive envoys arrived. Most of them collected secular texts and Buddhist writings before returning. In the Kaiyuan era [713-741], the envoy Chao Heng[16] studied at the university and took the civil service examination. Serving at court, he attained the office of Rectifier of Omissions and then requested permission to return to his native land. He was named Acting Director of the Palace Library and allowed to return. Wang Wei and all the great men of the age wrote poems with introductions to see him off. In the end, however, he was unable lo leave. He rose through various offices and attained the post of Right Attendant in Ordinary and Commander in Chief of Annam.

Ships of the Qian family of Wuyue maintained regular contact with Japan. Although records indicated that the writings of Zhizhe[17] from Tiantai consisted of over 500 fascicles, many had been lost. When a merchant reported that they could be found in Japan, Qian Shu sent a letter to that nation's king and offered 500 ounces of gold for permission to copy those texts. He obtained all of them. As a result, now the Tiantai teachings have been disseminated widely in the area south of the Yangzi River. (Leaf ten, right).[18]

In the third year of Jingde [1006], when I was Administrator of the Memorial Forwarding Office, a Japanese monk came with tribute and was summoned to court. He could not speak Chinese but was skilled at calligraphy. He was ordered to respond in writing and stated that he resided at Enryakuji, a monastery of 3,000 monks, on Mount Tendai.[19] His own name was Jakushō and his style Great Master Entsū.[20] His nation's king was 25 years old. There were sixteen or seventeen great ministers and about 100 officials. Twice a year, in spring and autumn, those recommended for their talent gathered and were examined on either poetic essays (fu) or lyric poetry (shi). Normally, 30 or 40 people pass.[21] Throughout the nation, people principally revere Shinto and there are many shrines. A great deity is found in Ise Province, where sometimes oracles are passed down through youths, three to five years old, who can foretell calamities or good fortune. The Luminous Deity of Kamo in Yamashiro Province similarly makes oracular revelations. The Japanese have books such as Shiji (The

Records of the Grand Historian), Hanshu (The History of the Han Dynasty), Wenxuan (Literary Selections), the five classics, Lunyu (The Analects [of Confucius]), Xiaojing (The Classic of Filial Piety), Erya), (An Approach to Elegance), Zuixiang riyue (Days and Months in Drunken Village), Yulan (Imperial Digest), Yupian (The Jade Book), Jiang Fang ge (The Song of Jiang Fang), Laozi, Liezi, Shenxian zhuan (Biographies of Divine Immortals), Chaoye qianzai (Records of Public and Private Affairs), Boshi liutie (Bo Juyi's Collection in Six Volumes), and Chuxue ji (Records for Early Learning).[22] The works of their own nation include Kokushi (The National History), Hifuryaku (Summary of the Palace Library), Nihongi (The Chronicles of Japan), Bunkan shirin (A Forest of Writings from the Hall of Literature), and Kongenroku (Record of the Earth).[23] The many Buddhist writings and other commentaries, abridgements, biographies, and anthologies are numerous beyond counting.

Jakushō led seven disciples, but none could speak Chinese. In their nation, many practice the calligraphic style of Wang Xizhi,[24] and Jakushō had mastered it. The Japanese were summoned for an imperial audience and Jakushō was bestowed the purple robe and a bundle of ten bolts of silk. His disciples too were all bestowed the purple robe. They stayed at the Imperial Monastery. Jakushō asked permission to visit Mount Tiantai and an edict was issued ordering the districts and circuits to continue providing him with food. State Finance Commissioner Ding Wei[25] met Jakushō and was very impressed. Wei was a man from Gusu,[26] and so he suggested that Jakushō might enjoy the scenery there. In fact, Jakushō so admired it that he remained there at the monastery Wumensi. He sent back to Japan several of his followers who did not wish to stay. Jakushō presented Ding Wei an iron water-jug and a poem that said:

> I carried it in my hand for many years,
> Daily I used it and never parted from it.
> At dawn, in the well, I dipped into the lingering moon.
> In the spring, over the brazier I melted the night ice.
> Were it silver of Po, pride would be difficult to restrain.
> Compared to the stone of Lai, it is clearly inferior.
> But this vessel is strong and durable.
> I send it you who can surely appreciate it.

Wei gave him a portion of his monthly stipend. Jakushō gradually came to speak the dialect of this region. He strictly observed the prohibitions and monastic rules, and was well versed in religious and secular teachings. The people, both monks and laymen, of the Three Wu's Region had all became attached to him. When Jakushō was there in the east, I sent him a printed edition of the Yuanjuejing (Perfect Enlightenment Sutra)[27] and a poem. He later replied with a letter that included a couplet from my poem:

Entrusted to a traveler's raft, your body is far away;
But, accompanying the sea gulls, your mind remains close.

