INTRODUCTION

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In the last decade of the seventeenth century, a young noblewoman traveled from Kyoto to Edo to become the second concubine of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714), a powerful samurai who was chief adjutant to the fifth Tokugawa shogun Tsunayoshi (1646–1709). The young woman's name was Ōgimachi Machiko, and she served Yoshiyasu for twenty some years, from late 1693, when she was “only just sixteen,” until his death when she was about thirty-seven. *In the Shelter of the Pine* is her memoir of Yoshiyasu and her life with him.

Machiko most likely wrote her memoir at Yoshiyasu's villa in Komagome, which is now a stop on the Yamanote Line in metropolitan Tokyo but in the eighteenth century was still on the outskirts of the city. The villa was set amid landscaped gardens, known as the Rikugien, that encompassed some forty acres, a little over half of which survive today and can still be visited. In the Sixth Month of 1709, five months after the shogun's death, Yoshiyasu was permitted to retire, and he and his household moved to the Rikugien. The last securely datable event alluded to in the memoir takes place in 1710, so we may suppose that it was compiled from notes collected over the years and completed at some point before the death of Yoshiyasu's wife in the Ninth Month of 1713 disturbed the tranquility of his retirement. Yoshiyasu himself died just over a year later. Machiko outlived Yoshiyasu by ten years and died in 1724.

In the Shelter of the Pine is the most significant work of literature by a woman of the Tokugawa era, 1603–1868. It was modeled on the great eleventh-century novel *The Tale of Genji*, but the fascination of the memoir for readers lay in its truth-telling rather than its fictionalizing. The text

circulated widely as a manuscript before it was first printed in 1885, and more than three dozen hand-copied texts are still extant, a large number for a work of this length and stylistic difficulty.¹ Despite its importance, however, *In the Shelter of the Pine* is not read today as often as it deserves to be. To date, there have been no foreign-language versions. My aim in preparing this translation has been to make Machiko's memoir and the world she described in it accessible to a much larger audience.

THE AUTHOR

Machiko was born to a middle-ranking aristocratic family in Kyoto, the Ōgimachi. As with most Japanese women before modern times, basic facts about her life are scarce. Primary sources provide two clues to her date of birth. One is the mention of her age—forty-six (forty-five by Western count)—in the notice of her death in the Yanagisawa House records. If this note of her age at death is correct, Machiko was born in 1679.² The other is the narrator's own recollection of her age—"only just sixteen" (fifteen by Western count)—when she traveled from Kyoto to Edo to become Yoshiyasu's concubine "ten years and more" before her grandfather's death in 1703. This pushes her year of birth back to 1677 or 1678.

On both sides of her family, Machiko was a distant descendant of the great medieval scholar Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), a courtier who served three successive emperors and devoted his life to the study of both the Chinese classics and Japanese historical and literary works.³ Her paternity, however, is disputed; here, I follow recent scholarship which argues that Machiko's father was the courtier Ōgimachi Kinmichi (1653–1733).⁴ By all accounts, Kinmichi was a serious student of poetry as well as a devotee of Suika Shinto, a form of Shinto-Confucian syncretism created by the scholar Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682). Kinmichi was also an intimate of Emperor Reigen (1654–1732; r. 1663–1687), who was a keen poet and scholar of the Japanese classics.⁵ Kinmichi held a succession of appointments in the imperial bureaucracy, some of which took him to Edo, where he was able to see his daughter, and their correspondence is frequently quoted in the pages of her memoir.

Machiko's mother (1650–1706) was also closely connected to Emperor Reigen. She was the daughter of the mid-ranking courtier Minase Ujinobu (1619–1690); her personal name is nowhere recorded, but in her youth she was known as Tokiwai when she served as gentlewoman to Emperor Reigen's consort, Takatsukasa Fusako (1653–1712). At some point after

Tsunayoshi was appointed shogun in the Eighth Month of 1680, Fusako received a request from her elder sister Nobuko (1651–1709), who unexpectedly found herself wife to a shogun and thus in need of a much larger complement of gentlewomen with whom to run the Inner Chambers (*Ōoku*), the women's quarters of the shogunal castle in Edo.⁶ Fusako recommended Tokiwai. But Tokiwai was already married to Kinmichi and the mother of two small girls, Machiko included, and one of the rules of life in the Inner Chambers was that women who served there must be single. In order to accept her new position, it seems that Tokiwai had to leave Kinmichi and her daughters behind in Kyoto.⁷

Following her mother's departure for Edo, Machiko was brought up by her paternal grandfather, Kinmichi's father Sanetoyo. In chapter 15 she recalls:

As a child I was always by his side, sometimes grinding his ink, sometimes trying out his writing brushes, so that when he wanted to write something and I happened to be elsewhere, he would say, "Where's my little girl? Have her come here!" So devoted were we to one another that I spent almost every day by his side.

Meanwhile, Machiko's mother, now known as Emonnosuke, had found favor with both Tsunayoshi and Nobuko and rose steadily to overall command of the women in the castle.⁸ She then began to encourage her daughters to join her. We do not know precisely when Machiko and her sister left Kyoto.⁹ In the fifteenth chapter of *In the Shelter of the Pine*, Machiko describes events in the Second Month of 1703 and notes that she has been "here"—that is, at the Yanagisawa mansion—for "more than ten years," which means that she traveled down to Edo sometime in or before 1693:

It must have been when I was only just sixteen. I was related to Emonnosuke, who served His Highness [Tsunayoshi], and she wrote to me, time and again, saying, "There is a place for you here in the East. Rather than go on as you are, make up your mind!" I couldn't bring myself to leave of my own accord, it would be so sad, but everyone kept at me so that I bowed to their wishes and down I came.

This suggests that Emonnosuke had already broached the subject of her daughters with Yoshiyasu. The phrase "rather than go on as you are" also hints at the girls' situation in Kyoto. The Ōgimachi family's annual stipend was a mere 300 *koku*, less than a third of Emonnosuke's salary of 1,000 *koku*

in her position as administrative head of the Inner Chambers, and a mere fraction of the 70,000 *koku* that Yoshiyasu earned at the time Machiko became his concubine. Eventually, Yoshiyasu's emoluments would amount to some 200,000 *koku*.¹⁰ In "rather than go on as you are," we hear Machiko's mother suggesting that, instead of continuing to live in straitened circumstances in Kyoto, her daughters should choose material comfort—even though in Machiko's case it would mean becoming a concubine.

