

## 『小右記』

寬仁二年10月16日

## [原文]

十六日、乙巳、今日以女御藤原威子立皇后之日也、(前太政大臣第三娘、一家立三后、未曾有、)依小衰日修諷誦清水寺、亦令讀經僧等致祈願、又令打金鼓、宰相同車參内、巳二剋、卿相未參、小[少]時左右大弁等參入、日午右大臣及諸卿參入、藏人右少辯資業來、仰右大臣云、中宮乎皇太后仁、女御威子乎皇后仁、可令作其宣命者、即左大臣參入、右大臣觸案内于左大臣[顯光]、即起座、爲令奏上藤參入由坎、未有左右仰之間左大臣召大内記[藤原]義忠令進立后宣命、即進其草、彼是云、右大臣已奉仰了、縱雖有内々仰依當日仰可仰宣命事坎、(或云、左大臣不承仰、皇后宮乎皇太后仁と可作宣命之由仰内記云々、仍大殿聞。此由被罵辱左大臣之詞不可敢云々、)太違前例、此間資業仰宣命趣於左大臣、便付資業令奏草、(被奉攝政坎、午終未始坎、)即被仰可清書之由、清書亦奏返賜了、宣命使納言事以資業令候氣色、(大殿早參、被与奪如此事云々、)右衛門督實成(中納言、)可奉仕者、右大臣云、子爲宣命使、父致拜礼可無便坎、被申案内、依仰不立列、近仗服中儀、(不立胡床、縫腋・壺胡録[?]等也、)此間宸儀出御南殿、(大殿・攝政・右大臣候南殿簾中、)下官及諸卿出自敷政門向外辯、於鳥曹[司]着靴着座、立床子不置式莒、可謂違例、召外記問大舍人・式部・彈正并刀袵候不、申云、皆侍者、仰早可引列之由、其裡不幾、開承明・長樂・永安・建礼等門、(右兵衛空陣、建礼門西扉不開、仍左陣開、其後右官人・兵衛兩三立陣、)内弁左大臣、召舍人、大舍人稱唯、少納言惟光參入、余起座進立左兵衛陣頭、次第列立、惟光還出、傳召退入幔後、更進立幔東頭、上達部到左兵衛陣南頭、次第{ゆう}而參入、惟光每人待{ゆう}、太寄恠也、不知前例坎、諸卿就標、刀袵只三人立列、(四位[安倍]吉平、五位[安倍]吉冒・[惟宗]文高、皆陰陽家、)立定了、内弁召右衛門督、稱唯參上、給宣命下殿、留立軒廊西二間、(退北)、次内弁降殿立列、次宣命使就宣命版位、宣制兩段、群臣每段再拜、了宣命使左廻復本列、(其道直南行復列、若經元道可復列坎、度大臣及上藤列上復列頗無便宜、可 [有ナ]前例、大納言齊信云、有兩說者)、次左大臣已下退出(大臣經幔南、失例、余已下如入儀從幔北退出)、問[向ナ]鳥曹司、脱鞮、入從東閣門復陣、右大臣在陣壁、後、密語云、内弁湏召刀袵、而宣召侍從、[イウチ君達]大殿被驚奇云々、藏人頭定頼攝政御消息於兩府、(立后宣命事藏人頭可仰上藤坎、至重事以藏人被仰、輕事以頭被示、爰知頭輕藏人重、左中弁輕通參維摩會、未歸云々、)兩府即被詣彼御宿所、小[少]後諸卿參入、兩府・左大弁道方於攝政前任中宮々司、(大夫正二位藤原朝臣齊信、(兼、大納言・按察)權大夫從二位藤原朝臣能信、(兼、權中納言、)亮正四位下橘朝臣則隆(兼、但馬守、)權亮從四位下藤原朝臣兼房、(兼、)大進從五位下藤原朝臣公業、權大進從五下源朝臣爲善(兼、三河守、)少進藤原賴文、(兼、雅樂助、)權權少進藤—[原]明通、大屬江沼元明、(兼、主計允、)少屬惟宗行政、(兼、木工屬、)權少屬爲信、(兼、主計屬、)左大臣取副除於笏退出、(依大殿命、於攝政前、便清書、爲早事坎、)左大臣云、召仰啓陣事、早可罷出、除目者納言可下給者、彼是云、給除目之後被召仰啓陣事之例也、大臣諾关[矣ナ]、召外記、莒納除目、給外記復陣、已次相從、此間齊信・能信卿入自宣仁門經階下進射場奏慶、(兩卿昇殿人也、通南殿可進射場坎、)即經元道退出、左大臣召式部丞給下名、({万}字{古万}<sup>1</sup>計給等詞無誤、)次令敷膝突二枚、召六衛府將・佐、仰云、中宮乃啓仁侍(禮、可仰[衍カ]啓陣仁侍と可仰坎、先左右近、次左右衛門、右衛門不參、左兵衛佐(藤原)惟任着螺鈿釧、太違例、上達部着隱文帶・螺鈿釧之例也、

<sup>1</sup> Characters are from *Dai Nihon Shiryo*.

