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The Secret Mourning of an Evening Death: Genji's Ritual, Practice, and Lament on Behalf of Yūgao

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Death and mourning are important themes in the eleventh-century classic *The Tale of Genji*. The author, Murasaki Shikibu (c. 973–c. 1014 CE), mentions the deaths of thirty-seven characters within the tale, beginning with Genji's mother, the Kiritsubo Intimate, or Kiritsubo no Kōi.[1] Genji's father, the Kiritsubo emperor, deeply mourns in a style that mimics Bai Juyi's (772–846 CE) famous ninth-century Chinese poem, "The Song of Everlasting Sorrow" (*Chang hen ge*).[2] However, because Genji is only three years old (and despite participating in mourning rituals), he "did not understand what the matter was, and he gazed in wonder at the sobbing gentlewomen who had served his mother and at His Majesty's streaming tears" (何ごとかあらむとも思したらず、さぶらふ人々の泣きまどひ、上も御涙の隙なく流れおはしますを、あやしと見たてまつりたまへるを。).[3] Abe Akio, among others, documents that Genji's inability to mourn his mother, while simultaneously witnessing his father's deep mourning, resonates throughout the tale.[4]

As readers will know, the Kiritsubo emperor ends his mourning when he takes Fujitsubo as a favored consort. For Genji, Fujitsubo becomes his beloved stepmother and, eventually, lover. Paul Schalow concludes that replacing the Kiritsubo Intimate with Fujitsubo "amounts to a denial of the loss."[5] Reginald Jackson describes this act as "failed mourning."[6] However, I propose that this act of replacement ultimately allows Genji to mourn for his mother. Through substitution Genji learns that he can displace his emotions onto others in order to (attempt to) solve past issues.[7] Just as this realization will guide Genji in finding a perfect love, it will

also assist him in perfecting his demonstrations of loss, until he can mourn in a fashion surpassing his father.[8]

Genji monogatari is too complex a text for a single treatment to address all cases, and in this article I focus on the chapter "Yūgao," or "The Twilight Beauty," as it documents Genji's first choices regarding the mourning of a substitution of his mother.[9] Schalow demonstrates that Yūgao and the Kiritsubo Intimate are intricately linked through the repercussions they both suffer due to their love affairs.[10] He also underscores that Genji sees Yūgao's death as a sacrifice that spares Fujitsubo (the original replacement of his mother and ideal lover).[11] Through these substitutions, Murasaki Shikibu creates a link between the three-year-old Genji who could not understand the mourning rituals forced upon him with the nineteen-year-old Genji faced with an unexpected death of a lover with whom he lacks a socially sanctioned, public, relationship. I argue that Murasaki Shikibu carefully constructs a secretive scene of mourning to highlight the tension in this episode, which is exacerbated because codes in existence at the time prescribed mourning only within familial or lord/vassal relationships.[12]

An Evening Death: Navigating the Demise of Yūgao

In "Yūgao," Genji is eager to enjoy the caress of his secret lover away from the sounds and prying eyes of her bustling compound, and the two steal away for a romantic encounter in an eerie remote villa on the night of the sixteenth of the eighth month. After an evening of romance, Genji drifts off and dreams of a woman who is angry with his amorous advances to another. In his dream, the woman shakes Yūgao. When Genji awakes, he finds his companion unconscious. Genji comes to understand this "woman in his dream" (夢に見えつる容貌したる女) as a spirit who "had taken [Yūgao]" (物にけどられぬるなめり).[13]

At first, Genji does not comprehend that Yūgao is dead and immediately calls upon his attendants to perform rituals to rid the place of spirits in the hopes of reviving her. During this process, Genji is increasingly terrified about "the awful thought that he might cause her death" (この人を空しくしなしてんことのいみじく思さるるに添へて), his "recklessness in these affairs" (かかる筋におほけなくあるまじき心の報いに), providing gossip so "all and sundry would know him only as a fool" (ありありて、をこがましき名をとるべきかな、と思しめぐらす).[14] Here, even before understanding that Yūgao can not be revived, Genji is consumed with worries that signal his desire to keep the event a secret from the larger

world at court in order to spare his reputation. Careful readers of the scene would also understand additional, unwritten, motives to keep the affair private: to conceal the identity of Yūgao as Tō no Chūjō's former lover, as well as the existence of a daughter born from their affair. Murasaki Shikibu infuses the opening lines of Yūgao's death scene with the tension of Genji's anxiety regarding secrecy, fear of potential scorn, and anticipation of future advancement.

Once Genji realizes that Yūgao cannot be revived, his choices regarding death ritual underscore both his inexperience and his desire to conceal the events of that fateful evening. As we might expect in a scene detailing Genji's first experience of the death of a lover, Murasaki Shikibu shows us a hero who has little practice in managing death but who is still acutely aware of the necessary ritual and practices. Despite this knowledge, which would have been broadly shared among people of Genji's station, the narrator routinely highlights Genji's youthful naïveté. For example, upon finding Yūgao "growing cold and…no longer breathing" (ただ冷えに冷え入りて、息はとく絶えはてにけり), the narrator informs us that Genji:

> was speechless. There was no one to tell him what to do. He should have recalled that at such times one particularly needs a monk, but despite his wish to be strong he was too young, and seeing her lost completely undid him…The sudden calamity had him completely confused.
>
> 言はむ方なし。頼もしくいかにと言ひふれたまふべき人もなし。法師などをこそはかかる方の頼もしきものには思すべけれど。さこそ強がりたまへど、若き御心にて、言ふかひなくなりぬるを見たまふに、やる方なくて、。。。いとあわたたしきにあきれたる心地したまふ。[15]