Yoshiyasu seems to have foreseen certain complications and moved to forestall them. A family of middle-ranking aristocrats might be reluctant to consign one of their daughters to concubinage in a warrior house of humble origins, however rich. It was arranged that Machiko should become the adopted daughter of one Tanaka Hanzō, a samurai with close court connections.¹¹ This arrangement exemplifies the delicate adjustments to status that were essential to many adoptions in early modern Japan: by becoming, via adoption, the daughter of a samurai, Machiko could be Yoshiyasu's concubine without disgracing her aristocratic family, and without making it look as if the Yanagisawa were getting above themselves. Yoshiyasu later made arrangements for Machiko's younger sister Toyoko to marry Matsudaira Yoritoyo (1680–1735), heir to the Takamatsu domain in the province of Sanuki, present-day Kagawa Prefecture.¹² As the wife of a daimyo, Machiko's sister would live in Edo, where the sisters could correspond with one another and perhaps even meet from time to time. Finally, Yoshiyasu had the girls' father Kinmichi appointed military liaison officer, one of two courtiers charged with mediating between the imperial court and the shogunate, increasing his income tenfold.¹³

From a twenty-first-century point of view, these arrangements might strike us as fraught with risk, if not entirely unfathomable. Yoshiyasu had never seen Machiko before she arrived in Edo, and even her mother had not seen her for at least a decade, since leaving Kyoto to enter service in the Inner Chambers. We know from the passage in Machiko's memoir quoted earlier that mother and daughter corresponded, but Emonnosuke certainly could not have vouched for her daughter's looks and bearing. Obviously, Machiko was attractive to Yoshiyasu for other reasons.

CONCUBINAGE IN THE YANAGISAWA HOUSE

The principal duty of a concubine in Japan was to provide children—sons, of course, but daughters were almost as welcome. Since only one son could inherit his father's position, "spares" were usually adopted out to

families who lacked a son. A daughter could be used to forge political alliances, either by giving her in marriage to another family or by adopting a husband for her.¹⁴ Failure to produce a male heir, or to adopt one in time, could have fatal consequences for a warrior house. If the head of a house died without issue, or without nominating and obtaining official approval of an heir, a warrior house could be abolished, its enfeoffment confiscated and reassigned to another house.¹⁵

This was the possibility the Yanagisawa house faced when Yoshiyasu's wife proved unable to have children. In 1676, when Yoshiyasu was eighteen years old, he was married to sixteen-year-old Soshi Sada (1660–1713), a woman from a warrior house of similar status to his own. They adopted and brought up four girls from related warrior families and surely could have adopted a husband for one of them (see figure 0.1). Instead, when after ten years of marriage Yoshiyasu was still without any children of his own, he took one of his mother's gentlewomen as a concubine. Her name was Iizuka Somé (1667–1705), and in the eight-year period from 1686 to 1693, she gave birth to five children. Sadly, all but one of them died in infancy. Her sole surviving child was the son who became Yoshiyasu's heir, Yoshisato (1687–1745). There was no shame in being the child of a concubine, and it was not a bar to inheritance: Yoshiyasu himself was the son of a concubine.¹⁶ Somé's last child by Yoshiyasu was born in the Tenth Month of 1693, the same year that Machiko became Yoshiyasu's second concubine.

We can date the beginning of Yoshiyasu and Machiko's sexual relationship to sometime early in 1694 at the latest, since her first child by Yoshiyasu was born in the Eleventh Month of that year. Just two months later, in the First Month of 1695, a woman by the name of Yokoyama Shige (d. 1714), who is described in Yanagisawa records as a "gentlewoman serving in the house" (*ie no nyōbō*), gave birth to a daughter by Yoshiyasu.¹⁷ Machiko's second child by Yoshiyasu was born in the Sixth Month of 1696. A glance through the list of Yoshiyasu's children and their birth mothers shows that, over the course of his life, Yoshiyasu had fifteen natural children by six different women.

Machiko had two children by Yoshiyasu, both boys, and both of them survived to adulthood. As a concubine, she provided Yoshiyasu with two useful "spares" in case something should happen to his heir, Yoshisato. After the birth of her second son in 1696, however, she had no further children. We have no way of knowing whether her sexual relationship with Yoshiyasu continued; all we can say is that he had further children by other women, but no further children by Machiko. One possible interpretation of this evidence is that once Machiko had provided Yoshiyasu with

FIGURE 0.1 Yoshiyasu's natural children and their mothers; Yoshiyasu's adopted daughters and their husbands. Designed by Azusa Chiba.

two sons, she was more valuable to him for reasons other than her fecundity.

YOSHIYASU, MACHIKO, AND THE IMPERIAL COURT

Why did Yoshiyasu go to such trouble to acquire and keep an aristocratic concubine? First and foremost, it was because Machiko could facilitate Yoshiyasu's relationships with members of the imperial court via her father and mother. Such access was important to Yoshiyasu for reasons both political and personal. To understand why, a brief word about Yoshiyasu's role as Tsunayoshi's chief adjutant is in order.¹⁸

Yoshiyasu's principal duty was to serve Tsunayoshi personally, rather than the Tokugawa shogunate as an institution. He and his fellow adjutants were rostered on twenty-four-hour duty at the castle and were always at the shogun's beck and call. Yoshiyasu also looked after Tsunayoshi's female family members: his mother Keishōin (1627–1705), his daughter Tsuru (1677–1704), her mother O-Den (1658–1738), and his adopted daughter Takatsukasa Yae (1689–1746). Adjutants acted as intermediaries between the shogun and the Council of Elders, the highest governing body of the shogunate, traditionally staffed by five hereditary vassal daimyo of the Tokugawa. During Tsunayoshi's reign, decisions about the survival—or not—of a domain, as well as recommendations to the imperial court for promotion in rank for daimyo, were at the discretion of the shogun; thus, currying favor with his adjutants was essential for the long-term security of a domain and the proper prestige of a daimyo—the word in Yoshiyasu's ear seconded by gifts on any plausible pretext that are a constant feature of *In the Shelter of the Pine*. Yoshiyasu's carefully cultivated close relationships with members of the imperial court enabled him to serve Tsunayoshi better: when the shogun wanted a favor, such as first court rank for his mother during her own lifetime—an honor normally only bestowed posthumously—Yoshiyasu was the one to arrange it; contriving this distinction for Keishōin was probably his greatest political triumph.¹⁹