右衛門不參、仍被仰外記之)、次左右大臣已下出自敷政門參新宮、(初左大臣被陳不可參由、而忽變其詞被參如何、俊賢卿云、今日俄被申宮少進、無許容、仍忿怨所被陳也、)上官奉仕御前坎、其由示俊賢卿、答云、上官思失坎者、大臣出自敷政門之時上官奉仕御前大臣留之例也、左大臣已下參着新宮、(上東門院、宮司・御傍親卿相先參、)以亮則隆朝臣被啓事由、(大夫云、先參令啓宮司慶了、又立此列如何者、余答云、彼宮司慶也、此度被引諸卿、可致拜禮坎、俊賢卿同余陳答旨、仍大夫・權大夫列[立ナアリ]、)歸出傳仰令旨、左大臣已下入自西中門列立、西上、侍從不列、再拜[マヽ]令催遂不參列、(太閤於御簾數度高聲被催)仰、[仰ノ字ハ小字ニ作リテ上ノ分註ニ属セシムベキモノカ]拜禮了次第着東對、(母屋、北上對座、上古者庇座云々、侍從南母屋廂、西上北面、五位侍從在南廊、)件對不懸簾、立四尺屏風、敷高麗端疊、不敷茵・圓座、侍從座敷紫端疊、先是皆居饗、机、一獻、(攝政、大夫齊信、)二獻、(左大將教通、權大夫能信、)三獻、(皇太后宮權大夫經房、左衛門督賴宗、)一獻勸盃了、攝政着座、皇太后宮大夫道綱着座、(道綱卿稱腰痛不參内、直參宮、)五六獻上達部勸盃、此間采女供御膳、了敷菅圓座於南面簀子御前、召公卿、攝政已下參入着座、次居衝重了、[道長]太閤執盃進居上頭、攝政避座、向居右大臣、已無行酒道、經地下昇從南階、用使坎、次々勸盃人已無其道、仍徹衝重、南階東腋敷座召伶人給衝重、卿相・殿上人等絃哥、人々相應、堂上・地下絲竹同聲、三四巡後太閤戲云、右大將可勸盃於我子、(攝政也、)余執盃勸攝政、々々度左府、々々獻太閤、々々度右府、次第流巡、次給祿太閤已下、大褂、太閤云、祖の得子祿ハ有やと、又給伶人祿、太閤招呼下官云、欲讀和哥、必可和者、答云、何不奉和呼、又云、誇たる哥、(になむ)有る、但非宿構者、此世乎は我世とホ思望月及虧たる事も無と思へい、余申云、御歌優美也、無方酬答、滿座只可誦此御哥、元稹菊詩、居[白]易不和、深賞歎、終日吟詠、諸。[卿]響應余言數度吟詠、太閤和解、殊不責和、夜深月明、杖[扶カ]醉各々退出、

## [訓読]

十六日、乙巳、今日女御藤原威子<sup>2</sup>を以て皇后を立つ之日なり。(前の太政大臣<sup>3</sup>の第三の娘、一家三后を立つるは、未曾なり。)小衰の日に依りて、諷誦を清水寺に修す。亦、讀經僧等に祈願をいたさしむ、また金鼓を打たしむ。宰相同車して参内す。巳の二刻。卿相いまだ参らず。少時に左右大弁等参入す。日午に右大臣<sup>4</sup>及び諸卿参入す。藏人右少辯

<sup>2</sup> 藤原威子(ふじわらのいし)後一条天皇の中宮。長保元年(999 CE)12月23日生まれ。藤原道長の娘。母は源倫子。寛仁2年(1018 CE)入内。同年女御、ついで中宮となる。このとき道長は彰子、妍子とともに一家から3人の后がたった喜びを、有名な望月の歌によんでいる。章子内親王(二条院)、馨子(けいし)内親王を生んだ。長元9年(1036 CE)9月6日死去。38歳。名は「たけこ」ともよむ。『日本人名大辞典』

<sup>3</sup> 藤原の道長

<sup>4</sup> 藤原公季(ふじわらのきんすえ)。957-1029。平安時代中期の公卿。諡仁義公。閑院太政大臣とよばれる。天徳元年(957)生まれる。右大臣師輔の第十一子、母は醍醐天皇皇女康子内親王。誕生直後に母、四歳で父を失い、姉の村上天皇中宮安子に養育され、皇子に等しい扱いをうけたと伝えられるが(『大鏡』三)、姉も八歳の時に没している。康保四年(967)冷泉天皇即位当日十一歳(『公卿補任』十二歳)で元服、ついで正五位下、侍從、左中將、備前守、播磨權守から円融朝の永観元年(983)参議、以下近江守、春宮權大夫、春宮大夫、按察使、左大將を経、一条朝の藤原伊周失脚後長徳三年(九九七)内大臣、後一条朝寛仁元年(1017)右大臣、皇太弟(敦良親王)傳、甥藤原道長のあと治安元年(1021)太政大臣

すけなり<sup>5</sup>資業<sup>5</sup>来たりて、右大臣に仰せて云く、「中宮<sup>6</sup>を皇太后に、女御威子を皇后に。其の宣命<sup>5</sup>を作らしむべき」てへり。即ち左大臣<sup>7</sup>参入す。右大臣案内を左大臣[顕光]に觸る。即ち起座し、上藤参入の由しを奏せしめんがためか。いまだ左右の仰せあらざるの間、左右臣、大内記[藤原]義忠<sup>8</sup>を召して、立後の宣命を進らしむ。即ち其の草を進る。彼是云く、右大臣已に仰せ奉つりおわんぬ。縦え内々の仰せ有り、當日の仰せに依り、宣命を仰すべきの事か。(或いは云く、「左大臣仰せを承たまわらず、皇后宮を皇太后にと宣命を作るべきの由しを内記に仰す」と云々。仍て、大殿が此の由しを聞き、左大臣の詞を罵り辱む。敢ていうべからず。)はなはだ前例に違へり。この間、資業宣命の趣きを左大臣に仰す。便に資業に付して、草を奏せしむ。(攝政に奉らるるか、午の終り、羊の始りか。)即ち清書すべきの由をおせらる。清書を亦奏し、返し賜わりおわんぬ。宣命使の納言の事、資業を以て氣色を候ぜしむ。(大殿早く参りて、此如き事に与奪せらると云々)「右衛門督實成(中納言)奉仕すべし」てへり。右大臣云く、子宣命使たりて、父拝礼をいたすは便なかるべきか。案内を申さるるに、仰せに依りて、列に立たざれ。近仗、中儀を服す。

となる。従一位。長元二年(1029)十月十七日没。七十三歳(『小記目録』)。贈正一位、甲斐国に封ぜらる。閑院流の祖で、子孫は三条・西園寺・徳大寺に分流した。Source:『国史大辞典』

<sup>5</sup>藤原資業(ふじわらのすけなり)。988-1070。平安時代中期の公卿。日野三位とも称された。父は藤原有国、母は三位徳子(橘仲遠女で一条天皇の乳母)。永延二年(988)生まれる。右少弁、東宮学士などを経て、長和二年(1013)従五位上に叙せられ、さらに蔵人、左衛門権佐、文章博士、丹波守などを歴任した。治安元年(1021)勘解由長官、同三年式部大輔を兼任し、また播磨守や伊予守なども務めた。寛徳二年(1045)非参議で従三位に叙せられ、永承元年(1046)式部大輔に再任された。同六年に出家して法名を素舜と号し、日野(京都市伏見区)の山荘に隠居して法界寺薬師堂を建立した。延久二年(1070)九月二十四日(『尊卑分脈』。『公卿補任』では八月二十四日)、八十三歳で没した。Author:田代脩。Source:『国史大辞典』

<sup>6</sup>The Chūgū here is Fujiwara no Kenshi.

