Title
Gendered Grief and Temporality: Historical Narration in Early Medieval Japanese Poetry

Author
Mc Nelly, Kim

Publication Date
2023

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Gendered Grief and Temporality:
Historical Narration
in Early Medieval Japanese Poetry

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Kimberly Marie Mc Nelly

2023

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Gendered Grief and Temporality:

Historical Narration

in Early Medieval Japanese Poetry

by

Kimberly Marie Mc Nelly

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2023

Professor Torquil Duthie, Chair

The large corpus of literature produced by Japanese aristocratic women from the ninth through fourteenth centuries—Japan's classical or Heian Period (794–1185) and early medieval or Kamakura Period (1185–1333)—is an anomaly in world literature of the premodern period. Scholarship on the vernacular writings of Heian women aristocrats has shown that although women were for the most part excluded from the political realm of bureaucracy, they did play key, if usually unofficial, roles. For instance, their writings were central to the Heian court's sense of itself, including the process of transmitting cultural memory. Even though aristocratic women continued to write throughout the early medieval period, scholars have tended to neglect their writings in favour of the new political protagonists of the age—the leaders of the warrior class—and have argued that aristocratic women did not write about political unrest. This dissertation combines close reading and archival research to argue that the writings of medieval

aristocratic women did in fact play a central role in the process whereby the aristocracy made sense of the changing world and their own diminished place in it. This is not immediately apparent because the genres that medieval aristocratic women wrote in—*waka* poetry and vernacular diaries—tend not to be analyzed in terms of historical representation. And yet, as this dissertation shows, the story of the declining aristocracy, as told by the aristocratic women who experienced it firsthand and survived the tumultuous transition into Japan's medieval age, offers insight into how medieval Japanese authors used poetry as a medium for historical narrative and how aspects of the medium of a poetic *waka* lens—such as embedded multiple overlapping temporalities—force conceptions of the past at odds with contemporary notions of linear historic time.

The dissertation of Kimberly Marie Mc Nelly is approved.

Michael D. Emmerich

Seiji Mizuta Lippit

Christina Laffin

Torquil Duthie, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2023

Dedicated to the child I used to be,

who couldn't conceptualize their own narrative

and those who helped me find my voice

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

SNKBT—*Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学体系

SNKBZ—*Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新日本古典文学全集

SNKS— *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成

WBT— *Waka bungaku taikei* 和歌文学体系

Acknowledgements

This dissertation has been long in the making, and I am so incredibly grateful for all those who helped me along the way. I would not have started down the path that led me here if I had never met Stephen Miller. His modern Japanese literature course taught at Smith College showed me the value of the humanities, wooing me away from microbial eukaryotes and a biology major. My world has been so vastly expanded because of this decision, and I remain eternally grateful.

I am very grateful to my doctoral advisor Torquil Duthie for support in the early stages and giving me space to figure out my path. The rest of my dissertation committee has extended much grace and patience. Michael Emmerich always challenged me with taking stances to the most extreme examples, which helped me to find my way to more nuanced arguments. Seiji Lippit offered insightful comments and feedback that made my work stronger. Christina Laffin has been a research mentor and strong source of emotional support since 2011; I am so incredibly humbled by her generosity in offering and following through with weekly check-ins during my darkest months of 2020, when I was living abroad alone for dissertation research as the world fell into chaos. I would also like to thank Gaye Rowley for commenting on my research presentations and offering a warm welcome to the Waseda community, Erin Brightwell for an invigorating discussion, and Tomoko Bialock for providing refreshing enthusiasm and research support. Thanks also to the editors of PAJLS; portions of Chapter 2 will appear in PAJLS 22.

This dissertation was made possible with generous support from the Fulbright Foundation (IIE), Waseda University, and The Tadashi Yanai Initiative for Globalizing Japanese

Humanities, each of which helped to further my research. Additional support came from the Cota-Robles Foundation, Haruhisa Handa Chair of Shinto Studies, Terasaki Center for Japanese Studies, and Asian Languages & Cultures Department at UCLA. Thanks also to the staff behind these institutions, including Noel Shimizu at the Terasaki Center, Joko Yumi at Waseda University, and the staff at ALC, particularly Shan Shan Chi-Au and Fatin Zubi, for going above and beyond in providing guidance with the intricacies of academic bureaucracy.

I am indebted to a broad academic support network developed during my covid-extended three-year research stay in Tokyo. Kōno Kimiko provided warm support at Waseda and continual encouragement for me to use all the resources available to me there. Tabuchi Kumiko kindly allowed me to join all her zemi; she and the Chūsei Waka no Kai provided support and comradery in addition to invaluable feedback on my research on medieval poetics. Special thanks to Hiroyuki Ikuura for the cross-cultural learning about different academic approaches. I am grateful for Ōtsu Yūichi for his timely offering of a grad seminar on the variants of *Jōkyūki* and for the contributions of the students in that class; my research and presentations for that course became the basis of Chapter Three. I am also indebted to the *kuzushiji* reading group, including Yasuhiro Mitarai and Furuya Naohiro, for helping to build up my skills.

I have been blessed with a host of supportive colleagues at UCLA who have both pushed me as a scholar and shared holidays and laughter. These include Raiyah bint al-Hussein, Jinaeng Choi, Julia Clark, Victoria Davis, Yasmine Krings, HeeJin Lee, Jiajun Liang, Fang-Ru Lin, Chiara Pavone, Debbie Price, Maarika Rickansrud, Ken Shima, Mariko Takano, Eric Tojimbara, and Danica Truscott. Special thanks to my year-mate Eric Siercks for remaining tight while we were abroad together, allowing me into his covid bubble with Kozue and not laughing when I brought suitcases of books to their apartment to scan, and to Kirk Kanesaka for being the best

cheerleading *senpai* I could have asked for, coming through with delicious BBQ during the stress of comps exams and commiserative rapid responses to texts in my final years of writing, despite the time difference.

I also found support in the wider academic community. Scholarly colleagues outside of UCLA include Elsa Chanez, Tarin Clanuwat, Jason Douglass, Edoardo Gerlini, Kaoru Hayashi, Ekaterina Komova, Nicolette Lee, Mia Lewis, Bonnie McClure, Brian White, Oliver White, and Valerie Zinner. Kel Weinhold's coaching gave me sorely needed perspective, helping immensely as 2020 unfolded and during my final push in the last few months. Her "Unstuck" program also introduced me to a great small group, including the incomparable Sally Deck. If we ever meet in person, I owe you the biggest and longest hug ever. Jacklyn Cleofas' dedication to our coworking sessions helped me keep going. Thanks also to Abigail MacBain for creating another accountability community and for Rea Manderino for showing up to it every morning. Seeing both of you finish and move onto Life Beyond the Dissertation (TM) helped a lot.

I am very grateful for my support network and friends outside of academia for helping me to maintain perspective. Vessela and Dr. Debonis literally helped keep me sane. Tiffany Caronia regularly reminded that I was more than my brain, that I had a body which needed care. Dane Bauer Hassid created the magic container of Zoom Soup Class Community that has fed all our souls the past three years. Far-flung friends include Carolyn Aguilar, Courtney Allen, Anna Boehle, Selene Franzke, Catharina Gress-Wright, Laura Levin, Fakhri Shafai, and Elise Simons. In Los Angeles, I'd like to thank Arielle, Di, Eunie, Kim, Leila, Lex, Liam, lily, Paul, pudding, Rhone, Sam, and Violet for their companionship and support and Jenn and eden for welcoming me as family. Spending time with you all has made my life so much richer and more meaningful.

Finally, my family, both blood and found. The AFU has unfailingly provided financial support when funding fell short; I could not have done this without you. My mother always believed in me, and Aunt Beth refused to consider me leaving without completing; your faith helped. Much appreciation to Grammy for still watching over me and helping with housing. The An family were there for me during my stay in Tokyo, especially in early 2020 when I was injured. I can't thank my queer-fam enough for helping to facilitate truly restorative, joy-full, and always ridiculous vacations that helped me reset before reentering the fray: Sonic, Joe, Henry, and Jesse, I love you all. And for the last push especially, much love to Brian and Jena for being there for me and helping to keep me grounded.

Vita

Education

2004–2008	B.A.	Smith College, Northampton, MA Major: East Asian Languages & Cultures Minor: Biology
2011–2015	M.A.	University of British Columbia, Vancouver Asian Studies
2018–2021	Research Fellow	Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan Fulbright Graduate Research Fellow

Publications

2023 "Poetry, Grief, and Trauma of the Genpei War and Jōkyū Disturbance." *Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies*, Vol. 22: Turning Points. Ed. Torquil Duthie. [Forthcoming]

Selected Conference Presentations

"Poetry, Grief, and Trauma of the Genpei War and Jōkyū Disturbance," 29th Annual Association for Japanese Literary Studies Conference, UCLA, May 2022.

「ジェンダーと歴史の語り方―平安・中世における和文の問題点」[Gender and the Telling of History: Problems with *Wabun* Texts in Heian and Medieval Japan], 43rd International Conference on Japanese Literature, National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL), Tokyo, Japan, November 2019.

「歴史叙述を引き受ける女房：漢籍のレトリックによる上皇の再生 [Aristocratic Women Taking Up Historical Narration: The Rehabilitation of Former Japanese Emperors Through Classical Chinese Rhetoric], 2nd Biannual Workshop on Sino-Japanese Classics, Peking University, Beijing, China, November 2019.

「恋歌と哀傷歌：鎌倉前期の和歌にみる戦争描写の多面性」[Love and Mourning Poetry: The Various Aspects of Depictions of War in Early Kamakura Period *Waka*],「文学による日米の架け橋―ケネス・レクスロス、翻訳、戦争」Rethinking the Legacy of Kenneth Rexroth: Literature, Translation, War Symposium, Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo, Japan, March 2019.

"In the Family Way: Containing the Power of Female Japanese Warriors," 25th Annual International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, United Kingdom, July 2018.

Introduction

In the early 1990s, the Reizei Family—a medieval Japanese aristocratic poetic lineage established by Tamesuke (1198–1275), grandson to the famous poet and scholar Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241)—began publishing facsimiles of texts from their vast collection that had previously been inaccessible to the larger scholarly community. Some of these are the only extant copies of texts, including *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* 土御門院女房日記 (The Poetic Memoirs of a Female Court Attendant of Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado, after 1231), which was published as a facsimile in 2001. It is not often that the medieval literature scholarly community has a "new" text to dissect; two separate transcribed and annotated versions of it were published by the late 2010s.[1]

This dissertation is largely inspired by curiosity about this text, including why it remained uncirculated as a "minority report" on the events it describes: the exile of a former emperor and the multiple stages of mourning his loss, as seen through the perspective of a former female attendant. Reading modern scholarly commentorial critiques, in this and another text written from another perspective, led to broader questions about the boundaries of literary conventions. Can the highly conventionalized and restricted language of *waka* be used to narrate extraordinary circumstances, and if so, how? What could early medieval female authors to do push the boundaries of expression through vernacular *waka* poetics? To give a specific example: how can a word like "sad" be made to convey a depth of feeling surpassing its standard usage in *waka*?

[1] Yamasaki notes the existence of this text was completely unknown before this publication in 2001. Yamasaki Keiko, ed., *Tsuchimikado'in onhyakushū, Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki shinchū*, Shinchū waka bungaku sōsho 12 (Tokyo: Seikansha, 2013), 266. Tabuchi Kumiko and Chūsei Waka no Kai, ed., *Minbukyō no Tenji shū, Tsuchimikado'in no Nyōbō zenshaku* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 2016).

And what effect does this pushing of literary boundaries have on textual (and later scholarly) reception? And, as a second main question: why or how do some texts come to form the basis of cultural memory? Which texts are sidelined by poor reception and/or lack of prominence in the cultural imaginary and why? And what perspectives of these less well-received texts can we see within more dominant historical narratives?

I place *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* in conversation with another female-authored "minority report" compiled in the aftermath of an armed political conflict, *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* 建礼門院右京大夫集 (The Poetic Memoir of Lady Daibu, ca. 1220). While there is a conventional view that medieval Japanese women did not write about subjects of political unrest because of the "contemporary attitude that political and military events were not a proper topic in works by women,"[2] war did affect aristocratic women's lives significantly. These women wrote narratives about their experiences that form the core narrative of how the aristocracy understood itself, i.e., the basis of aristocratic cultural memory. These texts have not been valued as historic narratives, however, in part due to the genres that were available to women writers, all of which rely on the short form of *waka* poetry. The strong disciplinary division within Japanese academia and professional scholastic organizations between history and literature has resulted in historians largely ignoring poetry and poetry-centered texts. [3] This segregated training also makes it difficult for international scholars to work interdisciplinarily on

[2] Karen Brazell, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), xiii.

[3] While McCarty's dissertation also serves as an intervention into this very problem of realigning scholarship in the fields of literature and history, and his work focused on the same events as *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, he does not discuss poetry found within the texts he analyzes. Chapter Three will more directly address this gap, examining some poetic contributions by aristocratic women in the texts which are his main focus. Michael Barrett McCarty, "Divided Loyalties and Shifting Perceptions: The Jōkyū Disturbance and Courtier-Warrior Relations in Medieval Japan," PhD diss, Columbia University, 2013.

premodern Japanese texts. Literary scholars have also underrated these two texts because of their unconventional use of poetic language. Although they have often been dismissed as incompetent or uneducated, [4] and generally inferior to their Heian (794–1185) literary predecessors, [5] I argue that their unconventional poetic styles are in fact attempts to narrate their extraordinary circumstances.

This dissertation excavates understudied women's poetic writing from Japan's early medieval period (1185–1333) and analyzes the historical narratives embedded within it that reflect on the tumultuous events that resulted in the establishment of a new warrior government—the Genpei War (1180–1185) and the Jōkyū Disturbance (1221). The former resulted in a loss of aristocratic power and inaugurated Japan's warrior-governed medieval period, and the latter was a failed attempt by the aristocracy to reclaim that power. Through an approach that combines close reading and archival research, my dissertation reveals an alternative history of these events by examining medieval Japanese women's perspectives, experiences, and their relationship to war. In a broader sense, my project argues for reading *waka* poetry in early medieval historical narratives as a form of history, specifically providing a voice for aristocrats as their loss of political power led to a de-centralization of their former role as main protagonists. I further examine the effect of poetry embedded within historical narratives, such as showing how the existence of multiple overlapping temporalities complicates conceptions of a single linear past. This research on Japanese medieval literary works seeks to

[4] For instance, using Heian classics as a reference point, Harries describes Lady Daibu's text as lacking in prose, "disappointing" as a poetry collection, and deems the author herself "[no] more than a second-class poet." Phillip Tudor Harries, *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 63.

[5] For instance, Yamasaki discusses a specific Sino-Japanese reference in *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* with a highly unusual usage. Yamasaki argues it was likely drawn from a contemporaneous *waka* collection, which is referenced throughout the text. She questions whether the author understood the original citation and the implications behind it. Yamasaki, 286.

challenge global perspectives on women's literary production and contribute new findings to the field of women's literature and history.

I begin in Chapter One by making a broad argument for considering *waka* poetry as a form of historical narrative. There are two prongs to this argument. First, I track the evolution of gendered historical protagonism—i.e., who were the main protagonists of historical narratives—in Japanese literary and historical texts up to to Japan's early medieval period. This builds upon recent scholarship asserting that the perspectives of aristocratic mid-ranked female attendants—the authors who contributed to this corpus of early medieval texts—provide insight into the personal relationships guiding the politics centered in male-authored narratives. I present a correlation between the main protagonists of the dominant historical narratives that formed a basis for cultural memory and the holders of political power at the time they were composed. I argue that in the early medieval shift to narratives centering those who represented the warrior class—*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語 (war tales)—we see the aristocracy reduced to a lesser protagonist role, with their voice and laments primarily enacted in these narratives through *waka* poetics.

In the second approach to the argument of *waka* as (aristocratic) history, Chapter One addresses the multiple, overlapping temporalities that appear in early medieval *waka* poetics, which create a view of the past that is different from modern linear notions of time. After outlining the various temporalities simultaneously at play in *waka*, I argue that multiple temporal shifts occurred in early medieval poetics. First, I demonstrate a shift towards a more individuated or relative geographic perspective of time, such as seen in seasonal poetry. To show this, I employ quantitative analysis on the first twenty poems of the two most influential imperial *waka* anthologies that set poetic standards for centuries afterwards, the *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集

(Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, ca. 920, hereafter *Kokinshū*) and the *Shinkokinwakashū* 新古今和歌集 (New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, ca. 1205, hereafter *Shinkokinshū*). To demonstrate another early medieval temporal shift, I outline parallel changes in the depiction of a poetic year of mourning towards a more individuated temporality. Drawing from the "Maboroshi" 幻 (The Seer) chapter of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji, 1008), I follow Beth Carter's work on how this became a precedent for the literary depiction of a poetic year of morning, progressing through each month sequentially with the constructed seasonality Haruo Shirane has outlined.[6] I then use close readings to argue that early medieval sources, such as *GoHorikawa'in Minbukyō no Tenji shū* 後堀河院民部卿典侍集 (The Poetic Collection of GoHorikawa'in Minbukyō no Suke, 1234) and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, mark a larger shift towards a timeless experience of grief in the year after a loved one's death. This chapter begins to raise questions about the role of poetry in historic memory which are further developed in later chapters.

Chapter Two expands on the impacts of *waka* as a medium for historic narrative introduced in Chapter One by closely examining the barriers to expression within a selection of early medieval women's *waka* grief poetry focused on the Genpei War and Jōkyū Disturbance. Drawing on recent scholarship by Christina Laffin which shows how a later medieval aristocratic woman employed a densely poetic text in political ways,[7] Chapter Two contextualizes and analyzes two main primary poetic texts. *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* is a mid-ranked

[6] Beth M. Carter, "Engulfed in Darkness: Mourning Poetics in Classical Japanese Literature," PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2016. Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*: *Nature, Literature, and the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[7] Christina Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).

aristocratic woman's poetic memoir which describes her experiences during and after the Genpei War. The author, servant to an empress on the losing side of the conflict, commemorates and mourns her patron's fallen clan. The second, *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, also focuses on the author's relationship with a member of the imperial line and his death in the political fall-out after the Jōkyū Disturbance.

Chapter Two argues that basing ideas about cultural memory on canonicity and widely-received texts—on textual reception—skews a view of historical narratives about premodern (Heian and medieval) Japanese war/conflict into a dialectic of defeat: memorialization or pacification of those who lost and proof of the authoritative power of those who won. This sets up a framework of the past informing and serving as a precedent for future power relations, which is of obvious benefit to the security of those who won the conflict even if a narrative (such as *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, Tale of the Heike, fourteenth century) purports to paint the losing side in a sympathetic light. This chapter shows that it is only through looking to less well-received texts that we find those attempting to narrate a present unfolding moment with the confusion and uncertainty inherent to it. I discuss the challenges these texts faced in relation to textual reception, how and why they fell into a gap between communicative and cultural memory, and the value they hold despite this. The chapter traces how narratives of cultural memory are shaped, outlining larger-scale issues of textual circulation and values before narrowing the focus to consider the restrictive effects of textual norms and genre in the creative process. For the latter, I examine the contours of grief expression available through *waka* to show the challenges early medieval aristocratic women faced in writing about war and political conflict in a vernacular, poetic mode.

Due to the generic affinities between these primary texts, I pay particular attention to the linguistic limitations and cultural boundaries of the short poetic form of *waka*, which was one of the few avenues of expression open to women writers. This highlights the restrictions on what women were able to communicate and the creativity they used to allude to more unconventional topics. From a micro to macro level, this chapter more broadly asks whose narratives get codified within the canons that form textual and cultural memory and why some voices are marginalized. I draw from trauma theorists such as Cathy Caruth to include a consideration of the effect of trauma on the authors' attempts to narrate their experiences. By analyzing these marginalized accounts of major political events, I complicate commonly accepted narratives about early medieval Japanese history that center male warrior protagonists.

Chapter Three flips the script by highlighting the portrayal of female figures and their *waka* poems found within more widespread male-authored historical narratives about the Jōkyū Disturbance, particularly the Jikōji-bon variant of *Jōkyūki* 承久記 (A Record of the Jōkyū Years [1219–1222]). While historians have privileged male-authored texts, they have generally ignored the poetry within them in favor of prose passages. With particular attention on embedded women's poetry, the textual sources examined in this chapter focus on how the myth of divine descent of the emperor—which formed the basis for aristocratic collective identity—was challenged by the Jōkyū Disturbance and how the conversation about imperial identity adapted to these challenges. I draw on Jan Assman's concept of the "mythomotor" to discuss how the doubts that arose around imperial lineage posed problems to the idea of aristocratic identity. The basis of this argument rests on a close reading analysis of the poetic use of Mimosuso River imagery in the Jikōji-bon variant of *Jōkyūki*, contextualizing it in relation to standard conventions and precedent. This waterway borders Ise Shrine and had interconnected

connotations with imperial lineage, legitimacy, and power through its link to Amaterasu, the goddess enshrined at Ise and from which the imperial family mythologically descended. I also examine examples of the Mimosuso River being deployed in later male-authored *gunki monogatari*, which draw it out of a poetic context into prose discussion.

This dissertation investigates the role of poetry in the historical narratives that form cultural memory. My purpose is to question what has been left outside of canonical readings of literary and cultural histories of Japan's early medieval period, especially the voices, perspectives, and experiences that fall outside of or are marginalized within commonly accepted narratives. My approach is to investigate authorial decisions at the level of the linguistic expressions and diction that set these voices and texts outside of the mainstream, in order to show that close readings of such non-canonical works can force us to reconsider how we conceive of this historical period.

Chapter 1, *Waka* as a Form of History

The main protagonists of early Japanese history

The earliest extant works of early Japanese literature were myths composed to explain and authenticate political power, with those of the highest authority centered as the main protagonists. In the eighth and ninth centuries—in the dawn of premodern Japanese literacy—it was gods and their imperial descendants who were the literary protagonists of Japanese history. The standard for state-sponsored, "official" historiographical writing in China consisted of descriptions of events with separate biographies, such as seen in the imperial historiographic Sinitic predecessors of *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Historian, ca. 100 BCE), *Hanshu* 漢書 (Documents of the Han, ca. 92 CE), and *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Documents of the Later Han, ca. 432 CE).[8] Drawing on these imported historical traditions, the *Rikkokushi* 六国史 (Six National Histories), beginning with *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720) and ending with *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (Veritable Record of Three Generations of Japan, 901), describe Japan's history from its mythological beginnings through 887, in an orthodox style of Literary Sinitic that is very close to that of their Chinese models. Unlike their continental models, however, Japan's early histories did not include biographies but only imperial annals, consisting of "carefully dated entries recording events of public significance, with few modifications and additions"[9] with the emperor as a central figure around which court rituals,

[8] Elizabeth Oyler, "Vernacular Histories: *Eiga monogatari, Ōkagami, Gukanshō*," in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*. Ed. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Barnett Lurie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2016: 194.

[9] Ibid.

law-making, and responses to threats to the realm were structured. The line of imperial succession determined the space of history by structuring official historical narratives, which were configuring around the words and deeds of a central protagonist: the sovereign.[10] These histories were usually commissioned and edited by the most powerful minister at court; Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (804–872) and Mototsune (836–891) both served as chief compilers, as did Mototsune's son Tokihira for the last of these histories completed in 901.

This alignment with Sinitic historiographical conceptions and literary frameworks is not surprising. The Japanese imperial family was the central lineage around which the aristocratic court revolved. It followed the model of classical Chinese sovereignty, with some significant differences. First, unlike the Chinese "mandate of heaven" which justified dynastic changes by correlating unjust rulership with natural disasters and other divinely inflicted suffering of the realm's populace, the mythological legitimization of Japanese imperial control depended on a chain of descent from the heavenly gods and in particular the sun goddess Amaterasu. Second, the imperial lineage depended on the support of traditional aristocratic lineages (*uji*), who served in ministerial positions. Despite the nominal emphasis on direct descent from heaven, the firstborn male heir was not guaranteed succession to the throne. Matrilineal lines were also important. In the sixth and seventh centuries fraternal succession was just as common if not more so than filial succession, and there were eight instances of Japanese women rulers between the late sixth and late eighth centuries.[11] Even after male filial succession became the ideal in the late

[10] Duthie discusses this phenomenon in relation to the first of the six, *Nihon shoki*. Torquil Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 128–30.

[11] These numbers are a little misleading because two of the Japanese empress regnants acceded to the throne twice, so the total number of individual empresses is only six. There are also more instances of Chinese indirect/unofficial rule through empress consorts and empress dowagers, particularly acting on behalf their sons. But there was only one recognized Chinese empress regnant, Wu Zetian (624–705, r. 690–705).

eighth century, in the absence of a suitable direct heir, other patrilineal male relations were still considered eligible.[12] With suitable backing from powerful aristocrats, an older heir could be bypassed by a younger or alternative heir, or otherwise forced to step down after a short period of rule.[13]

Protagonists of Japanese history in the Heian Period

By the Heian period, when male sovereignty had become firmly established, all aristocratic lineages were related in some way to the imperial family. As the clans grew larger, however, subdivisions occurred within them. For instance, the Fujiwara lineage, which descended from Nakatomi no Kamatari (614–669)—who was granted the honorific surname of Fujiwara by Emperor Tenji—became subdivided into four branches. The "northern branch" became known as the "regental" branch after they came to dominate mid-Heian politics by occupying the highest ministerial positions and intermarrying their daughters into the imperial line. As the imperial heir was raised in the empress' quarters within the imperial palace, this gave the maternal grandfather special access to both the palace and the heir, who he would try to make emperor while still a child or a malleable young adult. Fujiwara no Yoshifusa began this practice of ruling through his underage grandson, Emperor Seiwa (850–878, r. 858–876), through the newly invented office of regent (*sesshō*). Yoshifusa's adopted son (by blood his paternal nephew), Mototsune, extended

[12] Due to liberal adoption policies, lineage was often not limited to direct blood descendants—adoptions did occur—but these tended to draw from the same familial pool, such as the adoption of a nephew. Guidelines for formal aristocratic adoption were outlined in the Yōrō Code (promulgated in 757). It specified that in the absence of a son, a male relative of patrilineal descent "closer than a second cousin" could be adopted, but this rule was stricter than actual cultural practice. Obayashi Taryo, "*Uji* Society and *Ie* Society from Prehistory to Medieval Times," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 11, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 15.

[13] Ibid., 17–18.

regental control through the position of *kanpaku*, or a chancellor acting on behalf of an of-age emperor.

There is no scholarly agreement about why exactly the writing of official imperial histories came to an end after 901, but it correlates with changing power dynamics. As political power shifted from the emperor to Northern Fujiwara ministers in the role of regent, the Fujiwara ministers themselves emerged as political figures that organized the space of historical discourse. This occurred within two spheres: patrilineal Sino-Japanese journals and more widespread vernacular (*wabun*) narratives.

In the absence of official *kanbun* histories, *kanbun nikki* 漢文日記 (Sinitic journals) developed greater importance in the historical representation of the court. These were kept by high-ranking male court officials such as the Fujiwara regents and considered part of official male bureaucratic literary production and culture. They followed the model of the official histories in terms of content—describing ceremonial events, natural disasters that threatened the realm, etc.—but situated the author in the first person as the main protagonist of the text, representing them as figures acting self-consciously from within a historical moment to record their memory and version of events. They also served as resources of knowledge for future descendants; men wrote knowing their words would join the collection of journals they had inherited from their male predecessors. In other words, these journals acted as a medium to pass on specialized familial knowledge to their male heirs. The genre of *kanbun nikki* thus formed part of a patrilineal inheritance. There are no extant *kanbun nikki* written by women from this time period, and specific women are rarely mentioned by name or title in these sources unless they play a role in the author's access to authority at court, such as a daughter serving as reigning empress.

The basis of the Fujiwara regents' powers heavily depended on the role aristocratic female relatives played within the game of marriage-based politics. Takeshi Watanabe has described how the context of the female-centered cultural environment that developed as a result of Fujiwara marriage politics led to vernacular historical records written by women.[14] These include brief, first-person accounts like Murasaki Shikibu's diary as well as more extensive experiments like *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語 (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, eleventh century), a history written in the vernacular *wabun* script which incorporates material from Murasaki Shikibu's diary. Taking romance-heavy tale literature such as *Genji monogatari* as its inspiration, *Eiga* expanded the boundaries of historical narrative to include the actions and speech of high and mid-ranked aristocratic women. This included the roles they played both in their official roles at court as well as in the interpersonal relations that facilitated Fujiwara influence through marriage politics. It is narrated through the voice and commentary of a mid-ranked aristocratic woman, privy to intimate details of what occurred behind closed doors at court.

Wabun narratives such as tale literature opened discourse into representations of the interpersonal lives of the aristocracy. While a discussion of Heian period definitions and attitudes about fictional versus factual accounts is outside the scope of this chapter,[15] I will briefly mention how the most famous tale and inspiration for *Eiga*, *Genji monogatari* by Murasaki

[14] Takeshi Watanabe, *Flowering Tales*: *Women Exercising History in Heian Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 427 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Press, 2020), 8.

[15] Aileen Gatten has argued that in the early to mid-Heian period, the distinction between factual and fictional writing was simply that of writing narratives about historical individuals versus that of invented protagonists, but here I am focusing on the narrative framework of what stories the aristocratic court tells about itself particularly in relation to imperial lineage. Aileen Gatten, "Fact, Fiction, and Heian Literary Prose: Epistolary Narration in *Tonomine Shosho Monogatari*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 153–95.

Shikibu (d. ca. 1014), addresses the interrelation between the official histories and tales through the voice of its main protagonist, Genji:

> 「骨なくも聞こえおとしてけるかな。神代より世にあることを記しおきけるななり。日本紀などはただかたそばぞかし。これらにこそ道々しくくはしきことはあらめ」[16]
>
> "I have been very rude to speak so ill to you of tales (*monogatari*) [as contrived fiction]! They record what has gone on ever since the Age of the Gods. *The Chronicles of Japan* [*Nihon Shoki*] and so on give only a part of the story. It is tales that contain the truly rewarding particulars!"[17]

As McCullough and McCullough note, this passage has been a source of scholarly debate, but it clearly criticizes the narrow scope of "official" historical records, insisting that the details included in *monogatari* (with a focus on interpersonal social relationships) speak to how people lived.[18] The *monogatari* that Genji addresses in this passage are romantic tales, which is related to the source of Fujiwara regental power—interpersonal relations with the imperial line through marriage politics. With this focus on romantic relationships, narrative space in *monogatari* expands into the realm of what the official histories would have deemed "personal" and not fit for a proper official, "public" history. This vernacular prose breach of the parameters of "official" historical narrative—beyond aristocratic or male protagonism in the bureaucratic language of Sino-Japanese—drew gendered criticism, and the genre was not highly regarded.

[16] Abe Akio, Imai Gen'e, Akiyama Ken, and Suzuki Hideo, ed., *Genji monogatari* 3, Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 22 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996), 212.

[17] Royall Tyler, *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 461.

[18] William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*: *Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 1980: vol. 1, 7.