We can observe the involvement of Machiko's father Kinmichi in a more personal triumph, which was persuading no less than the retired Emperor Reigen to provide imperial assessment of a number of Yoshiyasu's poems. Yoshiyasu's devotion to the composition of Japanese poetry is a major theme of *In the Shelter of the Pine*. Not for him the newfangled *haikai* poetry that was all the rage in Edo; his preference was for the old, the orthodox, the sanctioned. Yoshiyasu was one of several daimyo who,

determined to obtain recognition for their mastery of poetry, begged and were granted the favor of imperial assessment by a retired emperor.²⁰ His conduit to the court via Machiko and her family also enabled him and his heir Yoshisato to receive instruction from three members of the noble Nakanoin house, successive generations of which were distinguished poets and scholars of *The Tale of Genji*: Nakanoin Michishige (1631–1710) and his two sons Nakanoin Michimi (1668–1739) and Nonomiya Sadamoto (1669–1711). Yoshiyasu paid munificently for all this instruction. Another form of recompense he could provide was to arrange for these noblemen's daughters to marry into prominent warrior houses. In 1707, Yoshiyasu arranged for Sadamoto's daughter Ikuko (1687?–1771) to marry the heir to the daimyo of the Odawara domain, and for another daughter of Kinmichi, Ikiko (n.d.), to marry a spare son of the Owari Tokugawa house who was raised to daimyo status in 1711.²¹

Among the favors Machiko's mother did Yoshiyasu was arranging for him to be presented with a special set of the first three imperially commissioned anthologies of poetry after he lost his entire library to fire in the Fourth Month of 1702. A total of sixty-two different noblemen, from prince-abbots and ranking members of regental families on down, were commanded, most likely by the retired Emperor Reigen, to copy out the poems. Emonnosuke sent the completed set to Yoshiyasu in the Ninth Month of 1702.²²

As it turned out, then, in Machiko, Yoshiyasu had made a fortunate acquisition. She provided him with access to the learning and immense cultural prestige of the court; and over the years she became by anyone's standards a deeply learned woman herself. *In the Shelter of the Pine* incorporates allusions not only to earlier Japanese literature but also to Chinese classics of history, philosophy, and poetry.

Such learning was of use to Yoshiyasu in various ways. Machiko was a lively companion: her memoir reveals that she was quick to respond to a poem and often couched her keen observations of the foibles of others in a knowledgeable allusion. The creation of *In the Shelter of the Pine* was also a boon to Yoshiyasu, for it provided a sympathetic portrait of the private face of a man whose reputation was otherwise forged in the public realm of shogunal politics. There was an official biography: in 1702, following the disastrous fire that destroyed the main Yanagisawa residence, Yoshiyasu commissioned his house scholars, among them Ogyū Sōemon (Sorai, 1666–1728), who was employed by Yoshiyasu between 1696 and 1709, to compile a record of his life. The result was entitled *Rakushidō nenroku* (Annals of the hall of rejoicing in virtue).²³ This was for internal

consumption only, however; no one outside the Yanagisawa house was permitted to see the text until 1870.²⁴ Machiko's *In the Shelter of the Pine* circulated instead, as both she and Yoshiyasu surely intended. The narrator explains in the last chapter:

It is heartening to think that these words I have gathered here in the shelter of that pine we trust will last for a thousand ages shall never scatter and be lost, but that I and everyone else may look up to them and pass them on far into the future.²⁵

FORM AND FUNCTION

Matsukage nikki, the Japanese title of *In the Shelter of the Pine*, includes the word *nikki*, conventionally translated as “diary,” and this memoir is indeed arranged chronologically, but it is not a daily record of the life of its author.²⁶ Like *The Tale of Genji*, by the noblewoman Murasaki Shikibu (ca. 978–ca. 1019), and *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, the chronicle of her patron, the courtier Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027) and his extended family compiled by Murasaki's contemporary Akazome Emon (956?–after 1041), *In the Shelter of the Pine* is a narrative related by a female narrator who addresses her readers directly. The effect of this strategy is a sense of immediacy: whether describing the shogun performing Nō on the stage in the special reception pavilion at the Yanagisawa mansion, or ceremonies dedicating a statue of the Medicine Buddha at the temple Kan'eiji, or Yoshiyasu's intimate thoughts, the narrator is there, a party to everything, listening and passing on what she has seen and heard.

The memoir has always been valued for its historical accuracy, but of course Machiko did not experience everything that her narrator recounts. The first three chapters and much of the fourth, for example, cover the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate, the history of the Yanagisawa house, and significant events that took place before Machiko became one of Yoshiyasu's concubines, such as the birth of his son and heir Yoshisato in the autumn of 1687 and the shogun's first visit to the Yanagisawa mansion in the spring of 1691. Throughout, Machiko weaves together accounts of events at which she was present with events at which she certainly was not. The details that she is at pains to convey—the dates of formal visits made by the shogun and other distinguished guests, the names and court offices of the men who were in attendance, the gifts given and received—are derived from the official record of Yoshiyasu's life, *Rakushidō nenroku*.

Such minutiae are probably not the chief interest of the memoir to readers of this English version. The appeal of the work is rather more in the literary form the author adopted—in the way events are related by a narrator with a recognizable voice.

Readers familiar with traditional Japanese poetry—until the late nineteenth century the most prestigious genre of Japanese literature—will know that literate women were central to the development of various poetic forms in the eighth century, and that classics as widely separated in time as *The Tale of Genji* and the stories of Higuchi Ichiyō (1872–1896) published in the last decade of the nineteenth century drew deeply on the riches of that poetic culture. *In the Shelter of the Pine* does too. Machiko's memoir is studded with allusions to poems drawn from almost all of the twenty-one imperially commissioned anthologies, from the first *Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems* (905) to the last *New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems Continued* (1439), as well as passages famous from *Tales of Ise* (tenth century) and *The Tale of Genji*. These classics of court literature were Machiko's birthright as a noblewoman, the cultural capital she made use of to shape her narrative.²⁷

Like the narrator of *The Tale of Genji*, the narrator of *In the Shelter of the Pine* is also a carefully crafted character. Her affected disdain for common folk and conspicuous modesty alike are traits borrowed from the *Genji* narrator. From time to time, however, when the narrator refers to her family, the birth of her children, or something we know Machiko herself really did, the gap between narrator and author disappears. The normally imperturbable narrator shows herself aware of the difficulty: in chapter 6, for example, describing the birth of her second son in the Sixth Month of 1696, she writes, "That same month My Lord's fifth son was born. The scene in the birthing room was in every way most auspicious—but I find it difficult to announce this as if I were a stranger to the events."

Quickly regaining her composure, she continues:

In the autumn, on the occasion of His Highness's visit, the baby had his first audience and was presented with a long sword forged by Aritoshi as well as other gifts. He was treated with the same dignity as was My Lord's fourth son on the occasion of *his* first audience.