This explanation reminds the reader of Genji's youth (he is "too young" 若き御心にて) and inexperience ("he should have recalled" 思すべけれど), as well as his current physical and mental isolation from the world at court (since "there was no one to tell him what to do" 頼もしくいかにと言ひふれたまふべき人もなし). In addition, by declaring that Genji was "completely confused" (いとあわたたしき), Murasaki Shikibu constructs a plausible excuse for Genji's upcoming choices regarding Yūgao's death, which readers might find distasteful. This attempt to absolve Genji is also evident in the narrator's analysis of Genji and his attendant Koremitsu's request for a monk. The narrator states, "they were too young really to know what to do" (いづれもいづれも若きどちにて).[16] Here, the narrator emphasizes that decisions that might otherwise seem odd make sense if we bear in mind Genji's learning curve. However, despite Genji's youth,

isolation, and confusion, the text demonstrates that, although not performing with the utmost elegance expected of our "shining prince," he is aware of death ritual and practice as well as the roles he is required to play, or not play, in them. His selections are meant to both appease and mourn Yūgao—whose spirit could threaten both Genji and the world of the court since she died unexpectedly at a young age—and enhance the tension of keeping crucial secrets.[17]

Death Rituals to Pacify and Conceal

The first of Genji's decisions regarding death ritual and practice comes when he suspects Yūgao might be dead. Since she had no signs of illness prior to this evening, her death is unexpected; Genji confuses it with fainting. At this point, Genji calls for her to wake up and exclaims, "come back to life!" (生き出でたまへ), an act of spirit-calling.[18] This time between Yūgao's death and her funeral, when the corpse is viewed and rituals are performed until burial (also called *mogari,* 殯), not only provided a window for conclusive signs of death to appear, but also for performing spirit-calling, which was thought to bring the spirit back into the body and revive the person or have pacification and memorialization effects.[19] By engaging in spirit calling, Genji attempts to reverse Yūgao's death in order to avoid being shamed at court and to protect his secrets.

Once Genji understands that Yūgao is dead, he and Koremitsu view her corpse. Doris Bargen has argued that "viewing" is linked to the sharing of a more intimate knowledge of the character within *The Tale of Genji*.[20] Schalow demonstrates how viewing, or sharing, Yūgao's body links these courtly men (including Tō no Chūjō) in "friendship characterized by sexual rivalry" and opens "pathways of male connection."[21] While Reginald Jackson does not fully explore this scene, the viewing of the female corpse by two men fits into his scheme of transmission of the homosocial bond and melancholic attachment.[22] Jackson's evidence of melancholy does not depend on demonstrations of sadness, of which Koremitsu is assigned only two, but on looking for an "exquisite corpse continually in the hope of one day reviving it."[23] After viewing Yūgao's corpse, Koremitsu is "more drawn than repelled" (疎ましげもなくらうたげなり).[24] This could be read as Koremitsu "looking for an exquisite corpse" and taking on a melancholic attachment, strengthening his bond with Genji through mourning.

Focus on the shared gaze should not distract us from the powerful role of touch. During his spirit-calling, the narrator notes Genji is "throwing

his arms around" (つと抱きて) Yūgao.[25] Later, Koremitsu wraps Yūgao's body in a padded mat and takes it away to a remote mountain temple for a funeral and cremation. Because of their physical contact with the corpse, both Genji and Koremitsu suffer from *kegare* (穢れ), usually translated as "defilement" or "pollution." The Engi Codes of 927 CE state that *kegare* caused by contact with the dead could be neutralized by secluding oneself at home for thirty days.[26] In order to rid himself of defilement, Genji secludes himself, excuses himself from his court duties, and asks visitors to remain standing.[27] Knowing his actions could alert others to his involvement in Yūgao's death, Genji falsely attributes his seclusion to the "unforeseen defilement" (おぼえぬ穢らひ) of being in the home of his sick wet-nurse when a servant died.[28] Despite Tō no Chūjō and Genji's serving women not fully believing his story regarding the circumstances that lead to his defilement (穢らひ and かかる穢らひ), he remains in seclusion.[29]

I argue that these first three uses (of four) of the term *kegare* in the "Yūgao" chapter highlight the tension associated with the guilt and secrecy that surround Genji's actions. Because he has no socially sanctioned relationship with Yūgao, and because he goes to great lengths to keep her death a secret, Genji cannot mourn using the public mourning rituals outlined in the Yōrō code of 718 CE, (promulgated 757 CE).[30] Murasaki Shikibu accentuates this choice within the "Yūgao" chapter by not using terms directly associated with mourning, such as *mo* ("mourning," 喪) or *fukumo* ("wearing mourning," 服喪).[31] Instead, she carefully chooses the term *kegare* to describe Genji's state. In *The Tale of Genji*, "*kegare"* is used eleven times with the meaning of pollution after contact with death, but only after the deaths of Yūgao and Ukifune.[32] Since Genji is not in the world of the tale during Ukifune's mourning scenes, and although Genji will be in close proximity to the corpses of his wife, Aoi, and his lovers, Fujitsubo and Lady Murasaki, it is only after the death of Yūgao where the author describes him as "defiled." Mi-suk Yi proposes this word choice is meant to underscore the unexpectedness of Yūgao's death.[33] However, I suggest that Murasaki Shikibu chooses the term *kegare* because other terminology relating to mourning would not be appropriate (as he had no sanctioned relationship with Yūgao) or would publicly reveal his (previously undisclosed) relationship.[34] As opposed to using mourning terminology, which would reveal a close relationship with the deceased, by depicting Genji's state as "defiled," Murasaki Shikibu conceals Genji's mourning. In this way, Genji is able to publicly participate in *kegare* rituals (which were important to protect himself and

the court from a potentially dangerous spirit) while hiding the true cause of his defilement.