<sup>7</sup>藤原顕光(ふじわらのあきみつ)。944-1021。平安時代中期の公家。号堀川左大臣、広幡・悪霊左大臣。天慶七年(944)生まれる。父関白太政大臣兼通、母式部卿元平親王女。応和元年(961)従五位下、天延三年(975)参議。貞元二年(977)参議従四位下からこの年の内に四度昇進し、権中納言、正三位となる。のち左衛門督、檢非違使別当、右大将、按察使、右大臣、東宮傳などを歴任、寛仁元年(1017)左大臣、治安元年(1021)従一位、同年五月二十五日没。七十八歳。家柄と長寿で、一条・三条・後一条の三帝、二十六年間大臣の座にあったが、朝儀の執行に疎く、従兄弟の藤原道長や、藤原実資らにしばしば批判された。一条天皇女御とした女元子は皇子を出生せず、密通事件を起し、また東宮敦明親王御息所とした女延子も、道長女の寛子との争いに敗れて憂死するなど後宮対策でも失敗、死後悪霊となって道長に祟ったと伝えられる。Source:『国史大辞典』

<sup>8</sup>藤原義忠(ふじわらののりただ)。?-1041。平安時代中期の文人。父は大和守為文。大内記・式部少輔などを経て、権左中弁兼大和守に至ったが、長久二年(1041)十月一日、吉野川に溺死した。年齢は未詳。寛弘四年(1007)ごろには内宴に文人として列席する。長和五年(1016)には大嘗会主基方の和歌詠者に選ばれ、万寿二年(1025)には歌合を主催し、一方、頼通の大饗料の屏風詩を詠むなど、和漢にわたって活躍した。頼通の愛顧を受け、長元六年(1033)の『白河院子日記』は頼通主催の宴の記録であり、『鷹司殿屏風詩』の選考をめぐる争いにより、頼通に勘当されたが、のち和歌を献じて許されたという説話がある。作品は、『本朝統文粹』に三篇、『金葉和歌集』以下の勅撰集に五首が選ばれている。Source:『国史大辞典』

こしょう ほうえき つばやなくいとう しんぎなでん しゅつぎょ おいどの せつしょう うだいじん  
 (胡床をたてず、縫腋・壺胡録等也。)此の間、宸儀南殿に出御す。(大殿・攝政・右大臣は  
 れんちゆう こう げかん しょきょう しきせいもん げべん そうし  
 南殿の簾中に候ず。)下官及び諸卿、敷政門を自り出でて、外辯に向かひ、鳥の曹司に  
 おいて靴をはき、着座す。床子をたてず、式の苜を置かず、違例というべし。外記を召  
 して、おどねり しきぶ だんじょう とね そふろ みなはべ  
 大舍人・式部・彈正ならびに刀祢の候ふやいなやを問ふ。申して云く、「皆待  
 り」てへり。早く列に引くべきの由しを仰す。其の裡いくばくならず、承明・長樂・  
 えいあん けんれい うひょうえくうじん けんれいもん とびら さじん  
 永安・建礼等の門を開く。(右兵衛空陣にして建礼門の西の扉を開かず。仍って左陣を開く、其  
 ひょうえ りょうさん ないべんさだいじん とねり いしょう しょうなごんこれみつ  
 の後右官人・兵衛、両三陣に立つ。)内弁左大臣、舍人を召す。大舍稱唯。少納言惟光参入  
 す。よ 座を起ちて、左兵衛の陣頭に進み立つ。次第に列立つ。惟光還り出で、召しを  
 伝えて幔の後にしりぞき入る。更に幔の東頭に進み立つ。かんだちめ なんと  
 上達部左兵衛の陣の南頭に  
 到る。次第にゆうして参入す。惟光人ごとにゆうを待つ。はなはだ寄恠なり。前例しら  
 ざるか。しょきょう ひょう つく とね さんにん しいいよしひら よしまさ  
 諸卿、標に就く。祢只ただ三人列に立つ。(四位吉平(安倍)、五位吉冒(安倍)・  
 ふみたか おんみょうか ないべん うえもんのかみ  
 文高(惟宗)、皆陰陽家。)立ち定り了りて、内弁、右衛門督を召す。稱唯して参上す。宣  
 命を給わりて殿を下り、軒廊の西の二間に留り立つ。(北に退りぞく)、次で、内弁殿を降  
 りて、列に立つ。次でせんみょうし へんい せんせいりょうだん ぐんしんだん さいはい  
 宣命使宣命の版位に就く。宣制兩段、群臣段ごとに再拜す。お  
 わりて、宣命使左に廻りて、本列に復す。(其の道ただちに南にむきて列に復す。若しくは元の  
 ひだり  
 道を経て、列に復すべきか。大臣及び上 藤の列の上を度りて、列に復するはずこぶる便宜なし。前例  
 じょうろう わた べんき  
 あるべし。大納言齊信云く「兩説あり」てへり。)次で左大臣已下、退出。(大臣幔の南を經るは、  
 ただのぶ い か  
 例を失す。余已下は、入る儀の如く幔の北より退出す。)鳥の曹司にむかひ、靴を脱ぐ。東の  
 せい  
 閣門より入り、陣に復す。右大臣陣の壁にのちに在り。