Passages such as these remind us that, although *In the Shelter of the Pine* is Machiko's memoir, her protagonist is Yoshiyasu; first and always, the focus of her story is his devotion to serving Tsunayoshi and his cultivation of the courtly art of poetry. This emphasis explains what may

otherwise seem to be odd lacunae in the memoir. Given the grief Machiko felt at liberty to express when she received word of Sanetoyo's death in 1703 and her younger sister's death in 1707, for example, it seems strange that she does not mention her mother's death in 1706.²⁸ But nowhere in her memoir does Machiko describe Emonnosuke as her mother: in chapter 13, "the ladies known as Emonnosuke and Ōsuke" receive Yoshiyasu's wife Sada when she is invited to visit the Inner Chambers of the castle; in chapter 15, the narrator is "related to Emonnosuke, who served His Highness"—but that is all. Such obfuscation can only be deliberate. Women who worked in the Inner Chambers were supposed to be single, and Machiko perhaps felt that she should not expose her mother's pretense in a text designed to be circulated. Mostly, however, the decision to omit discussion of Emonnosuke reflects the function of the memoir as a record of Yoshiyasu's life.²⁹

In the Shelter of the Pine is decidedly not a "warts and all" portrait of Yoshiyasu. Indeed, one scholar of the period has described it as a "non-fiction novel."³⁰ The narrator depicts Yoshiyasu's life as exemplary; the tale she tells is of devotion to duty and services respectfully rendered, duly rewarded with promotions and shogunal praise. At every turn, she emphasizes that the flowering fortunes of the Yanagisawa house are due not only to Yoshiyasu's superior abilities but also to Tsunayoshi's favor. The very title of the work is derived from *Matsudaira*, the family name used by Tokugawa Ieyasu until 1566 and granted to Yoshiyasu by Tsunayoshi in 1701; and *kage*, meaning the shade or shelter of the shogun's favor. The political function of *In the Shelter of the Pine* is thus placatory: it serves to deflect criticism and dispel envy.³¹ Far from ambitious, let alone avaricious, Yoshiyasu shows single-minded dedication to serving the shogun and this explains, even excuses, the extraordinary favor he enjoys during his life.³²

Entire books have been written about the damage done to Yoshiyasu's posthumous reputation by authors of popular fiction and history, kabuki, the oral stories known as *kōdan*, movies, and television. That such scurrilous tales of sex (Tsunayoshi and Yoshiyasu and/or Tsunayoshi and Someko), substitution (Yoshisato for Tsunayoshi's heir Ienobu), attempted murder (Yoshiyasu attempts to kill Tsunayoshi), and revenge (Tsunayoshi is killed by his wife Nobuko) were believed reveals the vast distance that separated the shogunate's ruling clique from the world of ordinary samurai and townspeople. These tales' powerful hold on the cultural imagination also attests to our continuing fascination with the Inner Chambers, the "secret world of the shogun's women."³³ Almost all of these salacious

versions of Yoshiyasu's life postdate the composition of *In the Shelter of the Pine*. With the exception of *Unofficial Record of Three Kings*, which began to circulate in Edo after the 1716 death of the seventh shogun Ietsugu, they also postdate Machiko's death. *In the Shelter of the Pine* may well have been a preemptive attempt to deflect criticism of Yoshiyasu, but it was not, I think, a *response* to criticism.³⁴

Throughout *In the Shelter of the Pine*, the narrator studiously ignores almost all shogunal offices held by the men of the military estate. No one is a daimyo, an elder (*rōjū*), or an adjutant (*yōnin*). Instead, she refers to the men who come and go in Yoshiyasu's world solely by their court offices. They are chamberlains (*jijū*); majors (*shōshō*) or colonels (*chūjō*) in the Palace Guards; or Right City Commissioners (*ukyō no daibu*)—the “City” being of course Kyoto, not Edo. Indeed, the city of Edo is not mentioned by name even once in Machiko's narrative; the action is located “in the East” (*azuma ni*). Likewise, the narrator never uses the word *onari* (formal visit) to refer to Tsunayoshi's daylong sojourns at the Yanagisawa mansion, preferring the classical *watarasetamau*. Nor does she use the word *shiro* (castle) or any of its compounds (*tojō*, *gejō*) to refer to the shogunal headquarters; when “castle” appears in my translation, it is because English requires expressions such as *mōnoborasetamaeba*, “[My Lord] went up . . .” to have a grammatical object. At times, the narrator's determination to avoid using shogunal offices leads to some strained locutions: “rulers of provinces” (*kuni no aruji*) rather than daimyo; “five men charged with executing His Highness's orders” (*shissei gonin*) and “their four assistants” (*shitsuji yonin*) rather than elders and junior elders.

In similar fashion, the narrator strives with the vocabulary she chooses to avoid mentioning anything new: throughout *In the Shelter of the Pine*, she uses *kara no kinu*, “Cathay silk,” instead of the *chirimen* (silk crêpe) specified in corresponding entries in *Rakushidō nenroku*. Silk crêpe was newly popular in late-seventeenth-century Japan;³⁵ we may speculate that *kara no kinu* was chosen instead to achieve the classical effect Machiko desired. Indeed, the detailed descriptions of clothing and color combinations found in *The Tale of Genji* are conspicuously absent from *In the Shelter of the Pine*; for to have included portrayals of Yoshiyasu and his fellow daimyo resplendent in their formal linens (*asa kami-shimo*) would have marked them indelibly as warriors and so destroyed the very illusion of aristocratic splendor the narrator worked to create.³⁶

Machiko's decision to have her narrator refer to men solely by their court offices is, I think, her way of privileging the imperial court over the Tokugawa shogunate, of suggesting that these men are what they are

solely by leave of the court and the emperor. It also serves as a means of re-creating more exactly the world of court literature, especially *The Tale of Genji*, in her narrative, and of inhabiting more completely the role of gentlewoman and writer. Machiko's retelling of Yoshiyasu's life in the style of *The Tale of Genji* rhetorically lifts him above his relatively humble origins, dignifies his rise to the heights of power, and at the same time suggests that she saw her own situation in terms borrowed directly from *Genji*. No mere concubine I, she seems to say. By describing life at the Yanagisawa mansion and the Rikugien as if they were Genji's fictional Rokujō estate, Machiko depicts herself as one of the Shining Genji's own ladies. Although Machiko lived among members of the military estate for all of her adult life, so far as we can tell from *In the Shelter of the Pine*, her fidelity to the aristocracy to which she was born never faltered.

