

Katsura Dainagon 桂大納言
(Fujiwara no Mitsuyori 藤原光頼)

And

the Glosses of the *Kōsōden* 高僧傳 Text in the
Iwaya-ji 岩屋寺 Collection

Naoki Nakano

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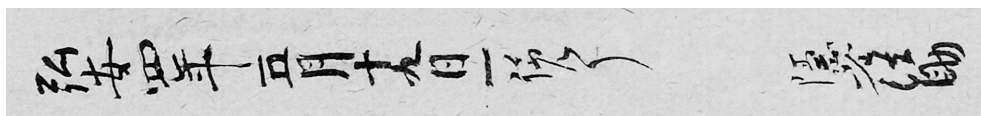
0 Introduction

This paper examines the glosses (hereinafter, *kunten* 訓点) found in the *Kōsōden* 高僧傳. This work is part of an anthology of Chinese-printed scriptures housed in Iwaya-ji 岩屋寺, a temple located in Minamichita, Aichi Prefecture, and belonging to the Owari Kōyasan 尾張高野山 sect. The *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji (hereinafter, simply referred to as the *Kōsōden*) features rich *kunten* in considerable volume and with a high degree of quality. In addition, several different kinds of *kunten* can be seen in this work, making it a useful resource for investigating how *kunten* were added in the Kamakura period, and how Chinese texts were read at the time.²

1 The postscript of the *Kōsōden* 高僧傳 in Iwaya-ji 岩屋寺

The postscript often provides important clues about the origin of the *kunten* in a written work. Let us first look at the postscripts for each scroll (later additions to the postscripts are marked below with angle brackets < >).

Scroll 5 弘安四年五月十九日一覽了 隱老法助



Finished reading on the nineteenth day of the fifth month, Kōan 4 Inrō Hōjō

Scroll 7 <仁和寺准后御記也>

<This is written by Jūgō in Ninna-ji>

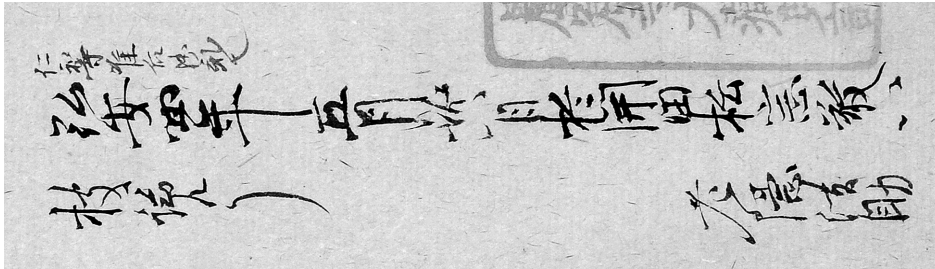
¹ “Gloss” is not a standard translation for *kunten*. The reviewer of this paper proposed the term “Japanese translation notations”, though *kunten* are thought to be best understood as a kind of auxiliary system of signs used to assist understanding in Japanese while also preserving the order of characters in the Chinese text without altering the original, and therefore the author chose to adopt the term “gloss” as a tentative equivalent.

² A facsimile of the *Kōsōden* is planned to be published in the future.

弘安四年五月廿八日於開田松窓敬以
披覽了 〈老隱法助〉

Finished reading on the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month, Kōan 4 in
Kaidenshōsō