Similarly, Genji adeptly selects other death rituals with the dual function of pacification and concealment. Murasaki Shikibu uses Genji's choices regarding death ritual to emphasize his preoccupation with secrecy and self-preservation while also ensuring readers that Yūgao's spirit will be pacified, which is part of Genji's social obligation. As mentioned above, Genji has Koremitsu take Yūgao's corpse to a remote mountain temple for funeral, cremation, and memorialization. Koremitsu and Genji choose this location because "at a mountain temple, though, this sort of thing is not unknown, and in a place like that it might be possible to evade attention" (「…山寺こそなほかやうのことおのづから行きまじり、物紛るることはべらめ」と思ひまはして).[35] At this temple, Yūgao's spirit can be pacified without revealing her identity.

On the day after Yūgao's death, with her funeral and cremation (which fulfills the *hafuri*, or discarding the corpse ritual) still not complete, Genji rides to the mountain temple. There, Yūgao's appearance, now that she is in a Buddhist context and obviously dead, is described in remarkably different terms than when she was in the haunted house and in a liminal state between life and death. At the temple, Yūgao was "as lovely as ever" (いとらうたげなるさまして), showing no signs of death.[36] As Aileen Gatten has demonstrated, the narrator's beautiful description of the state of Yūgao's corpse suggests the possibility of a good rebirth despite the unexpectedness of her death.[37] This is an important description since Genji does not yet know Yūgao's true identity and therefore cannot have the funeral formally dedicated to her spirit. Even though the rituals are not dedicated to her by name, the description of the state of Yūgao's corpse serves to assure the reader that, despite her unconventional death, funeral, and memorial, she will be reborn in a Buddhist paradise. Additionally, by "saving" Yūgao, this scene begins to exonerate Genji of his actions related to Yūgao's death, including keeping her identity a secret.

The narrator informs us that Yūgao is cremated (without confirmation of those in attendance) and Genji returns to the capital on the following morning. At this point, Genji is faced with yet another dilemma regarding death ritual: how to mourn secretly.

Mourning to Pacify and Conceal

Within the tale, Murasaki Shikibu's construction of mourning for Yūgao is unique in that it provides a space to highlight personal choice when

navigating the complex array of elite mourning ritual and practice. In the Heian period, structures of mourning were communal; that is, they were public displays of internal emotion. After the death of other lovers (Aoi, Fujitsubo, and Lady Murasaki), Genji will be expected to mourn in accordance to his relationship with each woman (such as wife or empress). In "Yūgao," Murasaki Shikibu emphasizes the secrecy of Genji's mourning in order to heighten the reader's emotional reaction to a lonely death, as well as Genji's isolation and guilt. If, for instance, Genji adhered to codified mourning despite not having a familial relation with Yūgao, the reader would have understood his actions to be open declarations of a deep love.[38] In order to conceal the relationship and Yūgao's death while maintaining his obligations to the court, Murasaki Shikibu instead drew upon what Inada Natsuko describes as "personalized practices of mourning" prevalent in the Heian period.[39] Genji purposefully rejects the most public ritual—wearing mourning robes—and instead participates in private rituals. This push and pull between public duty (to contain the pollution from death and pacify the spirit) and personal emotion (youthful inexperience, love, loss, and guilt) increased the sense of tragedy for the educated, sophisticated reader of the scene.

During the "twenty days and more" (二十余日) after Yūgao's death, the text lets the reader know that Genji privately constructs a method for mourning his lover.[40] Genji has Buddhist images made every seven days in a secret forty-nine-day memorial service meant to assist in Yūgao's rebirth and pacification. Genji is able to privately participate in the public memorial rituals because they are held in a remote mountain temple and the monks are not told the name of either the sponsor or the deceased. The narrator stresses that Genji "secretly" (忍びて) has the Lotus Sutra read, has a dedicatory prayer composed "not naming the deceased" (その人となくて), and dedicates a new set of clothes he had "secretly" (忍びて) made for Yūgao.[41] The fact that Genji keeps Yūgao's identity from the monks, despite learning of it in order to dedicate the Buddhist rituals, is key in Genji's efforts to ensure her death is not discovered.

As Schalow argues, guilt due to his relations with both Yūgao and Fujitsubo is a motivating factor in his behavior.[42] This article does not allow space for a detailed comparison of Genji's mourning of all his lovers; however, I want to briefly touch on Genji's mourning of Fujitsubo.[43] As in "Yūgao," Murasaki Shikibu also uses laments and mourning ritual to reflect the complicated relationship between Genji and Fujitsubo. During the year of mourning Fujitsubo as an empress (入道后

の宮), Genji wears robes described as "dark gray" (こまやかなる鈍色の御直衣姿), "gray" (鈍びたる御衣), and "a somber costume that inclined unusually toward black" (常よりも黒き御装ひに).[44] However, despite Genji's deep love for Fujitsubo, this color could reflect codified mourning of his step-mother or his father-in-law (who also recently passed away) and not personal affection.[45] Like Yūgao, publicly mourning Fujitsubo deeper than required would betray their secret relationship to the world. Following the same reasoning, after Fujitsubo's death, Genji does not enter mourning seclusion or undergo any type of purification due to proximity to the deceased. This is notable since he was *with* Fujitsubo when she died and therefore polluted by close contact with the deceased.[46] The fact that he does not undergo any sort of purification or seclusion after Fujitsubo's death underscores the deeper level of secrecy and guilt regarding their relationship. By not acknowledging the pollution he incurred at Fujitsubo's death, Genji hides their contact to a further extent than he hid his presence at the death of Yūgao (when he made visitors stand and remained away from the palace.) I argue that by not participating in purification rituals for Fujitsubo (or creating a "cover story"), Genji demonstrates both his growing maturity in navigating death rituals as well as an attempt at spirit pacification (and also self-preservation). Although assured a good rebirth, Fujitsubo's spirit could become vengeful, since she died with the heavy sin of bearing Genji's son. By not secluding himself, Genji is downplaying the closeness of their relationship, calming Fujitsubo's spirit, and keeping their secret.