These romantic tales, however, demonstrate the broad network of agents across aristocratic classes that was necessary to facilitate such interpersonal relationships (nurses, servants, etc.) within imperial marriage politics. *Monogatari* thus bring a larger cross-section of the aristocracy into the construction of (aristocratic/imperial) power relations than is demonstrated in the earlier official histories, which mention imperial consorts who bear children but do not discuss how these partnerships are chosen or facilitated. In the age of regental rule, relationships were the key to political power. While *Eiga* thus demarcates a shift in the main historical protagonist from the emperor to the Fujiwara regental line—in this case specifically Fujiwara no Michinaga and his predecessors—it also expands the definition of the community of who and what kinds of actions are influential to history and thus merit inclusion in a historical narrative.[19]

Unlike the *Rikkokushi* series that built off itself, with each new history continuing where the last left off, however, *Eiga monogatari* is the only extant text of its kind. It offers new boundaries for how history can be conceived, but likely due to this complication with the gendered attitudes about vernacular narratives by women, it did not completely revolutionize the construction of historical narratives to the extent of starting a new trend of court histories written and narrated by women with a focus on interpersonal relationships. I would argue it was intended to do so, as its narrative begins with Emperor Uda's reign in 887, starting where the final imperial history, *Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku*, finished.

While *Eiga monogatari* itself did not begin a new form of serialized court history, it may have inspired a reaction that did. *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (The Great Mirror, late eleventh century) was the first of a new genre of *kagamimono* ("mirror tales") and, like *Eiga*, is primarily concerned

[19] The focus on Michinaga is clear from the focus on his predecessors and the text ending with his death.

with representing Fujiwara no Michinaga's power.[20] It outlines parallel male lineages of emperors in the imperial family with high-ranked Fujiwara ministers of state—placing them on equal footing—and culminates with Fujiwara no Michinaga as an ideal minister. *Ōkagami* attempts to bridge the gap between the fully tale universe of the vernacular *Genji*, upon which *Eiga* was entirely based, with the earlier Literary Sinitic *rikkokushi*.[21] It was written in the vernacular and has a duo of internal named male narrators, setting up a tale-like larger framework, but within this an inner framework borrows from the Chinese precedent of the *Shiji* style of biographical writing.[22] The narrator speaks directly to the idea of correlating *Ōkagami* with the earlier *rikkokushi*:

> 「よしなきことよりは、まめやかなることを申しはてむ。よくよく、たれもたれも聞こし召せ。今日の講師の説法は、菩提のためと思し、翁らが説くことをば、日本紀聞くと思すばかりぞかし」[23]
>
> "Enough of trivialities," he said. "I am going to discuss serious matters now. Pay close attention, everyone. Just as you must look on today's [Buddhist] exposition of holy writ as an aid to enlightenment, so you should think, as you listen to me, that you are hearing the *Chronicles of Japan*."[24]

[20] In a sweeping study on the *kagamimono*, Erin Brightwell points out the difference between these two texts lies in a focus within *Ōkagami* to explain the reasons behind Michinaga's rise to power. Erin L. Brightwell, *Reflecting the Past*: *Place, Language, and Principle in Japan's Medieval Mirror Genre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020), 9.

[21] See Brightwell 8–11 for a discussion of how the "mirror" genre situated itself between the "tales-chronicles binary."

[22] Brightwell defines the category of *kagamimono* as "present[ing] Japan's history as driven by cosmological principles (*dōri*)." Brightwell, 2. I do not disagree with her analysis of their new approach to history but focus here on how the biography-style framework and content diverge from that put forth in the more tale-influenced *Eiga monogatari*.

[23] Tachibana Kenji and Katō Shizuko, ed., *Ōkagami,* Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 34 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996), 58.

[24] McCullough, *Ōkagami*, 86.

While the text mentions the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*, the first of the six histories) specifically, it has been taken as referencing all of the imperial histories.[25]

Ōkagami also dismisses discussion of romance and interpersonal relations, i.e. the prominence of women's roles that *Eiga* introduced in historical narrative, as irrelevant. It is expressly critical of female positionality within historical writing, i.e. the fly-on-the-wall mid-ranked female attendant narratorial perspective that we see in *Genji, Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記 (The Diary of Lady Murasaki, 1010), and *Eiga monogatari*. One of the protagonists in *Ōkagami*, Yotsugi, says:

> まことは、世の中にいくそばく、あはれにもめでたくも、興ありてうけたまはり見たまへ集めたることの、数知らず積もりてはべる翁ともとか、人々思し召す。やむごとなくも、また下りても、間近き御簾・簾のうちばかりや、おぼつかなさ残りてはべらむ。それなりとも、各の宮、殿ばら、次々の人の御あたりに、人のうち聞くばかりのことは、女房・童部申し伝へぬやうやははべる。されば、それも、不意に伝へうけたまはらずしもさぶらはず。されど、それをば、なにとかは語り申さむずる。ただ世にとりて、人の御耳とどめさせたまひぬべかりし昔のことばかりを、かく語り申すだにいとをこがましげに御覧じおこする人もおはすめり。[26]
>
> Are you thinking that we old fellows must have accumulated an inexhaustible store of interesting tales, both sad and happy? We may seem guilty of an important omission, since we have said nothing about the high-born ladies and other women who live out their lives behind the blinds we menfolk see. But don't you suppose ladies-in-waiting and page girls spread the news whenever there is a noteworthy even inside an Imperial, noble, or lesser household? Whether you might have expected it or not, we know

[25] Tachibana and Katō 58, note 6. McCullough, *Ōkagami*, 86, note 38.

[26] Tachibana and Katō, 406–7. Emphasis added.

> all about such stories. It is just that there is no point in repeating them. When I see the stares some people favor us with, I have the feeling that they consider it foolish even to talk about past events of public interest, which certainly ought to be worthy of their attention…[27]

Here not only the narration but also the knowledge and experience of high-ranked female aristocrats and the mid-ranked women who served them is completely discounted as irrelevant to the recounting of history. In addition to shifting narration to a male voice, *Ōkagami* is presumed to be written by a male aristocrat, although authorship is uncertain.[28] All the rest of the extant texts in this genre are also known or presumed to have been written by men. This suggests that the perceived role of authoring omniscient historical accounts, even those written in the vernacular, was linked to gender.

Beyond shifting narratorial style and disagreeing with the expanded boundaries of whose contributions were worthy of being recorded in court history as seen in *Eiga monogatari*, *Ōkagami* effectively re-writes the prior text in terms of historical coverage (887–1107 for *Eiga*, 850–1025 for *Ōkagami*). If *Eiga* had intended to continue where the earlier six histories had left off, the framework parameters of *Ōkagami* refuses to recognize its contributions as legitimate history.

"*Kagami*" (mirror) in the title of this new genre references the Chinese belief that history reflects the past; the *Ōkagami* narrators, however, claim it also shows the present and the

[27] McCullough, *Ōkagami*, 234. Emphasis added.

[28] Oyler lists the possibilities: "The work has been variously attributed to Fujiwara Tamenari, to Fujiwara Yoshinobu (one of Michinaga's sons), and, in the Tokugawa period, to various members of the Minamoto family." Oyler, 197.

future.[29] Narrator Shigeki composes the first poem, and his counterpart Yotsugi replies with the second:

あきらけき	Now that I have chanced upon
鏡にあへば	This clear mirror
過ぎにしも	I can see the past,
今ゆく末の	The present,
ことも見えけり	And what is to come.
すべらぎの	The old mirror!
あともつぎつぎ	Without concealment,
かくれなく	It reveals afresh
あらたに見ゆる	The deeds of sovereigns,
古鏡かも[30]	Each in his turn. [31]

The belief that the past can reflect the future and present relates to *Ōkagami*'s argument about the sustained close relationship between the Fujiwara and imperial families which legitimizes the Fujiwara, and particularly Michinaga's, dominance of current top court positions. The rhetoric includes logic that this political configuration arose naturally through to the Fujiwara lineage's longtime dedication to the imperial family and should therefore continue.

After production of the official imperially ordered historical *kanbun* histories had ended by the mid-Heian period, then, we see a shift to an increased reliance on autobiographical, patrilineal *kanbun nikki*, at the same time that vernacular language is increasingly used in the histories the court tells about itself. In addition to this, I argue it is not coincidence that a new

[29] This idea is discussed in Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature*: *An Anthology*, *Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 519–20. Brightwell points out that these past/present/future reflections refer to the cosmological principles set forth in the texts, which argue that if one understands the principles behind how events unfold, then all of history can be explained. Brightwell, 46–47.

[30] Tachibana and Katō, 57.

[31] McCullough, *Ōkagami*, 85.

court literary project arose only a few years after what would become the final official history was completed in 901: the compilation of the first imperially commissioned vernacular poetry anthology, *Kokinshū* (ordered 905, completed ca. 920).

This collection inaugurated a tradition that continued into the fifteenth century. The imperial vernacular poetry anthology project—which began with the first order in 905 and would continue with twenty-one iterative texts produced over five centuries and well into the medieval period, through 1439—includes more expansive representation than the previous forms of official histories which privileged only the highest-ranked court members. Gustav Heldt argues that while these poetry anthologies were the result of an imperial order, they were "designed to represent the court to itself as a collective entity."[32] While poetic placement (such as starting the collection or a particular group of poems on the same topic) and/or the number of overall poems included in a collection can correlate with relative political status or poetic prowess—the anthologies did not completely homogenize the hierarchical court structure—like the expansion of *Eiga monogatari* to include the roles women played in court politics, it did lead to greater inclusion within an "official" literary text. As I will argue below, there is a case to be made for reading poetry anthologies as a form of history.[33]

Imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū*) were an imperially commissioned official state project to collect and order poetry, which from the tenth century primarily encompassed vernacular *waka*. Although written in the vernacular *wabun* script, inclusion in these collections

[32] Heldt cites "the nature of the anthologizing process, the language used within the anthology to describe its participants, the manner of its organization into categories, and the ways in which communities are created through the arrangement of poems" as evidence of the collective representation within *Kokinshū*. Heldt, 131.

[33] Stefania Burk has made a similar argument with a focus on the latter imperial anthologies. She uses a very different approach, however, centering on the circumstances around and act of compilation. Stefania Burk, "Reading between the Lines: Poetry and Politics in the Imperial Anthologies of the Late Kamakura Period (1185–1333)," PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001.

was highly coveted; they were official and prestigious. Poems are listed with the context of the poem's composition or set poetic topic as well as the name of the author. Names of aristocratic men who participated in the court bureaucracy included their personal and clan name. Members of the direct imperial family, monks, and nuns were usually listed by title and their single (Buddhist or personal) name, indicating their position outside of the mundane life of the bureaucracy.

Female aristocrats, however, were frequently referred to in relation to a male relative. If the woman did not serve at court, they were designated through the relation of daughter or wife (as in Sugawara no Takasue's Daughter or Michitsuna's Mother); if she did, then she was frequently referred to with the title of whichever male aristocrat (blood relation or not) presented her at court and/or in relation to her patron. For example, in the name Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu, Kenreimon'in is the empress she served and Ukyō no Daibu is a male gendered job title. While some women had official postings at court in the Rear Palace, naming conventions frequently demarcated them as outside of or at best supplementary to the official male bureaucratic sphere.

Regardless, women were still named within the imperial poetry anthologies. What Torquil Duthie writes about the link between imperial culture and poetic composition in the pre-Heian period still held true: "...poetic [*waka*] skills, even if limited, conferred a sense of membership in a cultural community centered on the imperial court and of emotional investment in its historical past and political continuity."[34] In other words, participation in *waka* composition—being a protagonist in one's own *waka* poetics— was integrally tied to imperial and, through association, aristocratic culture.

[34] Torquil Duthie, *The Kokinshū*: *Selected Poems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023), 251.

By the mid-Heian Period, as the Fujiwara regents manipulated imperial marriages to secure regental positions, an abundance of other possible male heirs had the potential to threaten both their position and the stability of imperial descent. In these instances, they employed a tactic in which princes without strong backing were given surnames and thus subjecthood, in effect removing them from the line of succession. These were the origins of surnames such as the Taira/Heike (平) and Minamoto/Genji (源氏), various offshoots of which would later combine to become warrior lineages.[35]

Protagonists of history in the early medieval period

A major historical and literary shift began in the early medieval period regarding who was centered as protagonists of history. This is usually simplified as a shift from the aristocracy to the newly arisen warrior class, though it is important to note that the leaders of those "warriors" were in fact aristocrats themselves. The positioning of them as a separate class largely developed in the centuries following the conflicts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that led to this shift in political power.

Over time, some descendants of the Taira/Heike and Minamoto/Genji—those ejected from the imperial line with the gift of a surname—had spread out to the provinces, supporting provincial governors in defending their land. In the second half of the twelfth century, they were drawn into into two conflicts that originated as power struggles at court: the Hōgen Rebellion

[35] While all members of each clan were related in some way, there were multiple points of origin from princes of different emperors, more than ten for the Heike and eighteen for the Genji. The Minamoto clan involved in the Genpei War were descended from Emperor Seiwa—the same who facilitated the beginning of Fujiwara regental control—and were known as Seiwa Genji after the line was founded by Seiwa's grandson, Minamoto no Tsunemoto (894-961). The Ashikaga shogunate would also trace their lineage back to the Seiwa Genji. The Taira clan members who fought them descended from the Ise branch of Heike descended from Emperor Kanmu (735–806, r. 781–806). While Kiyomori was associated with the dominant core of the Ise Heike, there were other branches from the Ise Heike which sided with the Minamoto in the Genpei War. These included the Hōjō.

(1156) and Heiji Rebellion (1159). As Royall Tyler notes, the objective of both clans was to "quell any 'enemy of the court,'" which was usually understood as a threat from outside of the capital. [36] In these two instances, however, conflict arose from uncertainty about imperial succession, and as opposing sides saw each other as enemies of the court, the warriors were drawn into the capital itself.

Various members of the Fujiwara fought on both sides of each conflict, but Taira no Kiyomori (1118–1181) fought on the winning side of each and was richly rewarded with political prestige. His rise and that of his clan paralleled the fall of the Fujiwara within the court and, on a larger scale, that of the court aristocracy as a whole. While rumored to be an illegitimate son of Emperor Shirakawa (1052–1129, r. 1073–1087), Kiyomori was adopted into the provincial warrior Taira clan by Taira no Tadamori (1096–1153). His father had used his military skills to enter the lower levels of the aristocracy, having been rewarded with a *zuryō* provincial governor position after successfully fighting pirates on the coast. Following his father's example of movement into an aristocratic office through military service, Kiyomori displaced a long-standing aristocratic lineage within the bureaucracy through his display of military skill in the Hōgen and Heiji conflicts. He then employed the Fujiwara regental tactic of marrying a daughter (Kenreimon'in) to the emperor (Takakura) to solidify his control over the imperial line.

The same events that seeded Kiyomori's rise to power led to his downfall. Minamoto no Yoshitomo (1123–1160) lost the Heiji conflict and faced execution, but his son Yoritomo (1147–1199) was allowed to live in exile in the eastern province of Izu. Yoritomo led the Seiwa Genji family against Kiyomori in the Genpei Wars (1180–1185). By the end of the war, the Heike

[36] Royall Tyler, trans., *The Tale of the Heike* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2012): xxx.

descended from Kiyomori who had populated the court prior to its outbreak were dead, although there are rumors that a few escaped to secret enclaves in Shikoku, effectively living in self-exile. In one of the final battles, Takakura's son and child-emperor Antoku drowned in the ocean. The second half of the twelfth century thus witnessed the almost total annihilation of the Taira lineage together with the end of one branch of the imperial line and the descent into political irrelevance of the Fujiwara lineage. After the war, the Seiwa Genji formed a new warrior-led government (shogunate/*bakufu*) in Kamakura with Yoritomo as its imperially-appointed leader.

The Jōkyū Disturbance of 1221 was a failed attempt by Retired Emperor GoToba (1180–1239, r. 1183–1198), the fourth son of Takakura who had succeeded Antoku, to overthrow the Kamakura shogunage. According to the earliest variant (Jikōji-bon) of *Jōkyūki* (A Record of the Jōkyū Years [1219–1222], before 1240), GoToba began plotting against the Kamakura shogunate after hearing of the assassination of Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192–1219), the last remaining direct descendant of Yoritomo.[37] In effect, the narrative argues that GoToba's actions were prompted by a disruption to the shogunal lineage. However, like earlier regental practices of the Heian court, by this time shogunal administrative powers had been harnessed by another clan, the Hōjō.[38] Sanetomo was replaced by an aristocratic infant figurehead, Kujō Yoritsune (1218–1256), a practice which the Hōjō would continue in order to retain their power.

While it may have begun due to a disruption in shogunal lineage, the Jōkyū Disturbance had a much larger impact on imperial lineage. It resulted in the exile of GoToba and two of his sons who had been former emperors; GoToba and Retired Emperor Juntoku (1197–1242, r.

[37] Royall Tyler, trans., *Before Heike and After*: *Hōgen*, *Heiji*, and *Jōkyūki*, 2nd edition (Charley's Forest NSW Australia: Blue-Tongue Books, 2016): 211–12, 218–19.

[38] Yoritomo's father-in-law Hōjō Tokimasa (1138–1215) began the practice of shogunal regent (*shikken*), citing the young age of Yoritomo's eldest son Yoriie (1182–1204).

1210–1221) were sent to Sado island and the Oki islands, respectively, while Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado (1194–1231, r. 1198–1210) left for Shikoku. All remained in exile until their deaths.[39]

Parallel with this shift in political power, there was the development of a new genre to portray the new historical protagonists: *gunki monogatari* (war tales), a "mixed written style" (和漢混交文, *wakan konkōbun*) that combined vernacular *kana* writing with variant styles of Literary Sinitic. While the focus of *gunki monogatari* is typically on how armed conflicts arose—the battles themselves, and their outcomes, usually centering the warriors as protagonists—they also include aristocratic figures who were involved in relevant events. For this reason, and because the newly developing warrior class saw aristocratic culture and arts as signs of sophistication and refinement, *waka* poetry is also included within these accounts. We thus see aristocratic figures gradually displaced from more central protagonist positions but still visible in these wide-ranging, omniscient historical narratives about the political conflicts in the early medieval period that led to their loss of power.

So far this chapter has demonstrated a parallel between shifting power dynamics and who appear as the main protagonists in dominant historical narratives through the early medieval period. I have further argued that vernacular *waka* poetry became constitutive of imperial culture and aristocratic literary representation. This is one way that we can view *waka* as a form of history: that of a medium for the literary representation of aristocratic culture. I now turn to a different argument for viewing *waka* as history through an examination of the various temporalities visible within it. In presenting *waka* as a medium through which these different

[39] The unprecedented nature of these three exiles and the impact they had on imperial legitimacy is taken up in Chapter Three.

temporalities manifest, and examining some of those temporal shifts over time, the chapter likens *waka* to an ice core sample: the poetry is a strata through which cultural shifts can be seen. Furthermore, the medium itself has an effect on what can be retained or carried through it.

Historical narrative and poetry: the issue of temporality

In *New Times in Modern Japan*, Stefan Tanaka argues that "[o]ne of the characteristics of modern society is the synchronization of various temporalities into a unified, homogeneous, and empty time."[40] This implies that premodern Japanese conceptions of time were, relatively speaking, more disparate, heterogeneous, and closely linked to specific historic events. *Waka* poetry is a figurative site where these different time scales converge; part of its role in historical memory is to simultaneously hold and layer these multiple ways of measuring time.

This section examines the impact of the medieval epistemes of temporality on poetic forms of historical narration. I argue that early medieval poetry marks a shift in temporality towards a more relative experience of time. I show this through quantitatively analyzing the opening spring poems in the *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū* poetic collections and qualitatively examining the trope of a "year of mourning" in *The Tale of Genji* and how early medieval "official" courtly mourning narratives diverged from that standardizing pattern. This will show the development of an early medieval temporal episteme and demonstrate one way of using *waka* as a form of history. Historians have tended to avoid examining poetry in this way to extract historical information as it requires a literary background and approach. This section attempts to bridge this disciplinary gap.

[40] Tanaka, Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 5–6.

One important consideration is maintaining awareness of differences in temporal conceptions between the time of poetic composition and the present. Historical memory centers on the topic of the past, shaped into narrative by the concerns of the present—but what if there are multiple, overlapping ways to measure and consider "the past" that converge within the same poetic space? How should we read poetic narrative presented through a kaleidoscope of plural pasts, including a cyclic seasonality that reverberates into the present?

First, let us more broadly consider the role of Heian and early medieval poetry in historic memory to show why poetry should not be excluded from its analysis. Poetic composition and contests played a role in official court events such as banquets. The resulting documents from these events listing the context, participants, and composed poems is thus a form of historic record of those specific events. Similarly, in anthologies some *waka* have headnotes which contextualize them as composed during specific excursions, such as group outings to see blossoms. When Heian female attendants compiled poetic memoirs later in life, they drew from the scraps of poetry they'd kept from such events. The physical artefact of the poetry trail in these cases can act as proof around which we (or the memoir-compiler) can presume (or remember) an event that occurred.

We can also track romantic relationships through poetic exchanges. The exchange of morning-after poems confirmed the success of a nighttime visit, which was itself an affirmation of an ongoing relationship. In the Heian and early medieval polygynous marriage system, with couples residing separately, the frequency of conjugal visits by the husband to his wife's abode and their poetic exchanges were the only concrete proof of the relative strength and continuation of their marriage. In other words, the (poetic) communication record was both a means of

continuing the relationship and proof of its existence. Aristocratic women also used the artefacts of these romantic poetic exchanges to compile poetic memoirs later in life.

In the examples above, we can see clear ways to consider poetry in relation to historic memory. With contextualizing headnotes, *waka* can serve as a record for events—official court ceremonies or personal travel—or attest to the state of personal relationships. Examining a paper trail of poetry to examine specific events or relationships, modern scholars can plot poems on a linear historic timeline. The poems themselves, however, contain multiple temporalities, and this complicates their relationship to historic memory. *When there is simultaneously more than one way to measure time—when there are competing temporalities—then ideas about the past and history, also, cannot be fully comprehended or encapsulated on a single linear timeline.* What types of temporalities existed in the early medieval Japanese worldview, and how did *waka* encapsulate them simultaneously? And what can we say about early medieval conceptualizations about the past based on the temporal conjunctions found within these poems?

Speaking of the overlapping temporal scales of cyclic nature and singular human individuality in the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Myriad Ages, late eighth century) in "Time and Old Japan: In Search of a Paradigm," Raji C. Steineck suggests the following approach for considering temporal aspects within premodern Japanese literary representation:

> It therefore seems appropriate to allow for the co-existence of various principles of temporal organization in literary representations from earliest times. This observation renders obsolete the facile distinction between modern, individualistic literature and earlier, community-bound modes of expression. Instead, it leads to an open-ended approach in the analysis of historical sources. The first task of such analysis would be to identify which levels of time are represented and operatively engendered in a given articulation, or a certain corpus or genre. From such an assessment, further questions can be derived: Are

> diverging modes of temporal organization addressed as such, in their difference? How is the interplay of the levels of time organized? What reasons can be established for the ways in which time is addressed in certain genres and corpora, for their organization of temporalities, and for their preferred modes of expression?[41]

Following the general train of these questions, the remainder of this chapter will outline the temporalities visible in *waka* before examining the impact of these coexisting and collapsed temporalities on how we conceive early medieval pasts.

Types of temporalities involved in *waka*

We can consider three main geometric morphologies of time in relation to premodern Japan: linear, relative, and cyclic. *Linear time* extends infinitely from the present moment to both past and future. *Relative time* has a precise starting point and extends forward into the future from that point. *Cyclic time* is a pattern that repeats, ending where it started and beginning anew. We can consider different types of socially constructed early medieval Japanese temporalities within these morphologies.

Imperial time, or time as measured by and within the premodern aristocratic court system in relation to imperial power, is both relative and cyclic. It began at the conclusion of "mythic time," which includes the creation and activities of the gods—direct ancestors to the emperor—with the reign of Emperor Jinmu, and it was expected to endure forever. Within that longer time scale, there are shorter cyclic components of the reigns of individual emperors as well as the imperially decreed era names (*nengō*).

[41] Raji C. Steineck, "Time and Old Japan: In Search of a Paradigm," KronoScope 17, no. 1 Special Issue "Time in Historic Japan," ed. Brigitte Steger and Raji C. Steineck (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 24.

"Seasonal" time, i.e., time measured by the appearance or dissappearance of seasonal-specific plants and animals as a result the earth's movement around the sun, can be viewed from all three perspectives within early medieval Japanese societal constructions. Seasons are the clearest form of cycles, moving from spring to summer to fall to winter before beginning anew. Within each season, however, there is a constructed forward progression—an expected order to the appearance of individual seasonal signs—which can be seen as relative to the start of that season. Within the world of *waka*, this was socially constructed and did not necessarily correlate to the plants and animals which were witnessed by courtiers at the specific temporal instance of poetic production.[42] Calendric conceptions based on solar or lunar cycles are also both cyclic (repeating monthly and yearly) and linear, extending to past and future years.

Buddhist temporalities also include all three. There are large-scale kalpa cycles of universal creation and destruction, relative time measured from death (of a Buddha for a timeline to the appearance of the next Buddha, or of an aristocratic individual for measuring the progression for grief rites), and the linear time in which all of the above nestle.

How, then, do we measure or conceive of "historic" time in an early medieval context, when there are these multiple, overlapping temporalities of how the past is measured and conceived?

Relative temporalities in *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū*

I will begin the discussion of the temporalities visible in *waka* through examining the first imperially commissioned *waka* poetry collection, the *Kokinshū,* followed by the eighth

[42] Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*: *Nature, Literature, and the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 25–55.

collection, *Shinkokinshū*. Both texts were both later regarded as textbooks that set standards for *waka* composition, with the latter using the former as a model. *Kokinshū* is widely acknowledged to have been "integral to Japanese court culture for centuries afterwards,"[43] and the neo-classical *Shinkokinshū* similarly revolutionized *waka* poetics. When Nun Abutsu (1225–1283) wrote *Menoto no fumi* 乳母の文 (The Nursemaid's Letter, 1264), offering advice to her daughter on serving at court, she stressed the ability to be able to recite all of the poems in both texts.[44]

The organization of the *Kokinshū* into books created suitable categories with a progression of related nested subjects. As the initial standard text, it set the boundaries of what waka encapsulates. This chapter will investigate those boundaries, specifically the *when* of waka.

The first *Kokinshū* poem, which opens a book of spring poems and the beginning of a seasonal cycle (that similarly opens all the following twenty imperial anthologies), makes it clear that temporality is a problem that must be immediately addressed:

ふる年に春立ちける日よめる
Written when the first day of spring came within the old year

年の内に	spring is here before
春はきにけり	year's end when New Year's Day has
ひとゝせを	not yet come around
去年(こぞ)とやいはむ	what should we call it is it
今年とやいはむ[45]	still last year or is it this[46]

[43] Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*: *Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* (New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2008), 1.

[44] Laffin, 29.

[45] Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizō, ed., *Kokinwakashū*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), 19.

[46] Rodd, *Kokinshū*, 49.

This poem, by Ariwara no Motokata, pivots around a disjunction between the seasonal solar calendar—with the tilting of the earth and rising temperatures governing signs of spring such as migrating birds and flower blossoms—and the lunar yearly calendar, whose dates dictate court rituals and the sociocultural start of the spring season.

The poem has been largely dismissed as the sort of logical fallacy and elegant confusion that reappears later in the sequence of spring poems when blossoms are mistaken for snow. This academic reading sets the question as rhetorical, but the poem in fact functions to set a tone for the whole first book of spring and indeed the entire anthology.[47] It asks, "Where does *waka* start? Where and how do we start counting (poetic) time?"

Motokata's opening poem presents two systems for measuring time held together at a point of divergence and gives precedence to neither. How do we define "now" relative to past or present— what calendar, or what temporal scale, should be emphasized in where we begin? — and not just *this* year, but spring as a *waka* category? Beginning with a question about the paradox of multiple temporal truths also means that this text, which aims to define and argue for the importance of waka, starts its first poetic sequence from a point of uncertainty. It shows the boundaries of poetic seasonality (and temporality) as porous at the same time it defines them and the greater boundaries of *waka*.

If we are to consider early medieval temporalities and poetics, however, we must turn to *Shinkokinshū*. As the name implies, the text sought to rewrite the paradigms and epistemes of *Kokinshū* to fit a new world order. The three-hundred-year gap between the two texts had

[47] Heldt separately argues that the sequence's later progression operates to harmonize the lunar and solar calendars. Heldt, 174–75. While I do not disagree with this analysis, in this chapter I seek to show that there were various temporalities (beyond singular lunar and solar calendars) that coexist within the bounds of *waka* and these poetic collections. This does not preclude a reconstruction of the court's ritual calendar.

involved many social and political changes, most recently the creation of the bakufu government in distant Kamakura. This bifurcated political system resulted in duplications such as the existence of two parallel courts of appeal, as Abutsu-ni takes advantage of in the matter of her son's inheritance, as recorded in *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 (*Diary of the Sixteenth Night Moon*, ca. 1283). After receiving a denial of her appeal in the aristocratic court, she traveled to Kamakura to win her case there.[48] As the political landscape changed, poetry, too, displayed a greater awareness of geography, including an explosion in the use of *utamakura* 歌枕 (poetic place names). Simultaneously, *waka* from the *Shinkokinshū* era emphasizes the knowledge that rules—including temporality—differ by location. In the early medieval period, time is relative, and geography matters.

There has been much discussion among literary scholars about the rise in popularity of *utamakura* in the early medieval period.[49] I have not found any scholarship, however, that discusses this in relation to temporality, or how specific locations are increasingly bestowed with their own scales of time vis-a-vis seasonal signs and the lunar calendar, and what this form of relative experiential time might mean on a larger scale of considering history and conceptions of the past/present/future when reading waka. First, however, I will quantitatively demonstrate the shift towards this form of "spatial relative time" through an analysis of the opening poems in *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū*.

[48] Laffin analyzes *Izayoi nikki* as poetic evidence supporting Abutsu's case, which involved succession rights to a collection of poetic texts. Laffin, 136–72.

[49] See, for example, Edward Kamens *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) and Rajyashree Pandey, *Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan: The Works of the Poet-Priest Kamo no Chōmei*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies no. 21 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 96.

I examined the first twenty (spring) poems in these two poetic collections. In opening the collection, they set a tone for the work as a whole. In addition, when the *Shinkokinshū* was formally presented as completed, the first four or five spring poems were recited.[50] In looking at these opening sections, I scrutinized two criteria, "mono-spatial relative temporality" and "spatial temporality."[51]

First, I looked for "mono-spatial relative temporality," i.e. a sense of multiple temporalities at the same location. This includes evidence of the (lunar) calendar (which declared that it was spring) not matching the solar-calendar-dictated natural signs of seasonality (winter snow lingering, seasonal birds not yet appearing, flowers not yet blooming). In other words, "mono-spatial relative temporality" means moments when there is a juxtaposition between temporal scales within one location. The first poem in *Kokinshū*, discussed above, is an example of this. Maki Yūsuke has discussed this concept in relation to a personal sense of time, separate from the external world. He cites this as a *Kokinshū*-era development alongside the poetic abstraction of time, such as seen in the construction of seasonality within *waka* described by Shirane.[52] Maki treats time in *Kokinshū*-era poetry as a single abstraction, however, when we have already examined ways in which it was multiple and coexisting.

Second, I looked for "spatial temporality," or a temporality specific to one (possibly named) location. This represents a juxtaposition between the temporal scales of that location

[50] A discussion of the *Shinkokinshū* presentation event can be found within Teika's kanbun diary, *Meigetsuki*. Robert Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*: *Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 315.

[51] These are my invented terms. See Appendix A for these poems and translations by Laurel Rodd.