### [Workshop Day 3]

ひそか ないべん すべから とね せん じじょう  
 後、密に語りて云く。内弁に漬く刀祢を召すべし。しかして宣して侍従[マウチ君達]  
 おおとのおどろ あや くらうど とうさだよりせつしょう みしょうそく りょうふ  
 を召す。大殿驚き奇しまると云々。蔵人の頭定寄撰政の御消息を両府につたう。  
 りっこう せんみょう じょうろう じゅうじ くらうど けいじ とう  
 (立後の宣命の事は蔵人の頭上 藤におすべきか。重事に至りては蔵人を以ておおさる。軽事は頭  
 しめ かるく おもき さちゅうべんつねみち ゆいまい いまだ  
 をもって示さる。ここに知る、頭の軽ろくして蔵人の重きを。左中弁經通は維摩会に参りて、未だ帰  
 りょうふすなわち か みしゆくしよ まい しばらくのちしよけい さだいべんみちかた  
 ずと云々。)両府即ち彼の御宿所に詣らる。少く後諸卿が参入す。両府・左大弁道方が  
 せつしょう ちゅうぐう ぐうじ にな だいぶしょうにい あそんただのぶ けん あぜち  
 撰政の前に於いて中宮の宮司を任ずる。(大夫正二位藤原の朝臣齊信(兼大納言・按察、)  
 ぐんたいぶじゅうにいよしおのぶ けんごんちゅうなごん すけしょうしいげ たちばな あそんのりたか けんたじま かみ ごんのすけ  
 権大夫從二位能信、(兼権中納言、)亮正四位下、橘の朝臣則隆(兼但馬の守、)権亮從四位下藤  
 かねふさ けん たいしん きんなり ぐんたいしん ためよし けんみかわ  
 原の朝臣兼房、(兼)大進從五位下藤原の朝臣公業、權大進從五位下源朝臣為善、(兼三河の守、)  
 しょうしん よりぶみ ががく すけ けんごんのしょうさかん あきみち だいでくえぬまもとあき けんしゅけい いん しょうぞく  
 少進藤原頼文、雅楽の助、(兼權少進)藤原明通、大屬江沼元明、(兼主計の允、)少屬  
 これむねのゆきまさ けん もく さかん ごんのしょうぞくためおのぶ けんしゅけい さかん  
 惟宗行政、(兼木工の屬、)權少屬為信、(兼主計の屬。))左大臣、除目を笏に取り副  
 おおとの めい せつしょう びん せいしよ はや  
 えて、退出す。(大殿の命により、撰政の前において、便に清書す。事が早めんがためか。)左

大臣云く、「啓陣の事を召し仰せ、早く罷り出づべし。除目は納言に下給すべし。」てへり。彼是云く、除目を給ふの後ち、啓陣の事を召し仰せらるるの例なり。大臣諾す。外記を召す。筥に除目を納め、外記に給ふ。陣に復す。已次相ひ従ふ。此の間、齊信・能信卿、宣仁門自り入りて、階下を経て射場に進み、奏慶す。(両卿は昇殿人なり。南殿を通りて、射場に進むべきか。)即ち元の道を経り退出す。左大臣は式部の丞を召して、下名を給ふ。(万字古・万計給ふ等の詞を誤らず。)次いで、膝突二枚を敷かしめ、六衛府の将・佐を召す。仰せて云く、中宮の啓に侍れ。(啓陣に侍れと仰すべきか。さきに左右近、次に左右衛門、右衛門不参。左兵衛の佐藤原惟任は螺鈿の釦を着す。はなはだ違例なり。上達部は隱文の帯・螺鈿釦を着すの例なり。右衛門参らず。よって外記にこれを仰せらるる)、次いで左右大臣以下敷政門より出でて、新宮に参る。(初め左大臣参りべからざるのよしを陳べらる。しかるに忽ちその詞を変え、参らるはいかん。俊賢卿云く、今日にわかには宮の少進に申さる。許容なし。よって忿怨して陳べらることなり)。上官は御前を奉仕すべくか、その由俊賢卿に示す。答えて云く、「上官は思失するか」てへり。大臣敷政門より出づるの時、上官御前に奉仕し、大臣留めるの例なり。

#### [Workshop Day 4]

左大臣以下、新宮に参着す。(上東門院、宮司・御傍親の卿相は先に参る)、亮の則隆朝臣を以て、事の由を啓せらる。(大夫云く、「先に参りて宮司の慶び啓さしめおわんぬ。またこの列に立てていかん」てへり。余、答えて云く、「かれは宮司の慶なり、この度、諸卿を引かれて、拝禮致すべきか」。俊賢卿、余とおなじく答えの旨を陳ぶ。すなわち大夫・権大夫の列に立つ)。帰り出て、令旨を伝え仰す、左大臣以下西中門より入りて、列立す。西上。侍従列せず。再び催さしめ、ついに列に参らず。(太閤御簾において、数度高声に催して仰せらる。)拝禮おわりて次第に東の対に着す。(母屋の北上に対座。上古は、庇座と云々。侍従は南の母屋の廂に、西上北面。五位の侍従は南廊にあり)。件の對は簾を掛けず。四尺の屏風を立つ。高麗端の畳を敷く。茵・円座敷かず)。侍従の座で紫端の畳を敷く。是より先。皆饗を居う。一献、(摂政、大夫齊信。)二献、(左大将教通、権大夫能信。)三献、(皇太后宮権大夫經房、左衛門の督頼宗。)一献盃勸おわりて、攝政着座す。皇太后宮大夫道綱着座す。(道綱卿腰病としようして参内せず、直に宮に参る。)五六献、上達部に盃を勸む。此の間うねめごぜんくうすげわらふざなんめんすのこごぜんくぎょういか采女御膳を供ず。おわりて、菅の圓座を南面簀子に敷く。御前、公卿を召す。摂政已下参入して着座す。次で衝重を居えおわんぬ。太閤[道長]盃を執りて進みて上頭に居う。摂政座を避く。向ひて右大臣に居う。すでに行酒の道なく、地下を経て南の階従り昇る。便を用るか。次々勸盃の人、すでに其の道無し。仍って衝重を撤

つす。南きざはしひがしわきの階し東れいじん腋しに座しを敷しき、伶人けいしょうてんじよびとを召げんして、衝重しを給かう。卿相けいしょうてんじよびと殿上人等げん絃哥人々か相おひ應おず。堂上どうじょう・地下じげで絲竹しちくどうせい同聲さんしじゆんす。三四巡のちの後たいこうたわぶ、太閤たいこう戯たわぶれて云わく、「右大將みぎだいしやう、盃わを我が子わがこに勸すすむべし」と。(撰政せんせいなり。)余よ盃わを執とり撰政せんせいに勸すすむ。撰政せんせい、左府さふに度わたす。左府さふ、太閤たいこうに獻けんず。太閤たいこう、右府みぎふに度わたす。次第しだい流りゅう巡じゆんす。次つぎいで祿ろくを太閤たいこう已下いげにを給かふ。大お掛おうちかけ太閤たいこう云わく、「その祿ろくは子こに得えりと有あらんや」と。又また伶人れいじんに祿ろくを給かふ。太閤たいこう下官げかんを招まねき呼よて云わく、可わ「哥讀わがよまんまんと欲ほす。必かならずず和わす。」てへり。答こたて云わく、「なんぞ、和わし奉ほうつらざらんや」。又また云わく、「誇ほこりたる哥うたになむ有ある。但ただし宿しゆくにあらず」てへり。「此この世よをば我が世よとぞ思おもふ、望月もちづきの虧かけたる事ことも無なきと思おもへば」。余よ申まをして云わく、御歌ぎょか優美ゆうびなり。酬むくひ答こたえるに方ほうなし。只ただ満座まんざ、此この御哥ぎょかを誦じゆすべし。元稹げんしん<sup>9</sup>の菊きくの詩はつきよ白居易いに和わせず。深しんく賞しょう歎たんして、終日しゅうじつ吟詠ぎんえいす。諸卿しよきやう、余よの言げんに響きやう応おうし、度數すうど吟詠ぎんえいす。太閤たいこう和わ解かいし、殊ことに和わを責せめず。夜深よるかまり、月明つきあかるし。扶醉すいよ、各々おのおの退たい出しゆつす。