Similarly, Genji chooses not to reveal Yūgao's identity to the monks conducting her memorial services, not to wear mourning robes, and not to extend his seclusion related to *kegare*—actions that would publicly signal his mourning was for a loved one. Scholars argue that the combination of purification ritual, sorrow, and memorial (all eventually expressed in the forty-nine-day Buddhist memorials) are the equivalent of mourning.[47] However, although publicly codified mourning became linked with the (potentially private) forty-nine-day Buddhist memorial period, it *was not erased*.[48] Importantly, the wearing of mourning robes persisted to the extent that they were worn during the forty-nine-day rituals. This was a public marker of mourning as the shades of the grey robes denoted one's relationship to the deceased. Therefore, by not depicting Genji in mourning robes after the death of Yūgao, I suggest that Murasaki Shikibu shows us a Genji who decides he could not mourn through codified rituals and instead created another type of mourning, a private construction of his

own making, that met his goals of grieving, purification, and concealment. Although readers would understand that Genji's choices were less effective for Yūgao's spirit, they would also intuitively know that, despite Genji's profession of love, he was prohibited from mourning Yūgao publicly because of a lack of sanctioned relationship and because of the potential consequences of revealing her death. This, in turn, heightens the tension in the passage and highlights the unenviable position Genji finds himself in.

Secret Laments to Grieve and Pacify

Over the course of the mourning period, Genji's private poems allow readers to understand the depth of his feelings by unraveling references to well-known lament and elegy. Murasaki Shikibu uses various structures of time, be they the period of practice, Buddhist ritual time, or natural time, to communicate the *length* of mourning.[49] For example, through prose depicting the passing of the seasons or participation in various rituals, the reader is able to discern how long Genji mourns. In "Yūgao," Murasaki Shikibu layers poetic laments on top of this structure of time and ritual in order to demonstrate the *depth* of Genji's mourning while continuing to pacify and conceal the subject of his sorrow.

As Gary Ebersole has demonstrated, special uses of language were thought to pacify the spirit of the deceased.[50] As far back as the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, mourners of Ame-no-wakahiko (a mythological god) performed songs aimed at bringing back his spirit.[51] Ebersole argues ritual lament poetry had a "magico-religious efficacy" that was performed:

> not only for aesthetic pleasure but as a means of ordering and controlling potentially dangerous aspects of the world. This sense of the efficacy of poetic language survived until much later…and was prominent in the Heian and medieval periods.[52]

Other scholars, such as Anne Commons, Roy Andrew Miller, H. Mack Horton, and Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen have built on this work, demonstrating that from *kotodama* (言霊, mysterious power of words to alter reality) which appear in the mid-eighth-century poetic anthology the *Manyôshû* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, 万葉集) to linked verse (*renga*) popular in medieval Japan , carefully constructed language also had a place in ritual pacification of the spirits of the dead.[53] Aileen Gatten, Norma Field, Haruo Shirane, Fujii Sadakazu, and Edith Sarra have investigated female characters of *The Tale of Genji* and how textual

representations of rituals of remembrance and spirit pacification function as literary devices.[54] In short, words were not simple expressions of grief; they held power. Authors consciously crafted the words of their works to simultaneously express the grief associated with longing and mitigate the danger of potentially threatening spirits.

Murasaki Shikibu's construction of language during Yūgao's mourning scene conforms to these acts of spirit pacification while being part of the specific framework of concealment that enhances the resonances of this chapter. All three of Genji's poetic laments on the topic of Yūgao's death are private. Although there are, at times, other people in the room, because Genji keeps Yūgao's identity secret they have no way of discerning the subject of his poems. This echoes Genji's choices regarding ritual, in that he secretly constructs laments in order to hide his relationship and guilt.

Genji's first lament functions as a corrective to withholding Yūgao's identity during her funeral and cremation. Yūgao describes herself as "only a diver's daughter" (海女の子なれば), but, after her death, her serving woman eventually reveals her as the orphan of a high-ranking family.[55] With this information, Genji constructs a poem that begins to correct Yūgao's maligned reputation and functions as eulogy and spirit pacification. Genji utters:

> When the clouds to me seem always to be the smoke that rose from her pyre,
> how fondly I rest my gaze even on the evening sky
>
> 見し人の煙を雲となが むれば夕の空もむつましきかな[56]

Here, Yūgao is the concealed subject of Genji's poem, which plays on the traditional coupling of cloud and smoke imagery after a funeral pyre. The text does not disclose if Genji stays to witness Yūgao's cremation. Therefore, it is only in this poem that Genji poetically dedicates the cremation to her specifically (見し人の煙), turning his lament into spirit pacification.

Genji then goes on to think, "the nights are very long now" (正に長き夜).[57] This is a phrase from a poem by Bai Juyi that describes a man mourning his wife.[58] By invoking this phrase, as well as calling her the *mishi hito* (見し人, which can mean the person known, including in a sexual manner), Murasaki Shikibu draws a comparison between the nights Genji spent together with Yūgao, when time passed quickly in her company, and the present, when she is no longer alive. This lament also

reframes Genji's relationship with Yūgao, poetically elevating her status from secret lover to known lover, further pacifying her spirit with an acknowledgment of his love for her.