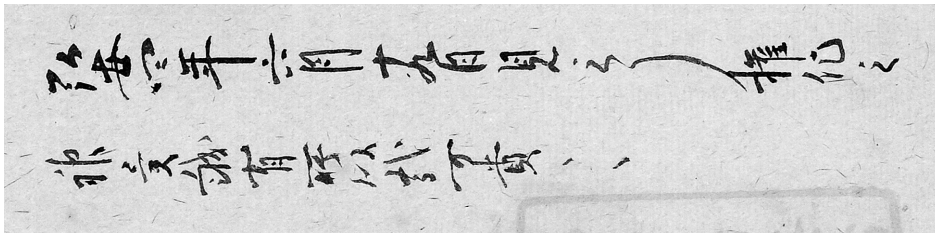
〈Inrō Hōjo〉



Scroll 10 弘安四年六月十九日見之了權化之

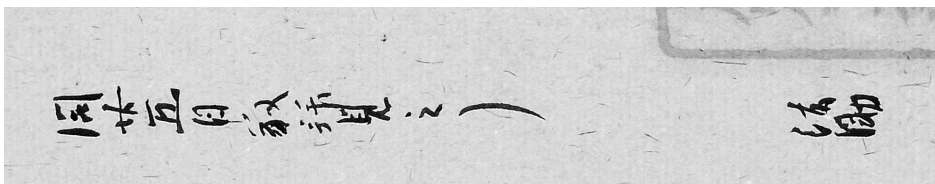
Finished reading on the nineteenth day of the sixth month, Kōan 4
神異誠有所以哉可貴、

Oh, the wonder of the blessing. Pay respect, pay respect.



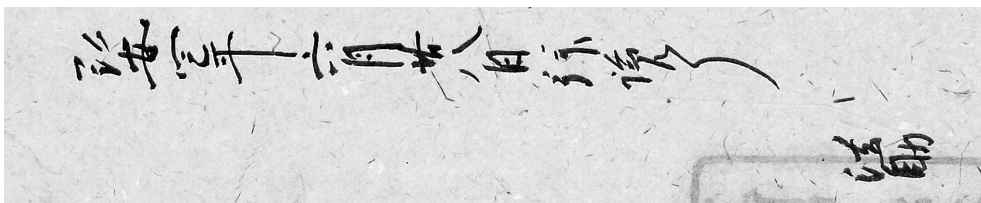
Scroll 12 同廿五日敬拜見之了 法助

Finished reading on the twenty-fifth day of the same month Hōjo



Scroll 13 弘安四年六月廿八日拜覽了 法助

Finished reading on the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month, Kōan 4 Hōjo



Scroll 14 弘安四年六月廿八日一部十四卷披覽了

Finished reading this one work of fourteen scrolls on the twenty-eighth day of

the sixth month, Kōan 4

願生々世々結法縁於彼高僧耳

I hope that we keep the relation to honored priests forever.

沙門法助

Priest Hōjo

〈已上開田殿御自筆之御日記也〉

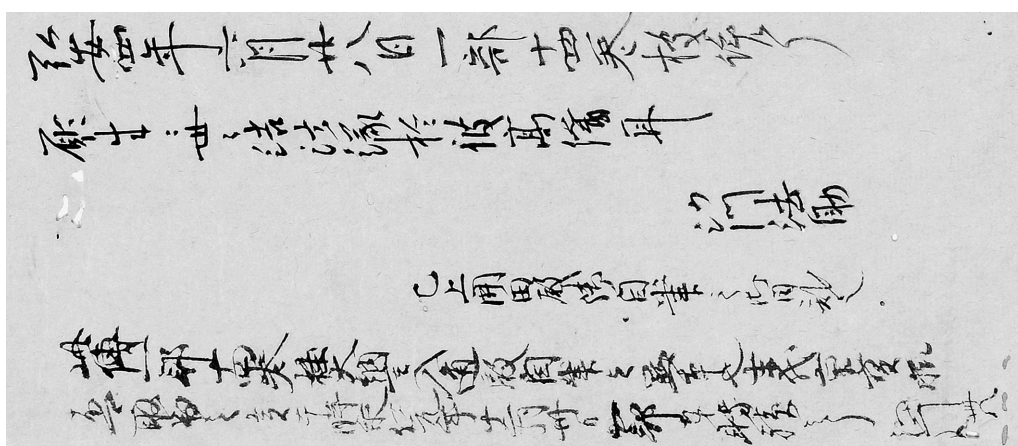
〈The above was written by Kaidendono [Hōjo]〉

此伝一部十四卷桂大納言入道殿自筆之点本也末代重宝輒

This document, one work in fourteen scrolls, has *kunten* added by Katsura Dainagon; it should be treasured through the ages,

不可取出之矣于時永仁元年十二月卅日一部奉転読之了 經弁冊八

and should not be removed. Finished reading of the whole work on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month, Einin 1 Kyōben Forty-eight.