## [English]

{Advancement to Queen Consort, Junior Consort<sup>10</sup> Ishi}

Sixteenth day, *Kinotomi* {42<sup>nd</sup> day of sexagenary cycle}. Today was the day when the Junior Consort Fujiwara no Ishi advanced to the position of Queen-Consort. (Third daughter of the former Premier Minister<sup>11</sup> {Michinaga}. The household holds the positions of Senior Grand Queen-Consort, Grand Queen-Consort, and Queen-Consort,<sup>12</sup> which is unprecedented.) Because it was an inauspicious day for me, sutras were chanted on my behalf at Kiyomizudera.<sup>13</sup> I had the chanting monks offer prayers and sound the gongs. I rode to the palace in the same carriage with the Advisor for the Council of State.<sup>14</sup> 9:30 AM. The court nobles and state ministers had not yet arrived. In a short while, the

<sup>9</sup> Yuan Zhen (779-831), a famous Tang poet and novelist.

<sup>10</sup> At this time, the positions of *kōgō* and *chūgū* were undifferentiated and referred to the same figure. However, in the reign of Ichijō Tennō, the roles were separated when a second woman was raised to the status of Official Consort. The initial occupant was made *Kōgō*, while the new consort was appointed *Chūgū*. Therefore from this time it became customary to have more than one queen-consort. In such cases, the first consort to be appointed would be promoted from *chūgū* to *kōgō* if a new consort was appointed. Officially, the position of *Kōgō* was equal to that of *Chūgū*, but there were cases where the *Chūgū* was the more powerful figure. For this reason, from the reign of Ichijō Tennō onwards, *kōgō* should be translated as ‘senior queen-consort’, while *chūgū* should be ‘queen-consort’ in order to reflect the official difference which emerged between the two positions. [皇后、中宮、一条天皇] (modified from: USC Kambun Workshop 2007)

<sup>11</sup> Head of the Council of State (*Daijōkan*) and prime minister, according to the Law on Personnel (*Shikiin-ryō*) of the *Taihō* Code. Such an official generally held the first rank. The first *daijōdaijin* was Prince Ōtomo in Tenji's era. After promulgation of the codes, the office was filled only when an extraordinary individual was available to fill it. [太政官、職員令、大宝律令、大友皇子、天智] (Joan Piggott, *Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, p.309)

<sup>12</sup> 太皇太后、皇太后、皇后の総称。 *Encyclopedia Nipponica*

<sup>13</sup> [Need note](#)

<sup>14</sup> If you look at the last line on page 49 of the *Shōyūki* text, you see that Fujiwara no Sukehira is the *saishō* for this period. [\\*Relationship with Sanesuke? Add note here](#)

Senior Controllers of the Left and Right<sup>15</sup> arrived to the residential palace.<sup>16</sup> At midday, Minister of the Right {Fujiwara no Kinsue} as well as various senior nobles arrived. The Royal Secretary<sup>17</sup> *cum* Lesser Controller of the Right {Fujiwara no} Sukenari was next to arrive, and conveyed to the Minister of the Right the following order {from the tennō}: “The Second Queen-Consort {*chūgū*} shall become Grand Queen-Consort, and the Junior Consort Ishi {is made} Queen Consort. Have the royal proclamation<sup>18</sup> drafted.”

Then, the Minister of the Left arrived. The Minister of the Right apprised the Minister of the Left [{Fujiwara no} Akimitsu] of the situation. At that point {Sukenari<sup>19</sup>} rose from his seat, perhaps to report {to the tennō} that the Minister of the Left<sup>20</sup> had arrived? Before the orders had been received {from the tennō}, the Minister of the Left summoned the Senior Palace Secretary [Fujiwara no] Yoshitada and had him submit the royal proclamation {conveying} the advancement {of Ishi.} Then the draft was submitted. Various doubts were expressed by those present {on the Minister of the Left, Akimitsu’s conduct}, as the Minister of the Right had originally received the order {from the tennō to create the royal proclamation}. Even if there were informal orders {from the tennō to Akimitsu}, shouldn’t the {official} orders of the day be followed in giving orders about the royal proclamation? (Someone said, “Without receiving the order {from the tennō}, the Minister of the Left ordered the Palace Secretary to create a royal proclamation that stated: “Queen-Consort’s Residence will be made Grand Queen-Consort’s office.” Thus, when the Premier Minister {Michinaga} heard of this matter, he was incensed and greatly disparaged the Minister of the Left’s words. His words do not bear repeating.)

This was extremely irregular. In the meantime, Sukenari {returned and} conveyed the {tennō’s} orders about the royal proclamation to the Minister of the Left.<sup>21</sup> In these circumstances {ie. since Akimitsu had already had the draft submitted}, Sukenari was given the draft. (This was likely submitted to the regent, {either at} the end of the double hour of the horse or the beginning of the double hour of the sheep {1:00 pm}). Then, the order to make a clean copy was given. The clean copy was memorialized {to the regent/throne} and then returned. Regarding the {choice of} counselor for the royal proclamation emissary (*senmyōshi*<sup>22</sup>), Sukenari was made to inquire regarding the {tennō’s} thoughts. (I heard the Supreme Minister {Michinaga} had arrived there earlier, and as before, will have the power of appointment).

<sup>15</sup> Kugyō Bunin tells us the names of those serving as 左右大弁 at this time (pg. 266, entry for Kannin 2nd year) Fujiwara no Asatsune is the Senior Controller of the Right, and Minamoto no Michikata is the Senior Controller of the Left.