His letter concluded, "I cannot forget these lines. I will study the sutra and not put it aside for a moment."

Later, the ship of a south-seas merchant returned from his land with a letter to Jakushō from the king's younger brother, who is called "the commoner Jakugu."[28] The letter concluded by saying:

> Alas, you are in a foreign land, an unfamiliar region, 10,000 leagues of clouds and waves away. Although in the past I had high ambitions, I remain as uncouth as the people of Hu and Yue. Without a returning cloud, you cannot tell me of the feelings in your heart. Without a favorable wind, I cannot convey a message to you. Of human regrets, what could exceed this!

It ended with the date, "The ninth month in the fourth year of Kankō [1007]."

There was also a letter from the Minister of the Left, Fujiwara no Michinaga, which said, in summary:

> A travelling merchant arrived with your letter. Who says the Song is far away? Your letter calms my worries over you, my distant friend. I am overjoyed that you have already fulfilled your original vow by first making a pilgrimage to Tiantai and then climbing Wutai. Now your heart must be filled with thoughts of your native land. Will we meet? The horses of Hu long for their northern home when the north wind blows. Holy monk, do not forget Japan to the east!

It ended with the date, "The seventh month of the fifth year of Kankō [1008]."

There was also a letter from the Minister of Civil Affairs, Minamoto no Yorihide,[29] which said, in summary:

> I hope you will send send historical writings and other texts, both religious and secular, from after the Tang age. Merchants value their profits and bring only cheap goods. Cut off from the ways of China, the superior land, we learn nothing. This is the one lament of our scholars.

The letter concluded:

> After we parted hands, I did not expect to see you again. In this life, we have come to dwell in different villages, but, after we die, we shall meet in the one Buddha land.

The letter contained very detailed reports concerning Jakushō's lay family and their tombs. It ended with the date, "The ninth month of the fifth year of Kankō [1008]."

The calligraphy of all three letters was in the style of the two Wangs.[30] Commoner Jakugu's calligraphy in the zhangcao style[31] was particularly elegant. Few of China's skilled calligraphers could equal it. The paper and ink were also very fine. The minister of the left is the nation's highest official and there are nine ministries, including Civil Affairs (leaf eleven, right).

This is a passage from fascicle eight of A Garden of Talks by Lord Yang Wen.

> The two recent arrivals from Central India came and sat down. We had tea. Next, the two monks from Purusapura[32] came and sat down. We had tea. An official from the Visitors Bureau came. As promised earlier, I gave him two bolts of cloth. I also gave him the State Finance Commission token[33] and indicated that he should convey it to the State Finance Commission. I performed the Cintâmani-cakra Offering at three times during the day, the Lotus Ritual two times, recited fascicles three and four of the Lotus Sutra, and performed the Acalanâtha Ritual once.[34]

Notes

1. Edited by L. Carrington Goodrich (South Pasadena: P. D. and Ione Perkins, 1951).

2. The most easily accessible edition of San Tendai Godai san ki is in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho, which has been reprinted many times with different systems for numbering the volumes. In most reprints, it is in vol. 3 of the section Yūhōden sōsho. This edition contains useful notes by the distinguished buddhologist Takakusu Junjirō. For a more detailed introduction to the diary, including fuller bibliographic information, see my article, "San Tendai Godai san ki as a Source for the Study of Sung History," in Bulletin of Sung Yuan Studies 19 (1987), pp. 1-16. I am presently working on a complete translation of the dairy, a project that has been supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Related research in Taiwan was supported by an Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies Language and Research Fellowship, and in Japan by Fulbright and Social Science Research Council grants.

3. See his translation, Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1955), and his study Ennin's Travels in T'ang China (New York:

The Ronald Press Co., 1955).

4. Most of these fragments have been gathered in volume 4 of Yūhōden sōsho, Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho, pp. 520-23. Subsequently published fragments are noted in Fujiyoshi Masumi, "Jōjin to Yō Bun kō tan'en," (Jōjin and A Garden of Talks by Lord Yang Wen) in Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūjo sōritsu sanjūshūnen kinen ronbunshū (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1981), p. 244, note 6.

5. (Taipei, Yuanliu Chubanshe, 1981), pp. 569, 1023.

6. "Jōjin to Yō Bun kō tan'en," pp. 227-247. Much of the material presented here is based on information from Professor Fujiyoshi's meticulously researched article.

7. "Jōjin to Yō Bun kō tan'en," pp. 235-238.

8. The distinguished contemporary of Jōjin, Ouyang Xiu (1007-72) wrote a poem on the subject, part of which is translated in my "San Tendai Godai san ki as a Source for the Study of Sung History," pp. 4-5.

9. Great Master Fancai was one of the monks participating in the Song sutra translation project. "Master of the Tripitaka" was an honorary title commonly given to sutra translators.