We can see the names Kyōben 經弁, Hōjo 法助, and Katsura Dainagon 桂大納言 in the postscripts of this work. Kyōben and Hōjo are both priests who have a connection with Kōzan-ji 高山寺 (Kyoto 京都). Thus, we can tell from the postscripts that these scrolls were possibility once held in Kōzan-ji. However, the postscripts including these names only say that the reader has “finished reading”, so we cannot say for sure whether or not they added any *kunten* to the manuscript.

The postscript of scroll 14 is more detailed, stating: “This document, one work in fourteen scrolls, has *kunten* added by Katsura Dainagon”. If we are to believe this passage, we can say that the *kunten* in this manuscript were added by Katsura Dainagon.

2 About Katsura Dainagon 桂大納言 (Fujiwara no Mitsuyori 藤原光頼)³

Katsura Dainagon lived from Tenji 天治 1 (1124) to Jōan 承安 3 (1173). He was known

as Hamuro Dainagon as well as Katsura Dainagon, and belongs to Fujiwara Hokke Kajūjiryū 藤原北家勸修寺流. His father was Gon no Chūnagon Fujiwara no Akiyori 權中納言藤原顯頼 and his mother was the daughter of Fujiwara no Toshitada 藤原俊忠.

He became a priest after holding positions as a state councilor and chief state councilor. The *Taiki* 台記 states that he was not well-mannered, though it also mentions that he gradually gained the trust of those around him and gained power in the political world.

In the *Heiji Monogatari* 平治物語, he is said to have helped the ex-emperor and harshly criticized his brother Fujiwara no Korekata 藤原惟方 and nephew Fujiwara no Nobuyori 藤原信頼 who tried to stand against the ex-emperor. Apart from his work as a politician, he also composed waka 和歌 poetry. He has eight poems in the *Shin-chokusenshū* 新勅撰集 and produced his own anthology named the *Katsura Dainagon Nyūdō-dono Gyoshū* 桂大納言入道殿御集. Mitsuyori also is known to have composed Chinese poetry, and has referred to Chinese tales in his waka poems. The *Ima kagami* 今鏡 and the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 also mention Katsura Dainagon.

From the *Ima kagami*:

“This man, the Dainagon by the name Mitsuyori, had not done much by forty, but became a Buddhist priest and retreated to the village in Katsura. He was known to be a good man in all respects.

From the *Gukanshō*:

“There was Katsura no nyūdō 桂入道, Mitsuyori Dainagon. He was exceptional and was praised by others.”

Currently, the *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji is the only *kunten* text related to Katsura Dainagon.

3 *Kunten* by Katsura Dainagon within the *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji

This section will examine characteristics of the *kunten* visible in the *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji, looking first at the various kinds of *kunten* marks added to the main text, then going on to examine how the *kunten* readings (*kundoku*) in the *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji interpret the main text, with comparison to the *kundoku* featured in other manuscripts and editions.

³ Inoue (1978) Ochiai (2014, 2015), and Fujiwara (2016) give an extensive background to this individual.

3.1 Various Kinds of *Kunten*⁴

The *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji features several types of *kunten* marks, each of which will be touched upon below.

· *Shōten* 声点 (Marks indicating the tone of Chinese characters)

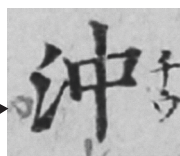
The readings of Chinese characters that were imported into Japan originally had their tones preserved. The *Kōsōden* has *shōten* indicating tones different to those found in *Guangyun* 廣韻.