A SHORT GUIDE TO THE WORK

In the Shelter of the Pine begins with encomiums to both Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, who brought an end to centuries of civil war, and his great grandson Tsunayoshi, who has only recently died. Yoshiyasu's descent in a branch of the Minamoto clan that had long ago been enfeoffed with the province of Kai, the "Kai Genji," is noted, but the principal events of the chapter are the exemplary death of Yoshiyasu's father Yasutada and the birth of a son to Yoshiyasu's first concubine Iizuka Someko. The boy, later known as Yoshisato, became heir to the Yanagisawa house.

Chapter 2 ("In Traveler's Garb") is a detailed description of Tsunayoshi's first formal visit to the Yanagisawa residence on 1691.3.22. Famously, the shogun visited Yoshiyasu no fewer than fifty-eight times over the course of his reign. The full account provided in this chapter enables the narrator to omit mention of all but the most significant of his subsequent visits. The narrator pays close attention to Yoshiyasu's careful planning of this and other formal visits by exalted guests: typically they were ten-hour-long events that began in the early morning and lasted until evening; they included two meals, lectures on a Chinese as well as a Japanese classic, the performance of Nō plays, and extravagant exchanges of gifts. Official gifts between men of the warrior estate included swords, horses and saddles, silver, and varieties of silk; unofficial gifts included highly prized cultural treasures, such as copies of Chinese and Japanese texts, paintings, and folding screens.³⁷

In chapter 3 (“Ages Past”), Yoshiyasu visits the grave of his father and decides to have a memorial chapel constructed. The Yanagisawa adopted daughter Ichiko is married to the daimyo Matsudaira Terusada; as a Yanagisawa son-in-law and shogunal adjutant from 1693 until Tsunayoshi’s death, Terusada worked closely with Yoshiyasu and appears frequently in the narrative.

Chapter 4 (“The Truth of the Buddha’s Law”) notes Yoshiyasu’s lifelong interest in religion and describes his first meeting with the Ōbaku monk Gaoquan Xingdun.³⁸ On 1694.1.7, Yoshiyasu is appointed daimyo of Kawagoe.

Chapter 5 (“A Thousand Springs”) begins with a description of the administering of vows to Someko’s last child, her baby daughter Sachi, in what proves to be a fruitless attempt to prolong her life. The elder of Machiko’s two sons is born. Celebrations are held for Tsunayoshi’s fiftieth birthday. The Yanagisawa adopted daughter Tosako is married to the shogunal official Kuroda Naoshige (Naokuni); as a Yanagisawa son-in-law, he also features frequently in the narrative. Brief mention is made of celebrations for the seventieth birthday of Tsunayoshi’s mother Keishōin and the sixtieth birthday of his elder sister Chiyo.³⁹

Chapter 6 (“The End of the Year”) begins with a detailed description of Prince Kōben’s first formal visit to the Yanagisawa residence on 1696.6.5. Kōben was the sixth son of Emperor GoSai (1638–1685; r. 1655–1663). In 1690 he was appointed Prince-Abbot of Rinnōji, the temple and shrine complex at Nikkō, where the first Tokugawa shogun Ieyasu was buried, and also of the shogunal temple Kan’ei-ji in Ueno, headquarters of the Tendai sect in the Kanto. The temple and the shrine Yoshiyasu had ordered built in his Kawagoe domain are completed. The Ōbaku monk Qiandai Xing’an comes to call, and he and Yoshiyasu engage in “brush talk.”⁴⁰ Machiko’s younger son is born.

Chapter 7 (“Spring Pond”) describes a succession of celebrations: for Yoshiyasu’s fortieth birthday, for Tsunayoshi’s concubine O-Den’s fortieth birthday, and for Yoshisato’s move to a separate residence within the Yanagisawa compound at Kandabashi. These are followed by a formal visit to the Yanagisawa mansion by Keishōin and a formal visit by Tsunayoshi during which he is treated to the adjudication, by the full Military Tribunal, of several legal disputes between commoners.⁴¹

Chapter 8 (“Lamp of the Buddha’s Law”) is devoted to a description of the construction and dedication of a Central Hall at Kan’ei-ji in 1698. The narrative is vivid with detail, in part because Tsunayoshi entrusts Yoshiyasu with supervising construction of the hall, and in part because the

dedication ceremonies involve imperial princes and high-ranking members of the court nobility.

Chapter 9 (“From the Shores of Japanese Poetry”) begins with a description of the destruction wrought by fires in the Ninth and Twelfth Months of 1698. Yoshiyasu orders the restoration of ruined imperial mausolea. He visits what would become his Rikugien estate at Komagome. Kitamura Kigin, the shogunal Master of Poetry, completes Yoshiyasu’s initiation in the “Secret Teachings of the *Kokinshū*,” a set of esoteric teachings concerning the first imperially commissioned anthology of Japanese poetry.

In chapter 10 (“Chinese Robe”), the last of the Yanagisawa adopted daughters that Sada herself had brought up her niece Etsuko, is married to the daimyo Naitō Masamori. On 1700.11.21, Tsunayoshi hosts a banquet to celebrate the end of a cycle of 240 lectures on the *Book of Changes* that he had given between 1693 and 1700. Machiko’s elder son makes his first formal appearance before the shogun. The chapter concludes with an amused description of Keishōin’s visit to the Rikugien on 1701.4.25.

In chapter 11 (“Visitors Awaiting Flowers”), Yoshiyasu holds a poetry party on 1701.8.15 to celebrate the mid-autumn full moon. There is a detailed description of Prince Kōben’s formal visit on 1701.10.21, during which he is treated to a display of mounted archery.

Chapter 12 (“Towering Pine”) is devoted to a description of Tsunayoshi’s formal visit on 1701.11.26, during which he bestows the Matsudaira family name on Yoshiyasu and his three sons. Yoshiyasu (until now named Yasuakira) and his eldest son (until now named Yasusada) are also granted use of “Yoshi,” the second character from Tsunayoshi’s name, a frequent way of honoring a subordinate in warrior society.

In chapter 13 (“Villa Amid Mountain Cherries”), Keishōin is raised to the First Rank. Sada is invited to Edo Castle, where she is given a tour of the Inner Chambers and meets Tsunayoshi’s wife Takatsukasa Nobuko and several of his concubines. On 1702.3.19, Prince Kōben views the cherry blossoms at one of Yoshiyasu’s villas in Edo. Machiko’s younger son makes his first formal appearance before the shogun. On 1702.4.6, fire destroys the main Yanagisawa mansion; a great many cultural treasures are lost. Members of the household are moved to other residences as rebuilding work gets underway.