Genji's second lament builds on his first and privately stresses a deep bond with Yūgao and a desire to reunite in the afterlife. The only people in the room with Genji as he voices these words are monks and a doctor, none of whom know the identity of Yūgao.[59] Therefore, although technically public, the poem can also be classified as private since those in attendance do not know the subject. On the forty-ninth day of her memorial service, after making an offering of new clothes, Genji recites:

> Amid streaming tears today a last time I knot this,
> her trouser cord—ah, in what age yet to come will I undo it again?
>
> 泣く泣くも今日はわが結ふ下紐をいづれの世にかとけて見るべき[60]

Here, by wondering if they will meet again in another age, or another life (いづれの世に), Genji demonstrates he is aware that this ritual marks the day Yūgao will transition to her next rebirth. However, Genji does not believe this marks the end of their relationship, as he expresses concern as to when he will be able to join Yūgao in the future. Additionally, similar to Genji's first lament, this poem elevates Yūgao's status and expresses a newfound respect by using terms that can be linked with a sanctioned relationship. Genji selects the term *yū* (結ふ, to tie or bind) to "knot…her trouser cord" (結ふ下紐). Scholars link this allusion to a poem in the *Man'yōshū*, which depicts an ancient practice where men and women used the trouser cord as a sign of chastity or monogamy.[61] In this way, Genji's lament anonymously raises the relationship from amorous tryst to sole partner, hoping that their love will last through their rebirths.

The third poetic lament that Genji composes after Yūgao's death marks both the end of Yūgao's memorial rituals and Genji's mourning period. In this poem, Genji links Yūgao and a former lover, Utsusemi. When Utsusemi refuses Genji's advances and returns to her husband, Genji murmurs to himself:

> One of them has died and today yet another must go her own way,
> bound I know not to what end, while an autumn twilight falls
>
> 過ぎにしもけふ別るるも二道に行く方知らぬ秋の暮かな[62]

While noting that the loss of Yūgao and Utsusemi was not the same, as "one of them has died and today yet another must go her own way" (過ぎにしもけふ別るるも), Genji struggles to understand the impermanence of these romantic bonds since both women are "bound I know not to what end" (二道に行く方知らぬ).[63] The subjects of his solitary poem are concealed, thus allowing the reader (who is privy to Genji's secrets) to fill in the appropriate characters. The timing of this final poetic lament signals that Genji does not dwell on his love for Yūgao, as he moves on to other possible love interests as soon as the period of purification and memorial are concluded. However, because Murasaki Shikibu earlier describes Genji as a novice in the practice of death ritual and shows him moving through a series of reactions that attempt to absolve him, readers are encouraged to forgive Genji for this selfish lament and allow him, too, to go his own way forward.

This rhetoric of mourning in "Yūgao"—coupling rituals and practices with solitary poetic laments—underscores Genji's need for secrecy, isolation and guilt, and first unchaperoned navigation of mourning. During this death episode, Murasaki Shikibu includes details on death rituals and practices Genji thought were socially necessary while stressing the private nature of his choices. This scene of mourning mirrors the clandestine nature of Genji's relationship with Yūgao, her death in an abandoned villa, and the secrets Genji keeps out of guilt.

Genji's actions and emotions while mourning Yūgao demonstrate his newfound knowledge of death ritual. The narrator's recurring comments on Genji as youthful and inexperienced in dealing with death serve as an excuse for his questionable decisions. However, Genji's participation in purification and memorial rites demonstrate an understanding of death that he did not possess as a three-year-old child. Knowing that he could not wear mourning robes after the death of Yūgao and creating a cover story for his seclusion due to defilement, Murasaki Shikibu, I suggest, shows us a Genji who decides he could not mourn through the public rituals in the Yōrō code and instead creates another type of mourning, a private construction of his own making. Genji awkwardly, but fully, participates in rituals to rid himself of defilement from contact with death in order to prevent the spread of his pollution. He secretly, but adeptly, holds a funeral, cremation, and memorial service for Yūgao in order to prevent her from becoming a vengeful spirit. Finally, Genji's private laments reveal his love for Yūgao and his personal desire to mourn her death and reunite with her in the next life. By participating in purification and memorializa-

tion rituals, Genji demonstrates his understanding of his position in the world of the court, as one responsible for guarding the palace from potentially harmful agents. Through his private laments, Genji establishes Yūgao as his lover without disclosing any of his (many) secrets.

The stress on secret mourning does not invalidate the effects of Genji's actions. Genji holds memorial services for Yūgao and is able to appease her spirit and better her rebirth, despite withholding her name. Genji's solitary poetic laments and acts of memorialization pacify Yūgao's spirit, as well as his own. The narrator signals to the reader that Genji's memorialization efforts will ultimately be successful by beautifully describing Yūgao's corpse. Additionally, upon learning why Yūgao hid her true identity from him, Genji is able to internalize her perspective. These promising efforts, as well as the narrator's claim of Genji's inexperience, begin to absolve him of his actions that lead to Yūgao's death. This, then, releases Genji from (some of) his guilt, allowing him to transform into our "shining prince" who will ultimately perfect life, love, and mourning.

NOTES

[1] There is some disagreement as to Murasaki Shikibu's birth and death dates. However, Royall Tyler states she "was born about 973…[with] the last record of her…dated 1013, and she may have died the next year." See Tyler, "Introduction," in *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Penguin Classics; Reprint edition, 2006), xvii.