<sup>16</sup> [Need note on residential palace](#)

<sup>17</sup> An official of fifth or sixth rank, responsible to the Chamberlains’ Office (Kurōdodokoro) and under the supervision of two Secretaries (Kurōdo no Tō) of somewhat higher rank. A Chamberlain was admitted to the privy chamber and had direct access to the Emperor; he was also allowed to wear colours and fabrics normally forbidden to a man of his rank. [蔵人所、蔵人頭] (Royall Tyler, Tale of Genji, p. 1161)

<sup>18</sup> An oral edict proclaimed before officialdom, generally from the Daigokuden. In the early eighth century proclamation of oral edicts played an important part in accession rites. Our earliest examples are archived in the Shoku nihongi and date from Mommu Tennō’s age. Some fragmentary earlier examples of *senmyō* inscribed on mokkan have been uncovered as well. [太極殿、続日本紀、文武天皇、木簡] (Joan Piggott, Emergence of Japanese Kingship, p. 323)

<sup>19</sup> Not specified in the text who rose here, but likely Sukenari was the kuroudo; unlikely that the Ministers of the Left or Right would go to report.

<sup>20</sup> [Need note on jōrō](#)

<sup>21</sup> [Note: as discussed above, the Minister of the Left should have waited for these orders](#)

<sup>22</sup> [Need note](#)

{The order was:} “The Right Captain of the Gate Guards, {Fujiwara no} Sanenari {Middle Counselor} should serve.” The Minister of the Right spoke: “If the son serves as the royal proclamation emissary and the father must perform salutations {bow}, is this not a problem?” Having consulted {the tennō and regent} about what to do, {their} instructions were followed, and {Kinsue} did not [stand in the line](#).

The guards served at this mid-level court ritual. (They did not use the *koshō* (folding benches). {They wore} *hōeki* (closed-side robes), and had *tsubo yanagui* (round quivers), etc.) At this time, the tennō arrived in the South Hall (*Naden*<sup>23</sup>). (The Supreme Minister, Regent, and Minister of the Right were within the bamboo screens of the South Hall.) The various nobles and I went out through the *Shikiseimon*, and then I prepared to serve as the Director of Outer Ceremonies. {We} put on our {ceremonial} shoes at the *Torinosōshi*,<sup>24</sup> and then took our seats. The *shōshi* (benches) were set out, but the ceremonial chest<sup>25</sup> was not set out. One should say this was irregular. The Council Secretary was summoned and asked whether the royal palace attendants,<sup>26</sup> the Ministry of Personnel, the Board of Censors, and the Yin Yang officials were present or not. {The Council Secretary} said, “All are present.” I gave the order to quickly form the {ceremonial} line. Thereupon, the Shōmei, Chōraku, Eian, and Kenrei gates were opened. (There was no one at the right palace guard post and the western {right-side} door of the *Kenrei* gate was not opened. Therefore, they opened the left guardroom. Afterwards, the right palace guards and officials of the right - two or three people in all - stood in the guardroom.) The Minister of the Left, {who was the} Master of Inner Ceremonies,<sup>27</sup> summoned the palace attendants. The royal palace attendants acknowledged his summons. The Junior Counselor, Koremitsu entered. I stood up, and moved to the front of the guardroom of the left palace guards.

Each took his place in order {in the line}. Koremitsu returned, conveyed the order {of the Master of Inner Ceremonies}, and withdrew behind the curtained enclosure.<sup>28</sup> Then we proceeded to the eastern edge of the curtained enclosure {partition} and when the various {senior} nobles reached the southern edge of the guardroom of the Left Palace Guards, each in turn bowed and entered. Koremitsu cut an extremely strange figure, waiting as each bowed. Could anyone know of a precedent {for such behavior}? The various members of the Council of State took their places according to the place markers.<sup>29</sup> The three Yin Yang officials stood in order. (Fourth rank {Abe no} Yoshihira, Fifth Rank {Abe no} Yoshimasa, and {Abe no} Fumitaka, each of them members of Yin Yang houses.)

When the line was set, the Master of Inner Ceremonies summoned the captain of the right gate guard. He {the captain} acknowledged the summons and entered {the South Hall}. He {the captain} was given the royal proclamation and descended from the hall {South Hall}. He stopped and stood in the second bay of the western corridor. (He withdrew to the north.) Next, the Master of Inner Ceremonies descended from the hall, and joined the line. Then the emissary of the royal proclamation then arrived at his marker. The royal proclamation was read twice, and each time the various retainers bowed twice *saihai*. Once they were done, the emissary of the

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<sup>23</sup> [Add note](#)

<sup>24</sup> [Add note](#)

<sup>25</sup> [Add note](#)

<sup>26</sup> [Need note on Ōdoneri](#)

<sup>27</sup> [Need note on naiben](#)

<sup>28</sup> [Need note on man and placement](#)

<sup>29</sup> [Need note](#)

royal proclamation turned to the left and returned to his original place. (His {return} path was directly to the south. {It was suggested that} he should have returned by following the path he took to get there, {which would mean he would} pass above the ministers and other nobles senior to him. {I thought} this was very inappropriate. There must be some precedent. According to the Senior Counselor, “Both precedents exist.”) Next the Minister of the Left and below exited. (The Minister passed to the south of the curtained enclosure - not the usual custom. I, and those below me, went out as we came in from the north of the curtained enclosure.) Again, we approached the *Torinosōshi* and removed our {ceremonial} shoes. Entering from the eastern gate, we returned to the guardroom. The Minister of the Right was standing beyond the wall of the guardroom.

Following this, I had a private word {with the Minister of the Right}. The Yin Yang officials {*tone*} should have been summoned by the Master of Inner Ceremonies {*naiben*}. However, the chamberlain {*jijū*}, was summoned (Akimitsu: “*Mauchikimitachi*”<sup>30</sup>). It is said that the Supreme Minister was surprised and thought it was strange. Head of the Royal Secretariat {*kurōdo no tō*}, {Fujiwara no} Sadayori, conveyed the regent’s correspondence to both {the Ministers of the Left and Right}. (Shouldn’t the royal proclamation regarding the advancement in position to royal consort (*rikkō*) have been conveyed to the highest-ranking minister by the Head of the Royal Secretariat? Weightier matters are handled by the Royal Secretariat. Lighter matters are presented by the Head of the Royal Secretariat. Here the Head is handling the light, and the Royal Secretariat, the weighty. Second Controller of the Left, {Fujiwara no} Tsunemichi, attended a *Yuima-e*,<sup>31</sup> and it is said he has not yet returned {to Heiankyō}.)