[52] Maki Yūsuke, *Jikan no kikaku shakaigaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997), 132–41.

with other places. To give a clear example of spatial temporality, we can look at the anonymous "Topic unknown" *Kokinshū* poem 18:

深山には	deep in the lovely
松の雪だに	mountains lingering snow weighs
きえなくに	the pine boughs while in
宮こは野べの	the fields of the capital
わかなつみけり	already they pluck young herbs

This juxtaposition of snow-laden winter in the rural mountains and grassy spring in the capital show different temporalities existing at the same time in separate locations. One remains in (the signs of) winter, the other exists in (tropes of) spring.

We can see more subtle example of spatial temporality in *Shinkokinshū* poem 5:

入道前関白政大臣、右大臣に侍ける時、百首歌よませ侍ける
に、立春の心を皇太后宮大夫俊成
Imagining 'the beginning of spring' when asked to compose a hundred-poem sequence during the time the Lay Monk and former Regent and Chancellor was Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Shunzei, Master of the Palace Quarters of the Empress Dowager

けふといへば	today this special day
もろこしまでも	I thought of spring as something
ゆく春を	that comes only to
都にのみと	our capital though we know it
思ひけるかな	journeys even to far Cathay

This poem contrasts spring's arrival in two locations, the capital (present-day Kyoto) and premodern China. Though the speaker knows the first day of spring (via the lunar calendar) arrives in both places on the same day, in presenting spring as something that journeys (ゆく)

like a person to a distant location, there is an expectation and implication that the arrival must be on a different day.

It is possible to have both mono-spatial relative temporality and spatial temporality within the same poem. Here is an example of that in *Kokinshū* poem 3:

題しらず	よみ人しらず
Topic unknown	Anonymous
春霞	where is it that the
たてるやいづこ	warm mists of spring are rising—
み吉野(よしの)の	here on the slopes
よしのの山に	of lovely Mount Yoshino
雪はふりつゝ	the snows continue to fall

This poem reflects mono-spatial relative temporality because it shows a location-based disjunction between a lunar calendar-based expectation of spring's arrival, i.e., the appearance of spring mist, and visible signs of the season, i.e. winter snow falling. We can also think of it as an example of spatial temporality, i.e. showing a disjunction between temporal scales based on location, because of the question in the first part, which implies that spring may have come to other places but not yet to Mount Yoshino.

Having defined and given examples of these two ways of categorizing how temporality is managed in spring *waka* poems, we can now turn to a brief quantitative analysis. I found that out of the first twenty poems in *Kokinshū*, thirteen (65%) have mono-spatial relative temporality.[53] For *Shinkokinshū*, eleven out of the first twenty (55%) demonstrated it.[54] While relatively equal

[53] Poems 1–11 and 14–15.

[54] Poems 1, 4, 6, 8–11, 13, and 18–20.

amounts, the placement in *Kokinshū* is strong from the beginning, including all the first ten poems, with more scattered placement in *Shinkokinshū*. The typical set-up for these types of poems either directly poses a question or raises uncertainty, i.e., "Is it spring (or not)? Is it flowers (or snow)? Is it A (or B)?"

I found spatial temporality in only six out of the first twenty *Kokinshū* poems (30%) but fourteen out of the first twenty *Shinkokinshū* poems (70%).[55] This juxtaposition of two places, much more prevalent in *Shinkokinshū*, seems to answer the question of "Is it A or B?" with "It's both." In other words, spring is elsewhere and, *simultaneously*, also not yet here—it's both present (in another location) and future (in this location). The heavier use of place-names in *Shinkokinshū* automatically builds in more of this spatial temporality, emphasizing that signs of spring come to places at different times. The approach of spatial temporality—of relative temporality tempered by location and not solely by the conflicting ways one could measure time in a single location—thus embraces multiplicity and complexity.

Buddhist and poetic temporalities in mourning

Before turning to case studies showing a specific medieval temporal shift within the multiple temporalities existing in mourning poetry, let us first set the stage with a broader consideration of Buddhist *waka* poetics. How scholars have treated the literary products of mourning—including poetry (*waka* and *chōka*) and poetic diaries written about a loved one or patron after their death—deserves its own consideration. In this section, I present existing research on late Heian-Kamakura literary texts produced in reaction to or following Buddhist death rites—including burial 葬送 (*sōsō*) and memorial services 供養 (*kuyō*)—with particular interest in their

[55] *Kokinshū* poems 3, 15–19; *Shinkokinshū* poems 1–6, 9–10, 12–13, 16, 18–20.

relationship with the emergence of "Buddhist literature" and the codification of Buddhist poetry as a genre in early medieval poetics.

As discussed above, the imperial anthologies and especially *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū* greatly influenced later *waka* production. The structure of the anthologies, separated into "books" of poetry, outlined appropriate poetic topics and provided examples of construction within those categories. Changes in the structure of these anthologies, then, were noteworthy; these reflected larger changes in literary production and poetic conceptualization. It would be remiss to discuss early medieval Buddhist poetics without discussing how it developed into its own genre.

In *The Wind from Vulture Peak: The Buddhification of Japanese Waka in the Heian Period*, Stephen Miller traces development from the Nara period through the culmination of the canonization of Buddhist poetry labelled as such in a section of the seventh imperial poetic anthology, *Senzaiwakashū* 千載和歌集 (Collection of One Thousand Years, 1188).[56] The imperial poetic anthologies performed multiple functions, including setting standards for poetic composition and practice. The new categorization of a Buddhist section of poetry in the *Senzaiwakashū* signals that it has become a standard main topic within the scope of poetic practice.

Prior to the *Senzaiwakashū*, poems with a Buddhist theme were included in the book of laments (*aishōka* 哀傷歌) or, in collections lacking a book of laments, were found with the laments in a book of miscellaneous poems (*zōka* 雑歌).[57] Part of the imperial anthology's role in

[56] Stephen D. Miller and translations by Patrick Donnelly, *The Wind from Vulture Peak: The Buddhification of Japanese Waka in the Heian Period* (New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2013).

[57] Miller, 5–6.

establishing standard poetic practice was a codification of associations. Just as lingering snow, mist, and plum blossoms were all strongly associated with the book of spring poems, so too do the six anthologies prior to 1188 code Buddhism within the subject of mourning and lamentation.

The title of the section of Buddhist poetry severely limited its scope, however: *shakkyōka* 釈教歌 (poems on the teachings of the [historic] Buddha [Shakyamuni]).[58] With an increasing number of different interpretations and exclusive Buddhist practices in the early medieval period, many traditions no longer relied solely on the historic Buddha's teachings or made them the focus of their central practice. There is much evidence that poets themselves did not see Buddhist verse as limited to direct reference to these teachings. The famous poet Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204), for instance, emphasized non-duality in his only full-length poetic treatise, the *Korai fūteishō* 古来風躰抄 (Notes on Poetic Style through the Ages, 1197, revised 1201).[59] In the same passage, Shunzei also compared the transmission of poetry in the imperial anthologies to the transmission of Buddhist sūtras.[60] With the poetic examples by Shunzei that LaFleur examines, we can see that even poetry that does not specifically mention the Buddhist sūtras can have a profound Buddhist meaning in the hidden layers of *yūgen*. In this way we can speak of Japanese poetry as having a ritual function embedded in the theory of nonduality; while on the surface a poem may be about flowers or trees, to the one with the knowledge and insight to recognize it, it is a Buddhist commentary.[61]

---

[58] Miller, 6.

[59] LaFleur also discusses in detail how Shunzei also linked the aesthetic of *yūgen* to Tendai doctrine. William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 80–106.

[60] Ibid., 90–91.

[61] Ibid., 95–95.

Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155–1216) also saw Japanese poetry as Buddhist practice, regardless of the topic. Unlike Shunzei's interpretation of poetry embedded in Tendai doctrine, Chōmei saw the religious nature of his practice as stemming from the ideal of *suki*, or single-mindedness, which he expounds upon in his poetic treatise *Mumyōshō* 無名抄 (Nameless Notes, ca. 1211).[62] In Chōmei's later writings, such as *Hosshinshū* 発心集 (Collection of Tales of Religious Awakening, before 1216), the term is adapted to fit in with the idea of religious enlightenment even further.[63]

As early medieval poets moved toward a Buddhist interpretation of poetry and Buddhist clergy moved toward incorporating poetry into their religious practices, it is clear to see how the *shakkyōka* section of Buddhist poetry in the imperial anthologies—as mentioned earlier, grounded in direct commentary on the words of the historic buddha—becomes inadequate in expressing the range of Buddhist poetry. At the same time in the early Kamakura period, seemingly secular poetic collections and poetic memoirs come to embrace the topic from which this category of Buddhist poetry emerged: literature grounded in laments. Chapter Two will address this category of writing directly in relation to its historic narration, but in this chapter, I will examine it from the viewpoint of multiple coalescing temporal scales.

Genji monogatari setting a standard year of mourning

To explore how the superimposition of multiple temporalities affects conceptualizations of the past, we now turn to *The Tale of Genji*. In this section I will offer a case study addressing the

[62] Rajyashree Pandey, *Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan: The Works of the Poet-Priest Kamo no Chōmei*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies no. 21 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 82–111, 123.

[63] Ibid., 83, 112–138.

temporal circularity of textual representations of mourning in Heian and early medieval Japanese texts. Drawing on the poetic precedent grounded in *Kokinshū* and *Genji monogatari*, I will discuss the ritualized calendar year which is overlaid with a constructed seasonality. This creates a form of circular, seasonal time in which a mourner frames the year of mourning following a death. At the same time, the year of mourning is grounded in temporal relativity, with the clock for specific mourning rituals based on the exact, lunar-calendar-based date of death. These overlapping temporal measurements—the poetic seasonal cycle, relative time from death for the rituals associated with mourning, and the lunar calendar for measuring the end of a year of mourning—combine in *waka* to create a sense of multiple temporalities coexisting with memory, i.e., a sense that the past is not gone but still accessible and alive in the present.

Genji monogatari introduces one lunar calendar year as a standard period for poetic mourning in the "*Maboroshi*" (The Seer) chapter. Beth Carter has traced how *Genji* set this standard with seasonal, month-by-month imagery with the densest proportion of waka poetry to prose in the entire text.[64] For example, Genji's grief during the ninth and tenth months are discussed thus, with reference to chrysanthemums in the ninth month and crying geese and cold rain in the tenth:

> 九月になりて、九日、綿おほひたる菊を御覧じて、
>
> もろともにおきゐし菊の朝露もひとり袂にかかる秋かな
>
> 神無月は、おほかたも時雨がちなるころ、いとどながめたまひて、夕暮の空のけしきにも、えも言はぬ心細さに、「降りしかど」と独りごちおはす。雲居をわたる雁の翼も、うらやましくまもられたまふ。
>
> 大空をかよふまぼろし夢にだに見えこぬ魂の行く方たづねよ[65]

[64] Beth M. Carter, "Engulfed in Darkness: Mourning Poetics in Classical Japanese Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2016), Chapter 3 and especially 53–56.

[65] Abe Okio, Imai Gen'e, Akiyama Ken, and Suzuki Hideo, ed., *Genji monogatari* 4, Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 23 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2006), 544–45.

> The ninth month came, and on the ninth day he contemplated chrysanthemums wrapped in cotton:
>
> *"Chrysanthemum dew from the mornings we both knew in life together moistens for me this autumn sleeves that I must wear alone."*
>
> In the tenth month, with its cold rains, his melancholy grew, and he murmered in the unspeakable anguish of dusk, "Yes, they always fall." Gazing up at the wild geese passing aloft, he envied them their wings:
>
> *"O seer who roams the vastness of the heavens, go and find for me a soul I now seek in vain even when I chance to dream."*[66]

The listing of references here in the catalogue of grief seems a litany of monthly expected seasonal references.

Carter argues that the effect of this poetic mourning creates a new character, that of the one who is being mourned, i.e., the deceased character as they are remembered by the mourner.[67] I focus here not on the image of the deceased but on the temporal experience of the mourner, the interplay between past memories and the present of mourning. Haruo Shirane has also described how the past is constructed through the poems in this chapter of *Genji*: "the past emerges in the context of passing time, of the seasons and annual observances (*nenjū gyōji*) that return to remind the writer of what he or she no longer possesses."[68] This new literary standard of one year of mourning, which marks the end of experiencing annual events for the first time without that person, thus coincides with the Buddhist (lunar) one-year anniversary of death.

---

[66] Tyler, *Genji*, 776.

[67] Carter, 55.

[68] Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of "The Tale of Genji"* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 130.

The experience of this year of mourning—the first year of absence in the aftermath of loss—in *Genji* is a poetic recounting of the series of courtly events and seasonal motifs experienced for the first time without his lover. Genji as poet and the readers as witnesses observe the passing of his year of mourning through these temporal markers.

Temporal shift from *Genji* to early medieval poetic grief

The "Maboroshi" chapter of *Genji monogatari* is obviously part of a larger work; there are no extant examples of a text solely organized around grief poetry for one individual prior to the Kamakura Period, during which the genre blossomed.[69] But the precedent of a year of mourning established in *Genji* served as a model for late twelfth and early thirteenth century grief-themed poetic collections and memoirs.

Tabuchi Kumiko et al. have described a group of "grief literature" produced in the late Heian to Kamakura period which focuses on the death of someone intimate with the author.[70] Some earlier literary works included clusters of poems centered on grief but with few exceptions were not limited to grief about one individual, reflecting the imperial anthology's approach to anthologizing grief poetry.[71]

[69] Tabuchi et al., *Minbukyo no suke shū*, 55–60.

[70] Tabuchi et al. use different categories to separate the poetic collection and poetic memoir genres, but the element of grief or lament 哀傷 (*aishō*) is the same: groupings of grief poetry in personal poetic collections 私家集の哀傷歌群 (*shikashū no aishōkagun*) and poetic memoirs of grief (*aishō no kana nikki* 哀傷の仮名日記).

[71] Tabuchi et al. (55–56) offers *Izumi Shikibu shū* 和泉式部集 (The poetic collection of Izumi Shikibu, early eleventh century) and *Izumi Shikibu shoku shū* 和泉式部続集 (The poetic collection of Izumi Shikibu continued, early eleventh century) as examples of earlier Heian works with clusters of poems on grief centered on one individual.

Tabuchi et al.'s list includes the following primary sources: *Sanuki no suke nikki* 讃岐典侍日記 (The Poetic Memoir of Sanuki no Suke, ca. 1109), written by an attendant of Emperor Horikawa (1179–1107, r. 1187–1107) after his death; *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* 建礼門院右京大夫集 (The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu, ca. 1220), by an attendant serving Kenreimon'in (1155–1213) and mourning the death of her husband Retired Emperor Takakura (1161–1181, r. 1168–1180) and the Heike clan in the Genpei War; *Takakura'in shōkaki* 高倉院升遐記 (An Account of Retired Emperor Takakura's Death, ca. 1181) by Minamoto no Michichika; *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* 土御門院女房日記 (The poetic memoirs of a female court attendant of Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado, after 1231), mourning the exile and death of Emperor Tsuchimikado (1196–1231, r. 1198–1210); *Gyōseika shōshō* 御製歌少々 (A few imperial poems, after the third month of 1240) by Retired Emperor Juntoku (1197–1242, r. 1210–1221) and written in exile while mourning the death of his father, Retired Emperor GoToba (1180–1239, r. 1183–1198); and *GoHorikawa'in Minbukyō no Tenji shū* 後堀河院民部卿典侍集 (The poetic collection of GoHorikawa'in Minbukyō no suke, 1234), by an attendant who sequentially served Emperor GoToba, Sōhekimon'in— Emperor GoHorikawa's empress and mother to Emperor Shijō—and Emperor GoHorikawa.

Nearly all of those mourned in these texts died in unusual circumstances; Emperor Takakura died in 1181—at the beginning of the Genpei War and at the age of twenty-one—and Retired Emperors Tsuchimikado and GoToba both died in exile after the Jōkyū Disturbance in 1221.[72] The internal organization of the texts reveals a near-linear timeline that includes poetic

[72] Some of these texts have only recently been made available to the public. The Reizei family, well-known for maintaining the tradition of secret transmission in not allowing outside scholars to examine their textual collection, possesses the only known copies of *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* and *Gyōseika shōshō*; facsimiles of these manuscripts were published in 2001 and 2002, respectively.

commentary on hearing about the death, attending memorial services spaced at the standard Buddhist intervals (seven days, forty-nine days, etc.), and continued feelings of distress through the first full year of mourning.

Unlike the model for a poetic year of mourning established in *Genji monogatari*, however, while the outer framework still spans a year, these early medieval texts do not always follow a steady linear progression through the seasons. For instance, *Minbukyo no suke shū* and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* both end at the one-year anniversary of the authors' former patrons' deaths, but each focuses more on a timeless state of grief, unmoored from the progression of a seasonal temporality. The experience of mourning seems both immediate and never-ending, until we're told that a year has passed and the texts end. This individual relativity to how time is experienced during the grieving process echoes the geographical temporal relativity of the seasons seen in *Shinkokinshū* and discussed above. A year passes, but not for the narrating mourners, who occupy a land of timeless grief.

Minbukyo no suke shū was written by a female attendant, Inshi (b. 1195), who served Sōhekimon'in, Kujō Michiie's daughter and a consort to GoHorikawa'in. The collection opens with word of Sōhekimon'in's death in the ninth month (autumn) and closes at the (lunar) one-year anniversary of her death.

Inshi was the daughter of Fujiwara no Teika and Fujiwara (Saionji) no Sanemune's Daughter.[73] As such, she was deeply connected to many of the active poets in Teika's circle, and many exchanges appear within her 83-poem collection. The sequence of poetic exchange with Shunzei's Daughter 俊成娘 (ca. 1171–1252), Shunzei's granddaughter and famous female poet,

[73] This makes her a full sibling to Fujiwara no Tameie (1198–1275), the successor of Teika's Mikohidari lineage and poetic heritage.

in poems 54–57 shows both relative geographic temporality and a timeless sense of grief despite obvious seasonal markers:

(52) いと寂しく見渡さるるにも
And looking out on the very lonely landscape—

残りなく	both the year
年も我が身も	and my life
なりはてて	are running short,
とはれぬ雪の	and [this loneliness] is seen
ほどは見えけり	in the undisturbed piles of snow[74]

(53)

宿からの	from my abode
都も知らず	with such fallen snow
ふる雪に	as to be unimaginable in the capital,
山のいくへを	I think of you
思ひこそやれ	in the depths of the mountains

(54) 年返りて日数過ぎて後、これよりおどろかされて、返しのついでに
After the year turned [into 1234] and many days passed, [Shunzei's Daughter's] reply came:

「しほるらん	Is it damp, I wonder,
霞の袖の	the color
春の色を	of your spring-mist sleeves,
霧にまよひし	lost in autumn fog [of her death]?
秋の形見と	—thoughts on autumn mementos

(55) ばかりは、ひとりながめてこそ候ひしか。
and with that, I succumbed to solitary thoughts.

春知らぬ	with spring unknown
み山の雪の	to the depths
深さまで	of the snow on the mountains
とはるべしとは	I didn't think

[74] They are undisturbed because no one visits.

思はざりしを　　to send a reply

(56)　わが心の浅さこそ。」とありければ、又京、
My heart is so shallow.” Again from the capital [I sent]:

黒染の　　black-dyed [nuns’]
ころもいづれと　　robes—when
わかぬまに　　was it
霧や霞に　　that autumn fog
立ちかはるらん　　turned to spring mist?

(57)　も知られ候はで、
and without realizing [the seasons had changed]

袖の上の　　compared with
うき椎柴に　　[the tears] floating on
くらぶれば　　these stone oak mourning sleeves,
み山の雪は　　surely the mountain snows
春も知るらむ[75]　　know spring better

Inshi’s first two poems (52–53) follow standard conventions, highlighting loneliness through snow undisturbed by visitors and the differing seasonal experiences between the capital and rural areas where both she and Shunzei’s Daughter reside. The reply by Shunzei’s Daughter (54–55) includes an indication that Inshi’s thoughts and therefore her temporal experience may remain in autumn—the season of her patron’s death—despite it being spring. Shunzei’s Daughter accomplishes this by focusing on the medium of clothing, which for female attendants in court service would have changed seasonally for different color schemes and weights. Inshi’s reply to this sentiment (56) is a rebuttal that as she has taken the tonsure following Ankamon’in’s death, her dark nun’s robes no longer change with the seasons. This facilitates a feeling of timelessness during mourning, a decoupling of grief from seasonality. There is a sense that time

[75] Tabuchi et al., 204–12.

stopped at the death of her patron.[76] This further implies that seasonality is not as important for those who take the tonsure. Inshi also argues (57) that while the geographic temporal difference dictates that spring should come to her first because Shunzei's Daughter is further in the mountains, her tonsured state of mourning—wearing dark robes—surpasses the geography.

This is all to say that while Inshi's "official" period of poetic mourning may be dictated by a lunar calendar year, the end of which aligns with the Buddhist rituals at the one-year anniversary of her former patron's death, her experience of that year as depicted in this exchange is unmoored from seasonal temporality. Her status as a mourner and nun, tonsured after the death of her patron, overrides any external temporal signifiers such as calendar or seasonal time. This sentiment is echoed in a later poem (61) by Shunzei's Daughter, which emphasizes how mourning transcends seasonality as well as social rank—

秋の霧	autumn fog and
春の霞と	spring mist
たちかさね	rise once again
涙にしほる	only a nun's sleeves
あまの袖のみ	are soaked with tears

こそ、数なるも数ならぬも、あはれつきせぬ恨みにてはさぶらひけれ
Surely for those [in mourning] among the high and those among the low ranks, all have the same regrets of unending sadness

At the one-year anniversary of Shōhekimon'in's death—the event that should signal the official end of Inshi's mourning—her experience remains temporally ambiguous. Fujiwara no Iehira sends a poem to her through one of Shunzei's Daughter's servants, commenting on how autumn

[76] Tabuchi et al. note the sense of timelessness in grief depicted in this exchange, 210.

dew usually dyes leaves myriad colors, but her continued tears won't change her black nun's robes back to those of a colorful court attendant's. Confusing the sender, Inshi sends her reply to Michiie, emphasizing how she is still lost in her grief, beyond a sense of seasonal temporality—

御果ての日、嵯峨よりとて差し置かれたりける
On the [anniversary of the] day of her passing, this was left by [a messenger from] Saga

この秋も	This autumn, too,
変わらぬ野辺の	the colors of the dew
露の色に	of the unchanged field
苔の快を	has me thinking of
思ひこそやれ	[your nun's] robes of moss

とあるを、誰とも見分かねば、殿の御紛れ事にやとて御車に入させつ
and not knowing whose it was, I took it as a whim of lord [Michiie] and had it put in his carriage

今日とだに	even though you say it's today [the anniversary],
色もわかれず	I don't understand the [distinction of] color
めぐりあふ	[though it's somehow] come again
我が身をかこつ	through the tears
袖の涙に[77]	of my grieving sleeves

The implication in the first poem is that Inshi's tears soaking her robe sleeves, like the dew on the field, should have dyed both bright colors. Her reply is that her sleeves may have been dyed through tears, but she can no longer distinguish the difference. The reply also emphasizes a sense of having lost track of time in not recognizing the anniversary. Inshi would surely have known the day—there would have been specific Buddhist rituals to commemorate it. As a nun, Inshi

[77] Poems 78 and 79. Tabuchi et al., 253–57.

would continue to wear dark robes, but female attendants in mourning who planned to return to court are portrayed as changing out of dark clothes after this one-year anniversary.

The passage of a year is not fully acknowledged within the text itself, however. Like the "unchanged field" referenced in the first poem in Inshi's exchange, visually and experientially, it is as if time and the seasonal temporal experience have stopped for her. This extreme form of personal temporal experience surpasses the earlier forms of relative temporality (mono-spatial and spatial) that were discussed. In effect, it creates a new relative time zone experience for the mourner, keyed to and paused at the death date of who they lost.

Many of the early medieval mourning texts discussed above reach completion at the first anniversary of the patron or loved one's death, which leads to a question. If the content and writing of grief literature coincide with funerary and memorial rituals, can it also be considered part of those practices? In considering the viability of this question, let us turn to an unexpected framework in the study of premodern Japan: anthropological theory. In what has been described as "the single most influential text in the anthropology of death," Robert Hertz discusses the purpose of the final burial ritual within the practice of double burial:[78]

> The final ceremony has three objects: to give burial to the remains of the deceased, to ensure the soul peace and access to the land of the dead, and finally to free the living from the obligations of mourning.[79]

While late Heian and Kamakura period memorial rites at the seventh and forty-ninth days and one-year anniversary of death did not involve a reburial of the body, the other two practices

[78] Double burial is a societal practice of having a temporary burial followed by a second, permanent burial at a specified later time. Robert Hertz, "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death," (1907) extract from *Death and the Right Hand*, translated by Rodney and Claudia Needham (1960); reprint of translation in Antonius Robben, ed., *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 9.

[79] Ibid., 204.

Hertz mentions are relevant. Each post-funerary Buddhist ritual is meant to aid the departed spirit; depending on the specific tradition, this could be prayers for rebirth in a Buddhist paradise or a good rebirth in the next life. Certain Buddhist traditions demanded long-term obligations with respect to services for the dead years or even decades later, but in general the one-year anniversary marked the end of the most onerous period of mourning. Finishing a grief-focused poetic memoir or collection with the thoughts and feelings experienced on that day could be a form of dedication of the text to the departed spirit.

Summary

This chapter has argued for seeing *waka* as a form of history through two separate logics. First, as a medium born from and tied to imperial and aristocratic culture, it came to be a dominant form of aristocratic representation in historical narratives of the early medieval period. When aristocrats begin to fade in narratives from their former role as main historical protagonists, their voices continue to be captured through *waka* poetry. Second, the chapter argued that cultural shifts can be visible in *waka* like changing carbon dioxide levels in ice cores. It examined types of emerging medieval temporal epistemes seen within *waka* poetry. The chapter outlined the various forms of coexisting, overlapping temporalities conceptualized in premodern Japan before illustrating an early medieval rise in spatial temporality and a shift towards extreme personal temporal relativism in grief poetics. These are quantitatively and qualitatively demonstrable and important to take into consideration when examining historical narratives expressed through the medium of poetry.

How much does how we count, parcel, and arrange time affect the way we look back on things? In cyclic time, for instance, even the idea of "looking back" becomes complex, as the

past can be visible and palpably felt in the present. That is what makes Genji's year of mourning so profound, what makes Narihira's "I alone remain the same (我が身ひとつはもとの身にして)" so sorrowful—echoes of the past, memories of being with loved ones who are now gone, reverberate into the present as the seasonal conditions of each memory recur. How does this porousness of past/present/future affect how we should interpret historical narratives?

Even as *waka* provide a medium in which these complex temporalities can coexist, they are seen as a window to the past, a way to access past voices. Both the *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū* vernacular *wabun* prefaces describe this promise of *waka* as a path to eternity:

> *Kokinshū wabun* preface closing:
>
> 人麿、亡く成りにたれど、歌の事、留まれるかな。たとひ、時移り、事去り、楽しび、悲しび行き交ふとも、この歌の文字あるをや。青柳の糸、絶えず、松の葉の、散り失せずして、真栄の葛、永く伝はり、鳥の跡、久しく留まれらば、歌の様を知り、事の心を得たらむ人は、大空の月を見るがごとくに、古を仰ぎて、今を恋ひざらめかも。[80]
>
> Hitomaro is dead, but poetry is still with us. Times may change, joy and sorrow come and go, but the words of these poems are eternal, endless as the green willow threads, unchanging as the needles of the pine, long as the trailing vines, permanent as birds' tracks. Those who know poetry and who understand the heart of things will look up to the old and admire the new as they look up to and admire the moon in the broad sky.[81]
>
> *Shinkokinshū* preface:
>
> 高き屋におをきをのぞみて、民の時をしり、末の露もとの雫によそへて、人の世をさとり、たまぼこ道のべに別れをし

[80] SNKBT, *Kokinwakashū*, 17–18. Emphasis added.

[81] Rodd, *Kokinshū*, 47. Emphasis added.

> たひ。。。心中にうごき、言外にあらはれずといふことなし。いはむや、住吉の神は片そぎの言の葉をのこし、伝教大師はわがたつ杣の思ひをのべたまへり。かくのごとき、しらぬ昔の人の心をもあらはし、ゆきて見ぬ境の外のことをもしるは、たゞこの道ならし。[82]
>
> …when a poet knew the happiness of the lives of the people by gazing out from a high tower, or awakened to the world of men by comparing their lives to the dew on the branch tips and the droplets on the stem, grieved over a parting on the jeweled-staff road… these feelings moved their hearts and could not but be brought forth in words. Furthermore, the god of Sumiyoshi left behind the words 'the ridge logs of the shrine roof,' and Dengyō daishi spoke of his feelings on 'climbing the timbered mountain.' In this way, it is only this path [of *waka*] by which the hearts of those unknown men of old are revealed and places we have never gone are made known.[83]

Both prefaces reference *waka* as a portal to the people of the past and emphasize the engagement of readers and poets with past poets through the words they left behind. This can be read as a call to action, a charge to embrace *waka* as a living part of cultural memory in capturing knowledge of who and what has come before. In this view, collections of poetry are recursive repositories, wells of knowledge that one should return to for enrichment and replenishment. *Waka*, in short, are a form of experiencing history. The following chapter will investigate the limitations involved in trying to align *waka* poetics with the narration of history, examining a few specific historical events through the medium of *waka* poetry.

[82] SNKBT, *Shinkokinshū*, 16–17. Emphasis added. Note that even here, we see *Shinkokinshū*'s emphasis on spatiality—both prefaces reference *waka* as an access port to past persons, but only the latter adds that it can also act as a gazetteer to untraveled locations.

[83] Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*, xlix. Emphasis added.

Chapter 2, The Literary Constraints of *Waka*: Death and the Gap Between Communicative and Cultural Memory

Scholarship examining Japanese premodern archive production has tended to focus on what has been lost—manuscripts that burned or became too insect-ridden to be legible, or for other reasons were not widely copied or not valued and protected and thus have been lost to time. Canonicity, circulation, and textual values are considered, but we do not think about what barriers appear even before ink is put to the page, what was never written down in the first place.

This chapter examines the gap between communicative memory—i.e., memories of the recent past held by those who witnessed events—and cultural memory, the sociocultural transmission of meaning that gives a culture its cohesion.[84] I argue that when considering where texts and writing fit in relation to these categories, we cannot simply consider the manuscript culture of canonicity (which favors historical narratives that depict historic moments through a focus on the past or future), but also the (interrelated) cultural and linguistic barriers to expression. Furthermore, when examining unprecedented moments of upheaval, we must also consider the impact of the trauma of the event on its narration.

This chapter investigates how aristocratic female attendants depicted the trauma of the Genpei War (1180–1185) and Jōkyū Disturbance (1221) through poetic grief in *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*. Although the canonical literary narratives of these events—*Heike monogatari* and *Jōkyūki* in particular—do contain some poems, these have rarely been analyzed in secondary scholarship. Moreover, poetic accounts related to these events, such as the two closely examined in these chapter, have rarely if ever been considered to

[84] Assmann, 5–6, 36.

have historic value. While aspects of the former narrative are incorporated into later imperial anthologies, and the text had a resurgence in popularity during WWII, neither poetic collection achieved status as part of the literary or historical canon.[85]

This chapter employs literary and socio-cultural analysis to discuss the challenges these two early medieval Japanese texts faced in relation to textual reception, how and why they fell into a gap between communicative and cultural memory, and the value they hold despite it. I trace how narratives of cultural memory are shaped, briefly outlining larger-scale issues of textual circulation and values before focusing on the restrictive effects of textual norms and genre in the creative process. For the latter, I examine the contours of grief expression available through *waka* to show the challenges early medieval aristocratic women faced in writing about war/political conflict in an intimate, poetic mode. By closely examining texts about early medieval armed political conflicts by those who lived through them, this chapter sheds new light on how female authors used poetic courtly language to narrate the trauma of war.