[2] Nihei Michiaki, *Genji monogatari to Hakushi bunshū* (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2012), 7–32. I follow modified Hepburn Romanization.

[3] Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari*, eds. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (*SNKBZS*) vol. 20 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1996), 24. For the English translation, see Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Penguin Classics; Reprint edition, 2006), 6.

In the original text, no term for "mourning" is given. Instead, Genji is described as かかるほどに, or "at such a time," which commentators elaborate means wearing mourning clothes. See *SNKBZS* v. 20, 24, note 2.

[4] Abe Akio, Genji monogatari *kenkyū josetsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1959), 939–1009. I argue that this careful combination of poetic laments and

representations of death, purification, memorial, and mourning rituals and practices is worthy of being deemed "mourning poetics," but do not have the space to develop this argument here. For a more detailed argument, see Beth Carter, "Engulfed in Darkness: Mourning Poetics in Classical Japanese Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2016). For discussions concerning the resonance of his father's mourning, see Sojaku and Yotsutsuji Yoshinari, *Shimeishō*, *Kakaishō*, ed. Tamagami Takuya, Yamamoto Ritatsu, and Ishida Jōji (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968), 163; Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Rōkashō*, ed. Ii Haruki (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Heian bungaku kenkyūkai, 1967), 224; Sanjōnishi Kin'eda, preface to *Myōjōshō*, ed., Ii Haruki, *Sairyūshō*: Naikaku bunko-bon (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1975), 329. Kujō Tanemichi, *Mōshinshō*, ed. Nomura Seiichi (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1982), 398; Patrick W. Caddeau, *Appraising* Genji*: Literary Criticism and Cultural Anxiety in the Age of the Last Samurai* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 105–7; Paul Gordon Schalow, *A Poetics of Courtly Male Friendship in Heian Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); Koike Seiji, "*Genji monogatari* ni okeru shi no imi: monogatari naibu no shi to gaibu no shi," *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 53.11 (2008): 27; Reginald Jackson, "Homosocial Mentorship and the Serviceable Female Corpse: Manhood Rituals in *The Tale of Genji,*" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 76.1–2 (2016): 27; David C. Stahl, "Kawabata Yasunari's Thousand Cranes," in *Trauma, Dissociation and Re-enactment in Japanese Literature and Film* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 44.

[5] Schalow, "The Uji Chapters: 'Maidens of the Bridge'," in *A Poetics of Courtly Male Friendship in Heian Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 163.

[6] Reginald Jackson, "Homosocial Mentorship and the Serviceable Female Corpse," 11.

[7] Norma Field stresses this mechanism of substitution, arguing that Genji takes lovers in an attempt to replace his mother figure(s). See Norma Field, "A Substitute for all Seasons," in *The Splendor of Longing in* The Tale of Genji (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 160–216.

[8] See Ueno Tatsuyoshi, "Onna wo ushinau hikaru Genji: zenshi, chichi Kiritsubotei no sōshitsu taiken," *Kyoto gobun* 20 (2013): 94–108. For a study of Genji's mourning of all his lovers and perfecting the process, see Carter, "*Engulfed in Darkness: Mourning Poetics in Classical Japanese Literature.*"

[9] Genji's prior mourning experiences are when he mourns his mother at three and his grandmother at age six.

[10] See Schalow, "*The Tale of Genji*: 'Two Cranes Flying Wing to Wing'," in *A Poetics of Courtly Male Friendship in Heian Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 132–3.

[11] Ibid.; Abe Akio, *Kanpon Genji monogatari* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1992), 95, note 5.

[12] The Yōrō code of 718 CE contains the first documented prescribed mourning ritual in Japan. See "Sōsōryō," in *Ritsuryō*, ed. Inoue Mitsusada, Nihon shisō taikei; 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 434, 439.

The Yōrō code's funerary customs (*sōsōryō* 喪葬令) are located in the ninth section of the codified customs. Within the funerary customs subsection, articles two and seventeen outline how long to mourn and wear mourning clothes.

The full text of section two reads:
凡天皇，為本服二等以上親喪。服錫紵。為三等以下及諸臣之喪。除帛衣外。通用雜色。

The full text of section seventeen reads:
凡服紀者。為君。父母。及夫。本主。一年。祖父母。養父母。五月。曾祖父母。外祖父母。伯叔姑。妻。兄弟姉妹。夫之父母。嫡子。三月。高祖父母。舅姨。嫡母。継母。継父同居。異父兄弟姉妹。衆子。嫡孫。一月。衆孫。従父兄弟姉妹。兄弟子。七日。
凡そ服紀は、君、父母、及び夫、本主の為に、一年。祖父母、養父母に、五月。曾祖父母、外祖父母、伯叔姑、妻、兄弟姉妹、夫の父母、嫡子に、三月。高祖父母、舅姨、嫡母、継母、継父の同居、異父兄弟姉妹、衆子、嫡孫に一月。衆孫、従父兄弟姉妹、兄弟の子に、七日。

[13] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 167, 166. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 68.

[14] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 168–70. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 68–9. Commentators note that the "affairs" refer to his relationships with women, including both Yūgao and Fujitsubo. See *SNKBZS* v. 20, 169, note 18.

[15] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 167–8. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 68.

[16] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 171. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 69.