At that point, both the ministers of the left and the minister of the right visited the regent’s quarters. A short while later the nobles arrived. Standing before the regent, the ministers of the left and right and Senior Controller of the Right {Minamoto no} Michikata<sup>32</sup> appointed the members of the second queen consort {Ishi}’s household: (Senior second rank Counselor to the Throne *cum* Senior Counselor and Imperial Inspector of the Provincial Governments, Lord Fujiwara Tadanobu.<sup>33</sup> Junior second rank Provisional High Steward *cum* Provisional Middle Counselor {Fujiwara no} Yoshinobu. Senior fourth rank lower, Second-level Manager *cum* Governor of Tajima, Tachibana no Ason Noritaka.<sup>34</sup> Junior fourth rank lower, Provisional Second-level Manager Fujiwara no Ason Kanefusa. Lower fifth rank, Senior Second-level Manager<sup>35</sup> of the lower fifth rank, Fujiwara no Ason Kinari. Lower fifth rank, Provisional Senior Second-level Manager *cum* Governor of Mikawa, Minamoto no Ason Tameyoshi. Junior Second-level Manager, Fujiwara Yoribumi. Second-level Manager of Court Music *cum* Provisional Junior Second-level Manager, Fujiwara Akimichi. Senior Fourth-level Official *cum* Third-level Official of the Statistics Bureau Official, Enuma no Motoaki. Junior Fourth-level Official *cum* Fourth-level Official of the Bureau of Carpentry, Koremune Yukimasa. Provisional Junior Fourth-level Official *cum* Fourth-level Official of the Statistics Bureau, Tamenobu.)

For the appointment, the minister of the left took the baton (*shaku*)<sup>36</sup> and then withdrew. (As per the order of the Supreme Minister, a final copy was made before the Regent. Perhaps this was in order to move things forward more quickly.) The Minister of the Left said, “The guards should be summoned and assemble quickly. The roll of appointees should be given to the Counselor.” This and that was

<sup>30</sup> [Need note](#)

<sup>31</sup> A *yuima-e* is a ceremony centered around the reading of the *Yuima-gyō* (*The Vimalakīrti Sutra*) at Kōfukuji. For more on the *yuima-e* in English, see Mikael Bauer, “The Yuima-e as Theater of State.”

<sup>32</sup> 藤原道方 (ふじわらのみちかた) The fifth son of Minamoto no Shigenobu. His highest held position was that of provisional middle counselor, and he reached the upper second rank.

<sup>33</sup> [Add footnote](#)

<sup>34</sup> 但馬国 (たじまのしとくに) = 現在の兵庫県。Modern day Hyōgo prefecture.

<sup>35</sup> [Add note: of the Chūgūshiki?](#)

<sup>36</sup> [Add note](#)

said - the precedent is to summon the guards after the roll of appointees has been given. The Minister agreed. He summoned the (Council) Secretary, placed the Register of Appointments in a box, and gave it to the (Council) Secretary. Then he returned to the guardroom. The rest filed after him.

At this time, the lords Tadanobu and Yoshinobu entered through the **Sennin Gate** descended the stairs, and proceeded to the archery range<sup>37</sup> to offer thanks {for their appointments}. (Both ministers were courtiers permitted into the Waiting Room of the Audience Chamber, so should they not have crossed the South Hall and proceeded through the archery range?) Instead, they retraced their steps and left. The Minister of the Left {Akimitsu} summoned the Aide of Ceremonial and gave out the names for promotion. (He did not even err with such words as "Mōko" and "Maketamau".)

### Day 3 Part IV English Translation

Next, he {Fujiwara no Akimitsu} had two *hizatsuki* cloths laid out {to protect one's knees while kneeling}, and summoned the commanders and assistants of the Six Guards. He commanded them, "Serve as the *guides* for the queen-consort." (I wonder if he should have commanded them to serve as *guards*?<sup>38</sup> The Left and Right Imperial Bodyguards, Left and Right Gate Guards,<sup>39</sup> and the Right Gate Guards were absent. The Assistant of the Left Military Guards,<sup>40</sup> {Fujiwara no} Koreto, wore a sword with a mother of pearl inlay. This was very unconventional. The precedent was that the high nobility wore *imon-patterned obi* and mother of pearl inlaid swords. The right gate guard was not present, and the council secretary was consequently informed.)

Subsequently the Ministers of the Left and Right and those lower in rank exited from the Shikisei Gate to visit the new palace. (At first the Minister of the Left {Fujiwara no Akimitsu} said that he would not attend, but suddenly he changed his mind and decided to go. Lord {Minamoto no} Shunken said that today he {Akimitsu} unexpectedly submitted a nomination for palace inspector. It was not approved. He was so furious at this result that he had said he would not attend.)

I expressed my concerns to Lord Shunken about whether the superior officers ought to see the Ministers off. Lord Shunken<sup>41</sup> replied, "Did they forget?" The precedent is that when the Ministers exit by the Shikisei Gate the superior officers should see them off. However, the Ministers should {then} let them off the hook.

The Minister of the Left and those lower in rank arrived at the new palace {Jōtōmon'in, Ishi's new residence}. (The attendants of the Queen Consort's household and the nobles of her family had already arrived at the Jōtōmon'in<sup>42</sup>). Noritaka no Ason, Associate Director {of the Queen's Household Agency}, reported the particulars. (The councilor to the throne {Tadanobu} asked, "I arrived earlier and have already expressed my gratitude {for my appointment}. Should I line up again?" I answered, "That was as {a member of} the Queen Consort's Household attendants. This time you are leading the nobles. You should probably bow." Lord Shunken gave the same answer as I did. The councilors to the throne and provisional councilors to the throne then lined up.) {Noritaka} went back out, and transmitted the orders {from Ishi, the Queen

<sup>37</sup> [Add note](#)

<sup>38</sup> Akimitsu used the term *kei* (啓); the proper term is *keijin* (啓陣). In his typical fashion, Sanesuke belittles Akimitsu through a rhetorical question.