The traumatic nature of the Genpei War and Jōkyū Disturbance further hinder narration of these events. I draw on trauma theory, from Cathy Caruth and others, to highlight the textual evidence we see of the difficulties the narrators face in fully grasping events as they unfold, i.e. how the nature of trauma resists narration and the acrobatics the narrators perform to convey the event and their experience of it. My aim in using this analytic lens is to show that unlike other retrospective texts that mainly focus on commemorating the dead and/or pointing to future

[85] For more on the reception of *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*, see my M.A. thesis: Kim Mc Nelly, "Re-Cycling Her Words: The Transmission of Narrative Through Poetry in the Reception of *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* Within the Imperial Waka Anthologies," MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2015.

political power arrangements, i.e., focusing on the past or the present, these texts include attempts to convey the (present) moment of trauma itself.[86]

As challenging as the transference from memory to literate form may have been, writing saved these biographical/communicative memories so we still have them today. Forty years is about the length of time a memory lasts without this transference. Jan Assmann describes poetry in particular as "a codification of historical memory" and thus a possible avenue into cultural memory.[87] Lady Daibu's text includes an afterward that suggests she may have compiled her poetic collection when Teika asked her for submissions for inclusion in an imperial poetic anthology that he was working on—the only sure method at that time for a poet's work to survive into posterity. She wanted her text and its contents to be remembered.

The role of textual reception in cultural memory

Cultural memory is expansive, including mimetic memory (how to do or perform certain actions), material culture, and what is integrated into a collective's sense of self and passed on from individual communicative memories.[88] This chapter is only concerned with the role of texts related to communicative memory and the factors that have affected their reception, which correlates with the possibility of their in/exclusion in cultural memory.

What texts survive the test of time is a result of a network of factors, from production and distribution methods to the complicated interrelation between value, possession, and the cultural

[86] I should note that the theory of cultural memory embraces the idea that the stories that groups tell about themselves and their pasts may not be historically true, but that does not matter to the effect that comes from belief in them. This chapter emphasizes what my primary texts convey, not the qualitative value of historic "truth" as judged by modern scholarship about said content.

[87] Assmann, 196, 198.

[88] Assmann, 5–7.

authority of texts. The time of my primary texts' production—the early Kamakura period—was a moment of transformation in which aristocratic families formed schools of knowledge and started peddling their cultural and literary acumen to Kamakura elites. Simultaneously, a text written about the same events as Lady Daibu's memoir—*Heike monogatari*—was publicly and ritually chanted by itinerant monks. This is not to say that literary texts were more valued (and therefore safeguarded) than oral texts, but that different variants of texts had varying degrees of value. Many aristocratic schools had "secret teachings" that were only accessible to patrons, and the most coveted secret teachings related to canonical texts, reinforcing the relationship between canon and education. The point here is that while there was a plethora of widely circulating texts and variants thereof, access to different levels of those texts varied. Increasingly, niche specialization in canonical texts became valued, as did possession of commentaries with such secret teachings. This increasing focus on minutiae of then-classical texts largely meant that deviation or innovation from set literary standards—the revelation of *Shinkokinshū* being the latest acceptable "new" standard for poetic composition—was frowned upon.

Textual production itself was still part of securing political power, as it had been since the establishment of the imperial court. For scholars today, however, basing ideas about cultural memory on canonicity and widely-received texts—on textual reception—skews a view of historical narratives about premodern (Heian and medieval) Japanese war or conflict into a dialectic of defeat. These texts tend to both memorialize or pacify those who lost and serve as proof of the authoritative power of those who won.[89] This sets up a framework of the past

[89] Takeshi Watanabe has extensively analyzed the intersection of placation and politcal power within the historical narrative of *Eiga monogatari*. Kaoru Hayashi offers a detailed examination of the employment and interaction with powerful vengeful spirits as part of political and other legitimacy. Kaoru Hayashi, "Narrating Vengeful Spirits and Genealogies in Premodern Japanese Literature," PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018.

informing and serving as a precedent for future power relations, which is of obvious benefit to the security of those who won the conflict even if a narrative (such as *Heike monogatari*) proports to paint the losing side in a sympathetic light. Such framing focuses on the past (the dead) and future (continued rule of the victors). In other words, the dialectic of defeat writes historical narratives as focused on past pacification or future power relations but misses the present moment *of* that past as it unfolded. Texts that deviated from this pattern, such as the two that I take up in this chapter by those representing the losing side of political conflicts, did not aid those in power and likely faced challenges in distribution because of it. And yet it is only through looking to less well-received texts that we find those attempting to illuminate a present unfolding moment with the confusion and uncertainty inherent to it.

While this chapter will discuss first-person primary source accounts both from the perspective as eyewitnesses and as deeply personal responses to particular situations, they can be read as representative voices for the armed political conflicts they address as attempted forays into conveying lived narratives into cultural memory. As trauma theorist Cathy Caruth argues,

> But is not the question 'who speaks?'… precisely what joins the individual experience of trauma to the collective and political questions of perspective that have been raised around it? It might be said, indeed, that **the question of who is left to voice the traumatic complaint lies at the very intersection of so-called individual and collective trauma**, since the undoing of the foundations of a stable subjective perspective is what constitutes the nature of this shattering experience. Although isolating, traumatic experience can never with certainty be reduced to, or framed within, the boundaries of an individual life. The annihilation of experience at the core of what we think of as personal trauma is never wholly extricable from larger social and political modes of denial. In this sense, I would suggest, the 'individual' and 'collective' cannot be extricated from each other, in the destruction of experience, which can never be grounded in the unity of a single position or voice.[90]

[90] Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*: *Trauma, Narrative, and History*, Twentieth anniversary edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 120–121. Emphasis added.

According to Caruth, then, the nature of a personal account relating traumatic events—of who is left to tell the story—renders the narrative more than an individual's experience, necessarily situating it within a framework of representative collective memory. Even if a text narrating a traumatic event was never widely dissemianted, then, it still serves as part of a larger cultural memory of that moment. We will return later to more of Caruth's conceptualizations about the impact of trauma on narration.

Barriers between the author and the page

The two texts that I examine in this chapter—*Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*—focus on historical narration enacted primarily through the medium of poetry.[91] Both are written by aristocratic female attendants to the imperial family describing periods of political unrest at the turning point into Japan's medieval period, the Genpei War (1180–1185) and Jōkyū Disturbance (1221), respectively. The former relates life

[91] A note on translations and primary source texts. For *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*, I occasionally rely on Phillip Harries' 1980 translation of Lady Daibu's memoir but have retranslated most passages myself. Harries drew from Hisamatsu et al's 1964 *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (NKBT 80) commentary. Kubota Jun's 1999 *Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (SNKBZ 47) is now the most accessible and widely referenced commentary, which I use as my main source. Kubota's annotation draws on the early fourteenth century Kyushu University variant (Kyūshū daigaku fuzoku toshokan shozō Hosokawa bunko bon) as a base text. This is recognized as the oldest and most authoritative extant textual variant, with a colophon placing it as possibly only four copies removed from Lady Daibu's copy and in a direct line with copy made by Shichijōin Dainagon (dates unknown), one of Lady Daibu's long-standing, personal friends, who appears in her memoir. Kubota supplements with other variants; for instance, he includes and numbers two poems not found in the Kyushu University text— poems 72 and 344— from the variant Showa Art Museum text (Shōwa bijutsukan bon), so the numbering of his poems does not match Harries. I also referenced Itoga Kimie's 1979 *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* (SNKS 28) and Ishikawa and Tani's 2001 *Waka bungaku taikei* (WBT 23) commentaries. Itoga Kimie's commentary is particularly adept at conveying the nuances of Lady Daibu's mental state during her grief, while Kubota Jun's commentary occasionally relegates complex and unusual phrases to a binary of hysterical madness and sanity. For an example of this, see Kutoba Jun's SNKBZ 47 p.112, poem 225 note 3 in comparison with Itoga Kimie's SNKS 28 p.111 note 4 on the rendering of 「うつし心」. Kubota Jun, *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū, Towazugatari*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 47 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999).

serving empress Kenreimon'in (Taira no Kiyomori's daughter), the horror of the fall of the Taira clan during the war—including their exodus from the capital and subsequent death of her secret lover Taira no Sukemori—and a return to life serving at court with lingering memories of those lost. The latter poetically narrates the exile and subsequent death of Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado after his father GoToba's failed Jōkyū Disturbance.

These two texts are useful sources because both authors are self-conscious about the unprecedented and historic significance of their experiences—they craft narratives with historic *intentionality*. They also share a main theme of death, which Assmann calls "the primal scene of memory culture,"[92] located between communicative and cultural memory, and thus an excellent position from which to consider what issues arise in that gap.

Furthermore, neither text is considered part of the literary canon. *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* had some reception in the imperial poetic anthologies within a context of cultural memories—the headnotes with historic context were retained—and had some influence on related texts shortly after it was written.[93] Her cultural memory legacy is primarily limited to poetic reception in the imperial anthologies, however, and her narrative of the Genpei War has been far overshadowed by the far more popular reception of *Heike monogatari*. From what we can tell, *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbo nikki* had even less reception. The sole extant copy of the text was first made public through facsimile publication from the private Reizei family collection in 2001. So neither text had a large reception, even within the aristocracy, and their significance has not been thoroughly examined in modern scholarship. Finally, English secondary scholarship to date has implied or explicitly stated that female authors didn't write about war or political

[92] Assmann, 19.

[93] See my MA thesis for more on reception.

conflict. This makes these texts even more vital to examine for what expressions were possible within generic poetry conventions. I will argue that unconventional linguistic choices affected reception, which is linked to the disinterest of modern scholars.

These two texts—*Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbo nikki*—pivot around death, which Assmann describes as a crucial part of collective memory:

> The rupture between yesterday and today, in which the choice to obliterate or preserve must be considered, is experienced in its most basic and, in a sense, primal form in death… One might even call it [=death] the primal scene of memory culture. There is a difference between the autobiographical memory of the individual looking back from a certain vantage point over his own life, and the posthumous commentary of him by posterity, and it is this distinction that brings out the specifically cultural element of collective memory.[94]

Assmann further characterizes memory of the dead as *between* communicative and cultural memory while also extending beyond tradition. It is after the moment of death when communicative memories about that person can start to make the transformation into cultural memory: "One might even say that cultural memory transforms factual into remembered history, thus turning it into myth."[95] This is not a direct, unmediated process:

> As the earliest and most widespread form of memory culture, the memory of the dead clearly illustrates that phenomena exist that are simply not covered by the conventional concept of 'tradition.' This masks the break that leads to the birth of the past, focusing our attention on continuity. Of course, some of those elements described by the terms 'memory culture' or 'cultural memory' may also be called tradition, but this leaves out the aspect of reception,

[94] Assmann, 19.

[95] Assmann, 38.

> the bridging of the gap, and also the negative factors of oblivion and suppression. This is why we need a concept that embraces both aspects. **Dead people and memories of dead people cannot be handed down. Remembrance is a matter of emotional ties, cultural shaping, and a conscious reference to the past that overcomes the rupture between life and death.** These are the elements that characterize cultural memory and take it far beyond the reaches of tradition.[96]

These are just a few examples to show how memories of the dead are characteristic of rupture and liminal space within Assmann's parameters of collective, cultural memory. In the rest of this chapter, I examine this concept of remembrance in relation to cultural memory, including the effect of "emotional ties" and "cultural shaping" in literary production.

Beyond the difficulties of information-gathering, what barriers existed between these aristocratic female authors who set out to narrate their experiences and the blank pages upon which they wrote? First, the emotional ties they held to those caught up in the events—those they lost—made these historic moments personally traumatic. The very nature of trauma resists narrativization except, as Cathy Caruth notes, through later repetition. We will return to that point later. Second, the authors were limited to aristocratic poetic language, and there was a lack of literary precedent for the circumstances that each faced. This is evident from the various ways that Lady Daibu laments not having words or ways to express the situation and her feelings about it. Given the scarcity of documents—we know little about these women beyond what they themselves wrote in these two texts—we cannot fully separate the personal impact of trauma from the cultural restrictions of the language they employ. By contextualizing close readings within a broader literary context, the rest of the chapter will examine the specific ways in which

[96] Assmann, 20. Emphasis added. On the overlap here between communicative and cultural memory: "It is communicative in so far as it represents a universally human form, and it is cultural to the degree in which it produces its particular carriers, rituals, and institutions." Assmann, 45.

both texts interact with poetic courtly conventions and the difficulties that arise from not aligning with them.

Conveying the confusion of the moment

Both texts were written to convey the realistic confusion of these two traumatic events. Even though both texts were compiled later, in the established style of aristocratic women's memoirs, and the authors presumably had more access to information at that time, both are primarily narrated from the perspective of *not* knowing that future. There are repeated references to hearing rumors and a lack of access to information. In memory studies, Lawrence Langer calls this "deep memory," i.e. a narrator recalling an event from the real-time perspective of experiencing it.[97]

Once Sukemori departs the capital with the Taira clan and their supporters, Lady Daibu's access to information is significantly inhibited. She details the difficult logistics that interfere with their communication:

> 。。。かねて言ひしことにてや、また何とか思ふらむ、便りに付けて、言の葉ひとつも聞かず。ただ都出でての冬、僅かなる便りに付けて。。誰かなる便りも知らず、わざとはまた叶はで、これよりも、言ふ方なく思ひやらるる心の内をも、え言ひやらぬに。。。[98]
>
> …because of what he had said to me before leaving the capital [that he considered himself already dead], or perhaps for some other reason, he sent me not a single word. In the winter of the year

[97] This is distinguished from "common memory," or a narrator recalling events from a perspective of the self either before or after that event. Langer's ideas are summarized by James E. Young in "Between History and Memory: The Voice of the Eyewitness," in *Witness and Memory*: *The Discourse of Trauma*, ed. Ana Douglass and Thomas A. Vogler (New York: Routeledge, 2003), 276.

[98] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 108–109.

> he had left the capital, there had been the briefest of messages… I knew of no one through whom I could send a letter, nor was it possible for me to send a messenger of my own, so even though I was indescribably anxious about him, there was no way for me to tell him what I felt…[99]

While the memoir was compiled after the fact, Lady Daibu not only uses correspondence and other poems from the "present" moment of the war, she also chose to maintain her first-person real-time ignorance in the narration. The doubt and uncertainty are palpable—

> 恐ろしき武士ども、いくらも下る。**何かと聞けば、いかなることをいつ聞かむと。。。**[100]
>
> Large numbers of fierce [Minamoto] warriors were leaving the capital for the west. **Whenever I heard any rumors, I wondered in agitation what news would come next, and when.**[101]

The most shocking rumor, that of the suicides of Sukemori's brothers Koremori and Kiyotsune, requires the supporting evidence of being heard from multiple sources (「さまざま人の言ひ扱ふ」).[102] Lady Daibu's inclusion of this sourcing highlights the real-time communication networks of how information was being shared.

In contrast, there are hardly any references to rumors or news about the absent Tsuchimikado'in in the much shorter *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*. Poem 7 stands out as an exception, however, addressing his relocation to the furthest shore of Shikoku:

---

[99] Harries, 201–203.

[100] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 103. Emphasis added.

[101] Harries, 195. Emphasis added.

[102] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 108.

近く渡らせ給ふべしとて、阿波へ御渡りあるべしときくにも
It was thought good for the Emperor to move to a place nearby (the capital), so on hearing that he was expected to move to Awa[103]—

なにと又	Why, again,
なるとの浦の	is his move to beyond
うらわたり	the strait of Naruto?
あはれやなにの	How wretched, and for what
むくひなるらん[104]	is this in retaliation to?

The emphasis in the poem is on questions, an uncertainty about why events are unfolding born out of the deep memory grounded in the confusion of the moment and a lack of informative resources. Memory studies, born out of Holocaust studies, is exceedingly concerned with identifying the value of this in-the-moment deep memory in relation to historical narrative and particularly what will be lost when there are no survivors (of the Holocaust) left. Speaking of survivor's deep memory, James E. Young writes:

> …even the survivor's story is organized retrospectively. At the same time, however, *how* the survivor has organized the story still reveals a kind of understanding unique to someone who has known events both directly and at some remove. The survivor's memory includes both experiences of history and of memory, the ways memory has already become part of personal history, the ways misapprehension of events and the silences that come with incomprehension were part of events as they unfolded then *and* part of memory as it unfolds now.[105]

[103] Present-day Tokushima Prefecture.

[104] Tabuchi et al., 346.

[105] James E. Young, "Between History and Memory: The Voice of the Eyewitness," in *Witness & Memory*: *The Discourse of Trauma*, ed. Ana Douglass and Thomas A. Vogler (New York: Routledge, 2003), 280.

In other words, the idea of deep memory and survivors' narratives complicate the schism between history and memory of "…history as that which happened, memory as that which is remembered of what happened… [This] leaves no room for the survivor's voice, much less room for the survivor's memory of events…"[106] Memory studies scholars are eager to show the value of these often-dismissed first-person historical narratives. On this point, Young argues that "once we take into account the eyewitnesses' voices, their apprehension of misapprehension of events, their reflective interpretation of experience, we understand more deeply why and how the victims responded to unfolding events as they did."[107] In other words, we get a fuller sense of historical motivations based on what they understood at the time (i.e., access to information and the ability to process it) and related affect.

For the most part, in both primary texts under discussion here, the reader isn't given specific details of where information comes from. What is stressed, especially by Lady Daibu, is her emotional reaction to the news and a linguistic failure to capture it—

> ここかしこと浮き立ちたるさまなど、**伝へ聞く**も、すべて言ふべき方ぞなき。[108]
>
> It was too frightful for words **to hear of him** straggling from place to place…[109]
>
> またの年の春ぞ、まことにこの世の外に**聞きはてにし**。そのほどのことは、まして何とかは言はむ。[110]

[106] Young, 277.

[107] Young, 278.

[108] Kubota Jun's annotation notes that this refers not just to Sukemori but all the Taira, floating from place to place. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 103. Emphasis added.

[109] Harries, 193. Emphasis added.

[110] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 111. Emphasis added.

> In the spring of the following year [1185] I **finally heard** that he [Sukemori] was in truth no longer of this world. How can I possibly convey what I felt then.[111]

The value of these first-person accounts, then, is not only a reminder that those acting in the past didn't have all the information we now have retrospectively. On a larger scale, it also stresses the necessity of bringing imagination and compassion to our study of historical events to better understand what it felt like to be there and how that impacted actions taken. That is one way that deep memory can enrich historical narrative.

Like Lady Daibu's memoir, *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* similarly stresses an emotive reaction over a narration of a historic event; the news of Tsuchimikado'in's death isn't even directly reported. The first contact from those who had been with him in exile comes not in the form of a letter or rumor but the sight of them returning to the capital in mourning clothes.[112] Both of these passages will be examined in depth later. First, we will turn to both narrators' direct linguistic frustration in trying to convey their reactions to these pieces of news, starting with similar phrases in the above two quotes, 「すべて言ふべき方ぞなき」and 「何とかは言はむ」.

The inexpressible

Lady Daibu uses four types of phrases or literary devices in combination when describing the most emotionally heightened moments of experiencing the Genpei War—lamenting a lack of

[111] Harries, 205. Emphasis added.

[112] Poem 36.

words to describe things, stressing the unprecedented (ためしなし) or incomparable (たぐいなし) nature of events, conveying a sense of unreality through the dream/nightmare (夢) vs. reality (うつつ) or truth (まこと) binaries, and repetition. I will introduce all four elements and then closely analyze a few passages where they are all employed.

Lady Daibu finds it difficult to contextualize Sukemori's death within the traditional poetic vocabulary available to aristocratic women, lamenting that the usual phrases do not seem to express what she is feeling:

> 。。。騒ぐ心に覚めたる心地、**言ふべき方なし**。[113]
> I woke [from a dream with Sukemori] with a throbbing heart; I **cannot even begin to describe my feelings**.[114]
>
> ここかしこと浮き立ちたるさまなど、伝へ聞くも、すべて**言ふべき方ぞなき**。[115]
> It was **too frightful for words** to hear of him straggling from place to place…[116]

These examples with 「言ふべき方なし」(no [proper] way one should say) suggest there are no available literary expressions Lady Daibu could use to express her emotions or the situation of the fleeing Taira.[117] Nakamura Aya's article "Indescribable Experiences in Turbulent

[113] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 103. Emphasis added.

[114] Harries, 195. Emphasis added.

[115] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 203. Emphasis added. Kubota Jun's annotation notes that this passage refers not just to Sukemori but all the Taira, floating from place to place after fleeing the capital.

[116] Harries, 193. Emphasis added.

[117] Another possible phrase, 「思ひのほか」(unexpected/beyond imagining) is almost exclusively used to describe her relationship with Sukemori, with one final use commenting on her re-entry to serve at court after the war. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 40, 70, 73, 131, and 147. Harries notes the frequent use of this term. Harries, 282, note 1.

Times: A Sense of Social Upheaval in *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*" analyzes the use of a similar phrase that Lady Daibu uses to express this sense of inexpressibility, namely 「いはむかたなき」(*iwamu kata naki*).[118] Nakamura does not distinguish between these two phrases, but the use of 「む」(*mu*) in the latter highlights Lady Daibu's intention and desire to say *something*—the moment she metaphorically gathers breath or puts ink to brush to give words to this thing—and a sense of being thwarted.

It is useful here to begin to introduce trauma theory, much of which argues that trauma resists narration. Caruth, drawing on Freud, explains how trauma is a temporal disjunction between an experience of an event that is not fully known or processed in the moment that it happens. She ties this directly to the production of literature: "…the theory of trauma… articulates a kind of not-knowing at the heart of catastrophic experience, a resistance to conceptual assimilation, an intimate bond between knowing and not-knowing that… closely ties the language of trauma—and of the attempts to bear witness to it—to the language of literature."[119] We will return to this idea at various points later in the chapter to consider how poetry, particularly premodern Japanese *waka*, offers spaces of knowing and unknowing.

As we see in the above linguistic dancing of Lady Daibu, and as Roger Luckhurst notes, the very inability to articulate what happened spurs more attempts to do so: "…if trauma is a crisis in representation, then this generates narrative *possibility* just as much as *impossibility*, a compulsive outpouring of attempts to formulate narrative knowledge."[120] Even as Caruth decries

[118] Aya Nakamura, "'Iwamu kata naki' keiken to 'arazu naru yo'—*Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* ni miru jidai ishiki," *Nihon bungaku* 55 no.7 (July 2006).

[119] Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 117.

[120] Robert Luckhurst, *The Trauma Question* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 82.

the possibility of narrating trauma, scholars using empirical data such as Kansteiner and Weilnböck argue for its necessity as part of a therapeutic process.[121] My main point here is that even the declaration of an inability to express the traumatic circumstances or the affect that results from them is inherently grounded in the present, i.e. reflects deep memory. Unlike retrospective texts about the event that completely focus on commemorating the dead and/or pointing to future political power arrangements—focusing on the past or the present—these are attempts to convey the (present) moment of trauma itself.

While Nakamura does not engage with trauma theory, she does argue that the use of 「いはむかたなき」 shows Lady Daibu as "paralyzed in the face of the situation… [this phrase] tried to narrate (*monogatari*-ize) the mental experience that she didn't know how to express," stressing that Lady Daibu was attempting to describe the historical era, not just her emotions about it. [122] What I want to highlight here is that while I agree in part with Nakamura about what gave Lady Daibu difficulties in expressing her circumstances—the seeming lack of preexisting literary forms to capture the intensity of her emotions about historic events—the scope of Nakamura's article is too narrow to detail precisely why the experience that Lady Daibu attempted to narrate didn't fit in with set patterns, or to explore what literary options *were* available and how she engaged with them. This narrow view results in generalizations that aren't

[121] Wulf Kansteiner and Harald Weilnböck, "Against the Concept of Cultural Trauma (or How I Learned to Love the Suffering of Others without the Help of Psychotherapy)," in *Media and Cultural Memory*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning: 229–240.

[122] Nakamura, 7–8. 「体験しつつある状況が従来の叙述形態や感情表現では掬い取れないものであることを示し、事態の前に立ちつくすしかない己の姿を形象するこの語は、右京大夫の時代を捉えようとする姿勢が、決して個々の出来事への感情的な反応に限定して示すことに留まらず、状況全体を大きく捉え表現しようとする意識に貫かれていたことを証している。。。心神の惑乱を示す語とともに「言はむ方なし」が用いられていることで、折々に襲いくる記憶に苛まれる苦痛が、動乱期に経験した諸事態と同様に、すでに知っている分節された感情の概念を参照することでは処理できない種類の、やり場のない心的体験であったことを物語っていよう。」

true across the whole text, such as a distinction between using "indescribable" (いはむかたなき) to discuss a general state of insecurity and uncertainty or a general state of affairs and "sad" (かなし) to describe specific, bounded objects.[123] Nakamura's argument about *kanashi* and *iwamu kata naki* does not take the passage of time into consideration—or how an event might at first seem indescribable but seem differently later—as will be discussed later in a section about repetition. Nakamura must also explain a number of 'exceptions' to the rule, such as Sukemori's death—a specific event that is "indescribable." Lady Daibu explicitly complains about the insufficiency of the word "sad" to capture her feelings in response to it:

> ほど経て人のもとより、「さてもこのあはれ、いかばかりか」と言ひたれば、なべてのことのやうに覚えて、
>
> Eventually, someone sent me a letter saying, "How dreadful this must be for you." I felt, however, that it was done merely out of courtesy:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | かなしとも | If only, oh, if only |
> | またあはれとも | We could use some |
> | **世の常に** | **Common, ordinary words**, |
> | **いふべきこと**に | And call this |
> | あらばこそあらめ[124] | Pitiable or sad![125] |

Tsuchimikado'in nyōbo nikki, far more than Lady Daibu's memoir, adapts to poetic conventions rather than explicitly lamenting a lack of words. This correlates with the shorter

[123] Nakamura, 7.

[124] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 112. Emphasis added.

[125] Harries, 207. Emphasis added. There is also another poem, which will be discussed later in the section on repetition, looking back at the lost Heike court long after the war and expressing how "sad" Lady Daibu is about that lost past era.

headnotes and heavier emphasis on the poems themselves—the comparatively shorter text leans more on standard poetic connotations to convey more meaning in fewer words. There is, for instance, a greater use of the imagery of tears, which is quite standard in mourning poetry. Even resting on these standard conventions, however, there is one poem that alludes to grieving and a lack of words:

> The kerria (in the garden) in front of my room had bloomed beautifully, but on a morning when I could see it had wilted with dew—
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | くちなしに | Though its orange-yellow |
> | 物こそいはぬ | is the color of |
> | 色なれど | speechlessness, |
> | 露にもしるし | the dew makes clear (its grief)— |
> | 山吹の花[126] | kerria flowers |

The poem relies on a pun on 「くちなし」(*kuchinashi*), which can be read both as "orange-yellow" and "mouthless." Dew is an extremely common reference to tears. The poem suggests, then, that even without speaking, grief can be quite apparent. The poetic pairing of kerria flowers and speechlessness was established in the *Kokinshū*,[127] but this poem is the earliest extant to also include dew and use the kerria imagery in a context of mourning. While starting from conventional poetic associations for natural imagery, the text pushes them to expand the scope of grief poetry and fit the author's situation.

[126] Poem 30. Tabuchi et al., 378.

[127] Poem 1012 in *Kokinshū*. Ibid.

Lack of precedent

I argue that both authors chose to push poetic boundaries because the situations they were attempting to narrate did not fit within standard poetic conventions. With her more lengthy prose sections, Lady Daibu explicitly discusses the lack of precedent of some of the events she experiences:

> その春、あさましく恐ろしく聞こえしことどもに、近く見し人々空しくなりたる、数多くて、あらぬ姿にて渡さるる、何かと心憂く**言はむ方なき**ことども聞こえて、「誰々」など、人の**言ひしも例なくて**。。。[128]
>
> Among the horrible and terrifying rumors I heard that spring was that many of the people who had been close to me had been killed and had been brought through the city streets in entirely mutilated [decapitated] forms—hearing such painful, **unspeakable** things, and having people say "That was so-and-so" was so **unprecedented**.[129]

Nakamura's article discussed earlier lists many other examples of 「例(ためし)なし」(*tameshi nashi*) in the memoir, arguing that the sheer number of references strongly implies there was no precedent to literarily express Lady Daibu's experiences and therefore no framework in which she could understand or make sense of them.[130]

Undaunted, however, and searching for something within the realm of poetic precedent to compare her experience—forcibly separated from a lover by historic events and having him die

[128] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 105–106. Emphasis added. Followed by poem discussed in dream section, poem 212 in SNKBZ and 211 in Harries.

[129] My translation. Emphasis added. Harries does not translate "unprecedented" sayings (言ひしも例なくて), 197.

[130] Nakamura, 6–7.

horribly before he can return— Lady Daibu turns to Tanabata poems. These respond to the tale of the weaving maid (Orihime) and the cow-herd boy (Hikoboshi), representing the stars Vega and Altair, who are lovers separated by the heavens and can only meet on one day, the seventh day of the seventh lunar month.

To understand how much the text stresses Lady Daibu's association of her story with this tale, we must consider how the poems are positioned. The memoir's structure seems fractured, with six distinct sections divided in the middle with three each for the first and second half. Each half has two narrative sections with intermingled poetry that are sandwiched around the third middle section of poetry with very short or no headnotes. In the first half of the memoir, detailing Lady Daibu's life at court serving Kenreimon'in, the middle poetry-heavy section lists 40 poems composed on set topics. In the second half of the memoir, which overall has far more prose, the fourth section details the Genpei War and her mourning of Sukemori, the sixth section narrates her return to court after the war, and the middle poetic section is entirely composed of 51 Tanabata poems. This section of Tanabata poems thus serves as a bridge between Lady Daibu's life centered on hoping for Sukemori (and the other Taira) to return to the capital and her mourning the dissolution of that possibility to her return to serve in a very different court without those she had known from before.

While Lady Daibu sees companionship with the weaving maid of the Tanabata stories—both of them waiting to meet again with their lovers—the Tanabata couple are assured one meeting per year, and Lady Daibu has no guarantee. Towards the end of this run of Tanabata poetry, especially, we see Lady Daibu's envy of her celestial counterpart and even one written from the position of the weaving maid herself:

たぐひなき	The Weaving Maid, perhaps,
嘆きに沈む	Will shun these words
人ぞとて	That I write for her
この言の葉を	Looking on me as one
星やいとはむ[131]	Sunk in misery **beyond compare**.[132]

As an extension of not having anything to which to compare her situation—even while using the tragic Tanabata situation in an attempt to do so—Lady Daibu admits in this poetic conversation with the weaving maid that she may not be fully expressing everything:

書きつけば	When I write things down,
なほもつつまし	Reserve holds back my words.
思ひ嘆く	But, Weaving Maid,
心の内を	I wish that you could know
星よ知らなむ[133]	My heart and all its anguished thoughts.[134]

This sense of her situation being different from what is normal is also apparent just after the Heike flee the capital, when Lady Daibu is frustrated that she can't take the tonsure and spend all her time praying for Sukemori and her former employers:

> されど、げに命は限りあるのみにあらず、様変ふることだにも身を思ふやうに心に任せで、ひとり走り出でなど、はたえせぬままに、さてあらるるが、かへすがへす心憂くて、
> Our lives, however, must go on for their allotted span; we cannot end them as we wish; and even my desire to enter holy orders was

[131] Poem 320. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 146. Emphasis added.