[17] In the Heian period, it was commonly believed that unnatural deaths produced vengeful spirits (*goryō* 御霊), who could be dangerous to the living if they were not pacified through ritual means. The first instance of the term *goryō* is in the ninth-century *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, and is defined as: "Due to political machinations, these innocent spirits transformed into vengeful ones (*enkon* 冤魂) that cause disease (*eyami o nasu* 成属). In recent times epidemics have been raging and people have died in large numbers; the population believes these disasters to be caused by these *goryō."* Prayers, offerings, and memorial services were routinely held in order to pacify vengeful spirits, helping them

attain enlightenment and preventing them from causing disturbances among the living.

See Toshio Kuroda and Allan Grapard, "The World of Spirit Pacification: Issues of State and Religion," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23.3–4 (1996): 323–325.

[18] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 167. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 68.

[19] Inada Natsuko provides the English translation for *mogari*. See Inada Natsuko, "Between Protocol and Practice: The Emergence of Japanese Mortuary Practices," (PowerPoint presentation, Association for Asian Studies Conference, Chicago, March 18, 2015).

While some scholars state that *mogari* for anyone other than the king (or emperor) was prohibited, Nakada Taizō argues that by the beginning of the Heian period commoners also performed *mogari*. See Nakada, "Mogari ni okeru minzoku gakuteki kōsatsu," in *Sōsō bosei kenkyū shūsei*, modern edition, ed. Inokuchi Shōji (Tokyo: Meicho shuppankai, 1979), 104, 108.

For early examples of mourning seclusion and laments see, Ō no Yasumaro, *The Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters*, trans. Gustav Heldt (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 43–44; and *The Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, trans. William George Aston (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1956), I. 66–67, 276–7.

See also Gary Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 127, 171.

[20] Doris G. Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in* The Tale of Genji (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 1–2; Doris G. Bargen, *Mapping Courtship and Kinship in Classical Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 37–41, 57–63.

[21] Schalow, "*The Tale of Genji*: 'Two Cranes Flying Wing to Wing'," 136.

[22] Jackson, "Homosocial Mentorship and the Serviceable Female Corpse," 1–41. Jackson's exploration of mourning in *The Tale of Genji* hinges upon Freud's concepts of the mental features of mourning and melancholia, which are substantially different from Heian rituals and practices pertaining to *mogari* (rituals performed before the corpse is discarded), *kegare* (defilement), *mo* (mourning), and *fukumo* (wearing mourning). According to Freud, melancholia is a state of pathological mourning preconditioned by "loss of the object, ambivalence, and regression of libido into the ego." See Sigmund Freud, *On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement: Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works*, trans. James Strachey, *et al.*, vol. XIV (London: The Hogarth Press, 1914–1916), 243–258.

[23] For a discussion of characters displaying melancholy, see Jackson, "Homosocial Mentorship and the Serviceable Female Corpse," 25.

The narrator of *The Tale of Genji* originally describes Koremitsu as sad not out of a sense of loss, but because "Genji…looked so perfectly beautiful" (いとをかしげにらうたく、見たてまつる人もいと悲しくて). Only after informing Genji of his plans for Yūgao's funeral is Koremitsu described as "in tears" (惟光も泣く泣く). For Koremitsu's sadness after Yūgao's death, see *SNKBZS* v. 20, 171, 175. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 68, 71.

[24] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 172. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 70.

[25] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 167. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 68.

[26] See "Rinjisai," in *Engishiki no kenkyū*, ed. Toshiya Torao, Jingi: 3 (Tokyo: Taishukan, 2000), 60. However, Mi-suk Yi notes that by the late Heian period, in cases of mourning close family members, this purification ritual was sometimes extended to match the forty-nine-day period of Buddhist memorials. See Mi-suk Yi, "*Genji monogatari* ni okeru shi no 'kegarahi' to 'imi'," *Kaishaku* 60.3/4 (2014): 34–35.

[27] It was believed that if a visitor remained standing and did not enter the room, the pollution would not be transferred. See *SNKBZS* v. 20, 173, note 26. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 70, note 55.

Koremitsu also suffers from *kegare* due to his direct handling of Yūgao's corpse. No details are given about his purification rituals; however, when returning from Yūgao's funeral, Koremitsu washes his hands in the river (川の水に手を洗ひて). This could be Koremitsu's ritual purification from contact with a corpse, but scholars note that it is done in order to pray to the Kannon of Kiyomizu. See *SNKBZS* v. 20, 175, note 14.

[28] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 175. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 71.

[29] Ibid, 175, 177. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 71.

[30] We will see the fourth instance of the term below, at the end of Genji's period of defilement. The Yōrō code, a revision to the earlier Taihō code of 701 CE, contains the first documented prescribed mourning ritual in Japan, which was still in effect at the time of *The Tale of Genji*.

[31] Inada Natsuko defines *fukumo* as "wearing special garments of mourning and undergoing a temporary lifestyle of restraint as a means to express feelings of grief regarding the death of a deceased familial relative or those related as lord and subject." See Natsuko, "Between Protocol and Practice: The Emergence of Japanese Mortuary Practices," (PowerPoint presentation, Association for Asian Studies Conference, Chicago, March 18, 2015).

[32] Mi-suk Yi, "*Genji monogatari* ni okeru shi no 'kegarahi' to 'imi'," 35.

[33] Ibid.

[34] In the mid-Heian period, it was common for survivors to adopt deeper mourning rituals as a signal of a close relationship.

[35] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 171–2. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 69.

[36] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 179. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 72.

[37] See Aileen Gatten, "Death and Salvation in *Genji Monogatari*," in *New Leaves: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Edward Seidensticker*, eds. Aileen Gatten and Anthony Hood Chambers (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1993), 6–8.

[38] Additionally, he could not wear mourning under his cover story because he had no relation to the imaginary servant who died before being taken from the house.