10. "Dharma Bridge" (Hokkyō) is a Japanese title indicating high rank in the Buddhist hierarchy.

11. The Songchao shishi leiyuan version includes a gloss on how to pronounce the obscure first character in Chōnen's name.

12. Shikiin ryō is the section of Japan's law codes (ritsuryō) describing the structure of the court bureaucracy. Nendaiki is a work unknown in Japan but mentioned in other Chinese accounts of Chōnen's visit. Cited later in the text as Nihon nendaiki (The Chronological Record of Japan) and in Songshi as the Ōnendaiki (The Royal Chronological Record), presumably it was a chronicle of Japanese court history.

13. The words "his father" are borrowed from Songshi and another Chinese source. Without them, the text makes little sense. A document in Chōnen's own hand preserved in Japan states that in fact he was a member of the immigrant Hata family, not the Fujiwara. Moreover, no fifth-rank official named "Matsura" is found in Japanese sources. Tsunoda suggests the word might be a copyist's error for the title (kabane) muraji (Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, p. 61).

14. The term used in the text is "shiju," which was not the proper name of the Historiography Institute (Shiguan), but his Songshi biography confirms his service in that office (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, vol. 29, n.d.), p. 10082.

15. Awata no Mahito (d. 719), who visited China in 703.

16. The Chinese name adopted by Abe no Nakamaro (698-770), who went to China in 717.

17. (538-597), also known as Zhiyi, the founder of what, in Japan, became the Tendai sect.

18. Apparently Jōjin's note indicating the pagination of the original manuscript. A similar note appears at the end of the passage.

19. i.e. Mount Hiei, to the northeast of Kyoto, the headquarters of the Japanese Tendai sect. "Tendai" is the Japanese pronounciation of the Chinese characters "Tiantai," the name of the mountains where the sect's teachings had originated. The Japanese adopted that Chinese name as an alternate designation for Mount Hiei. In this instance, Jakushō's use of it emphasizes his sect's ties with China.

20. Actually, although the text here overlooks the fact, he was granted this title by the Chinese emperor, and so perhaps it should be rendered as "Great Master Yuantong."

21. For the actual working of Japan's civil service examinations, see my Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986), pp. 71-88.

22. Many of these Chinese works are familiar classics. Less well-known works on the list are:

Erya: a dictionary of classical usage compiled in the second century B. C.

Zuixiang riyue: a collection of stories by the Tang writer Huangfu Song.

Yulan: Fujiyoshi argues convincingly that this is probably not the famous Taiping yulan (Imperial Digest of the Taiping Era), distribution of which was restricted, but rather Xiuwendian yulan (Imperial Digest of the Literary Cultivation Hall), a topically arranged collection, dating from the Northern Qi dynasty (550-77) that was popular in Japan, but is now lost, except for a fragment found at Dunhuang.

Yupian: a dictionary compiled in 543 and later revised in the Tang and Song dynasties; in China, only revised versions survive; in

Japan a section of the original is preserved.

Jiang Fang ge: unknown. A dictionary compiled by someone named Jiang Fang is mentioned in an early bibliography; there was a Tang poem named Jiang Fang, but the character for "Fang" was slightly different. Fujiyoshi suggests this may have something to do with the former.

Shenxian zhuan: a collection of biographies of 84 Taoist immortals, attributed to Ge Hong (283-343).

Chaoye qianzai: a collection of anecdotes by Zhang Zhuo (657-730), better known as the author of Youxian ku (The Dwelling of Playful Goddesses), a work that was very popular in Japan.

Chuxue ji: anecdotes from the classics arranged topically, compiled circa 630 by Yu Shinan.

23. Unfamiliar items on this list are:

Kokushi: probably Ruijū kokushi, consisting of topically arranged entries from Japan's court chronicles, compiled circa 893 by Sugawara no Michizane.

Hifuryaku: material from Chinese works arranged topically, compiled in 831 by Shigeno no Sadanushi. Of its original 1,000 fascicles, only two are extant.

Bunkan shirin: actually Wenguan cilin, compiled under imperial auspices by Xu Jingzong in 658. It is among the many Chinese books that, as early as Song times, were preserved only in Japan. In this case, the very fact that it was Chinese seems to have been forgotten, either by the Japanese or by the Chinese. Of its original 1,000 fascicles, only seventeen are extant.

Kongenroku: another improperly identified Tang work, Kunyuanlu, that is no longer extant in either China or Japan.

24. (322-379). A famous literatus whose calligraphy was particularly admired in Japan.

25. (966-1037). An important political figure in the Song court.

26. The modern Suzhou area, which, a few paragraphs later, is referred to by another alternate name, "the Three Wu's."

27. A text, probably of Chinese origin, in which twelve bodhisattvas each ask the Buddha one question about the nature of enlightenment (Taishō daizōkyō , vol. 17, item 842). It was important in the Chan (Zen) and Huayan (Kegon) schools.