[132] Harries, 259. Emphasis added.

[133] Poem 318. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 146.

[134] Harries, 259.

frustrated, since I could not flee the house by myself. How much it pained me that I had to go on living as I was!

また**ためし**	Now that I have seen
たぐひも知らぬ	Such miseries that **I cannot know**
憂きことを	**Their like or their example**,
見てもさてある	A hateful destiny is this
身ぞうとましき[135]	That keeps me living as of yore![136]

There are a plethora of examples discussing "unprecedented" or "unparalleled" (例なし) circumstances; many also incorporate additional literary devices like "inexpressible" (言はむ方なし), such as Lady Daibu's commentary about Lady Kozaishō's suicide after hearing of her lover Michimori's death during the Genpei War:

> など申しし折は、ただあだごととこそ思ひしを、それゆゑ底の藻屑とまでなりしを、あはれの**例なさ**は、よそにて嘆きし人に折られなましかば、さはあらざらまし。かへすがへす**例なかり**ける契りの深さも、**言はむ方なし**。[137]
>
> At the time of that exchange I thought her [Kozaisho's] affair with Michimori was only a lighthearted thing, and yet for love of him she drowned herself after his death. It was **unparalleled** tragedy, which would never have happened if only she had been attracted to the person who was longing for her from afar. **What can one say** of such an **unprecedented** bond of fate?[138]

[135] Poem 205. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 101. Emphasis added.

[136] Harries, 191–193. Emphasis added.

[137] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 85. Emphasis added.

[138] Harries, 169. Emphasis added.

While *Tsuchimikado nyōbo nikki* does not explicitly use the "unprecedented" phrases 「ためしなし」(*tameshi nashi*) or 「たぐいなし」(*tagui nashi*), the text does use a comparison with the past to reference how Tsuchimikado's travel into exile is different from his previous (round-trip) expeditions away from the capital—

> 御興の寄る程には[　]さぶらひあはれたる人[　　]泣く気色のき（こゆ）れば、ことわりに悲し（く）て
>
> Hearing the crying of those who came to present themselves as the imperial palanquin approached near dawn, I was of course saddened[139]—
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | ありしにも | Even just thinking |
> | あらぬ(<u>み</u>?)ゆきと | how this trip |
> | 思ふにも | is not like any that came before, |
> | つら(<u>ぬる</u>?)そでは | the sleeves of those lined up are |
> | さこそぬるらめ[140] | so drenched through |

We also see here an example of repetition to make the comparison, a contrast of ある (to be) between how things were previously (ありし) and how that wasn't like now (あらぬ). Here the problematic element is time—this trip compared with a trip of the past—but later we will return to the difficulties of existential contrast with a living subject, what happens when the object of poetic discussion is unknown to be living or dead. There will also be a more in-depth discussion and analysis of repetition in relation to recalling memories later, but here I simply wish to stress repetition at the level of word choice.

[139] "Yoru" here refers to both "night" (close to dawn) and the palanquin drawing physically near. This is a pun with "dew" and "koshi" as the night finishes its circuit.

[140] *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* poem 4. Following Tabuchi et al's transcription, [　] indicate unreadable portions of text, while ( ) gesture to what is likely to appear in the gap. Tabuchi et al., 342.

Let us turn now to the fourth and final rhetorical device Lady Daibu uses to express the inexpressibility and incomprehensiveness of her experience. Within the vocabulary and syntax of classical Japanese poetics, there is a standard trope used to capture the feeling of unreality—the imagery of a dream or nightmare, *yume* (夢). There is no linguistic distinction between a positive or negative connotation as in English. *Yume* is positioned as the antithesis of both reality (現、うつつ) and the truth (実、まこと), allowing its use to capture both a feeling of unreality and denial of events.

Yume* vs. *utsutsu

This poem from *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (Tales of Ise, late ninth to early eleventh cent.) episode 69 canonically established the binary between dream and reality:

君や来し	Did you come to me?
我や行きけむ	Was it I who went to you?
おもほえず	I have no idea.
夢か現（うつつ）か	Did I dream it? Was it real?
寝てかさめてか[141]	Was I sleeping or awake?[142]

In this scene, the male speaker is unsure if his memories from last night of a woman coming to visit him are from a dream or if they really happened. Here, *yume* has positive connotations—a (happy) dream, not nightmare, of successfully meeting with a lover. Other love

[141] Horiuchi Hideaki and Akiyama Ken, ed., *Taketori monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 17, 3rd ed. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999), 145.

[142] Joshua S. Mostow and Royall Tyler, *The Ise Stories*: *Ise monogatari* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010), 149.

poems show that *yume* could be an indication that a lover is thinking fondly of the dreamer, but in either case, *yume* is a positive and desirable dream.

Beyond its uses in love poetry, the distinction between *yume* and reality also had cross-over with Buddhist poems from the early Heian period. *Yume* became associated with ephemerality as well as more particular religious ideas about the nature of this (human) realm of existence. The literal meanings from the *Ise monogatari* story of a man dreaming or awakening become metaphoric in Buddhist rhetoric, as evidenced from the following two poems:

(1) *Kokinshū* poem 942, author and topic unknown, from the second book of miscellaneous poems:

世の中は	is this world of ours
夢かうつゝか	a dream or reality—
うつゝとも	whether it be a dream
夢とも知らず	or real I cannot say for
ありてなければ[143]	it exists yet is not there[144]

(2) *Shinkokinshū* poem 1972 by Akazome Emon, from the section on Buddhist teachings:

On 'this body is like a dream,' *one of the ten analogies of the Yuima Sutra*

夢や夢	is a dream a dream
うつゝや夢と	is reality a dream
わかぬかな	unable to
いかなる世にか	distinguish how can I tell

[143] *Shinkokinshū* poem 942. Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizō, ed., *Kokinwakashū,* Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), 283.

[144] Laurel Rasplica Rodd with Mary Catherine Henkenius, *Kokinshū*: *A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Boston: Cheng & Tsui Co., 1996), 320.

さめんとすらん[145]　　in which world I'll awaken[146]

The early Heian examples share a voiced uncertainty in both love and religious poems alike. The verbs stress a lack of cognition or understanding of the distinction between *yume* and reality—*omōezu*, *shirazu*, *wakanu*. When Lady Daibu discusses the *yume*/reality binary, she rather typically first introduces it in prose as something that can't be described (言ふ方なし). In the following poem, however, she breaks with the tradition of vague uncertainty between the two and definitively states whatever she is experiencing is *not* reality:

> 女院、大原におはしますとばかりは聞きまゐらすれど、さるべき人に知られでは参るべきやうもなかりしを、深き心をしるべにて、わりなくて尋ねまゐるに、やうやう近づくままに、山道のけしきより、まづ涙は先立ちて**言ふ方なき**に、御庵のさま、御住まひ、ことがら、すべて目も当てられず。昔の御有様見まゐらせざらむだに、大方のことがら、いかがこともなのめならむ。まして、**夢うつつとも言ふ方なし**。秋深き山おろし、近き梢に響きあひて、懸樋の水のおとづれ、鹿の声、虫の音、いづくものことなれど、**例なき**悲しさなり。都ぞ春の錦を裁ち重ねて候ひし人々、六十人ありしかど、見忘るるさまに衰へはてたる墨染めの姿して、僅(わづ)かに三四人ばかりぞ候はるる。その人々にも、「さてもや」とばかりぞ、我も人も言ひ出でたりし、むせぶ涙におぼほれて、すべて**言(こと)も続けられず**。
>
> Though I had had no other news of the Retired Empress, I did hear that she was at Ōhara. But without knowing the right people, there was no way for me to visit her. Yet in the end I set off regardless, trusting for my guidance in my deep devotion to Her Majesty.
>
> As I gradually drew nearer, the mountain path looked so gloomy that my tears welled up to precede me along the way; **my feelings were**

[145] Tanaka Yutaka and Akase Shingo, ed. *Shinkokinwakashū*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 11 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992), 574. This also appears in *Akazome Emon shū* as poem 459.

[146] Laurel Rasplica Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*: *New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*, 2 vols (Boston: Brill, 2015), 803.

beyond description. But her hermitage and all about it, her whole way of life in this place, were more than I could bear to look upon. How could anyone, even one who had not known her in the old times, consider such an existence acceptable for her? But for someone like myself who had been in her service, **was this reality, was it a dream**? **There was no way to describe it**. The gales of late autumn blowing down the mountainside and raging through the tops of the nearby trees, the trickle of water from a bamboo pipe, the calling of the deer, and the crying of the insects, they sound everywhere the same; but here they filled me with a sadness **I had never known**. At court she had been served by more than sixty ladies-in-waiting, attired in layer upon layer of robes so beautiful they seemed to have been cut from "the brocade of springtime in the capital"; here she was attended by only three or four women, clothed in habits of inky black and so changed in appearance that I did not recognize them.

"Has it come to this?" was all that they or I could utter. Choked with our tears, **we could say no more**:

今や**夢**	**Is this a dream?**
昔や**夢**と	**Or was that past a dream?**
まよはれて	I cannot tell.
いかに思へど	However I may think of it**,**
うつつとぞなき[147]	**This is not reality**.[148]

The emphasis on ephemerality here is very much contemporaneous to her time.[149] Furthermore, Lady Daibu's combination of the *yume*/reality with the past/present binary is unique.[150] Overlaying the existential contrast onto a timeline of past/present suggests that the

[147] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 120–121. Emphasis added. This poem was also included in the imperial poetic anthology *Fugawakashū* in a miscellaneous section.

[148] Harries, 219–221. Emphasis added.

[149] A few poems had made such definitive denials of reality, but they were limited and seasonal, such as denying the reality of the *hototogisu*'s call. Lady Daibu's exact phrase, うつつとぞなき, is the oldest extant usage, though the similar うつつともなき was more common among her contemporaries, as seen in this "winter" themed poem by Imperial Prince-Monk Shukaku (1150–1202) that appears as poem 38 in the Omurō Fifty Poem Sequence (御室五十首)「はかなさは**うつつともなき**心ちして夢の底より年ぞ暮れぬる」, as well as poem 100 in Jakuren's poetic collection (寂蓮法師集):「うつつだに**うつつともなき**世の中に夢にも夢のさめにけるかな」. Emphasis added. Taniyama, Tanaka, et al, ed. *Shinpen kokka taikan*. Accessed via JapanKnowledge.

[150] If it was composed at the time of the Genpei War, that is, and not later in the 1230s while compiling her memoir. There is another example from 1209 recorded in Jien's poetic collection (#5578) within a cluster of verses composed to harmonize with an imperial verse: やまかげやとはるる人もとふひともむかしも今も**夢かうつつか**. Emphasis added.

"old" world of the pre-war Heike court and the "new" world that is coming into being during the war are as different as separate Buddhist realms of existence. The reason for this wide schism is due to a spatial disjunction—the former empress Lady Daibu had served under lavish palatial conditions is now relegated to a primitive residence with few attendants. While *Heike monogatari* opens by stressing the inevitability of those high in power falling from their lofty peaks due to impermanence, that clear-minded hindsight is not present in Lady Daibu's perspective as an intimate insider discussing the results of such a fall. Her focus is on the immediacy of the incomprehensible scene in front of her, describing things and her reactions in the present moment. The extremity of this situation produces a depth of feeling that surpasses the traditional *waka* poetics of sadness—autumn wind, insect cries, and deer calls. Lady Daibu lists them all in order to summarily deny their suitability to describing the situation. The intimate mode of aristocratic poetry places emphasis on her feelings, and if the events are unbelievable and unprecedented, then so too must her emotions surpass conventional *waka* rhetoric.

Yume* vs. *makoto

Compared with the *yume*/*utsutsu* pairing, the *yume*/*makoto* binary is far less common in *waka* rhetoric. There are two main uses, the first in love poems similar to *yume*/*utsutsu* in *Ise monogatari*—if lovers actually met at night, or if the meeting was just a (literal) dream—and the second within poetic Buddhist rhetoric about enlightenment. The latter association is largely due to Jien, a contemporary of Lady Daibu. He used *makoto* as a metaphor for Buddhist truth and

included *yume* to show the non-duality of said truth and, through the nighttime associations of *yume*, also link in the more long-standing association of the moon with enlightenment.[151]

Lady Daibu's sole use of the *yume*/*makoto* pairing does not align with either of these two conventional framings. She employs the binary in reaction to a gruesome rumor about the mutilated bodies of her friends being paraded through the streets. This passage was introduced earlier in the initial discussion about having a lack of words to describe historic events, but the focus turns now to the poem following the prose headnote:

> その春、あさましく恐ろしく聞こえしことどもに、近く見し人々空しくなりたる、数多くて、あらぬ姿にて渡さるる、何かと心憂く**言はむ方なき**ことども聞こえて、「誰々」など、人の**言ひしも例なくて**、
>
> Among the horrible and terrifying rumors I heard that spring was that many of the people who had been close to me had been killed and had been brought through the city streets in entirely mutilated [decapitated] forms—hearing such painful, **unspeakable** things, and having people say "That was so-and-so" was so **unprecedented**.

あはれされば	Ah, so
これはまことか	**is it really true?**
なほもただ	or is it just a **nightmare**?
夢にやあらむ	it's so [terrible]
とこそ覚ゆれ[152]	I can't help but wonder.[153]

[151] This conglomeration of resonances between dreams and enlightenment led Jien to complain once as a judge in a poetic contest (*hanja*) that a poem mentioned a dream (*yume*) that occurred during a nap but did not include the truth (*makoto*) that one was awoken to during it:「たびねしてまどろむゆめのとこよりもさむるまことにしくものぞなき、以左為勝」This appears in the Fifteen Hundred Poem Matching Contest (千五百番歌合), in response to poem 2885 appearing in the 1,442nd match. Taniyama Shigeru, Tanaka Yutaka et al, ed., *Shinpen kokka taikan*, 10 vols (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1983). Accessed via JapanKnowledge.

[152] Poem 212. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 105–6. Emphasis added.

[153] My translation. Emphasis added.

As evidenced from my translation, the issue at hand is not a literal dream (of lovers happily meeting) or the ephemeral nature of this world contrasted with the Buddhist truth of nonduality and enlightenment—it's the shocking and unprecedented nightmare of wartime atrocities against high-ranked aristocratic bodies that a former aristocratic female attendant has difficulty accepting as truth.

Lady Daibu uses the *yume*/*makoto* binary to comment on a historic event as it unfolds, to convey how to feels to be in that moment. Even as she calls such things "unspeakable" (言はむ方なき), she still makes an effort to try to describe them. The questioning of "truth" here is an interrogation into whether this rumored awful event actually occurred. The uncertainty that carried over from poetic tradition here reflects not just on her doubt about the secondhand nature of this information but also on the destabilizing nature the news has on her expectations going forward. This news comes after the battle of Ichinotani, which occurred in the second month of 1184. At that point in the memoir, Lady Daibu had not yet detailed any information about any specific Heike family members. Sukemori and his brothers were still alive. The crude parading of heads through the streets, however, meant that should Sukemori even survive the war, if the Taira lost then the nicety of aristocratic punishment through exile was unlikely to remain an option. The event itself was horrible and shocking, but so too was the underlying change in the treatment of aristocratic prisoners and bodies.

Yume **in grief poetry**

The use of *yume* increased in complexity during Lady Daibu's lifetime, particularly from the compilation of *Shinkokinshū* onward. From the time of *Kokinshū* it had, through Buddhist connotations of ephemerality, been included in grief poetry, but according to the *Utamakura*

utakotoba daijiten, it further came to signify the sadness that one feels about another's death.[154] Fujiwara no Shunzei's poem to Minamoto no Yoshitsune after the death of his young, thirty-four-year-old wife exemplifies this, as reproduced in the grief poetry section of *Shinkokinshū*, poem 828:

かぎりなき	you were abstracted—
思のほどの	lost in sad dreams of endless
夢のうちは	sorrow unwilling
おどろかさじと	to disturb your reverie
嘆きこしかな[155]	I have grieved in solitude[156]

This poem presents a dream as a haze of grief that isolates the griever. I argue, however, that Lady Daibu's use of *yume* further strays from even this expanded definition specific to grieving. She frequently uses the term alongside the previously introduced rhetoric about the indescribability of her feelings during a clearly historic moment, indicating that the whole experience is a nightmare so unreal and unprecedented that it is far easier to deny than accept as truth. This combines darker, grief-associated meanings of *yume* with the earlier uncertainty about the state of experiencing *yume* (or not), as in the *yume*/*utsutsu* (dream/reality) contrast from *Ise monogatari*.

This cascade of overlapping meanings for *yume* is readily apparent in the passage which describes the moment when Lady Daibu hears of Sukemori's death. Echoing the above

[154] Kawamura Teruo, "Yume [夢]," in *Utamakura utakotoba daijiten*, ed. Kubota Jun and Baba Akiko (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1999). Accessed through JapanKnowledge.

[155] Poem 828. SNKBT, *Shinkokinwakashū*, 249.

[156] Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*, 342. The death occurred in 1200.

discussion of how “sad” (かなし) does not express the depth of her feelings, she distinguishes her grief from the grief of those who mourn someone who died naturally, in old age:

> またの年の春ぞ、**まことに**この世の外に聞きはてにし。そのほどのことは、まして**何とかは言はむ**。みなかねて思ひひことなれど、ただほろぼれとのみ覚ゆ。余りに堰(せ)きやらぬ涙も、かつは見る人もつつましければ、何とか人も思ふらめど、「心地のわびしき」とて、引き被(かづ)き寝くらしてのみぞ、心のままに泣き過ぐす。「いかで物をも忘れむ」と思へど、あやにくに面影は身に添ひ、言の葉ごとに聞く心地して、身をせめて、悲しきこと**言ひ尽くすべき方なし。ただ限りある命にて、はかなくなど聞きしことをだにこそ、悲しきことに言ひ思へ、これは何をか例にせむと、かへすがへす覚えて、**
>
> In the spring of the following year [1185] I finally heard that he was **in truth** no longer in this world. **How can I possibly convey what I felt then**. I had already known that it would come to this, and yet I felt completely dazed. I was utterly unable to hold back my tears. But I was upset at the idea of having people witness my despair, so I told them I did not feel well, and I spent the whole day lying on my bed. I drew the covers up over my head and abandoned myself to tears. Try though I might to drive away all memories of him, his image stubbornly clung to me, and I felt I could hear his every word. My body itself was in torment, and **I can never describe** all the anguish I suffered. **People are distressed and say how sad it is, even when they hear of someone dying at his natural and expected time; to what, then, I wondered over and over again, could I compare this grief of mine:**
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | なべて世の | **Whoever called them sad,** |
> | はかなきことを | **This world’s ordinary,** |
> | かなしとは | **This world’s natural deaths,** |
> | かかる夢見ぬ | **Must have been one who never knew** |
> | 人やいひけむ[157] | **A nightmare such as this.[158]** |

[157] Poem 223. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū,* 111–12. Emphasis added.

[158] Poem 222. Harries, 205. Emphasis added.

The "*yume*" here refers to Lady Daibu's grief, but it is not simply the haze of mourning referred to in Shunzei's poem above. The term here refers also to the larger (and extraordinary) situation surrounding the death—the Genpei War—and the fact that this is the second time Lady Daibu loses Sukemori, the first time being when he and the other Taira fled the capital.[159]

Lady Ise expresses a similar frustration with "ordinary" (世の常) words at the death of the child-Emperor son of the patron she served:

> このみかどにつかうまつりてうみたりしみこは五といひし年うせたまひにければ、かなしいみじとはよのつねなり。なげくものからかひなければ、よにあらじとおもふも心にかなはず夜るひるこふるほどに、このみつとつけたりし人のもとより
>
> The Prince that had been born while she was serving the Emperor died after turning five years old. [About feelings she has about his death] it's too common to use words like "sad" and "horrible" [but they don't match the feeling]. Though she's grieving [as one does], the sadness wasn't lightening, and though feeling like she didn't want to live in this world anymore, her feelings were spinning without moving forward. While thinking [about the child] day and night, [this poem] came from the one dubbed "Mitsu":
>
> おもふより　　even more than what I feel inside
> いふはおろかに　　the words I'd say
> なりぬれば　　are insufficient, so
> たとへていはむ　　even when I go to say something
> ことのはぞなき　　I can't find the words[160]
>
> さらに物もおぼえねばかへりごともせず[161]

[159] This will be analyzed in further detail later.

[160] My translation.

[161] This is poem 26 of the Nishi Honganji manuscript of *Ise shū*. It also appears in the other main manuscript variants, but they have slightly different numbering. Taniyama Shigeru, Tanaka Yutaka et al, ed. *Shinpen kokka taikan*, 10 vols (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten), 1983. Accessed via JapanKnowledge.

(In the midst of her sadness) she couldn't think of anything else
and didn't reply.

There are overlaps, then, in the inability to express grief through *waka* or vernacular *wabun* prose at the "unnatural" death of one who died (young, unexpectedly) in battle and the death of one who died in early childhood. Both authors directly address the inability of the words one would ordinarily use to express the depth of their feelings. These clear, forthright boundaries marking where words do not match the depth of feeling help us to see the contours and limitations of *waka*. They also lead to more questions—how else did the conventional boundaries of *waka* restrict expression, especially that of historic writing by aristocratic women, who were primarily limited to *wabun* discourse? Is it fair to judge these women's writing as ahistorical in comparison to the male aristocrats from families who had more educational access to *kanbun* and, through it, other forms of historical expression? Alternatively, what strengths could we find in this historical re-writing that may not exist in *kanbun*-based histories?

Double *yume* (repetition)

Let us now return to the concept of repetition to close out this discussion of "*yume*" and pivot to how repetition serves as a larger metaphor within Lady Daibu's memoir. The section of the text describing the Genpei War begins with the initial shock of the Heike fleeing the capital. This passage, like the visit to Kenreimon'in in Ōhara analyzed above, contains all four rhetorical elements used in the most emotionally fraught sections of the memoir—complaining about a lack of words to describe things, stressing the unprecedented or incomparable nature of events, conveying a sense of unreality through

dream/nightmare (夢) imagery, and repetition. The four elements in this passage are highlighted in bold:

> 寿永元暦などのころの世の騒ぎは、**夢ともまぼろしとも**、**あはれとも何とも**、**すべてすべて言ふべき際にもなかり**しかば、よろづいかなりしとだに思ひ分かれず、なかなか思ひも出でじとのみぞ今までも覚ゆる。見し人々の都別ると聞きし秋ざまのこと、とかく**言ひても思ひても**、**心も言葉も及ばれず**。**まこと**の際は、私も人も、かねていつとも知る人なかりしかば、ただ**言はむ方なき夢**とのみぞ、**近くも遠くも**、見聞く人みな迷はれし。[162]
>
> "Such was the upheaval in our world at the time of Jūei and Genraku [1182-1185] that whatever I may call it—**dream [nightmare], illusion, tragedy**—**no words can possibly describe it**. It was so confused that **I cannot even say** exactly what occurred, and in fact right up till now I have repressed all thought of it. **What can I say, what am I to feel** about that autumn when I heard that those whom I knew were soon to be leaving the capital? **No words, no emotions can do it justice**. None of us had known when it might happen, and faced with the **actual** event, we were all stunned, **those of us** who saw it with our own eyes and **those who** heard about it from afar. We could only feel that it was just some **indescribable dream**."[163]
>
> 。。つひに秋の初めつ方の、**夢のうちの夢**を聞きし心地、**何にかはたとへむ**。[164]
>
> At the beginning of autumn news came at last of that **dream within a dream**— the flight from the capital. **To what can I compare** my feelings?[165]

[162] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 99. Emphasis added.

[163] Harries, 189. Empphasis added.

[164] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 101. Emphasis added.

[165] Harries, 191. Emphasis added.

Like her visit to Kenreimon'in after the war, the shock Lady Daibu expresses here is due to a physical displacement. Those including the child-Emperor Antoku, who should be in the capital/court palaces—the metaphoric center of the aristocracy's civilized world—are forced to leave it. The repetition we see in this section (underlined above) seems a stuttering attempt to encapsulate a totality, especially through the extensive use of *mo*. 'Not only this, but also that,' she piles the phrases higher before ending with a negation that tips the whole lot into a trash heap of inadequacy. Like the previous description and dismissal of all the natural imagery related to sadness during her visit to Kenreimon'in, here Lady Daibu lists words that may describe the situation—nightmare (*yume*), illusion, and tragedy—to reject them, too. Yet during these linguistic dismissals, we see the limits of (intimate, poetic, courtly) language being outlined. While there is a struggle with language, it is not silence. It is an engagement.

The description she finally settles on, "a dream within a dream" (夢のうちの夢), doubles the feeling of ephemerality and unreality through its repetition. A similar expression appears in *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbo nikki* in reference to hearing about Tsuchimikado'in's death while in exile in the headnote to poem 35:

> 隠れ果ておはしましぬれば、**夢に夢見る**心地して、つやつやと**うつつの事とはおぼえず**。[166]
>
> When I heard that he had died, it felt like **I was seeing a dream within a dream**; **it** absolutely **did not feel real**.[167]

[166] Tabuchi et al., 384. Emphasis added.

[167] My translation. Emphasis added.

We can also see similar expressions in *Takakura'in shōkaki*, a text by Minamoto no Michichika lamenting Retired Emperor Takakura's early death at age 21, which Lady Daibu had access to. There are many examples of shared phrasing between the two texts. Tabuchi et al. conjecture that this particular quote refers to Taira no Kiyomori's death, which happened just a few months after Retired Emperor Takakura's:

> うち続きはかなき世の夢を思ひて、
> Thinking about the dream of this fleeting world continuing on--
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 昨日見し | Where are those |
> | 人はいづらは | who saw yesterday— |
> | 今日はなし | they aren't here today— |
> | 明日とはたれか | so who shall consider |
> | 世を思ふべき | the world tomorrow? |
> | | |
> | あさましや | How surprising |
> | **夢に夢見る** | **having a dream within a dream** |
> | うたゝねに | while dozing |
> | 又うき夢を | to again have a painful dream |
> | 見るぞ悲しき[168] | is so sad[169] |

The doubling here—the dream within a dream—refers to the second death of a major political figure while the court is still mourning the loss of Takakura'in. We can take the use of "dream" here to refer to a hazy state of mourning, as discussed in the previous section.

So far, we have examined how the specific circumstances of the Heike's flight from the capital and extreme loss Lady Daibu experienced are difficult to express through conventional

[168] Poem 62–63 in *Takakura'in shōkaki*. Ōsone Shōsuke and Kubota Jun, ed., *Takakura'in shōkaki*, in *Chūsei nikki kikō shū*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 51 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 48. Emphasis added. Possible reference to Kiyomori's death explained in SNKBT, *Takakura'in shōkaki*, 47 note 22. This is poem 63–65 according to Tabuchi et al.'s *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* annotation.

[169] My translation. Emphasis added.

poetic rhetoric. This repetition of *yume* shows that the repeated impact of traumatic events such as death are also difficult to convey outside of literal repetition. We will now consider both issues together as we turn to a specific shared experience of both Lady Daibu and Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant—the double mourning of losing men (Sukemori and Tsuchimikado'in, respectively) twice, first through absence (from fleeing the capital or exile) and then through death, and how this was unaligned with conventional poetic expression.

Problems with existential uncertainty about an object of affection

I will now turn to the intervention of this chapter, i.e. examining the cultural textual constraints on what is or can be written into the archive. Why was it so difficult for Lady Daibu and Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant to poetically describe their circumstances? I argue that the formal constraints of waka as it had developed during the early 13th century—typified both through poetic categories as defined by the organization of imperial poetic collections into books, and through the literary devices available and accepted within any one poem—did not permit the author to write a poetic text that both historically narrates a forced physical separation such as fleeing from war or imperial exile from an outside perspective *and* follow conventional *waka* rhetoric. This line of reasoning questions the limiting contours of *waka*, delimitating the types of experiences that cannot be conventionally expressed within them.

Proper precedent of poetic topics—the kinds of poetry that existed and what images and phrases typically appeared within them—was set within the imperially-commissioned poetic anthologies. There was accepted precedent for exiled men to write poetry but less for women writing poetry about those men. The ways of poetically discussing a man's "absence" were limited to the categories of (a) love poems (恋歌), which imply a man's agency and choice to

not visit, in effect showing disinterest in or severing a relationship; (b) parting (離別歌), which was mostly limited to men going to bureaucratic assignments, implying a just, governmentally-sanctified separation and likely eventual return; and (c) mourning (哀傷歌), which marked a permanent absence beyond anyone's agency. Exile (配流) or fleeing from war are circumstances that do not fit in neatly to any of these categories.[170] Both authors maintain their relationships with these men—implying a desire from the men to return—and do not legitimate official sanctioning of the forced travel by mostly avoiding the first two categories of poetry. Using what expressions are available, then, they commit to a *mitate*-like overlap between exile and death: the absence of these men can only mean that they are dead, and this requires mourning.

Sukemori "living while dead"

There are two problems with this choice: first, there is existential uncertainty about the state of the men during the initial physical separation, and second, if grief expressions are used while the men are still alive, what language is available to use when the authors receive word of their actual deaths? Lady Daibu's memoir addresses the first issue very clearly. Before Sukemori leaves the capital, he tells Lady Daibu to think of him as "one already dead":

> かかる世の騒ぎになりぬれば、はかなき数にただいまにても
> ならむことは、疑ひなきことなり……もし命たとひ今しば
> しなどありとも、すべて今は心を昔の身とは思はじと、思ひ

[170] As previously discussed, early in the text, the author positions Tsuchimikado's excursion into exile as distinct from his other trips as an imperial figure. This sense that things are not as they were in the past—ありしにもあらぬ—quickly rises to prominence, and the narrator's dominant expression becomes one of grief. As Tsuchimikado leaves the capital, she is left behind, and the exile is expressed through this loss of her former patron. Poem 4. Tabuchi et al., 342.

したためてなむある……人のもとへ、『さても』など言ひて文(ふみ)やることなども、いづくの浦よりもせじと思ひとりたる身と思ひとりたるを、『なほざりにて聞こえぬ』などな思しそ。よろづただ今より、身を変へたる身と思ひなりぬる。。。[171]

These troubles have now reached the point where there can be no doubt that I, too, shall number among the dead… Even if, perchance, my life is spared for a while longer, I am resolved in my heart not to think of myself as the person I once was… I have made up my mind not to send you even the briefest of messages from whatever distant shore I find myself upon. Don't think, however, that my love for you is weak merely because I send no word. In all that concerns this world I have come to think of myself as one already dead.[172]

Here Sukemori stresses that his absence from her is not by choice—his love isn't "weak"—and therefore their separation cannot fall into traditional love poetry conventions.

The phrase「身を変へて」(*mi o kaete*) has a range of meanings implying a transformation into a different person or state of being.[173] Preexisting examples include *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, ca. 1008), where it is used both in relation to taking the tonsure and being reincarnated in a new life.[174] The phrase also appears in *Torikaebaya* とりかへばや物語 (If Only I Could Change Them, ca. 1080-1100) in reference to a pregnancy preventing a woman who had dressed and behaved as a man from returning to that gender role.[175] Sukemori

[171] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 100–101. Emphasis added.

[172] Harries, 199. Emphasis added.

[173] See entry on 「身を変える」in Shōgaku Tosho, ed., *Koji zokushin kotozawa daijiten* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1982). Accessed via JapanKnowledge.

[174] These references occur in the Matsukaze and Asagao chapters, respectively. Abe Akio, Imai Gen'e, Akiyama Ken, and Suzuki Hideo, ed., *Genji monogatari* 2, Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 21 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1995), 408, 484.