By chapter 14 (“Noble Oak”), everyone is together again. In the Eighth Month, Yoshiyasu goes to view the garden devoted to the visualization of Japanese poetry that he has had created at the Rikugien. The annual mid-autumn full moon poetry party is held; and on 9.21, Tsunayoshi is

entertained in the newly constructed reception pavilion next to the main Yanagisawa mansion at Kandabashi.

Chapter 15 (“Hills and Streams”) notes the compilation of Yoshiyasu’s official biography, *Rakushidō nenroku*. Ōgimachi Sanetoyo dies on 1703.2.3, and Machiko is grief-stricken. On 1703.3.13, Tsunayoshi’s daughter Tsuru visits the Rikugien. Tsunayoshi’s adopted daughter Takatsukasa Yae visits just five days later, followed by Prince Kōben, whose visit on 1703.3.21 is described at the beginning of chapter 16 (“Autumn Clouds”). Yoshiyasu asks Kinmichi if he could arrange to have his poems assessed by the retired Emperor Reigen. Yoshiyasu’s request is quickly granted, and both he and Machiko receive letters that transmit the retired emperor’s remarks. No fewer than twenty-six of Yoshiyasu’s poems are positively assessed, two of them even receiving the equivalent of “excellent” in the imperial hand. Yoshiyasu’s expressions of gratitude are lavish.

Chapter 17 (“Moon of Old”) begins with praise for Yoshiyasu’s style of leadership, strict both with himself and with his retainers; his principled reluctance to meet with those who have causes to plead or grievances to air is noted. At Kinmichi’s request, however, he makes an exception for Nashiki Sukeyuki, priest at the Lower Kamo Shrine in Kyoto, who is visiting Edo to raise money for the shrine; he is a guest at the Yanagisawa mansion during his stay. Both Yoshiyasu and Yoshisato complete thousand-poem sequences, which are sent, via Kinmichi, to the retired Emperor Reigen for assessment.

Chapter 18 (“A Tree Deep in the Mountains”) describes the huge earthquake that struck eastern Japan on 1703.11.23 and the great fire of 11.29 that destroyed large areas of Edo. In the spring of 1704, Yoshisato is married. Kinmichi reports that the retired emperor is impressed with the thousand-poem sequences and has ordered that they be preserved for posterity in the imperial archives.

As chapter 19 (“A Bond with the Blossoms”) opens, Yoshiyasu encourages Machiko to compose her own thousand-poem sequence. Kinmichi shows her poems to Reigen and reports that he is impressed; Machiko wants proof, so the retired emperor is persuaded to select the fifty he likes best and a copy of these is sent to her. There follows a lengthy description of the grief occasioned by the death of Tsunayoshi’s daughter Tsuru on 1704.4.12. In the autumn, Yoshiyasu commissions a Japanese translation of the ancient Chinese military classic *Three Strategies* for his sons and household stewards.

Chapter 20 (“Celebratory Cane”) describes the appointment of Tsunayoshi’s nephew Tokugawa Tsunatoyo as shogunal heir apparent.

Tsunayoshi rewards Yoshiyasu for facilitating the succession by granting him Tsunatoyo's former enfeoffment of Kōfu in the province of Kai. Ever since the establishment of the shogunate in 1603, the fief had been held by direct descendants of Ieyasu, so Yoshiyasu's enfeoffment was both an unprecedented honor and highly controversial.

Chapter 21 ("Mountain of Dreams") begins with a description of the memorial services Yoshiyasu commissions for Takeda Shingen, former warlord of Kai, and his son Katsuyori. The Yanagisawa had once been vassals of the Takeda; after the defeat of the Takeda and the suicide of Katsuyori in 1582, the Yanagisawa had submitted to Ieyasu and became vassals of the Tokugawa. There follows a moving description of the illness and death of Someko on 1705.5.10 and Yoshiyasu's grief. Tsuru's widower Tokugawa Tsunanori, Kitamura Kigin, and Keishōin also pass from the scene.

Chapter 22 ("Records of Enlightenment") begins with the birth of a baby girl to Yoshisato and his wife. Yoshiyasu, oppressed by the deference shown him by guards at the castle and the incessant exchange of gifts with daimyo and shogunal elders required by his position, begs to be excused from these honors and obligations; Tsunayoshi approves his request. Yoshiyasu assembles his correspondence with Zen monks and is granted a title for the collection by the retired Emperor Reigen. Some of Someko's religious writings are appended.

Most of chapter 23 ("The Grand Courtier") is devoted to a description of the shogunal heir apparent Ienobu's (formerly Tsunatoyo) first formal visit to the Yanagisawa residence. The nobleman Seikanji Hirosada is entertained at the Yanagisawa mansion while in Edo. Arrangements are made for Yoshiyasu to adopt Hirosada's niece Ikuko, with a view to making a favorable marriage for her.

Chapter 24 ("Garden of the Six Styles") is taken up with poetry, especially Yoshiyasu's continuing exchanges with the retired Emperor Reigen, who presents him with a set of poems on the "Twelve Scenes and Eight Views of the Rikugien" composed by a number of high-ranking courtiers.

In chapter 25 ("House for a Thousand Ages"), Yoshiyasu's fiftieth birthday is celebrated. Machiko's sons are dressed in armor for the first time. Machiko's younger sister dies on 1707.6.5, and Machiko is grief-stricken. To general rejoicing, Ukon, one of Ienobu's concubines, gives birth to a baby boy. Ikuko is married to Ōkubo Tadafusa (Tadamasa), heir to the daimyo of Odawara.

Chapter 26 ("Two Pines") begins with a description of the illness and subsequent recovery of Yoshiyasu's wife Sada. The Ōbaku monk Yuefeng Daozhang is in Edo; he and Yoshiyasu meet and begin an exchange of

letters. Ienobu's baby son dies, and on 1707.9.28 there is an earthquake. On 1707.11.23, Machiko's sons, aged thirteen and eleven, come of age and are given their court caps and offices by Tsunayoshi himself. Two more children are born to Yoshiyasu's concubines: a daughter, who is adopted by Matsudaira Terusada and his wife Ichiko, and a sixth son. Yuefeng Daozhang is again in Edo; this time he stays at the Rikugien.