This suggests that the *shōten* in the *Kōsōden* were not added mechanically based on a dictionary, but reflect the tones in which the characters were read at the time. The tones of Chinese characters as read in Japan are thought to have Japanese characteristics. There are six tones for *kan-on* 漢音 (Sino-Japanese) readings:

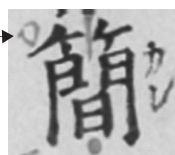
hyōshō 平声



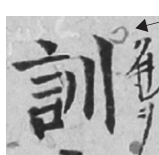
hyōshōkaru 平声輕



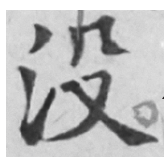
jōshō 上声



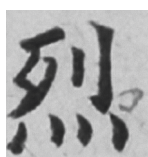
kyōshō 去声



nisshō 入声



nisshōkaru 入声輕



Buddhist biographies are usually read with *kan-on*, and the *Kōsōden*'s tone markers indicate *kan-on* tones. The tone values for Japanese readings of Chinese characters are as follows:

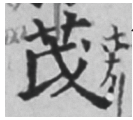
<i>hyōshō</i> 平声 : Low tone	<i>hyōshōkaru</i> 平声輕 : Falling tone
<i>jōshō</i> 上声 : High tone	<i>kyōshō</i> 去声 : Rising tone
<i>nisshō</i> 入声 : Abrupt tone (Low)	<i>nisshōkaru</i> 入声輕 : Abrupt tone (High)

⁴ See Kinsui, Yamada & Nakano (2015).

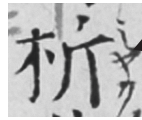
· *Kana* 仮名

Sino-Japanese readings (*on* 音)

The *Kōsōden* is also read almost entirely with *kan-on* (though there are a few examples of *go-on* 呉音 readings).



kan-on: bo(ホ), *go-on*:
mo(モ)



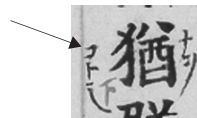
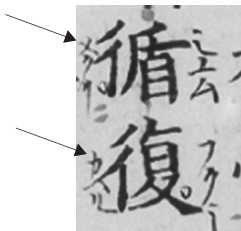
kan-on: seki(セキ), *go-on*: shaku
(シヤク)

Native Japanese readings (*kun* 訓)

In most cases, native Japanese readings are written on the right side of characters, but in some cases *kana* on the left side of a character indicate an alternative reading. Alternative readings are often based on another manuscript or a teacher's opinion. Characters read twice in a passage have their readings marked on both sides.

(*kun* to the left of a character)

(characters read twice)



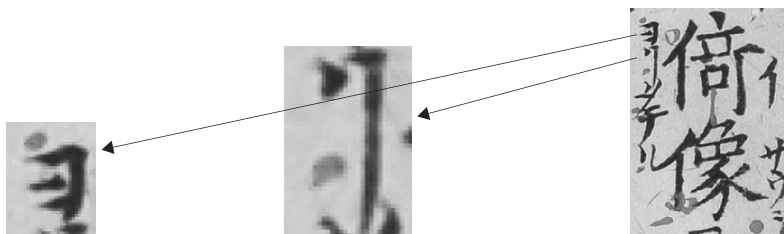
Some native Japanese readings feature tone markings, which provide a valuable resource to understand pitches in words from around the Heian 平安 period.

There are a total of 133 examples of tone marking, which is not a large number considering the length of the text.⁵ Native Japanese readings feature only two types of tone marks, as shown in the example below.

(*jōshō* 上声)

(*hyōshō* 平声)

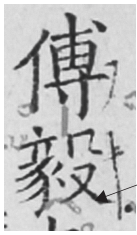
[上声 : High tone, 平声 : Low tone]



· Marks indicating names

People's names feature a mark below them with the following shape: 一

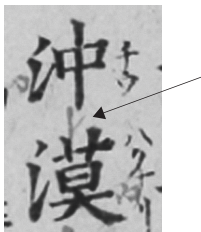
⁵ See Kinsui, Yamada & Nakano (2015).



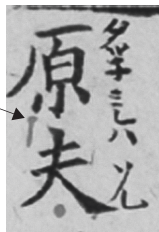
· Marks indicating compound words

A line between two characters indicate a compound word. *On* 音 (Sino-Japanese) readings are indicated by a mark in the center and *kun* 訓 (Native Japanese) readings are indicated by a mark on the left-hand side.