[175] Ishino Keiko and Misumi Yōichi, ed., *Sumiyoshi monogatari*, *Torikaebaya monogatari*, Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 39 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2002), 375.

so strongly highlights the small likelihood of his return to the capital alive that we can read 身を変へて as implying "living while dead," i.e. indicating a transformation into a different physical and social space—one who will soon die.

Lady Daibu later uses the same phrase (身を変へて) in a poem describing Taira no Shigehira's capture by the Genji:

かへすがへす（重衡の）心の内おしはかられて、
Over and over I imagined what was in his heart:

まだ死なぬ	While not yet dead,
この世のうちに	Still of this world,
身を変へて	But in how changed a state!
何心地して	With what thoughts in your heart
明け暮すらむ[176]	Do you pass your days, your nights?[177]

From this liminal space Lady Daibu describes of his state as a prisoner of war, Shigemori was eventually released into the custody of the Tōdaiji monks, who executed him for burning their temple.

This state of being—or rather, the ambiguous state of Sukemori's being or not being, his "living while dead"—is also the subject of a poetic exchange Lady Daibu and Sukemori have after he leaves the capital. She questions his existence while absent from her, while he is amid a battle with the Genji clan:

おなじ世と	How wretched it is

[176] Poem 214. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 107. Emphasis added.

[177] Harries, 199. Emphasis added.

なほ思ふこそ	To think that this is still
かなしけれ	The same world as before,
あるが**ある**にも	A world where life itself
あらぬこの世に[178]	No longer counts as life.[179]

Sukemori's response echoes her poem with its intense focus on the matter of existence (*aru*, in bold) of his "living while dead," speaking also of his brothers who recently died in battle:

先立ちぬる人々のこと言ひて、
He talked of those who had gone before him:

あるほどが	This is wretchedness—
あるにも**あらぬ**	To see such tragedy,
うちになほ	While I yet **live**
かく憂きことを	In the midst of **life**
見るぞかなしき[180]	That is not **life** at all.[181]

This is the last thing that Lady Daibu hears from him before she receives news of his death. The purposeful, rhythmic repetition of the existential verb (ある) recalls the previous existential uncertainty of 「身を変へる」 and foreshadows his impending death.

[178] Poem 217. Emphasis added. SNKZB, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 109. Itoga Kimie, *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*, Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei 28 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979), 107. Iwasa Miyoko, ed, *Fūgawakashū zenchūshaku* 3 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2004), 239–240.

[179] Harries, 203. Emphasis added.

[180] This was later anthologized as poem 2344 in *Gyokuyōshū*. Iwasa Miyoko, ed., *Gyokuyō wakashū zenchūshaku* 3 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1996), 340; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 109; SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 111. Emphasis added.

[181] Harries, 205. Emphasis added.

Exile + death = double death

Next, let us turn to how *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* deals with the issue of existential uncertainty about Tsuchimikado'in during his exile by prefacing it with more context about the text and author.

We don't know anything about the female author of *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* aside from what she herself writes in it. She served Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado'in (1196–1231, r. 1198–1210), who was exiled in 1221 to present-day Shikoku after his father Retired Emperor GoToba's failed Jōkyū Disturbance, an attempt to overthrow the Hōjo shogunal powers and reclaim direct political authority for the imperial line. Tsuchimikado'in was not allowed to take many attendants with him into exile, and the female author of this poetic collection is left behind in the capital. Her text mainly focuses on her experiences in the aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance, both memorializing and commemorating Tsuchimikado's reign while lamenting his exile, which she treats through mourning poetry as a kind of death. He dies while still in exile, and upon hearing this, her sense of grief deepens, but there are no further poetic expressions available to articulate it. The author's earlier equation of exile with death causes textual inconsistency as she is forced to reconsider the exile-death paradigm.

I should note that while this text portrays Tsuchimikado'in's exile as an external, undeserved punishment, other early medieval "historical" texts treat it differently. While Tsuchimikado's father GoToba and his younger brother Juntoku—both retired emperors themselves—were clearly exiled for their part in the Jōkyū Disturbance, Tsuchimikado did not himself participate in the conflict. *Jōkyūki*, *Rokudai shōjiki* 六代勝事記 (Record of the Surprising Events of Six Reigns, 1223–1224), *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (The Mirror of the East, 1290s), and other texts narrate Tsuchimikado's departure from the capital; some treat it as exile

imposed as punishment like that of his father and brother (ex. *Jōkyūki*, *Rokudai shōjiki*). Scholarship today generally concurs with the explanation in *Masukagami* 増鏡 (The Clear Mirror, ca.1368–1375), however, that it went against Tsuchimikado's conscience to remain in the capital when his father and brother were forced to leave, so he applied to the *bakufu* to be exiled too.[182]

How does Tsuchimikado's former female attendant poetically approach the subject of a difficult absence due to exile? Tabuchi et al. note that *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* includes grief expressions to describe Tsuchimikado'in even while he is still alive and that there may have been some influence from Lady Daibu's memoir. The annotation does not discuss this point in detail, however, or highlight the more persuasive textual evidence of their similarity, the above discussion of Sukemori as "one already dead."[183]

As we have seen in the text's implications about how the exile occurred, the *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō* is less concerned with precise historical accuracy than it is with valorizing a wronged retired emperor, but this does not mean that it is intentionally ahistorical. In fact, the author's efforts to portray the historical situation of Tsuchimikado's exile create textual inconsistencies due to the limitations of *waka* poetic language—what she is trying to express does not fit within the conventional standards of *waka* at the time, as both modern annotations of the text frequently note. The formal constraints here include poetic categories defined by the organization of imperial poetic collections into books, as well as the literary devices available and accepted within any one poem. In other words, her narrative tests the contours and limits of

[182] Yamaguchi Masatoshi, "Tsuchimikado Tennō," in *Nihon kokushi jiten* 1–15, ed. Daijiten Henshū Iinkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1979–1997). Accessed through JapanKnowledge.

[183] Tabuchi et al., supplemental note, 357.

waka, describing a situation that is difficult if not impossible to express because it falls outside of the correctly ordered world that *waka* strives to create. Using *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* as a case study about an attempt to narrate exile though poetic language exposes the difficulties women encountered in "telling" history in the vernacular script.

The formal constraints of waka as it had developed during this time period did not permit the author to write a poetic text that both expressed a historical narrative about Tsuchimikado's exile and followed conventional *waka* rhetoric. The crux of the narrator's problem was the long-term fact of Tsuchimikado's exile. This is not a topic that was directly addressed by any of the standard categories of *waka* as defined within imperial poetic anthologies. Tsuchimikado's initial departure from the capital may fall into the "Parting" section (離別歌, *ribetsu no uta*), but those poems as standardized in *Kokinshū* most frequently refer to an official traveling to the provinces on administrative assignment, and in *Shinkokinshū* imply eventual return. Tsuchimikado never returned to the capital alive, and as the narrator portrays it, there was little to suggest at his departure that such a return was possible. As previously discussed, the text specifically distinguishes this excursion into exile as separate from his other, previous trips as an imperial figure:

> 御興の寄る程には[　]さぶらひあはれたる人[　]泣く気色のき（こゆ）れば、ことわりに悲し（く）て
>
> Hearing the crying of those who came to present themselves as the imperial palanquin approached near dawn, I was of course saddened[184]—
>
> ありしにも　　Even just thinking

[184] "Yoru" here refers to both "night" (close to dawn) and the palanquin drawing physically near. This is a pun with "dew" and "koshi" as the night finishes its circuit.

あらぬ(み?)ゆきと	how this trip
思ふにも	is not like any that came before,
つら(ぬる?)そでは	the sleeves of those lined up are
さこそぬるらめ[185]	so drenched through

This sense that things are not as they were in the past—ありしにもあらぬ (*arishi ni mo aranu*)—rises to prominence, and the narrator's dominant expression is clearly one of grief. Because Tsuchimikado was still alive, like Lady Daibu, the narrator is considerably constrained in what is available to her within the realm of grief poetry. She cannot write about the black smoke (煙, *kemuri*) from a crematorium fire, nor the black robes that match it and can hide the wetness of her tears. There is no body.

The conflation of exile with death creates a crisis later in the text when the narrator receives word that Tsuchimikado has actually died—what words can she now use to describe his situation, when she has already used grief-laden poetics to describe his exile? A play at confusion between death and exile—compounded by the one-day difference in the anniversary of the days—is played out in a sequence of four *waka* before the culminating ending *chōka*:

> 都を立たせおはしましし日は今日ぞかしと思ふ、悲しくて、
> Thinking that today was the [anniversary of the] day that
> [Tsuchimikado'in] departed the capital, I was saddened.

数ふれば	if I was to count,
憂かりし今日に	we've come back around
めぐりきて	to this grief-filled day, and
さらに悲しき	isn't the sky at dusk
暮れの空かな	even sadder

[185] Poem 4. Tabuchi et al., 342.

十月十一日に隠れさせおはします。つごもりに暮れゆく空をみれば、うらめしくて、
On the eleventh day of the tenth month, [Tsuchimikado'in] passed away. Gazing at the sky at nightfall on the last day of the month [at the absent moon] with bitter regret—

十日余り	Feeling sad
ひと目過ぐるも	that the tenth day
悲しきに	has already passed by,
たつさへ惜しき	ah, the bitterness also of the end of
神無月かな	the godless month

御果ての日、聴聞して出づれば
On the day when mourning ended, after hearing [Buddhist rituals] and leaving [the temple]

帰るさは	On the way back
いとど物こそ	somehow growing even
悲しけれ	sadder,
嘆きの果ては	the end of grief
猶なかりけり	isn't here yet

猶うつつの事ともおぼえで、猶はるかに御わたりあるとおぼえて、
Now not able to think about the reality (that he is dead), and thinking he's just on a journey away from the capital:

忘れては	Forgetting
同じ世にある	and feeling like
心地して	we're in the same world—
さはさぞかしと	the sadness at realizing
思ふ悲しさ[186]	he's gone[187]

[186] Poems 39–42. Tabuchi et al., 390–395.

[187] Yamasaki notes an influence from *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* poem 218, a poem that Lady Daibu sends to Sukemori as he is fighting in the west, just after his brother Koremori's death:

How wretched it is	おなじ世と
To think that this is still	なほ思ふこそ
The same world as before,	かなしけれ
A world where life itself	あるがあるにも
No longer counts as life.	あらぬこの世に

The first three poems are written around the one-year anniversary of his death, which shows a continued conflation of his exile with his death—in this case, the date of his anniversary of departing the capital (10th intercalendary month, 10th day) with the one-year anniversary of his death (10th month, 11th day). The end of mourning referred to in the third poem usually either occurs at the 49th day after death or the one-year anniversary. Tabuchi et al. note that a discussion of the "end of grief" (*nageki* and *hate*) is also found in Lady Daibu's memoir and *Takakura'in shōkaki*.[188]

The fourth poem and final *waka* in the text, situated after this setting of the temporal scene after the technical end of the mourning, clarifies that what should have been a transformative moment—the end of official mourning—is anything but. There is *still* confusion about the reason for Tsuchimikado'in's absence. It is possible to think of him as still alive, just not physically present. As Tabuchi et al.'s commentary points out, 「さはさぞかし」is a rare phrase in *waka*, not to mention「さぞかし」—the marking of Tsuchimikado as actually dead. The narrator was forced to discuss Tsuchimikado as dead while he was in exile because there was no other poetic approach to the situation, and now she is forced in this poem to reconcile the lie inherent in that paradigm. There are no proper words for this either.

In summary, the scope of *waka* or poetic wabun prose includes language for grief, but there are historical subject matters—such as being witness to exile, or death related to extraordinary upheaval—for which this fails. Iwasa Miyoko has argued that because the main

---

Reference in Yamasaki Keiko, ed., *Tsuchimikado'in onhyakushū, Tsuchimikado'in Nyōbō nikki shinchū*, Shinchū waka bungaku sōsho 12 (Tokyo: Seikansha, 2013), 204. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 109; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 107; Harries, 203. Emphasis added.

[188] Tabuchi et al., 394.

purpose of *nyōbō nikki* was to glorify patrons, they excluded material irrelevant to this purpose.[189] However, this does not mean that female authors did not try to write about these subjects. Today, though, from a poetic perspective their phrasing has been deemed unconventional.

The confirmation of Tsuchimikado'in's death in second of the four poems is, in effect, marking a double loss. His death reenacts the trauma of the original separation when he was exiled. Similarly, when word reaches Lady Daibu of Sukemori's death, it is a second wound on top of their initial physical separation. Another account of Tsuchimikado'in's death in *Masukagami* similarly resonates with the portrayal in *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki* of a double parting:

> I almost forgot to tell you that Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado breathed his last on the eleventh day of the eleventh month in the same year [1231], a pathetically premature death. He had not been feeling well, and so had taken the tonsure. He had just turned 37 that year, his spirit burdened by all kinds of anxieties. It was terribly sad that he died without ever seeing the capital again. His father grieved when the news reached the little island in Oki Province.
>
> To Shōmeimon'in, disheartened by one bitter experience after another, life had already not seemed worth living; and now, overcome with indescribable sorrow by the loss of her son, she quite exceeded the bounds of reason. 'Why did I not set foot before him…' she lamented. Someone sent to the capital a number of personal effects the former sovereign had used in Awa, a simple hand box, and the like. Among them, there was a bundle containing the occasional communications he had received from Oki and the letters written by the imperial lady herself. She was blinded by tears of pity.

[189] Iwasa Miyoko, "*Tamakiharu* kō: Tokuisei to sono igi," in *Iwasa Miyoko Serekusyon 1*: *Makura no sōshi, Genji monogatari, nikki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2015), 243. Reprinted from earlier journal article in *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 8 (2003).

Ietaka's daughter Kozaishō seemed especially distraught, perhaps because the retired emperor had favored her on some occasion. She dressed in mourning of deepest black:

憂し見し	The earlier parting
ありし別れは	I thought so distressing
藤衣	was but a gateway
やがて着るべき	to one requiring at last
門出なりけり[190]	this donning of mourning attire.[191]

Caruth and the *repetition of* trauma

Earlier we considered how trauma theory can shed light on the frustration with words that Lady Daibu (in particular) expresses in her attempts to narrate the Genpei War and her reactions to it. Another element from trauma studies is helpful here—that of the *repetition* of trauma. In trying to grasp what one missed in the initial moment of trauma (for Lady Daibu, the series of events culminating in the Heike clan—her former employers, friends, and coworkers—fleeing the capital; for Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant, his departure into exile), the mind replays the scenario later through different means to try to (re)experience and process the event simultaneously.[192] It is easy to see how both Lady Daibu and Tsuchimikado'in's female

[190] The headnote reads: 「まことや、その年十一月十一日阿波の院隠れさせ給ひぬ。いとあはれに、はかなき御ことかな。例ならず思されければ、御髪おろさせ給ひにけり。ここら物をのみ思して、今年は三十七にぞならせ給ひける。今一度都をも御覧ぜずなりぬる、いみじうかなしきを、隠岐の小島にも聞しめし嘆く。承明門院はさまざまの憂き事を見尽して、なほ長らふる命のうとましきに、またかく同じ世をだにさり給ひぬる、御嘆きのいはん方なさに、「などさきだたぬ」と口惜しう思しこがるるさま、ことわりにもすぎたり。かしこにて召し使ひける御調度、何くれ、はかなき御手箱やうのものを、都へ人の参らせたりける中に、たまさかに通ひける隠岐よりの御文、女房の御消息などを一つにとりしたためられたる、いみじうあはれにて、御目もきりふたがる心地し給ふ。家隆の二位の女、小宰相と聞えしは、おのづからけぢかく御覧じなれけるにや、人よりことに思ひ沈みて、御服など黒うそめけり。Inoue Muneo, ed., *Masukagami* 1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 1979), 182–183.

[191] George W. Perkins, *The Clear Mirror*: *A Chronicle of the Japanese Court During the Kamakura Period (1185–1333)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 62. Shōmeimon'in is Tsuchimikado'in's mother and wife to GoToba'in.

[192] Caruth writes: "The shock of the mind's relation to the threat of death is thus not the direct experience of the threat, but precisely the *missing* of this experience, the fact that, not being experienced *in time* [simultaneously], it

attendant could see the previous losses of Sukemori and Tsuchimikado'in—their respective departures from the capital—not just alongside but underlying the new loss of them both to death. Caruth discusses how a new, repetitive trauma has the possibility to overwrite the old one:

> What is communicated through the theory of traumatic repetition is thus not the 'unrepresentability' of an experience or event… nor is it… traumatic 'silence' or 'unspeakability'… Repetition is never simply a representation or its absence but rather the reenactment—and potential erasure—of a history that refuses recognition. Trauma is not a question of whether there is or is not representation but rather the question of whether there will or will not be (the possibility of) history. What emerges from the site of this potential erasure of history at the heart of trauma is likewise not a form of representation but rather *a command to respond* that intervenes—historically—in the oscillation between death and survival.[193]

In other words, according to Caruth it is only through repetition that the trauma can become "known" in terms of being experienced and processed simultaneously. However, this very process of repetition has the potential to further obscure memory of the original event through replacement.

The issue here of the fragility of memory and witness testimony is a question of temporality, of the necessity of a resonating secondary event to access knowledge and insight into the initial event. Luckhurst explains, "No narrative of trauma can be told in a linear way: it has a time signature that must fracture conventional causality."[194] We see the narrators' strongest reactions, emotions, and inability to distinguish between the two events (departure from the

---

has not yet been fully known… this lack of direct experience…becomes the basis of the repetition…" *Unclaimed Experience*, 64.

[193] Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 131–32. Italics in original, underline added for emphasis.

[194] Luckhurst, 8.

capital and physical death) in the direct aftermath of the deaths. Like the situation of the initial loss, both authors are constrained in relation to what they can write in the language of courtly grief poetry. Sukemori's body is lost entirely, and Tsuchimikado'in is cremated while in exile, so there is still no body to mourn over. This prevents the use of many conventional poetic mourning topoi, such as a discussion of the crematorium fire smoke or comparisons between a corpse and the empty shell of the *utsusemi* (cicada).[195]

Lady Daibu explicitly if indirectly comments on this lack of a corpse making the grieving process more difficult. More than a decade after Sukemori's death, as she writes of the premature death of Minamoto no Michimune (1167–1197), she is reminded of Sukemori but notes that at least there is (cremation) smoke to look towards:

> そののちも、このことをのみ言ひ争ふ人々あるに、豊の明りの節会の夜、冴(さ)えかへりたる有明に、参られたりしけしき優(いう)なりしを、ほどなくはかなくなられにし、あはれさ、あへなくて、その夜の有明、雲のけしきまで、形見なるよし、人々常に申し出づるに。。。など思ふに、また、
>
> On the night of the Feast of Abounding Light he came to the palace as the moon shone down through the clear and frosty dawn. He looked magnificent. But not long after that he was dead. It was so pathetic, so depressing. Later on, people said that the moon, which had lingered in the sky that morning, and even the shapes of the clouds were something to remember him by… these reflections also made me write:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 限りありて | Even when life ends |
> | 尽くる命は | At its ordained and natural time, |
> | いかがせむ | What can we do? |
> | 昔の**夢**ぞ | That ancient **dream** of mine, then, |

[195] The essential nature of these conventional comparisons in *waka* grief poetry and their use from the early Heian into the early Kamakura period are thoroughly described in by Shimizu Fukuko in "*Shinkokinshū* kara monogatari he, monogatari kara *Shinkokinshū* he—aishōka no keifu," *Kokinshū Shinkokinshū no hōhō*, ed. Asada Tōru, Fujihira Izumi, et al. (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2004), 119–140.

なほたぐひなき	Is indeed one of a kind![196]
露と消え	**At least with those**
煙ともなる	**Who vanish as they dew**
人はなほ	**Or turn to smoke of pyres,**
はかなきあとを	**We may gaze in our distraction**
ながめもすらむ	**At reminders of their death.**
思ひ出づる	Whenever I hear of one
ことのみぞただ	Who dies an ordinary death,
ためしなき	It seems to me
なべてはかなき	Mine are the only memories
ことを聞くにも[197]	So utterly **beyond compare**.[198]

Here we see more repetition of the phrases discussed above to emphasize the difficulty of expressing the situation (i.e., *yume* and a lack of precedent and comparison).

Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant ends her narrative at the one-year anniversary of Tsuchimikado'in's death, and we can imagine the poetic collection was compiled during that intervening year of official mourning. Lady Daibu's memoir, however, continues decades beyond Sukemori's death, as this episode of Michimune's death indicates. We will now turn to that time period, of her memories being triggered, i.e. of the event of his loss recurring (repeating) each time something reminds her that he is gone. Although she laments the lack of smoke to remind her of him, as we shall see, there were unlimited opportunities for being reminded.

[196] This dream/nightmare refers to Sukemori's death, which doesn't feel like reality.

[197] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 159. Emphasis added. Itoga also discusses this. Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 427.

[198] Harries, 277–279. Emphasis added.

Grief, remembering later, and repetition

While Lady Daibu complains that her poems do not (cannot) express her true feelings, we can look at what they do convey—a wealth of inexpressible emotion that rose in response to the disorientation of an unexpected and previously unthinkable event unfolding.

Such a description itself sketches an outline around the trauma. Cathy Caruth's scholarship shows the ways in which trauma can only be expressed within literature through later recurrence, not through direct narration:

> [Trauma, or] the wound of the mind—the breach in the mind's experience of time, self, and the world—is not, like the wound of the body, a simple and healable event but rather and event that… is experienced too soon, too unexpectedly, to be fully known and is therefore not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor…. trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way that its very unassimilated nature—the way it was precisely *not known* in the first instance—returns to haunt the survivor later on.[199]

There are many kinds of repetition in Lady Daibu's memoir. She *frequently* uses a technique of repeated sounds and words, as Itoga Kimie has noted. Itoga attributes early uses of this kind of repetition during Lady Daibu's courtship with Sukemori to her fixation on the affair, becoming "a prisoner to her thoughts of love" with the repetitions "an expression of her unconscious mind."[200] There is far more repetition in the latter part of the memoir, however, both during the sections relating the Gempei War and those reflecting on it afterwards. We can read the heavy use of this technique—particularly in her last poetic exchange with Sukemori,

[199] Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 3–4.

[200] Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 205.

analyzed above, in which they both use the existential verb *aru* three times each in one poem, as well as the repeated uses of *yume*—through trauma theory. Lamenting that the qualitative value of words isn't sufficient to convey the extremity of the situation or the depth of her feelings about it, Lady Daibu turns to quantitative repetition.[201] We can also read this repetitive tendency alongside the later repetition of the traumatic event of loss.

For instance, both Lady Daibu and Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant are both jolted out of the present moment when everyday things remind them of the person they lost. Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant writes:

> On returning to the Tsuchimikado Palace,[202] as I was doing things like removing cushions from the sovereign's noontime resting place and dusting them off, I was overcome with emotion and choked on tears.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | かはりゐる | I hadn't thought of it |
> | かりのよどこの | even as much as |
> | ちりばかり | the dust that replaces him |
> | おもはざりきな | on the bed of this temporary world: |
> | かゝるべしとは[203] | that something like this would happen.[204] |

[201] I don't disagree with Itoga that the impulse towards repetition may have *arisen* unconsciously. It is difficult to believe, however, that Lady Daibu was unconscious of this repetition once the words were on the page, if not when writing the (exceedingly short form) poems themselves then at least later when compiling them into her memoir.

[202] Yamasaki explains the complicated living arrangements. In 1214, then-Emperor Tsuchimikado's imperial palace burned down. It had been called various names by different resident emperors—in Tsuchimikado's time, it was known as the Kyōgoku Imperial Palace (大炊御門京極殿), but previous emperors Shirakawa, Toba, and GoToba had also lived there. After the palace burned, Tsuchimikado moved in with his mother Shōmeimon'in (承明門院), the wife of Emperor GoToba. This imperial "temporary residence" (*sato-dairi* 里内裏) had already been known as the Tsuchimikado Palace as it was located on Tsuchimikado Avenue (土御門大路). Yamasaki, 161.

[203] Poem 5. Tabuchi et al., 343.

[204] This references poems by Lady Daibu and Izumi Shikibu.

This references a poetic exchange between Lady Daibu and Taira no Shigemori's widow about two months after his death in 1179 (before the Genpei War):

[Lady Daibu]	
とまるらむ	My thoughts are with you
古き枕に	As the dust lies thick
塵はゐて	On his old pillow,
払はぬ床を	Where it surely still remains
思ひこそやれ	On a bed that is unswept.
[Reply from Shigemori's widow]	
磨きこし	Piled high, the dust lies
玉の夜床に	On that bed of ours, which once
塵積みて	We kept as bright as a polished gem,
古き枕を	And there lies his pillow as of old—
見るぞかなしき[205]	To see it brings such misery![206]

In reference to Lady Daibu's memoir Nakamura discusses the memory culture of a previously-shared physical space—".. the members who sat together and shared the same rich emotional experience were joined together by the tie of a memory of a specific place, creating a mechanism to continue to retain the sentimental space…"[207] This particular reference to dust comes from Chinese literary precedent such as appeared in *The Song of Everlasting Sorrow* and from there entered *wabun* poetics through *Genji monogatari*.[208]

Lady Daibu is also reminded of Sukemori by the writing he left behind. This includes the notes and poems he wrote to her—which she uses to write sutras for him before burning them,

[205] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 58–59.

[206] Harries, 135.

[207] Nakamura, 11.

[208] Nakano Masako, "*Genji monogatari* ni okeru aitō to yume—tōbō shi to Haku shi 'Muhai shōkō' [夢裴相公] no kawari ni miru," in *Genji monogatari to Hakushi Bunshū*, ed. Nihei Michiaki (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2012), 72–73.

both of which were common disposal methods for personal writing received from the deceased—but also, unusually for mention in a woman's memoir, in the official writing he did at court.[209] After Lady Daibu returns to service at court after the Genpei War, a pronouncement by GoShirakawa'in dictated to Sukemori was used as precedent in a lawsuit. As she writes, it was

> 。。この覚めやらぬ夢と思ふ人の、蔵人頭にて書きなりけるとて、その名を聞くに、いかがあはれのこともなのめならむ。
>
> …when he had been a First Secretary to the Emperor—he whom I now looked on as part of a dream [nightmare] from which I had not yet awakened! How were my feelings to remain calm, as I heard that name?

水の泡と	The name of him
消えにし人の	Who vanished as the foam
名ばかりを	Upon the waters—
さすがにとめて	Merely to hear it lingering on
聞くもかなしき	Is misery itself.
面影も	His image, his name
その名もさらば	If only they were gone!
消えもせで	But every time
聞き見るごとに	I see and hear them, still unfaded,
心まどはす	What turmoil is in my heart!
憂かりける	A bitter dream [nightmare]
夢の契りの	Is the fate that binds me to him
身をさらで	And will not let me be:
覚むるよもなき	No moment is there when I wake from it;
嘆きのみする[210]	No course is there for me but grief. [211]

[209] See Tani Tomoko, "*Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* ni miru Sukemori kuyō: Shōsokugyō no igi to hōhō," in *Kaiōgyū*: *Dan no Ura to Heike monogatari*, ed. Matsuo Ashie (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2005), 220–37.

[210] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 150–51.

[211] Harries, 265–67.

In an effort to escape these reminders of the ones they lost, Lady Daibu and Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant try to change their physical surroundings—to escape the "sentimental space" Nakamura discusses—but despite the relocation, neither is successful at escaping their memories. Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant writes:

> 御所にては辺りになぐさむ方もなく、いまも見参らするやうなれば、宿直所に出でたれば、いとどなぐさむ方もなくて、
> At or in the vicinity of [Tsuchimikado'in's] palace, there was no way to find consolation as even now I felt I might see him [there], so I departed from my room. There was even less comfort elsewhere—
>
> 宿かへて　　even changing my lodging
> 思ふも悲し　　is sad to consider
> いかにせん　　what should I do
> 身を離れぬ　　with his shadow
> 君が面影[212]　　that I can't part from?

For Lady Daibu, the travel away from the capital meant as an escape from her memories is itself is a reminder of when Sukemori and the other Taira were forced to leave the capital:

> 慰むことは、いかにしてかあらむなれば、あらぬ所尋ねがてら、遠く思ひ立つことありしにも、まづ思ひ出づることありて、
> Was there absolutely no way, I wondered, that I could distract myself from my grief; and then, while I was visiting a place where I had never been before, I had the idea of going on a distant journey. But that very thought immediately brought back memories of a different departure from the capital:
>
> 帰るべき　　The road of my return

[212] Poem 22. Tabuchi et al., 366–67.

道は心に	Is mine to take,
まかせても	Whenever I shall desire,
旅立つほどは	And yet as I set forth
なほあはれなり	How heavy is my heart!
都をば	Much as I loathe the capital,
いとひてもまた	Parting from it
なごりあるを	Still brings longing and regret.
ましてとものを	But how much keener was his pain,
思ひ出でつる	I muse, as memories return!

Then, having successfully departed, she continues to be reminded:

憂きことは	Thinking my miseries
所がらかと	Were of the place itself,
のがるれど	I fled,
いづくもかりの	Only to hear the geese proclaim
宿と聞こゆる[213]	All places lodgings of impermanence.[214]

The poetic narrative here—if we can embrace such a contradiction while taking poetry as emotive pauses in the forward movement of the story—juxtaposes spatial movement conveyed through prose with an emotional journey expressed through the poems' interior monologues. The protagonists can move physically, but emotionally they are immobile/static.

On the surface, these two female attendants are expressing personal grief for those they formerly served or knew. What is also conveyed here, however, is the difficulty in accepting and processing historic events in their aftermath. Lady Daibu is more explicit about this in more

[213] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 123–24.

[214] Harries, 221–23.

poems written during her travel away from the capital. Describing a pilgrimage close to Mt. Hiei, she writes about remembering the former age of Heike rule:[215]

> 風に従ひて、鳴子の音のするも、すぞろにもの悲し。
> The blowing of the wind brought with it the sound of the bird rattle, and somehow this too was melancholy:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | ありし世に | It seems to say |
> | あらず鳴子の | This world is not the world of old |
> | 音聞けば | When I hear the rattle's sound, |
> | 過ぎにしことぞ | Events that long have passed |
> | いとどかなしき[216] | Bring yet more grief to me.[217] |

On a later pilgrimage to a shrine, Lady Daibu writes another poem including a bird-rattle, which made noise to scare birds away from crops.:

> 外面(そとも)の鳴子のおとなひも、さびしさ添ふ心地して、大方の四方(よも)の梢、野辺のけしき、年の暮れなれば、みな枯野(かれの)にて、吹き払ひたり。何となきなごりなき世のけしき思ひよそへらるること多し。
>
> The noise of the bird rattle outside made me feel still more lonely. The year was drawing to its end; the fields and all the trees about were withered and swept bare by the wind. The look of such a world, where not one trace of its past remained, had much to which my life might be compared:

[215] In addition to these poems and her many references to mourning for Sukemori specifically, Lady Daibu also mentions mourning for other specific members of his family, including Shigehira and Koremori. In reference to a previously-discussed poem, Nakamura also notes that "We can consider the meaningful significance of 「あらずなる世」 to be that, in having Sukemori, not to mention the other Taira—who filled the refined locales [of her memory]—leave the world, the impression that 'the time and space [they] lived in' was fully severed and lost." Nakamura, 10.

[216] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 126. Kubota notes that あらず is a contraction for あらずなる.

[217] Harries, 227.