Chapter 27 ("Binding Sash") provides a brief account of the birth of a son to Sumé, another of Ienobu's concubines; she is distantly related to Machiko, who is asked to present the binding sash. Many people fall ill when an epidemic of measles begins in the autumn of 1708 and continues over the winter into early 1709; Machiko's two sons, Ienobu and his wife Konoe Hiroko, and finally even the shogun himself are all afflicted, but only Tsunayoshi fails to recover.⁴²

Chapter 28 ("Blessed Dew") is devoted to Tsunayoshi's death and the ensuing funeral rites. In chapter 29 ("Path of the Kindling Cutter"), the new shogun Ienobu finally permits Yoshiyasu to retire, which he does on 1709.6.18.

The last chapter ("Moon and Flowers") is an extraordinary literary excursion through the sights and sounds of the four seasons at the Rikugien, replete with allusions to Chinese and Japanese literature. When the

FIGURE 0.2 Machiko's grave at the Rinzaï Zen temple Shōgakusan Gekkeiji in Shinjuku, Tokyo.

Photograph by Miyakawa Takehisa.

The inscription on the gravestone reads:

Ninth year of Kyōhō [1724], forty-first year of the sexagenary cycle / Rishōin-dono Honnen Jikaku Daishi / Third Month Eleventh Day.

chapter begins, Yoshiyasu and his household have already moved, but the only datable events mentioned are Yoshiyasu's taking vows as a lay monk on 1709.10.10, Kinmichi's visit to Edo in the Eleventh and Twelfth Months of the same year, and the death of Nakanoin Michishige on 1710.3.21. Concerning other events, the narrator is deliberately vague, asking "In which year can it have been?" The effect is to transport the Rikugien and those who dwell there to a timeless realm where nature is both beautiful and bountiful, and high and low alike delight in their lord's benevolence.

AFTERLIVES

Machiko's grave (figure 0.2) is at the Rinzai Zen Buddhist temple Gekkeiji in Tokyo's Shinjuku Ward. The Gekkeiji was for many years the Yanagisawa mortuary temple in Edo; the graves of Machiko's mother, Emonnosuke, and two sons, Tsunetaka (formerly Yasumichi, 1694–1725) and Tokichika (1696–1750), are also there. Just where Machiko lived between Yoshiyasu's death in 1714 and her own in 1724 remains unknown. It is possible that she stayed on at the Rikugien; it is just as possible that she moved to live with one or other of her sons. Both had been made minor daimyo and thus would have had residences in Edo. Alas, the entire archive of the Gekkeiji was destroyed in the firebombing of Tokyo on March 10, 1945—the storehouse took a direct hit from an incendiary bomb—and the temple now has nothing that might shed light on Machiko's final years.⁴³

A possible clue to Machiko's whereabouts after Yoshiyasu's death is her complete absence from *Record of Ishiwara* (1717–1718), the diary composed by Tosako (1682–1758), the Yanagisawa adopted daughter who was married to Kuroda Naoshige (Naokuni, 1666–1735). *Record of Ishiwara* describes the two-year period during which Tosako and her family lived at their mansion in the Ishiwara area of Honjo after their main residence was destroyed by fire. She records several calls to see her adoptive brother Yoshisato and his wife at their mansion in Saiwaibashi, as well as a number of visits she made to the Rikugien. On 1717.9.5, for example, the anniversary of her adoptive mother Sada's death, she paid her respects at the Rikugien and met Yoshiyasu's seventh son Tanomo (1710–1760) and the boy's mother Seikōin, Yoshiyasu's concubine Kōzuki Ryū (d. 1730).⁴⁴ But Machiko (or Rishōin, as she was known after Yoshiyasu's death) does not appear anywhere in *Record of Ishiwara*. Obviously, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Still, one possible interpretation is that Machiko was no longer living at the Rikugien but had moved to live with one of her sons.

Record of Ishiwara and Tosako's later memoir *Words of No Account* (1735–1753) are also interesting because in language and style they are so like *In the Shelter of the Pine*. All the Yanagisawa children were trained to write poetry. Tosako makes fewer allusions to classical texts than Machiko, and her style is less cultivated, but as a model she might have followed—or simply as an idea of something a woman might do—throughout Tosako's texts the reader feels *In the Shelter of the Pine* hovering just offstage.⁴⁵

Clearly, then, Machiko's memoir circulated within the Yanagisawa family.⁴⁶ It was also of interest to scholars of language and students of government. One example of the former is the Kyoto-based writer and translation theorist Ban Kōkei (1733–1806), whose 1791 copy of *In the Shelter of the Pine*, including his punctuation and occasional annotation, is transcribed in the Iwanami Bunko edition of the text. Kōkei has been described as “an ardent proponent of writing ‘prose in the national style’ (*kunitsubumi*),” and that commitment to composition in the Japanese language is surely behind his interest in Machiko's memoir.⁴⁷

An example of a student of government who owned a copy of *In the Shelter of the Pine* is the Confucian scholar Rai Shunsui (1746–1816), who served the Hiroshima Asano daimyo house. At Shunsui's request, the copy was made by his wife Shizu (1760–1843). In her diary she records beginning work on the tenth of the First Month of 1793, finishing some of the copying seven days later, on the seventeenth; and sending the completed version to Shunsui in Edo early in the Third Month. Shunsui took his time: he records finishing it only years later, on a rainy day at the end of the Seventh Month of 1807; by then he had retired and returned to Hiroshima. Unfortunately, Shunsui does not record why he wanted a copy of the text or what he thought of it, but the copy continued to circulate after he had read it: in 1812, Shizu sent it on to the Shindō family into which their daughter Tō had married.⁴⁸ Miyakawa Yoko suggested that Shunsui wanted a copy because Yoshiyasu had supported so many Confucian scholars—Ogyū Sorai was only one of a dozen or so who worked for him over the years. What was such a household like?⁴⁹ Shunsui may also have been curious about the power that Yoshiyasu had exerted as Tsunayoshi's chief adjutant, a position that was outside the shogunate's official administrative structure and was at its height during the reigns of the shoguns Tsunayoshi, his nephew Ienobu, and Ienobu's baby son Ietsugu.⁵⁰ Both are convincing explanations of a Confucian scholar's interest in a noncanonical text by a woman.

Shogunal historians also found Machiko's memoir useful. In the nineteenth century, the men who compiled *Tokugawa jikki* (Veritable records

of the Tokugawa house), the official history of the Tokugawa shogunate from Ieyasu through the death of the tenth shogun Ieharu in 1786, quoted material from *Matsukage nikki* no less than twenty times.⁵¹ The quotations concern Tsunayoshi's formal visits to the Yanagisawa mansion, Sada's visit to Edo Castle, the loss of the Yanagisawa mansion to fire and its rebuilding, the restoration of imperial mausolea, Tsunayoshi's death, and Yoshiyasu's resignation.