<sup>39</sup> [Add note - McCullough](#)

<sup>40</sup> [McCullough](#)

<sup>41</sup> A superior officer along with Sanesuke

<sup>42</sup> [Need note](#)

Consort, to enter}. The Minister of the Left and those lower in rank entered from the West Center Gate and lined up by rank. Highest ranked to the west.

The chamberlain(s) did not line up. They were urged a second time,<sup>43</sup> but did not come and line up. (Retired Regent {Michinaga} also urged the chamberlains, calling out several times in a loud voice from behind his bamboo blinds<sup>44</sup>). After bowing, people arrived in {rank} order at the eastern wing. (They sat facing each other in the main hall {of the eastern wing}, highest ranked to the north. In ancient times, it is said that they would sit on the veranda. The {fourth-ranked} chamberlains were on the south veranda of the main hall, lined up with highest ranked to the west, facing north. The fifth-ranked chamberlains were on the southern veranda<sup>45</sup>).

In the above-mentioned {eastern} wing, the blinds were not rolled up, and they placed folding screens measuring four *shaku*.<sup>46</sup> Brocade-edged tatami mats (*kōraiberi*) were laid out. The square cushions<sup>47</sup> and the round cushions<sup>48</sup> were not spread out. Purple-edged tatami mats were laid out for the seats of the chamberlains. The feast had been laid out in advance {on the tables}. The first round of sake (the regent<sup>49</sup> and Counselor to the Throne {Fujiwara no} Tadanobu). The second round of sake (Senior Captain of the Inner Palace Guards of the Right Norimichi, Provisional Director {of the Queen Consort's Household} Yoshinobu). The third round of sake (Tsunefusa, the Provisional Director of the Grand Queen's Household, and Left Captain of the Palace Gate Guards<sup>50</sup> {Fujiwara no} Yorimune<sup>51</sup>).

After the first round was finished, the regent took his seat. Then, Director of the Grand Queen's Household Michitsuna took his seat. (Lord Michitsuna said that he had experienced back pain and did not go to the residential palace, {and instead, he} came directly to {Ishi's} palace.) The fifth and sixth rounds were for the senior nobles and chamberlains. During this time, the female attendants<sup>52</sup> served the meal. Afterwards, straw round cushions were laid out on the south-facing veranda {of the main palace, where Ishi would have been seated}. The courtiers were summoned {to sit in front of Ishi in the main hall}. The regent and those with him took their seats. The low table trays were placed in position.

Retired Regent [Michinaga] took the sake cup and set it down at the seat of the highest ranker. Regent left his seat.<sup>53</sup> Facing the Minister of the Right, he {Michinaga} set {the cup} down. At that time there was no path for the sake servers, and they passed through the grounds and ascended via the south stairs. Perhaps they were adjusting to the circumstances. The sake servers came one after another where there was already no room to pass. Consequently, the low tray tables had to be removed {to make room}. Seats were arranged on the east side of the south

<sup>43</sup> They were probably urged by Tadanobu

<sup>44</sup> But they did not come and line up, possibly because they were hesitant to join

<sup>45</sup> Need to adjust according to our final decision on how to translate *sunoko/hisashi/matahisashi*

<sup>46</sup> In height, add note on how tall this is

<sup>47</sup> 茵 (しとみ) *shitomi*

<sup>48</sup> 円座 (わらふざ) *warōza*

<sup>49</sup> 藤原頼通 (ふじわらのよりみち) Fujiwara no Yorimichi. The oldest son of Fujiwara no Michinaga. Born 992, died 1074. He held the positions of regent, chief-of-staff, and Prime Minister, and reached the rank of junior first rank.

<sup>50</sup> 左衛門 (さえもんのかみ)

<sup>51</sup> 藤原頼宗 (ふじわらのよりむね) Fujiwara no Yorimune. The second son of Fujiwara no Michinaga. Born 993, died 1065. His highest held position was that of minister of the right, and he reached the junior first rank.

<sup>52</sup> *uneme*, Note needed

<sup>53</sup> The regent is Michinaga's son, Yorimichi. He leaves his seat to avoid receiving sake from his father.

steps, and the entertainers were summoned and given tray tables {with their food}. The senior nobles, royal intimates, and others played strings and sang with the entertainers. On the veranda and the grounds strings and woodwinds played together. After three or four rounds, Retired Regent {Michinaga} said jovially, “General of the Right should pass the cup to my child.” (He meant the Regent.) I picked up the cup and passed it to Regent. Regent passed it to Minister of the Left. Minister of the Left passed it to Retired Regent, and Retired Regent passed to Minister of the Right. It went around to one person after another in order. Then emoluments were given to everyone from Retired Regent down. Retired Regent said “Ah! To be receiving such a reward from my child!” The musicians were also given emoluments.

Retired Regent {Michinaga} summoned me and said: “I want to recite *waka*. Without fail you must respond.” I replied: “Indeed, we should present *waka*.” He continued, saying: “I have a proud poem - not one that I prepared in advance.”

*This world, I think,  
Is indeed my world.  
Like the full moon I shine,  
Uncovered by any cloud.*<sup>54</sup>

I said, “What an elegant poem! There is no way to respond. We should all intone this wonderful poem. Bai Juyi<sup>55</sup> did not respond to Yuan Zhen’s<sup>56</sup> Chrysanthemum Poem<sup>57</sup>, but {instead} spent a whole day reciting his poems in appreciation. The senior nobles echoed my remarks and recited the poem several times. Retired Regent {Michinaga} was satisfied, and did not demand a response. It grew late and a bright moon rose. Assisting each other<sup>58</sup> each departed.

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<sup>54</sup> Translation taken from Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince* (New York: Kodansha International, 1964): 60-61

<sup>55</sup> Bai Juyi (772-846) or Bo Juyi, a Chinese poet of the Tang dynasty. His poems focus on observations made during his career as a government official

<sup>56</sup> Yuan Zhen (779-831), a famous Tang poet and novelist.

<sup>57</sup> “Chrysanthemum poem”: [This appears to be a famous poem of Yuan Zhen. A quick search online, turned up this unofficial translation:](#)

*Autumn clusters surround my house just  
like Tao Yuanming's.  
I walk full circle round the fence as the  
sun slowly tilts.  
It's not that I love chrysanthemums more  
than other flowers,  
but that no others will blossom after  
these blooms wither.*

<sup>58</sup> Because they were drunk.