On compound mark



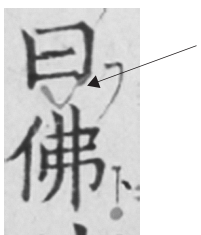
Kun compound mark



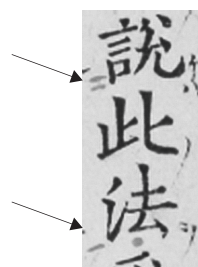
· Marks indicating the order of reading

Marks reversing the order of reading for two adjacent characters are shaped like a V. Marks changing the order of reading for characters that are further away are marked with Chinese numerals.

V mark



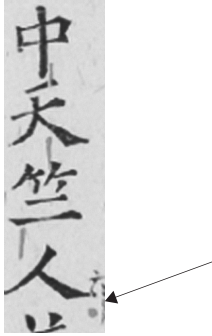
Chinese numerals (一・二)



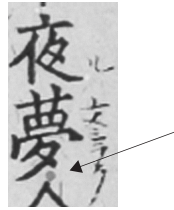
· Punctuation marks

Breaks within a sentence and between sentences are marked in the text as follows:

Sentence final



Mid-sentence break



3.2 *Kundoku* 訓読 (Varied readings of the text)

This manuscript has unique readings. A comparison of the readings in this text with other versions is given below using excerpts from scroll 13, owing to the availability of texts with which to make comparisons.⁶ Abbreviations for each text are indicated as follows: I: *Kunten* within the *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji, K: Manuscript in Kōfuku-ji 興福寺,⁷ KY: *Kokuyakuissai* 国訳一切経 edition, IN: *Iwanamibunko* 岩波文庫 edition (the last two editions are modern publications)

· Excerpt concerning Zikukeitatsu 竺慧達 leaving to become a priest and changing his name.

〈Main text〉 出家學道改名慧達

〈I〉 Renouncing the world and practicing asceticism, he changed his name to Keitatsu.

〈K〉 Renouncing the world and practicing asceticism, he named himself anew as Keitatsu.

〈KY〉 Renouncing the world and practicing asceticism, he changed his name to Keitatsu.

〈IN〉 He renounced the world, studied the Way of the Buddha. He changed name to Keitatsu.

· Excerpt describing a statue of the emperor Ashoka being saved from the war.

〈Main text〉 遭亂藏置河邊

〈I〉 Facing the riot, he hid it beside a river.

〈K〉 Facing the riot, he deposited it beside a river.

〈KY〉 Facing the riot, he stored it beside a river.

⁶ I have simplified the *kundoku* texts in these comparisons for the sake of clarity.

⁷ The *kunten* in a manuscript kept in Kōfuku-ji date to Kōwa 康和 2 (1100) and are added by an unnamed priest who studied under Chikendaihōshi 智賢大法師.

〈IN〉 He faced the riot of war and hid it on the river bank.

· Excerpt describing land given for a Buddhist temple to Hōi 法意.

〈Main text〉 興意爲寺

〈I〉 He allotted land to Hoi and ordered the construction of a temple.

〈K〉 He allotted land to Hoi and made it a temple.

〈KY〉 He allotted land to Hoi and built a temple.

〈IN〉 He divided land to Hoi and made it a temple.

Although 〈K〉 reads well, we can see that 〈I〉 is more accurate than 〈K〉 in the aspect of offering a translation more suitable for the events occurring.

4 When Were the *Kunten* Added?

The postscript in scroll 14 states that this work has *kunten* added by Katsura Dainagon, though when analyzing the text from a historical linguistic point of view, it is hard to imagine that he added the *kunten* himself. Katsura Dainagon was an official in the Insei 院政 period (1086-1185), but the *kunten* display characteristics seen in other *kunten* from the early Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185-), as we will see below (indicated in numerals ①, ②, and ③).