Research on the circulation and readership of *In the Shelter of the Pine* is in its infancy and there is much still to be discovered. Likewise, there is more to be learned about the literary activities of the women who lived in the inner chambers of Yoshiyasu's household: his wife, his concubines, his daughters both natural and adopted, and their gentlewomen. Did their poems, memoirs, and religious writing constitute the "flowering of a women's culture in the inner chambers" like that documented in seventeenth-century China?⁵²

All three branches of the Yanagisawa house—those headed by Somé's son Yoshisato and by Machiko's sons Tsunetaka and Tokichika—survived until the abolition of the domains by the Meiji government in 1871. In 1724, Yoshisato was moved from the Kōfu domain he had inherited from his father to the smaller domain of Kōriyama, rated at 150,000 *koku*, in the province of Yamato, present-day Nara Prefecture. There, safe from natural and man-made disasters, the Yanagisawa family lives on. The texts upon which the present study is based are still owned by the family and are housed in their museum.

There was not enough land in Yoshisato's reduced fief, however, to provide his younger brothers with the 10,000 *koku* enfeoffment that they had each enjoyed in Kōfu. Their brother-in-law Matsudaira Terusada, husband of their adopted sister Ichiko, seems to have come to their aid by offering them part of his own enfeoffment. In the intercalary Fourth Month of 1724, both of Machiko's sons were moved to newly created domains rated at 10,000 *koku* each in the province of Echigo, present-day Niigata Prefecture.⁵³ So far as we know, they never went there. Tsunetaka died in the Eighth Month of 1725 and, married but childless, was succeeded by a cousin. Tokichika retired almost immediately, in the Seventh Month of 1724, and, unmarried and childless, adopted his younger half-brother Yasutsune, the former Tanomo, to succeed him.⁵⁴

The Rikugien remained in the Yanagisawa family until 1868. It was returned to the Meiji government, which later sold it to the industrialist Iwasaki Yatarō (1835–1885), the founder of Mitsubishi.⁵⁵ His adopted son Toyoya (1875–1926) married Yanagisawa Takeko (1891–1934), a daughter

of the last daimyo of Kōriyama, so perhaps the garden remained accessible to the Yanagisawa family for a while longer. In 1938, it was given to the city of Tokyo.

NAMES AND DATES

A couple of conventions I have adopted perhaps need explaining. First, traditional era designations, where provided, are followed by the equivalent Christian year in parentheses. Months and days are given in their original lunar form throughout. All Japanese literature is acutely conscious of the passage of the seasons, and *In the Shelter of the Pine* is no exception. Throughout the narrative, the changing seasons function as an organizing device, hence the importance of retaining the lunar dates on which significant events take place. From chapter 4: “Preoccupied by these events, summer came to an end and autumn too passed. That winter, My Lord’s enfeoffment was again increased.” From chapter 11: “Autumn came to an end. In the Tenth Month, Prince Kōben deigned to call.”

Second, like most men of the warrior estate, Yanagisawa was known over the course of his life by a succession of names and titles; he was granted the use of the character “Yoshi” by Tsunayoshi only on 1701.11.26. For the sake of clarity, he is referred to as Yoshiyasu throughout the present essay and the notes. The narrator of *In the Shelter of the Pine* refers to him in several different ways: *aruji* (the master), *kimi* (Lord), *koko* (here), *o-mae* (His Lordship), and *waga on-kata* or *waga o-mae* (My Lord). All of these I have rendered as “My Lord.”

Tsunayoshi is never referred to as shogun or even *kubō*, the standard term for shogun in Tokugawa-period writing. Instead, the narrator uses the indirect *gosho* (lit. “the palace”) and occasionally *tōdai* (the present ruler). Both of these designations I have rendered with the single translation “His Highness.”

MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXTS

This translation is based on the edition of the original holograph transcribed, annotated, and provided with a modern Japanese translation by Miyakawa Yoko and published as *Yanagisawa-ke no kotengaku (jō): Matsukage nikki* (The classical studies of the Yanagisawa house, vol. 1: In the Shelter of the Pine) in 2007. Miyakawa’s edition is based on the fair

copy manuscript (*seishobon*) of *Matsukage nikki* in the collection of the Yanagisawa Bunko Museum in Yamato-Kōriyama City, Nara Prefecture. The fair copy, which is entitled “Matsukage” (lit. “Pine shade,” 6 vols., n.d.), is in the hand of its author, Ōgimachi Machiko. Miyakawa also consulted the draft copy manuscript (*sōkōbon*), entitled “Matsukage no nikki” (lit. “Daily records of pine shade,” 3 vols., n.d.), likewise in Machiko’s own hand and held by the Yanagisawa Bunko Museum. The draft copy contains numerous helpful marginal annotations in several different hands, which point out the sources of many of the dozens of allusions to earlier literature. Unfortunately, the authors of these annotations and the period or periods in which they were added to the draft copy are not known.⁵⁶

Also crucial for understanding *In the Shelter of the Pine* is Yoshiyasu’s official biography, *Rakushidō nenroku*. Machiko clearly used it as a source for her memoir, since the contents of the two texts often overlap, though they are by no means identical. *Rakushidō nenroku* provides exhaustive lists of the gifts given and received on various occasions, for example, and notes the various works of art displayed in this and that room during formal visits made by Tsunayoshi and other exalted guests. The narrator of *In the Shelter of the Pine* often dispenses with such details. On the other hand, sections of the memoir that recount events in Machiko’s own life—her exchanges of poetry with Yoshiyasu, the praise accorded her poems by the retired Emperor Reigen—receive not even a passing mention in *Rakushidō nenroku*. Miyakawa, who has also transcribed and annotated a complete text of *Rakushidō nenroku*, carefully compares the accounts provided by the two texts in the notes to her edition of *Matsukage nikki*. I have omitted almost all of this material in the notes to this translation; when I do refer to *Rakushidō nenroku*, I cite the volume and page numbers of the printed edition.

There are several other printed editions of *Matsukage nikki*; perhaps the most easily accessible is that edited by Ueno Yōzō and published by Iwanami Bunko in 2004. There is also a complete modern Japanese translation by Masubuchi Katsuichi. Although from time to time I have consulted both these versions, my translation is based on Miyakawa’s interpretation of Machiko’s densely allusive text. Most of the references to classical texts, both Japanese and Chinese, pointed out in my notes were elucidated by Miyakawa. My translation would not have been possible without her edition to work from, and I gladly record my indebtedness.