[39] Inada Natsuko, "Nihon kodai no fukumo to tsuizen," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 618 (2014): 34–54; and Inada Natsuko, "Between Protocol and Practice: The Emergence of Japanese Mortuary Practices," (PowerPoint presentation, Association for Asian Studies Conference, Chicago, March 18, 2015).

[40] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 183, 183 note 18. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 74. The text states that Genji spent this time in "grave illness" (いと重くわづらひ) but clarifies that the end of this period is the night his seclusion due to defilement (穢らひ忌) comes to an end.

[41] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 192. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 78.

[42] Schalow, "*The Tale of Genji*: 'Two Cranes Flying Wing to Wing'," 132. Norma Field also elaborates on Genji's linking of the two women. See Norma Field, "A Minor Heroine and the Unmaking of the Hero," in *The Splendor of Longing in* The Tale of Genji (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press: 1987), 90.

[43] For an in-depth study of Genji's mourning of all his lovers, see Carter, "*Engulfed in Darkness: Mourning Poetics in Classical Japanese Literature.*"

[44] *SNKBZS* v. 21, 454, 458, 480. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 357, 358, 369.

[45] *SNKBZS* v. 21, 442. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 352.

[46] Although Genji was with Fujitsubo when she died, they were separated as he was brought "to the standing curtain near where she lay" (近き御几帳のもとに寄りて). During their conversation, "she expired as he spoke, like a dying flame" (灯火などの消え入るやうにてはてたまひぬれば). Genji's pollution from contact with her death would have been mitigated by this distance, but, presumably, would have still occurred. See *SNKBZS* v. 21, 445, 447. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 354.

[47] Karen Gerhart states "deep mourning" occurs during the forty-nine-day Buddhist memorial services but does not demonstrate a link to formal mourning as outlined in the Yōrō code. See Karen Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 16. Similarly, Duncan Williams states that by the Tokugawa period the forty-nine day Buddhist memorial ritual was the "minimum socially accepted time of mourning though in certain regions mourning lasted up to a full year." See Duncan Williams, "Funerary Zen: Sōtō Zen Death Management in Tokugawa Japan," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, eds. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 232–233.

[48] While Jacqueline Stone documents that mourning periods were at times lengthened to forty-nine days, Inada demonstrates that they were also frequently shortened in order to facilitate the functioning of the court. See Jacqueline Stone, "Introduction," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, eds. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 3; Stone, "With the Help of 'Good Friends': Deathbed Ritual Practices in Early Medieval Japan," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, eds. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 67; and Inada, "Nihon kodai no fukumo to tsuizen," 34–54. Inada also notes the connection between mourning seclusion and the Buddhist forty-nine-day memorials.

[49] Carter, "*Engulfed in Darkness: Mourning Poetics in Classical Japanese Literature.*"

[50] Gary Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*, especially pages 123215; and Ebersole, "The Buddhist Ritual Use of Linked Poetry in Medieval Japan," *Eastern Buddhist* 16.2, n.s. (Autumn 1983): 50–71.

[51] Ō no Yasumaro, *The Kojiki*, 43–44; and *The Nihongi*, 66–67.

[52] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*, 19.

[53] See Anne Commons, "Medieval Reception: Poetic Deities in the Secret Commentaries," in *Hitomaro: Poet as God* (New York: Brill, 2009), 169–72; Roy Andrew Miller, "The 'Spirit' of the Japanese Language," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 3.2 (Summer, 1977): 251–298; H. Mack Horton, "Renga Unbound: Performative Aspects of Japanese Linked Verse," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53.2 (1993): 486–7; Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, *Heart's Flower: The Life and Poetry of Shinkei* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), 72, 93: and Ramirez-Christensen, *Emptiness and Temporality: Buddhism and Medieval Japanese Poetics* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008), 19, 107.

[54] See Aileen Gatten, "Death and Salvation in *Genji Monogatari*," 5–8; and Norma Field, *The Splendor of Longing in* The Tale of Genji, 51–53; Haruo Shirane, "Polygamous Triangles," in *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of* The Tale of Genji (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 114–116; Fujii Sadakazu, "Hikaru Genji shudai ron," in Genji monogatari *no shigen to genzai* (Tokyo: Tōjusha, 1980), 157–59; and Edith Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity: Literary Inventions of Gender in Japanese Court Women's Memoirs* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 171–190.

[55] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 162. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 66.

[56] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 189. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 76.

[57] Ibid.

[58] See *SNKBZS* v. 20, 189, note 14. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 76, note 74. This poem is number 1287 in the anthology *Hakushi monjū* (a compilation of Bai Juyi's poetry dated to 839 CE). According to Kendall H. Brown, the *Hakushi monjū* was "well known to educated Japanese by the middle of the Heian period." See Kendall H. Brown, *The Politics of Reclusion: Painting and Power in Momoyama Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 189, note 42. For a discussion of how the compilation came to Japan and its influence on Japanese poetry, see Ivo Smits, "Heian Canons of Chinese Poetry: Wakan Rōeishū and Bai Juyi," in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, eds. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 184–7.

[59] The doctor earlier wonders aloud as to whom the deceased could be (何人ならむ), informing the reader of his ignorance as to her identity. See *SNKBZS* v. 20, 192. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 78.

[60] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 192. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 78.

[61] Ibid, note 11.

[62] *SNKBZS* v. 20, 195. Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 80.

[63] Ueno Tatsuyoshi argues that Genji's sadness over the loss of Yūgao is greater than his feelings after the loss of Utsusemi. See Ueno Tatsuyoshi, "Onna o ushinau hikaru Genji: seinenki no sōshitsu taiken," *Bungakubu ronshū* 3.98 (2014): 38–39.