秋過ぎて	Autumn is past,
鳴子は風に	The noise of the bird rattle
残りけり	Remains upon the wind.
なにのなごりも	No vestiges of old are there
人の世ぞなき[218]	For me in the world of man.[219]

Both *naruko* poems are set in winter, a season in which the agricultural necessity for a bird-rattle has since passed. We can imagine the noise carried over the wind is like the reminders from the past that she has been unable to escape, but which she does not see value in. In the first poem, the repetition of the *aru* (existential) verb mimics the echo of sound as well as the repetition of her memories. In addition to this, Harries notes that in that poem, *naruko* is a pivot-word (*kakekotoba*) which is read twice to mean both "bird rattle" and "seem to say."[220] This additional kind of repetition—of repeating sounds, of re-inscribing multiple meanings over the same sound—is also like the ripples of pebbles in a lake, mimicking the disturbance upon her memories by the impact of the bird-rattle's sound. In the second poem, the assault of winter (the war) has obliterated the world she once knew. Kimie does not offer this as an example of Lady Daibu's tendency towards "showering [her text] with repetition" as it is a less straightforward example than simply repeated words, but we can read it as such. The repetition reflects the replay of her memories.

The danger here, as previously discussed, is that the experience of these triggered memories may overwrite the original experience, which remains inaccessible. The possibility of history, as Caruth describes it, or the movement from communicative to cultural memory—of

[218] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 129–30.

[219] Harries, 231.

[220] Harries, 226, note 47.

Lady Daibu or Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant describing their experiences of these traumatic moments of history—ironically both depends on this kind of later traumatic repetition and is put at risk of being transmutated by it. [221]

As I have alluded to elsewhere, Lady Daibu begins her memoir with a call for readers to witness her experiences—she *wants* her story to be remembered.[222] The first poem just a few lines in rhetorically asks:

我ならで	If not myself,
誰かあはれと	Who, then, will be moved to pity,
水茎の	As they gaze upon my words,
跡もし末の	Should they be handed down
世に残るとも[223]	To later days?

Here Lady Daibu is pleading to those who read her memoir to not only engage with the narrative but the emotions that narrative generates. For her—one who wrote a historical narrative underlain by the poetic language of moving through grief—cultural memory necessarily includes an emotive response to past events. In this and in the overlap between her mourning for Sukemori and the lost age of the Taira court, we see the overlap between individual and collective memory. For these historical narratives, conveying feelings experienced in the

[221] Nakamura briefly discusses how Lady Daibu's mapping of her emotions against the natural topoi of *waka* during excursions from the capital may have been therapeutic, but she does not apply any particular trauma theory or go into depth about these poems. She argues, "Waka, as the traditional [literary?] technique used to capture cultivated phenomenon, confers the idea of a melding of the natural seasonal features and emotions. In addition, it uses a familiar framework for emotion in accordance with its fixed poetic form to both articulate situations and feelings that are difficult to describe or take in and also sort out [Lady Daibu's] experiences. Through the objectification of her experience and the verbalization of her feelings, we can consider Lady Daibu's travel to Sakamoto on Mt. Hiei as part of the process to recover from her mental state of being confused in the face of the intense situation [of the Genpei War]." Nakamura, 9.

[222] Mc Nelly, 6–7.

[223] SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 15.

moment and trying to compel a reader to share that feeling was part of remembering. This goal of literary affect defied the barrier between fiction and historical narrative, allowing links and associations with tales such as *Genji monogatari*. It also created a shared affective space that was not limited to an individual's body,[224] providing an emotive pathway for individual memories and experiences to be shared collectively and transmitted through time.

Unconventional literary choices affecting reception

Unsurprisingly, the unusual circumstances of death referenced in the texts above lead to unconventional rhetorical choices. Lady Daibu writes to and about her lover, who is at war: the ontological existence of her poetic subject is unknown, which creates difficulties in following traditional poetic categorizations. After her lover's death in the final major battle—at the same time as the death of the young emperor—her mourning is clouded not only by his individual death but by that of his entire clan, who she had worked closely with at court. In short, her mourning is for both an individual and a collective.

In the second text, the former female attendant to Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado writes of his death in exile. This also doesn't fit in with regulated poetic categories like love poetry, parting (due to bureaucratic travel), or mourning (a physical body). This tension between lived circumstances and formal literary considerations culminates in a poem near the end of the text at the one-year anniversary of his death—a significant date for posthumous Buddhist rituals—with confusion about the meaning of his absence: is he exiled, or is he dead? In both texts, we see

[224] Or to their clothes and hair, which Pandey argues conveyed women's emotion far more often in Heian literature than their actual bodies. Rajyashree Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*: *Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 45–46, 49–54.

difficulties in composing poetry that both aligns with stylistic conventions and conveys the ontologically problematic historical circumstances that caused their grief.

Furthermore, the repetition of the initial trauma through later remembrance resulted in repetition—of words, of memories, of the confusion of grief both in settings that hold sentimental space with the deceased and new locales far from the capital that have only tenuous connections. Lady Daibu struggled to describe the moment of the initial trauma in the present of narrating it, complaining about the lack of words and precedent, i.e. the requisite linguistic and cultural frameworks to convey her experience. As she is later reminded of it, however, she is better able to express the experience through words, even if the result is still unconventional. These later repetitions of the trauma, the jolting out of her present moment into past memory of the moment of loss, threaten to overwrite the original experience, but they are the only viable path forward to narrate and process it. Narrating the later remembrances also provide a poetic narrative of emotive progression through the process of grief.

The tension between poetic stylistics and rendering a traumatic historical narrative had a direct impact on reception, both past and in present scholarship—the texts and poems do not look like we expect them to, and their exceptionalism has historically relegated Lady Daibu's memoir, at least, to be seen as a lesser literary achievement than earlier Heian classics. We cannot know exactly why Tsuchimikado'in's female attendant's poetic collection is no longer extant beyond one sole copy in a private family collection, but we can safely presume it was never widely circulated or deemed of sufficient poetic or cultural value to be included in an imperial anthology. There are no known references to the text in other documents. The texts centered on these same historic events that were written later, completely focusing on memorializing the past or bolstering the political power of those who won for the future, bypassed the challenges these

two women's texts faced in narrating a traumatic present moment. For these two authors, cultural memory necessitated an emotive response, and their first-person witnessing attempts to transmute individual/communicative into cultural memory was the best way for later readers to look back and experience the emotional journey of those historic moments together.

Chapter 3, Mythomotor Complications in Depictions of the Jōkyū Disturbance

Both the Genpei War and Jōkyū Disturbance presented a challenge to the main foundational myth of the aristocracy, that of imperial descent from the sun goddess Amaterasu. From the eighth century, the imperial court had sponsored the creation of texts and propagated myths of divine descent as rationalization for the authority of the imperial lineage. High-ranked aristocrats operated within this power structure even when the emperor was little more than a figurehead, with agents such as regents guiding the court in the name of a child-emperor. This pattern of derived authority was so well-established that even after the shogunate demonstrated its military supremacy and established itself in Kamakura, bureaucratically speaking it still technically obtained authority via a mandate from the emperor. Imperial inheritance of the title of emperor thus remained a form of ritual reenacting the passing of power and legitimacy from Amaterasu through each link in the mythological unbroken lineage. That the Genpei War ended with the death of a young emperor and most of his immediate maternal clan along with the loss of one of the three imperial regalia, a symbolic artefact of legitimacy, naturally caused concerns about continued legitimacy of imperial power.[225] The way the Jōkyū Disturbance ended with the exile of three former emperors raised similar concerns.

In this chapter, I will analyze how texts written in the immediate aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance addressed the concern that the foundational myth of imperial inheritance of divine

[225] Vyjayanthi Selinger has written extensively about rationalization of the loss of the "original" imperial regalia sword through duplication within early medieval discourse, and how this doubling additionally served as a metaphor for shogunal powers taking responsibility for matters formerly under imperial jurisdiction. Vyjayanthi R. Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate: Ritual and Material Symbolism in the Literary Construction of Warrior Order* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 107–40.

authoritative power had been compromised. This was evident from the need to exile three former emperors and—at least temporarily—remove their direct descendants from the chain of inheritance, resulting in the installation of the former emperor's first cousin once removed as the new emperor. Michael McCarty has previously written about this, focusing on Chinese precedent, Confucian rhetoric, and Buddhist ideologies. As was the case in Chapter Two, I will again examine historical narrative portrayed in these texts through the lens of poetry, in this case through the poetics of exile. I also highlight the roles aristocratic women take in forming these narratives. Both of these perspectives are absent in McCarty's arguments. I draw on Jan Assmann's concept of the "mythomotor," defined as a constitutive cultural narrative or myth that gives a group purpose and "directional impetus," here with a focus on the legitimacy of imperial authority.[226]

I will primarily use evidence from *Jōkyūki*, which has three distinct variants, with reference to *Rokudai shōjiki*. In a historico-literary study on Jōkyū Disturbance-related texts, McCarty broadly classified the former texts as more warrior-focused narratives and the latter as a more courtly or aristocratic-focused narrative.[227] I use sources from both of these different perspectives to emphasize that the concern about disruption to imperial legitimacy in the aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance cut across geography as well as the newly differentiating societal classes. I will also draw from various poetic collections and later *gunki monogatari* in a narrow study of the literary use of the Mimosuso River—the river bordering Ise Shrine—in relation to imperial legitimacy and power.

[226] Assmann, 63.

[227] McCarty, 33.

Previous chapters have examined the effect of multiple temporalities coexisting in poetic historical narration and questioned the contours of literary constraints in narrating trauma through medieval poetics. This chapter will focus on one specific convergence of temporalities—mythological and historical–and show that through allusion, poetry also created opportunities to express the otherwise unspeakable. While Chapter Two examined narratives attempting to convey the present moment of a traumatic event, this chapter will focus on depictions of the aftermath, of how individuals and communities make sense of what happened and situate it within existing worldviews.

Masukagami: A fourteenth century explanation

The following passage from *Masukagami* describes the problem of a political conflict that resulted in the exile of three retired emperors and the deposition of the current emperor:

> 今のやうに、むけの民と争ひて君の亡び給えるためし、この国にはいとあまたも聞えざめる。されば承平の将門、天慶の純友、康和の義親、いづれもみな猛(たけ)かりけれど、宣旨には勝たざりき。保元に崇徳院の世を乱り給ひしだに、故院（後白河）、御位にてうち勝ち給ひしかば、天照御神も、御裳濯川の同じ流れと申しながら、なほ時の国主を守り給はする事は強きなめりとぞ、古き人々も聞えし。また信頼の右衛門督(うえもんのかみ)、おほけなく二条院をおびやかし奉りしも、つひに空しきかばねをぞ道のほとりに捨てられける。かかれば古りにしことを思ふにも、猶さりともいかでか三皇・今上あまたおはします皇城の、いたづらに亡ぶるやうはあらん、と頼もしくこそ覚えしに、かくいとあやなきわざの出で来ぬるは、この世一つの事にもあらざらめども、迷ひのおろかなるまへには、なほいとあやし。[228]
>
> But very, very seldom in our country have subjects of no status crushed an emperor, as happened in this case. Masakado in Shōhei

[228] Inoue, *Masukagami* 1, 145.

> [931–937], Sumitomo in Tengyō [938–946], and Yoshichika in Kōwa [1099–1103] were all courageous men, but not one of them was able to prevail against an imperial edict. Furthermore, when Retired Emperor Sutoku attempted a coup in the Hōgen era, the reigning emperor, Go-Shirakawa, brought him down to defeat, for which reason the men of old said that even though a rebel might belong to the imperial family, the sun goddess would apparently protect the occupant of the throne. Although Gate Guards Commander Nobuyori presumed to threaten Emperor Nijō, his lifeless corpse lay abandoned by the roadside in the end. With those incidents in mind, people considered it out of the question that anyone might destroy a court consisting of three retired emperors and reigning sovereign. We must look beyond this world for an explanation of what happened—a truth incomprehensible to those too ignorant to understand karmic law.[229]

While the bulk of this chapter will focus on thirteenth century sources, composed soon after the Jōkyū Disturbance, I highlight this passage from a later text for multiple purposes. First, to show that over one hundred years later, the Jōkyū Disturbance still posed a historical problem that required explanation. This was an exceptional occurrence that even the most unsettling prior imperial incidents couldn't compare with. It is important that this event fit into alignment with what came before, that it was not entirely a new phenomenon that could break contemporary paradigms of logic.[230]

---

[229] George W. Perkins, *The Clear Mirror*: *A Chronicle of the Japanese Court During the Kamakura Period (1185–1333)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 54.

[230] One response to the Genpei War had been to show how such conflicts and imperial disruptions had occurred previously, that there was precedent. The next major historical narrative (*kagami-mono*), completed just a decade after the Genpei War, skipped back in time to focus on political conflicts and imperial disruption in ancient history. See Brightwell, especially her second chapter, on how *Mizukagami* (The Water Mirror, 1195) sets an example of how political unrest framed within historic precedent is actually a form of continuity in seeming discontinuity. Brightwell, 84–137.

Writing with purpose: mythomotor complications

With that in mind, before turning to literary precedent for the positioning of exiled high-ranked aristocrats—the narrative basis into or against which Retired Emperors GoToba, Juntoku, and Tsuchimikado were written—let us first consider more specific cultural and religious reasons for the creation of these narratives about the Jōkyū Disturbance. There are two main ones: first, an explanation of how the cultural identity of the imperial court changed due to the outcome, and second, pre-pacification of the potentially extremely violent and vindictive spirits of the three exiled former emperors.

Jan Assmann separates community-defining knowledge into two categories: "wisdom," or that which instructs on group values and norms, i.e. the way one within that group should act, and "myth"; it is the latter of concern here. He discusses their function as:

> ..."formative," and these texts—tribal myths, epic songs, genealogies, and so forth—answer the question, "Who are we?" They define and reinforce the group identity and motivate communal action by narrating a shared history. These foundational, motivational tales are what we subsumed under the term "mythomotor."[231]

While "wisdom" is transmitted primarily through communicative memory—anecdotes, socialization, etc.—"myth" is circulated through ritual and written culture. Assmann argues that these rituals help to instill order in the chaotic world we live in. Put another way, "Myths express order, and rites produce it."[232]

[231] Assmann, 122–23.

[232] Ibid., 124.

As previously mentioned, the exile of three former emperors in the aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance rocked the foundation of faith in the myth of imperial legitimacy through descent from Amaterasu. The rite (re)producing that myth was the continued passing of power in the form of the title of emperor (*tennō*), chiefly through a direct line of descent of father to son, although side-branch and sibling inheritance was not entirely uncommon. That the former emperor's first cousin once removed inherited the title of emperor in the aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance, however, was a sign of how badly awry the path of direct descent legitimacy had been skewed. And while there was precedent for a former emperor being exiled, never before had two been exiled at once, much less three, especially when all of the former emperors involved in the conflict were all on the same side.

Writing with purpose: spirit pacification

The second motivating factor in creating these texts that I will examine here concerns religious belief about the activities of wronged spirits after death. Literary scholars frequently cite *chinkon* 鎮魂 (spirit pacification) as a motivating factor in medieval literary production, from *gunki monogatari* 軍記物語 (war tales) to Noh theater. However, they rarely delve beyond a translation of the term into the religious framework the practice ostensibly resides within. This section examines how literary and religious scholars situate *chinkon* and questions if there can be a more effective reconciliation between the two scholarly fields. I will focus primarily on *chinkon* in relation to *Heike monogatari*, as it is the subject of the most scholarship.

Herbert Plutschow's *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* is perhaps the best example to show that our understanding of the relationship between *chinkon* and medieval literature needs to be reconfigured within modern scholarship.

Plutschow's study lacks both analytical and historical specificity. His definition of "ritual" as "an activity with a religious purpose" is too vague to be of use, and he never defines what he means by "magic."[233] He also collapses numerous distinct practices and beliefs—including *chinkon, goryō-e* (ceremony for an angry spirit), modern Shintō practices including *Chinkasai* 鎮花祭 (Blossom appeasing festival), the "worship of evil animal spirits," and Nōh theater—into an ahistorical Japanese cultural practice of "exorcism."[234]

The first and most fundamental issue of debate in re-approaching a discussion of *chinkon* in relation to medieval Japanese literature is its definition. There are two main scholarly bodies of work on premodern *chinkon*; one relates to *chinkonsai* (*chinkon* rite), an imperial event within the Nara and Heian court's calendar of rituals, and the second discusses a collection of more diffuse practices and beliefs associated with spirit pacification that seem to arise out of *chinkonsai*. While medieval literature is associated with the second definition, I will touch upon *chinkonsai* as the basis from which general beliefs about *chinkon* emerge.

Matsumae Takeshi claims to trace elements of *chinkonsai* back to the fourth century, but his earliest documented proof is in the *Kogoshūi* 古語拾遺 (808), a record of the Inbe clan.[235] This states the ceremony originated from the goddess Uzume's dance that lured the sun goddess Amaterasu out of her cave, as described in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of ancient matters, 712) and *Nihon shoki*. Matsumae cites *Nihon shoki* variants and the timing of the rite in the eleventh lunar month as evidence for the cave story being a metaphoric rebirth of the sun at the winter

[233] H.E. Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*: *Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), ix, 7.

[234] Ibid., 201–54.

[235] Matsumae Takeshi, "The Heavenly Rock-Grotto Myth and the Chinkon Ceremony," *Asian Folklore Studies* 39, no. 2 (1980), 13.

solstice.[236] As the emperor was considered a direct descendant of Amaterasu, his spirit was also affected by the short days of winter; the law code commentary *Ryō no Gige* 令義解 (833) explains that the *chinkon* rite was meant to call the emperor's spirit fully back to his body.[237] Gary Ebersole agrees with this interpretation, also linking the *chinkon* rite to the myth of Amaterasu's emergence from the cave and the emperor's well-being; he further claims the ritual would ensure prosperity of the state.[238]

Scholars have argued that the earliest recorded mention of a specific *chinkonsai* ritual is described in the *Nihon shoki* and performed on an unwell Emperor Temmu.[239] In a close reading of the wording of the above texts, Bialock complicates this alongside Matsumae and Ebersole's interpretations, showing that Temmu's rite was not actually termed "*chinkon*" (鎮魂) but "shōkon" or "tamayobahi" (招魂). He argues that several separate practices influenced by Chinese medicinal traditions have been collapsed into a single "*chinkon* ritual."[240]

Let us now turn to the second, more diffuse definition of *chinkon* that does not specifically refer to the *chinkonsai* imperial ritual. Like *chinkonsai*, the definition and interpretation of *chinkon* is fluid across scholarship. The Buddhist scholar Kuroda Toshio posits

---

[236] Matsumae, 10, 14.

[237] Matsumae, 13.

[238] Gary L. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 160.

[239] David T. Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from The Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 80. I am defining "ritual" here as a non-mundane activity that creates meaning through but beyond its component elements. I also borrow from Catherine Bell's interpretation of ritual as a social and "strategic *way* of acting… [that] emerges as a particular cultural strategy of differentiation linked to particular social effects and rooted in a distinctive interplay of a socialized body and the environment it structures." Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7–8.

[240] Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces*, 80–81.

chinkon as a phenomenon, religion, or category within which more specific beliefs, entities, and rituals—such as *goryō shinkō* 御霊信仰 ("beliefs in august [vengeful] spirits")—fall.[241] *Goryō* are described as spirits of the dead whose circumstances of death "give rise to emotions in the spirit that determine its fundamental attributes"; they are deified based on a "function," such as causing epidemics or famine.[242] It is generally accepted that the higher the status of an individual, the more bitter the spirit becomes after dying in unfavorable circumstances, and the worse the possible destruction as a result of their wrath. Exiled former emperors, therefore, have a very high probability of causing disturbances if left unpacified, and the Jōkyū Disturbance resulted in three of them.

The earliest documented case of a *goryō'e* 御霊会 (*Goryō* ceremony) took place in 863 within the imperial palace in response to an epidemic; sanctuaries with offerings were prepared for the spirits of six individuals who had died "after being falsely accused of political intrigues," and lectures on two sutras believed to prevent disasters were given in front of them.[243] Starting with this specific event, Kuroda extensively analyzes the religious and social changes of *goryō shinkō* over time, including a complex integration into Buddhism with the emergence of *kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制 (exoteric-esoteric system) and its associated doctrine of *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (essence and hypostasis).[244] In short, to Kuroda, *chinkon* is a fluid association of beliefs and practices which can be practiced alongside or as part of Buddhist rituals.

[241] Kuroda Toshio, "The World of Spirit Pacification: Issues of State and Religion," translated by Allan Grapard, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3–4 (1996): 322–23, 331.

[242] Kuroda, 325–26.

[243] Ibid., 323–24.

[244] Ibid., 330–32.

Unlike Kuroda's wide-ranging historical survey of *goryō* beliefs and practices, religious art historian Naoko Gunji limits her discussion of *chinkon* to the early Kamakura period in examining pacification rituals for the spirits of those who had died in the Genpei War, particularly the former child-emperor Antoku and the Heike clan. In this setting, *chinkon* becomes interwoven into and nearly indistinguishable from Buddhist rituals. Gunji identifies the goal of *chinkon* as twofold: to pacify vengeful spirits and "help them attain postmortem enlightenment."[245] She also compares *chinkon* to *tsuizen* 追善 (memorialization, or merit transfer rites), which she explains some scholars consider equivalent terms:

> …in general, *tsuizen* was sponsored by the family of the deceased, and its primary function was to memorialize the deceased and to transfer merit to ensure their well-being in the next life; in contrast, the primary function of *chinkon* was to placate a vengeful spirit that negatively affected the living and the state and to transform it into a benevolent one that would in turn bring peace to the living and the state. In practice, however, every *chinkon* involved some form of memorialization. *Chinkon* often consisted of the same rituals (such as *hokke hakkō* [法華八講], a series of eight lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*) as *tsuizen*, with the only difference being the purpose behind such rituals. In most cases, in fact, where the rituals could be classified as *chinkon*, it is difficult to determine whether a ritual was performed for the purpose of *chinkon*, *tsuizen*, or both.[246]

From the eighth century, these merit transfer and pacification rites came to be implemented in the seven days after an aristocrat's death; from the mid-ninth century, more rites were added at

[245] Naoko Gunji, "Horrified Victors: Spirit Pacification of Taira Losers," in *Lovable Losers: The Heike in Action and Memory*, edited by Mikael S. Adolphson and Anne Commons (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 172.

[246] Gunji, 173.

forty-nine days after death; and later, it was not uncommon to build memorial temples near gravesites of prominent individuals, starting with Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027).[247]

Gunji further cements the relationship between *chinkon* and *tsuizen* rituals by citing an example from the *Nihon shoki* that demonstrates how rites performed by descendants of the vengeful spirits were more effective than others' attempts; she extrapolates that this story suggests a lack of familial prayers may be part of what gives rise to vengeful spirits.[248] Given the large number of Heike who died in the Genpei War, this belief provided a strong precedent for the Kamakura government to assemble surviving Heike members of the Buddhist clergy and direct them to conduct rituals on behalf of their fallen family members.[249]

Gunji's overall argument contextualizes the re-designation of Amidaji 阿弥陀寺 (a Buddhist temple located on the coast of the last Heike sea battle at Dan-no-Ura) as a mortuary site for former child-emperor Antoku within a larger set of spirit pacification practices for the Heike clan, including the literary production and ritual performance of *Heike monogatari*. Her thesis depends on a strong interconnection between Buddhism and *chinkon*, and she points to many examples that support this reading. The linkages begin during the Genpei War, with Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa ordering esoteric Buddhist rituals hostile to the Heike, such as a month-long *Tenbōrinhō* 転法輪法 (Turning of the Dharma Wheel ritual) led by one of his sons at Hōjūji 法住寺; this was later seen as one of the reasons why the Heike spirits needed

[247] Jacqueline I. Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*: *Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan* (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 30–31.

[248] Gunji, 177–78, 184.

[249] Gunji, 177–78, 180.

placation.[250] In addition, vengeful spirits were frequently identified by Buddhist clergy, and the imperially sponsored Daisenbōin 大懺法院 was built in Kyoto in 1204 under the direction of Jien "as a major center for placating vengeful spirits, especially of victims in the Hōgen, Heiji, and Genpei Wars."[251]

Gunji further argues that while original authorship for *Heike monogatari* is uncertain, many of the names put forth as possible authors have some connection to the construction of Daisenbōin or re-designation of Amidaji as a mortuary site.[252] Gomi Fumihiko further pushes the connection between Daisenbōin and literary production of *Heike monogatari,* showing that Jien's petition for the construction of Daisenbōin included requests for monks who could recite religious stories or sutras with musical accompaniment; this could include the *biwa-hōshi* (lute-playing blind male clergy) with whom recitation of *Heike monogatari* is now so closely associated.[253]

Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Olson's psychological approach may offer another explanation for the employment of creative forces, such as literary production, in the efforts to combat angry Heike spirits. They posit that universal belief in immortality is a response to both a universal fear of death and a "need for a sense of historical connection beyond individual

[250] Gunji describes the *Tenbōrinhō* ritual thus: "…a container enclosing a life-size portrait of Go-Shirakawa was placed atop a sheet of paper inscribed with the names of various people [believed to be Heike nobles], symbolizing Go-Shirakawa trampling on them, in the hopes of vanquishing them." This rite is surprisingly well-documented by the *Juei ninen tenbōrinhō ki* 寿永二年転法輪法記 (Record of the Turning of the Dharma Wheel ritual held in the second year of Juei [1183]). Gunji 173–74.

[251] Gunji, 170–72, 178.

[252] Ibid., p. 178–79.

[253] Gomi Fumihiko, *Heike monogatari*: *shi to setsuwa* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987), 27. Discussed in Gunji, 179–80.

life."[254] They offer five modes through which this immortality belief can productively operate, only three of which are relevant to the discussion here: biological immortality, theological immortality, and creative immortality.[255] Lifton and Olsen conceive of these modes as beliefs which aid the living in carrying on with their lives, but they can also be applied to the vengeful Heike spirits, which within early medieval beliefs were still considered 'alive' in the sense of maintaining agency and still acting from human emotions. Biological immortality, or the symbolic living on through one's descendants (offspring or tribe), has been largely denied to the Heike spirits as most their clan was killed in the Genpei War or forced into monastic (and therefore non-sexually reproductive) life. Theological immortality, or a religious form of immortality as is inherent to the idea of surviving in some manner after death including reincarnation, is part of the problem of the vengeful Heike spirits, not a solution to them.

The final mode, creative immortality, thus seems the only option for "immortality" that could potentially offer a solution to the problem of angry spirits. While the Heike spirits are not themselves the force of creation, their story was creatively written and widely performed, which could easily fill a need for "historical connection beyond individual life."[256] Storytelling about them becomes a form of memorialization. In other words, they were written into cultural

[254] Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Olson, "Symbolic Immortality," in Antonius C.G.M. Robben's *Death, Mourning, and Burial*: *A Cross-cultural Reader* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2004): 32, 34.

[255] The remaining two modes, natural immortality and experiential immortality, do not apply here. Although Lifton and Olsen take "traditional Japanese culture" as an excellent example of natural immortality because "nature has been seen as a divine embodiment of the gods… The delicate beauty of Japanese gardens is an expression of this cultural legacy," their 1970s-era orientalist interpretation bears little meaning on premodern vengeful ghosts. Experiential immortality is linked to modern drug-induced states. It could be argued that some medieval religious experiences—such as specific Buddhist rituals requiring a lack of sleep—could induce a similar altered state of consciousness, but this bodily experience does not apply to angry spirits. Lifton and Olsen, 34–36.

[256] Lifton and Olsen, 34.

memory and thus pacified out of an otherwise violent reaction to death that occurred far from the capital, during a state of political powerlessness.

Precedent and poetics of exile

Writing political exiles into Japanese cultural memory as a method of pacification did not start with the Heike clan. I will briefly introduce three exiled figures in this section who strongly impacted the Heian literary and cultural imagination—Sugawara no Michizane, Retired Emperor Sutoku, and the literary protagonist, Genji.

The most famous political exile in the premodern Japanese cultural imaginary was Sugawara no Michizane (845–903). He was a scholar of Chinese poetry and classics and was favored by Emperor Uda (866–931, r. 887–897). After Uda's retirement, however, Michizane's rival Fujiwara no Tokihira (871–909) conspired against him, which resulted in 901 in Michizane's exile via demotion to a post in Dazaifu, located in present-day Fukuoka Prefecture in Kyushu. He died while still in exile, and a series of misfortunes shortly thereafter—including lightning striking the palace, resulting in death and injury of those who had stood against him—led to the belief that he had turned into a *gōryō*. This led to him being enshrined as a god as part of an effort to pacify him.

Retired Emperor Sutoku (1119–1164, r. 1123–1142) loomed even larger than Michizane in the early medieval imaginary, as placation efforts were actively still underway.[257] When Retired Emperor Sutoku's father Toba (1103–1156, r. 1107–1123) passed away, he challenged his younger brother and then-Emperor GoShirakawa (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158). This entirely

[257] Kaoru Hayashi has written extensively on the figure of Retired Emperor Sutoku as an angry spirit. Hayashi, 157–223.

split the court, with high-ranked fathers and sons backing different sides. Sutoku's forces were defeated within a day of actual battle, and he was exiled to Sanuki, where he died in exile in 1164.[258] He is portrayed at having felt exceedingly bitter while in exile, going so far as to write an oath in his blood swearing vengeance. Over a decade later in 1177, after GoShirakawa experienced a political setback and a quick succession of deaths of many close family members, he began placating gestures towards Sutoku, including changing his official name from Sanuki-in ("the retired emperor in exile") to Sutoku ("reverent virtue"). This was followed by many other gestures, including constructing multiple shrines and temple buildings, when he heard about the blood-oath or at other vulnerable moments such as severe illness.[259] While GoShirakawa never attempted to raise Sutoku to godhood as Michizane had been, his placatory efforts were widespread and ongoing.

Finally, the portrayal of literary protagonist Genji's exile within *Genji monogatari* set the precedent for a poetics of exile. His depiction establishes poetic associations for Suma and Akashi, the locations of his exile. In contrast to the depictions of the above two historical figures, Jonathan Stockdale has argued that *Genji* is "not so much a *reflection* of Heian society as a *critique*," particularly in relation to Genji's exile.[260] As he notes, while historical exiles such as Michizane were never able to return to the capital, Genji not only returns but also rises in political power. The way that Genji is narratively portrayed while in exile is sympathetic, but it is also known as a temporary, transitory situation.

[258] Present-day Kagawa Prefecture.

[259] Jonathan Stockdale, *Imagining Exile in Heian Japan*: *Banishment in Law, Literature, and Cult* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 111.

[260] Stockdale, 61.

The three figures above were all well-known examples of exiles in the cultural imaginary of early modern Japan. Authors of literary and historical narratives could draw on them as shorthand for the archetypes they represented: Michizane, who was wrongfully accused but died quietly in exile, only to return as a *gōryō* after death and be elevated to godhood in response; Retired Emperor Sutoku, who was guilty of the crimes that caused his exile, swore vengeance even while still alive, and required placation as a *gōryō* after death; and Genji, who spent a brief time in exile but returned to the capital and gained even greater political power.