① Fluctuation in the representation of nasal final consonants

Nasal final consonants in Chinese (-m, -n) are generally represented in texts from the Heian and Insei periods (794-1185) in the following way:

The *Daijion-jiSanzō-hōshi Den* 大慈恩寺三蔵法師傳 (*Kunten* added in 1126. Kept in the Japanese National Diet Library)⁸

-m →-ム e. g. 巖カム 森シム

-n →-ン e. g. 軒ケン 墀セン

As the above example shows, the written representation holds a close relationship to the original Chinese pronunciation. However, the *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji is not strict in its representation of nasal final consonants. Fluctuation in the representation of nasal final consonants is a characteristic commonly found in Kamakura period manuscripts.

⁸ This example is adapted from Sasaki, Isamu (2007) *Heian kamakurajidai ni okeru nihon kan-on no kenkyū* (平安鎌倉時代における日本漢音の研究), Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin

The *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji (*kunten* added in the early Kamakura period and possibly copied later by Katsura Dainagon?)

-m →-ム -ン e. g. 含カム 潜セム 飲イン 朕チン

-n →-ン -ム e. g. 簡カン 遠エン 鷲エム 誕タム

② Shape of *kana*

The appearance of *kana* in the *Kōsōden* is typical of *kunten* from the Insei period, though the final strokes of ウ and ヲ are uncharacteristically long.

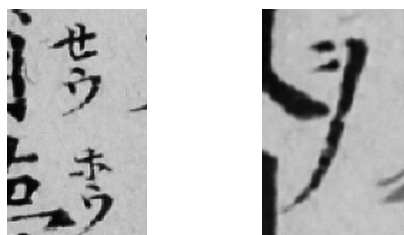
Cf. The *Shunjū Keiden Shikkai* 春秋経傳集解 (*kunten* added in 1139; held in Tōyōbunko)⁹



Cf. The *KōteiNaikai Taiso* 黄帝内经太素 (*kunten* added in 1167 and 1168; held in Ninna-ji and Fukui Sūrankan)¹⁰



The *Kōsōden* in Iwaya-ji



③ The shape of return marks (*karigane-ten* 雁点)

The shape of return marks (marks which indicate the reversal of the reading order of two adjacent characters) is not typical of those used in the Insei period. The shape of return marks in general is known to have changed over time.

The Kujō manuscript of *Monzen* 文選 (*kunten* added in 1172)¹¹.

⁹ This example is adapted from Tsukishima (1981).

¹⁰ This example is adapted from Tsukishima (1981).

¹¹ This example is adapted from Kobayashi (1974).

叩キ
 ↓
 ホキ 執ミ
 ・
 彈シ
 ↓
 箏ミ

The shape of earlier return marks had a more vertical left branch and near horizontal right branch, but later texts feature return marks shaped more like a V. The return marks used in the *Kōsōden* appear as follows:

These characteristics do not necessarily mean that the *Kōsōden* has no connection at all with Katsura Dainagon. From the Insei period onwards, the reading traditions of Chinese texts became more standard, and more readers followed their teachers' opinions or copied the *kunten* of another manuscript (rather than inventing their own reading). Therefore, we may speculate that in the case of this manuscript, the *kunten* originally added by Katsura Dainagon in the Insei period were copied into the *Kōsōden* at a later date (perhaps in the Kamakura period).

Assuming that the *kunten* were not added by Dainagon directly, we can assume that either Hōjo or Kyōben mentioned in the postscript was the person who copied the *kunten*. When copying *kunten*, some of the glosses will be occasionally out of place, though there are no such errors found in this work. From this fact, we see that the copyist appreciated the meaning of the text when copying.

5 Conclusion

The *kunten* attributed to Dainagon in the *Kōsōden* are likely copied from an earlier text, though despite this they display a highly accurate understanding of the text when

compared to the *kunten* in other works. The *Kōsōden* serves as a valuable source as it clarifies the reading in detail and shows the high level of ability held by nobility at the time in reading Chinese texts.

When dealing with any text with added *kunten*, it is important to first reconstruct the reading of the text, based on the reading style used at the time.¹² This is because today's reading or interpretation of the text may not necessarily be the same as the reading or interpretation from that time.

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¹² See Ochiai (2014).

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