28. Two sons of Emperor Murakami (926-67, r. 946-67) have been proposed as candidates for being "the commoner Jakugu." For details, see Fujiyoshi's note 30 (p. 246).

29. No one by this name is found in Japanese records. Again,

Fujiyoshi summarizes two theories concerning who may have sent this letter (see note 32, p. 246).

30. Xizhi (see above, note 13) and his son Huizi (dates unknown) was also a famous calligrapher.

31. An early style script ("grass") writing, in which characters are not connected.

32. I am following Takakusu Junjirō in assuming that, when Jōjin wrote "the nation of Daiten," he meant "the nation of Jōfu," one of various Chinese transliterations for the north Indian state of Purusapura. Jōjin had first met these Indian monks two days earlier and noted in his diary, "I also met two monks from Central India and two from Purusapura, which is to the northwest of the five nations of India. The two from Central India had come overland through Central Asia, and arrived at this cloister in the second month of this year. That month, they had an imperial audience and had received the purple robe. ... The two from Purusapura had come via the south seas and landed in China at Guangzhou. They arrived at this cloister this month."

33. The token that had given Jōjin access to the official postal relay system on his recently completed pilgrimage to Wutai.

34. Daily, even during his most exhausting travels, Jōjin performed a sequence of rituals at fixed hours of the day. In his first three diary entries, he recorded the specific hours, but subsequently, as here, he simply noted the number of times he performed them, presumably still at set hours during the day.

Glossary

Abe no Masahiro 阿倍仲麻呂
Awata no Mahito 粟田真人
Bo Juyi 白居易
Boshi liutie 白氏六帖
Bunkan shirin (Wenguan cilin) 文館詞林
Chan (Zen) 禅
Chao Heng 朝衡
Chaoye qianzai 朝野僉載
Chōnen 奝然
Chuanfayuan 伝法院
Chuxue ji 初学記
Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho 大日本仏教全書
Daiten 大天
Ding Wei 丁謂
Ennin 円仁
Enryakuji 延暦寺
Entsū (Yuantong) 円通
Erya 爾雅
Fancai 梵才
fu 賦
Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長
Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善真澄
「成尋と楊文公談苑」『関西大学東西学術研究所創立三十周年記念論文集』
Ge Hong 葛洪
Gusu 姑蘇
Hanshu 漢書
Hata 秦
Hifuryaku 秘府略
Hokkyō 法橋
Hu 胡
Huayan (Kegon) 華厳
Huangfu Song 黄甫松
Jakugu 若愚
Jakushō 寂照
Jiang Fang [Fang] Ge 蒋防［防］歌
Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞
Jingde 景徳
Jōfu 丈夫
Jōjin 成尋
kabane 姓
Kaiyuan 開元

Kamo 賀茂
Kankō 寛弘
Kokushi 国史
Kongenroku (Kunyuanlu) 坤元録
Lai 莱
Laozi 老子
Liezi 列子
Lunyu 論語
Matsura 真連
Minamoto no Yorihide 源従英
muraji 連
Murakami 村上
Nendaiki 年代記
Nihongi 日本記
Ōnendaiki 王年代記
Ouyang Xiu 欧陽修
Po 鄱
Qian Shu 銭俶
ritsuryō 律令
Ruijū kokushi 類聚国史
San Tendai Godai san ki 参天台五台山記
Shenxian zhuan 神仙伝
shi 詩
Shigeno no Sadanushi 滋野貞主
shiguan 史館
Shiji 史記
shiju 史局
Shikiin ryō 職員令
Songshi 宋史
Song Xiang 宋庠
Songchao shishi leiyuan 宋朝事実類苑
Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真
Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎
Taiping yulan 太平御覧
Taizong shilu 太宗実録
Tiantai (Tendai) 天台
Wa 倭
Wang Huizi 王徽子
Wang Wei 王維
Wang Xizhi 王羲之
Wenxuan 文選
Wu 呉
Wumensi 呉門寺
Wutai 五台

Wuyue 吳越
Xiaojing 孝経
Xiuwendian yulan 修文殿御覧
Xu Jingzong 許敬宗
Yang Wen gong tanyuan 楊文公談苑
Yang Yi (Wen) 楊億（文）
Yongxi 雍熙
Youxian ku 遊仙窟
Yu Shinan 虞世南
Yuanjuejing 円覚経
Yue 越
Yūhōden sōsho 遊方伝叢書
Yulan 御覧
Yupian 玉篇
Zhang Zhuo 張鷟
zhangcao 章草
Zhizhe (Zhiyi) 智者（智顗）
Zuixiang riyue 酔郷日月