Jōkyūki variants

Let us now turn to examining the depictions of exile in *Jōkyūki*, which has three main variants: the Jikōji-bon (Jikōji temple's variant, ca. 1230s), Rufu-bon ("popular variant," ca. 1240s), and Maeda-bon (Maeda family variant, ca. 1272–1333).[261] There is only a single copy of the Jikōji-bon variant, which did not circulate—much like *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, discussed in the previous chapter. The other two variants have multiple extant copies and did circulate. Authorship is unknown for all variants, though there is speculation about a connection between Jikōji-bon and the Miura *bakufu* family.[262] As McCarty notes, the latter two are very similar in terms of content, with Jikōji-bon standing out as a markedly separate text. One way in which this separation is apparent is the treatment of imperial exile, i.e. the stances taken in relation to the

[261] Masuda and Kubota cite 1272 as the earliest date for the Maeda-bon's completion as being after Retired Emperor GoSaga's death, which will be discussed later. While the title of the Rufu-bon, also known as the Kokatsuji-bon, is linked to early printing, scholars have dated it using internal textual evidence to an earlier manuscript tradition. The Rufu-bon uses GoToba's posthumous name, putting completion after 1242, but does not use Juntoku's posthumous name, dating completion to before 1249. Masuda Takashi and Kubota Jun, ed., *Hōgen monogatari, Heiji monogatari, Jōkyūki*, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 43 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 604–6. Matsubayashi details different editions of the Rufu-bon, including one from the Keicho era (1596–1615) and another dated to Genna 4 (1618). Matsubayashi, *Shintei Jōkyūki*, 33–38.

[262] McCarty, 34–36.

challenge to imperial authority inherent in the exile of former emperors. While both the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon write the exiled emperors into a historic poetics of exile, situating them alongside famous former imperially affiliated exiles such as Sugawara no Michizane and Retired Emperor Sutoku, Jikōji-bon actively resists this, particularly in the case of Tsuchimikado.

The way Tsuchimikado is positioned in the various texts—particularly the extent to which he is seen as guilty or innocent of the crime of helping GoToba to incite conflict—has an impact on this discussion about the imperial line. In Jikōji-bon, his exile is ordered by Kamakura like that of his father and brothers and seen as something that saddens the gods. In both the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon versions, however, Tsuchimikado requests exile. In Rufu-bon, this is because he feels unfilial remaining in the capital when his father has been exiled. In Maeda-bon, he specifically requests to be exiled with his father (to Oki), but this is denied, and he is sent to Tosa instead.

Rufu-bon, Maeda-bon, and the poetics of exile

In the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon variants, then, we enter the narrative of the process of exile with the knowledge that Tsuchimikado has not been deemed guilty or deserving of exile. Let us briefly turn to how these texts situate the three exiled emperors.

Both variants include sequences detailing GoToba's travel from the capital to Oki and Tsuchimikado's travel to Tosa, where they had been sent into exile. These passages do not appear in the Jikkōji-bon version. Within these sections, there are some subtle differences between the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon versions, but I want to highlight that both situate the former emperors within a historical poetics of exile. The emphasis here, however, is more on

connection to past historic precedent than poetic precedent; their travels are mapped against previous emperors and other famous exiled figures, but never the fictional Genji.

In the Rufu-bon, on the thirteenth day of the seventh month, immediately after receiving news that he will be sent to Oki, GoToba wrote to Kujō Michiie—a high-ranked aristocrat who had been loyal to him—asking him to "Become a post stuck in flowing water to stem the flow and stop [me from being carried away]."[263] This is a reference to a poem in *Ōkagami* by Sugawara no Michizane (845-903):

流れゆく	Now that I have become
われはみくつに	Drifting flotsam,
なりはてぬ	Will not Your Majesty
君しがらみと	Act as a weir
なりてとゞめよ[264]	To hold me back?[265]

As it is depicted in *Ōkagami*, Michizane sends this poem to Retired Emperor Uda just before beginning his own journey into exile. By poetically nodding to Michizane in begging Michiie to save him, GoToba is offering a comparison between their situations. He is effectively writing his own narrative of exile within the framework of historical precedent for the political exile of high-ranked aristocrats.

On a similar note, in the Maeda-bon, after describing the news of GoToba's exile decree on the thirteenth day, the narrator comments that it's a little odd that GoToba is staying in the

[263] 「君しがらみと成て、留させ給なんや」Matsubayashi Yasuaki, ed. *Shintei Jōkyūki*, Koten bunko 68 (Tokyo: Gendai shichō shinsha, 2006), 136.

[264] Matsubayashi's commentary on the Rufu-bon lists Fujiwara no Tokihira—Michizane's political rival, who caused him to be sent into exile—as the author of this poem, but that is incorrect.

[265] Helen Craig McCullough, *Ōkagami*: *The Great Mirror* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 96.

Toba Palace, as this was the same location that his father, Retired Emperor GoShirakawa (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158), had resided in during the Genpei War.[266] GoShirakawa was never exiled, although he may have been if the Genpei War had turned out differently. Here we see an overlay in both personal and historical geographies.

In the actual description of GoToba's travel, both the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon include a poetic exchange at Akashi in Harima (near present-day Kobe) with a *shirabyōshi* (female entertainer) he travels with. This was one of the locations within Genji's tale of exile, making it part of the literary poetics of exile, but there is no explicit reference linking GoToba with Genji in this section. Instead, in the Maeda-bon we have a reference to Retired Emperor Sutoku:

> 彼保元のむかし新院の御軍破れて讃岐国へ遷されさせ給しも爰を御とをり有けるとこそきけ御身の上とはしらざりし物をとおほしめす[。]それは王位を論し位を望給ふ御事也[。]是はされば何事ぞとぞ思し召ける美作と伯耆の中山を超させ給ふにむかひの岸細道ありいづくへかよふ道ぞととはせ給ふに都へかよふ古き道にて今は人もかよはずと申せは
>
> Hearing that long ago in the Hōgen era, his fight lost, the newly-retired emperor [Sutoku] was moved to Sanuki Province and came through this way, [GoToba] pondered all the things he didn't know. These were things like explaining the reasons behind the throne and the desire for court rank. And as he was thinking what the hell it was all about, they were crossing the mountains between Mimasaka[267] and Houki,[268] and he asked about the narrow path on the opposite shore and where it led; hearing that it was an old road to the capital that no one took anymore [GoToba composed]:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 都人 | Who was it |
> | たれふみそめて | from the capital who first trod it |
> | かよひけむ | and went to and fro? |

[266] Tanaka Naoko and Kusaka Tsutomu, ed., *Maedakebon Jōkyūki* (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2004), 282.

[267] Located in present-day northern Okayama Prefecture.

[268] Located in present-day western Tottori Prefecture.

むかひの道の　　does the old road
なつかしき哉[269]　　yearn for them?[270]

As introduced above, Retired Emperor Sutoku is another famous exile and, like Michizane, had also become a dissatisfied *onryō* spirit within the cultural imaginary. Having GoToba's travel through Akashi associated here with Sutoku—who never returned to the capital and caused mischief after death—in lieu of Genji, who did return, acts counter to the effort of pacification but does situate GoToba alongside the historical precedent of a former exiled retired emperor. With this example from the Maeda-bon associating GoToba with Sutoku and the example above from the Rufu-bon associating him with Michizane, we see GoToba being linked with two of the most famous previously troublesome (*onryō*-to-be) high-ranked exiles. This generates a historic geography and spatiality in the overlap of the paths he trod with those of the past.

The poem that follows this mention of Sutoku, about the old road that people took to and from the capital, places even more emphasis on the people who traversed the same spaces. Its focus is on the movement of people of the past, not necessarily on the specific places themselves. This runs counter to standard travel poetry, in which specific places have certain natural associations. There is something of a conflict here in the description of GoToba's exile to Oki between standardized poetic conventions and the political associations of these places, distinguished through their relative emphasis on the specific locales themselves or those that

[269] Punctuation added in brackets for ease of comprehension. Tanaka and Kusaka, 283. This poem also appears in the Rufu-bon, although the headnote/exposition around it is much simpler and does not mention Retired Emperor Sutoku. Matsubayashi, *Shintei Jōkyūki*, 137.

[270] My translation.

traversed them in the past. Rather than being narrated into a poetics of (historic) exile, then, GoToba is firmly situated within a (poetic) history of former exiles.

In contrast to the similar portrayals of GoToba's journey, the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon's narratives of Tsuchimikado's travel into exile are markedly different in tone from each other. This section is also missing entirely from the Jikōji-bon. The Maeda-bon narrative is short but similar to GoToba's travel in the Maeda-bon and Rufu-bon in linking him with former exiles but with an emphasis on historicity and movement through a poetic landscape, not on the landscape itself:

> 室(むろ)より御船にのせ奉り四国へわたらせ給ふ八島のうらを御覧して安徳天皇の御ことを思召出けり[。]讃岐の松山かすかにみえけれは彼崇徳院の御事も思召出けり[。]
>
> From Muro, he boarded a boat and crossed to Shikoku; seeing the bay of Yashima, thoughts of Emperor Antoku rose to mind. Viewing the mists at Matsuyama in Sanuki Province, thoughts of Retired Emperor Sutoku also came to mind.

The above two examples both align with how Retired Emperor Sutoku's exile is described in *Hōgen monogatari* 保元物語 (A tale of the Hōgen Disturbance, ca. 1320). Though the events occurred earlier, this depiction was composed later. It even more strongly leans into geographic historicism over poetics, going so far as to cite the historical inspiration for the character of Genji in lieu of the more famous Genji himself:

> 「ここは須磨の関屋」と申しければ、「行平中納言の流されて、いかなる罪の報いにや、『藻塩垂れつつ』と詠めけん所にこそ」と思し召し、「かれは淡路の絵島」と申しければ、「大炊の廃帝の移されて、いく程もなくて隠れさせたまひけ

ん所にこそ」と知ろし召す。今は御身一つに思し召す知られて哀れなり。[271]

When they said ‘This is the Barrier of Suma,’ he recalled ‘This is the very place Yukihira Chūnagon was exiled and where he sang, “dripping sea-weed brine.”’ When he heard ‘Over there is the province of Awaji,’ he thought, ‘That is the very island where the deposed Emperor Ooi was moved and, in constant grief, died soon after.’ Long ago he had heard such tales as matters of no concern to him, but to think of them now as his own lot in life was wretched.[272]

Sutoku’s narrative continues after this to mention even earlier examples of deposed and exiled rulers from China and Japan, concluding with the statement that no one, even the highest ruler, can escape their karma.

The Rufu-bon depiction of Tsuchimikado’s exile emphasizes both historicity and poetics of place. The text’s treatment of Tsuchimikado stretches boundaries of how the texts act as potential agents of pacification, containing the wronged feelings of high-ranked and thus powerful spirits.

須磨・明石の夜の波の音、高砂・尾上の暁の鹿の聲、神無月十日の事なれば、木々の梢・野邊の草村、霜枯行氣色なるに、御袖の上には秋を残して露深し。讃岐の八嶋を御覧ずれば、安徳天皇の御事を思召被レ出、松山を御覧じては、崇徳院の御事押計らはせ給て、何事に付ても、今は御身獨の御事に思召沈ませ給ぞ哀なる。[273]

The sound of the waves at night at Suma and Akashi, the cry of the deer at dawn at Takasago and Onoe—when it came to the events around the 10th day of the Godless [10th] Month, with the tops of

[271] SNKBZ, *Hōgen monogatari*, 372–73.

[272] William R. Wilson, *Hōgen monogatari*: *Tale of the Disorder in Hōgen* (New York: Cornell East Asian Program, 2001), 84. Originally published as a *Monumenta Nipponica* monograph by Sophia University in 1971.

[273] Matsubayashi, *Shintei Jōkyūki*, 144–45.

> the trees and the thick grass of the fields turning withered colors, autumn remained on his sleeves with the dew thick. Seeing Yashima in Sanuki Province, thoughts of Emperor Antoku rose to mind; seeing Matsuyama, he was overwhelmed with Retired Emperor Sutoku's incident, and no matter what, he was sunk into thoughts that now he was alone in his situation.[274]

This is clearly a more poetic treatment of an exile narrative than we have seen above. It includes classic poetic associations with the locations of Suma and Akashi (sound of the waves) and Takasago and Onoe (crying deer). The Akashi references seen here are also included in the description of Genji's exile. In this example, we see Tsuchimikado's situation being written against both a past poetics of exile—the landscape itself being poetically linked to exile and recalling Genji's literary experiences— alongside past historic precedent, showing him traversing parallel to the previous travels of two past emperors. This passage in the Rufu-bon is believed to have been written in the 1240s, a few decades after the events. It bears remarkable similarity, however, to a description of Tsuchimikado's exile composed in the immediate aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance, found within *Rokudai shōjiki*:[275]

> すゑより御こしにめしかへて御覧じ行道すがら、須磨・あかしのせき、をのへのかね、よその夕暮、しかの音、むしの声もよわりはて、岑の木ずゑ、野辺の草のしもがれぬれど、御袖はひとり秋の露をのこして、むろといふとまりにいらせたまふ。さては壱岐の国へもすぎさせ給しあとなれば、仙院懐土の御心のうちまでおもひしり給へり。。。やしま・まつ山などのゝしりあひたる事も、安徳天皇のためさせへけふはうらやましく、崇徳院のながれにし御名も、[我身]のうへとこゝろうく思しめさる。[276]

[274] My translation.

[275] *Rokudai shōjiki* covers the six reigns from Emperor Takakura through Emperor GoHorikawa, or the events from 1168 through 1221. The author is unknown but believed to be a man in his sixties who retired from serving at court. The tone of the text is pro-court though it criticizes GoToba's individual decisions. McCarty, 39.

[276] Yuge Shigeru, ed., *Rokudai shōjiki*, *Godai teiō monogatari* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2000), 93. The characters in brackets are not fully legible.

> Passing by Suma, Akashi Pass, the bells of Onoe; spending the night in a strange place, the sound of deer braying and the chirping of insects—everything around him sapped him of all strength. The branches of the mountain trees and the grasses of the field were dead and withered by wintry frost, but it was the dew of autumn that lingered on his sleeves. They made their lodgings at a place called Muro. As it happened, this was a place where Go-Toba had passed on his way to Oki, and now Tsuchimikado understood all too well how his father had longed for home... Tsuchimikado rode by Yashima and Matsuyama, where the Taira and Hogen rebellions had ended in a clamor. But as the days passed, he found himself envious even of Antoku's misery, and Sutoku's reputation must still be better than this, he thought miserably.[277]

The poetics of exile, i.e. the poetic associations with the passing landscape, are visible, as are links with previous historic emperors in exile or fleeing a conflict. We also see Tsuchimikado's inner thoughts, comparing his situation with both former emperors—Antoku, a child who drowned at sea at age six, and Sutoku, who died after living in exile for eight years. What is unique here is that he deems his situation more terrible than theirs. The previous accounts all reference the historic precedent of exiled former emperors without comparison, but here we also have judgement. The passage suggests that the former examples of precedent don't fully fit Tsuchimikado's situation. He is neither a child-emperor being manipulated by ambitious relatives as Antoku was, nor [according to this text] did he actively participate in a rebellion as Sutoku did. Mentioning them is simply the closest he or the narrator can get to a literary or historical reference point that would resonate with readership.

In contrast to the above examples describing Tsuchimikado's travel into exile, both the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon situate Retired Emperor Juntoku poetically but unlinked to former exile narratives. There is no description of his journey to Sado beyond an account of various

[277] McCarty, 248.

attendants falling ill along the way and returning to the capital. After arriving to his destination, he exchanges *chōka* (long poems) with Kujō Michiie. While the *chōka* only appear in the Jikkōji-bon variant, the envoys (*hanka* 反歌, *waka* that follow the *chōka*) also appear in the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon. Juntoku writes:

存へて	Should I linger on
たとへば末に	long enough to see again
歸る共	where my life began,
憂は此世の	this world's endless misery
都なりけり[278]	would still be my only home.[279]

This sentiment—the idea that even should Juntoku be allowed to return to the capital, he would still retain feelings of misery—runs counter to spirit pacification discourse discussed above, which suggests an exile being brought back to the capital—even after death—would result in mollification. Like GoToba's journey being linked to two of the most powerful *gōryo*, this is another example that both shows the potentially dangerous power of these exiled emperors and does little to write them into the containment of poetic precedent. The narrative framing itself is not an attempt at pacification.

In addition to writing the exiled imperial figures into narratives of historical and/or poetic exile, both the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon directly comment on the nature of imperial succession at the end of the text. The Rufu-bon version says that Amaterasu and Hachiman chose the imperial line to rule, but actions taken by individuals within it can be deemed inappropriate. The

[278] Matsubayashi, *Shintei Jōkyūki*, 138. This citation is for the Rufu-bon variant; the Maeda-bon is the same.

[279] Royall Tyler, *Before Heike and After*: *Hōgen, Heiji, Jōkyūki* (2012; reis., Charley's Forest NSW Australia: Blue-Tongue Books, 2016), 266.

Maeda-bon version suggests that GoToba's rebellion and the resulting exiles were all part of the gods' plans—for even if Tsuchimikado was exiled, it resulted in his son acceding the throne. I will return to this point in the discussion of the Jikōji-bon manuscript.

Jikōji-bon anti-poetics of exile

In contrast to this alignment of the Jōkyū Disturbance imperial exiles with previous historical representation of high-ranked exiles, the Jikōji-bon manuscript narrative actively resists this classification of the events of the aftermath within the realm of precedent and pacification. First, there is no writing GoToba, Juntoku, or Tsuchimikado into a historic poetics of exile during their journeys in the Jikōji-bon as we see in the Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon. The logistics or progression of the physical journey are barely addressed, except for a very brief account of GoToba's travel, which only reveals two details: one, that he left the capital in a carriage driven backwards—the mark of a criminal—and two, the names of the officials who took charge of him at different points of the journey.

A second way that the Jikōji-bon variant resists both an established poetics or political geography of exile and overall pacification is its special treatment of Tsuchimikado. The Rufu-bon and Maeda-bon variants describe all the imperial exiles chronologically: GoToba followed by his sons in the order of Juntoku, Prince Masanari, Prince Yorihito, Tsuchimikado. The Jikōji-bon variant, however, highlights Tsuchimikado by narrating his exile directly after the depiction of GoToba's before jumping back to chronological order with Juntoku:

> Alas, in the capital he [GoToba] had never even heard of such wind and waves, and he felt utterly miserable. Wringing the tears from his sleeves, he made this poem:
>
> 都ヨリ　　From the capital

吹クル風モ　　not a single breath of wind
ナキモノヲ　　ever blows my way;
沖ウツ波ゾ　　and yet I have visitors:
常ニ問ケル　　the forever pounding waves.

Then Yoshimochi:

スゞ鴨ノ　　I, just as I am,
身トモ我コソ　　must have changed into a duck—
成ヌラメ　　so it seems to me—
波ノ上ニテ　　for now I spend all my life
世ヲスゴス哉　　tossing on the ocean waves.

Go-Toba sent these poems to his mother, Shichijō'in, who replied:

神風ヤ　　O wind of the gods,
今一度ハ　　I beg you: just one more time
吹カヘセ　　blow him back to me:
ミモスソ河ノ　　the Mimosuso River
流タヘズハ[280]　　surely has not ceased to run.

On the 10th of the 10th month the second retired emperor, Tsuchimikado, was banished to Hata in the province of Tosa. Four gentlewoman accompanied him, together with the privy gentlemen Minamoto no Masatoshi, a lieutenant, and Minamoto no Toshihira, a consultant. All of this was too dreadful to describe. The eventual accession of Tsuchimikado's son may suggest how deeply it affected the divinities Amaterasu and Hachiman.[281]

In fact, while all the other exiles occur in the seventh month of 1221, Tsuchimikado didn't leave the capital until the tenth month.[282] This structural placement of his exile after GoToba's is a deliberate choice, which serves two purposes. First, it highlights Tsuchimikado's exile, marking it as exceptional within the otherwise chronological account of *Jōkyūki*. Matsubayashi points out

[280] SNKBT, *Jōkyūki*, 356.

[281] Tyler, *Before Heike and After*, 263.

[282] This is partially due to how Tsuchimikado's participation and fault in the Jōkyū Disturbance was somewhat in question, as seen in various sources. Refer back to a discussion of that in Chapter Two.

this disordered spotlight on Tsuchimikado, arguing that it was a deliberate narratorial decision, though perhaps enacted by a copyist sometime after the initial composition.[283] The choice to mark Tsuchimikado as special in the description of imperial exiles may have occurred shortly after his death, when his son GoSaga became emperor. We will return to a discussion of this possibility later.

The second effect of inserting Tsuchimikado's exile narrative non-chronologically into the text is that it comes directly after and juxtaposes it alongside Shichijō'in's poem to her son, GoToba. This poem does not appear in the Rufu-bon or Maeda-bon variants. She references the Mimosuso River, which runs alongside Ise Shrine, a site dedicated to Amaterasu and thus holding a special position in relation to the mythic origins of imperial power. Before considering the full import of this reference, however, we must first contextualize the larger realm of Ise Shrine references in relation to imperial power within early medieval poetic discourse.

Waka discourse on Ise Shrine, Mimosuso River, and imperial legitimacy

Given the number of political crises the Japanese imperial line faced during the early medieval period and the traditional role of *waka* composition in negotiating political authority, the lack of research into the roles Ise Shrine played in early medieval *waka* is surprising. Shigeru Toyo'oka has addressed the role of Ise Shrine in relation to medieval *waka* production such as *uta-awase,* and *waka* poetry scholar Yoshino Tomomi has discussed GoToba's changing use of *kamikaze* — linked to Ise Shrine—in *waka* poetry before and after his failed Jōkyū Disturbance and exile to Oki.[284] However, these arguments have not adequately addressed the issue of how Ise Shrine

[283] Matsubayashi Yasuaki, *Chūsei no senran to bungaku* (Ōsaka: Izumi shoten, 2018): 235–37.

[284] Shigeru Toyo'oka, *Jingika*: *Chūsei kajin no kamigami e no inori* (Tokyo: Ebisu kōshō shuppan, 2007), 169–80. Tomomi Yoshino, *GoToba'in to Sono Jidai* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2015), 384.

imagery is used metaphorically to represent the imperial line as a whole—and the question of its continuation or suspension— within early medieval waka.

According to *Nihon shoki,* Amaterasu originally chose Ise as a residence because of the spiritual resonances between the human realm and an eternally-unchanging realm (*tokoyo* 常世) at that location. She described both the influence and effect in the human realm through wave imagery:

> 是神風伊勢国則常世之浪重浪帰国也。傍国可怜国也。欲レ居二是国一。故随二大神教一、其祠立二於伊勢国一、因興二斎宮于五十鈴川上一。是謂二磯宮一。則天照大神始自レ天降之処也。
>
> 垂仁天皇二十五年三月
> 「是の神風の伊勢国は、則ち常世の波の重波帰する国なり。傍国の可怜国なり。是の国に居らむと欲ふ。」とのたまふ。故、大神の教の隨に、其の祠(やしろ)を伊勢国に立て、因りて斎宮を五十鈴川の上に興(た)てたまふ。是を磯宮(いそのみや)と謂ふ。則ち天照大神の始めて天(あめ)より降ります処なり。[285]
>
> Entry from Emperor Suinin's reign, 25th year [54 A.D.], 3rd month
> "This Ise Province that has the divine wind is the land where waves from the unchanging realm (*tokoyo*) surge. It's secluded and beautiful. This is where I want to live," she said. Then, just as Amaterasu had instructed, the shrine was built in Ise Province, and a palace for the Ise Priestess was built on the bank of the Isuzu River. This was called the Iso Palace. And that is why Ise Province is where Amaterasu first descended from heaven.[286]

The Isuzu River mentioned here has overlap in meaning with the Mimosuso River. As previous scholarship has shown, the exact location and range of what is meant by "Mimosuso

---

[285] Kojima Noriyuki et al., *Nihon shoki*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 2 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 319.

[286] My translation.

River" can vary slightly by time period and author.[287] All references are specific to Ise Shrine, however, which is bordered on two sides by water. A river flowing from east to west, known today as the Shimamichi River (島路川), borders the southern side of Ise Shrine. This comes to a T-section at the southwest corner of the shrine with a river flowing south to north, the Isuzu River. Some definitions of "Mimosuso River" only include the modern-day Shimamichi River portion, which is closest to Ise's Inner Shrine and, as will be discussed later, played a role in Ise Priestess purification rituals which gave the river the "mimosuso" name. Other definitions of "Mimosuso River" include the entire waterway section that borders both the southern and western sides of shrine, including part of the Shimamichi River and part of the Isuzu River.

The earliest extant mention of the Mimosuso River by that name appears in the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era, ca. 927). This appears within the fifth volume, which describes the duties of the Ise Priestess, who was an unmarried imperial princess sent to Ise to pray on behalf of the emperor:

> 十六日、斎王度会宮に参る。。。。度会河に禊す。
> 十七日、[斎王]大神宮に参る。。。御裳洗河に禊す。[288]
>
> Sixteenth Day: The Ise Priestess visits the Watarai no Miya [Outer Shrine]. She purifies herself in the Watai [Miya] River.
> Seventeenth Day: The Ise Priestess visits the Daijingū [Inner Shrine]. She purifies herself in the Mimosuso River.[289]

[287] Nishimiya Kazutami, "The Isuzu River and Mimosuso River," *Kogakukan Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō* 43 (March 2005): 1–12. Nishimiya Kazutami, "The Isuzu River and waka poetry," *Tamagaki* no. 61 (Sept 1963): 7–25. Yagi Ichio, "The Mimosuso River and Isuzu River," *Shintōshi kenkyū*, Shintōshi kenkyūkai 29, no.1 (January 1981): 31–47.

[288] Torao Toshiya, ed., *Engishiki* 1 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2000), 316–17.

[289] My translation.

The Mimosuso River is depicted here in counterpoint to the Watai River (Watakaikawa 度会河), known in the present day as the Miya River (Miyagawa 宮川), which is roughly four kilometers to the west. This served as an initial purification point for approaching the outer parts of the shrine. The Mimosuso River is clearly associated with the Ise Priestess' purification before visiting the Inner Shrine, where Amaterasu was enshrined. The "Mimosuso" 御裳洗 name itself reflects this, roughly translating to "honorable one's train-washing river," referring to an anecdote about the dirty train of an Ise Priestess' robes being washed during the purification process.[290]

Yagi argues that through this association with purification, the Mimosuso River functions as a symbol of worship.[291] I would clarify this point further for its use in *waka*. If in these ancient texts the Isuzu River is used to locate the point of worship—the location of Amaterasu's enshrinement, Ise Shrine—then the Mimosuso River represents the human effort of worship at that site. It is both a barrier that must be passed to enter the sacred space through the work of purification as well as a link between the human and godly residential realms. In a broad sense, it represents a point of human agency through which divine powers can be accessed. This is the point where connection to the divine and two-way, cross-realm conversation can happen, with divine waves emanating from the other world and prayers being sent to it. While the clear demarcation of divine residence vs. location of purification between Isuzu and Mimosuso Rivers became poetically blurred over time, the understanding of the power of purification in the rivers remained.

[290] Kashiwagi Yoshio, "Mimosusogawa," in *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten*, ed. Katagiri Yōichi (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983). Accessed via Nihon bungaku web toshokan.

[291] Yagi, 37.

This ongoing association of purification with the Isuzu/Mimosuso Rivers can be seen in a poem by Fujiwara no Shunzei composed in 1190, poem 35 in an "Ise Shrine One Hundred poem *waka* sequence" (伊勢大神宮百首和歌) that is part of a larger *Five Shrine One Hundred Poem* (Gosha hyakushu 五社百首) collection:

六月祓
Purification in the Sixth Month

けふもたれ	who today
いすずの川に	will also purify
御祓して	in the **Isuzu River**?
あらぶる神も	even violent gods
なごしなるらん[292]	are calmed by it[293]

This is not to say that there were not changes in poetic associations over time. From the late Heian period, the wave imagery was made even more politically overt in *waka* to mean that if the waves from the unchanging realm (*tokoyo*) continue, then Amaterasu's heavenly influence in favor of the imperial line continues. In other words, waves symbolize an active connection. This can be seen in this poem from the record of the Minister of the Right, Fujiwara no Kanezane's, one-hundred poem contest of the second year of Jishō [1178] (Jishō ninen udaijin-ke hyakushu 治承二年右大臣家百首):

神祇	盛方朝臣
On the gods	Morikata
神かせや	in the upper reaches
みもすそかはの	of the **Mimosuso River**,

[292] Taniyama, Tanaka, et al. Accessed via Nihon bungaku Web toshokan. Emphasis added.

[293] My translation. Emphasis added. This poem has a double entendre of "*nagoshi*," which can mean calm or quiet but here is also a contraction of the Nagoshi no harae (夏越しの祓へ) purification ritual, which occurs in the sixth month, half-way through the year. The ritual has its origins in a story told about the violent younger brother of Amaterasu, Susanō no Mikoto, showing benevolence to someone who welcomed him charitably, without any expectations for recompense.

みなかみに	[powered by] the winds of the gods,
とこよのなみの	echoes of the waves
おとぞかよひし[294]	from the unchanging realm traverse[295]

The poem is by Fujiwara no Morikata, who served Kanezane. It is classified as a poem about the gods (神祇). It details the relationship between disturbances in the world and the poetic inscriptions of the Ise Shrine—the *kamikaze* and the "upper reaches" (*minakami* みなかみ) of the Mimosuso River. Here we see reverberations from the heavenly realm traversing through both natural symbols. This poem centers on the heavenly realms and the imperial lineage's patron ancestor of Amaterasu, enshrined in the upper reaches of the Mimosuso River.

I diverge from previous scholarship on early medieval *waka* with my translation here in establishing a causational link between the Mimosuso River and the "winds of the gods" (*kamikaze*). Japanese scholarship dismisses *kamikaze* as a *makura-kotoba* (pillow-word) linked in Heian poetry to the Mimosuso River but without any real meaning, just as "winds of the gods" was inextricably linked with the province of Ise in the *Nihon shoki* in reference to waves echoing from another realm. I think this building of associations we see in these early sources of poetic layering—*kamikaze*, *tokoyo,* and waves—naturally coalesces if we take the small step of considering those *Nihon shoki* otherworldly waves to be generated or carried by the divine wind, and for them to manifest in our world in the form of the water's forward movement in the Mimosuso River.

[294] Taniyama, Tanaka, et al. Accessed via Nihon bungaku Web toshokan. Emphasis added.

[295] My translation. Emphasis added.

To turn back to early medieval sources, a poem from the poet-monk Saigyō's (1118–1190) self-poetry matching contest *Go-Mimosusogawa uta-awase* 御裳濯河歌合 from 1189 affirms this potential causal relationship between the wind and the wave imagery:

流れたえぬ	is it the unceasing, flowing
波にや世をば	waves that calm
治むらん	the world?
神風すゞし	the divine wind is cool:
御裳濯の岸[296]	the shore of the Mimosuso

The implication that the waves are calming is followed immediately by a comment about a temperate wind—something that could cool the fires of anger or violence. The poem emphasizes the waves' ability to exert power beyond the river's physical boundaries, showing these are not just waves made of water but emerging from the other world of *tokoyo*. It suggests that the waves have the power to subdue the human realm, which relates the waves back to imperial rule. The waves and wind here are linked, and geographic placement alongside the Mimosuso River encourages the reader to connect the visual of moving water with the metaphoric calming waves of imperial power.

The most frequently referenced Mimosuso River poem from the Heian Period is undoubtedly that by Minamoto no Tsunenobu, which appears in the *Goshūiwakashū* (Later Collections of Gleanings of Japanese Poems, 1086) imperial anthology, in the seventh section on Felicitations, poem 450:

[296] This is Saigyō's poem for the Right side, which appears as poem 12 in the thirty-sixth match. Hirata Hideo, ed., *Mimosusogawa utaawase, Miyagawa utaawase shinchū*, Shinchū waka bungaku sōsho 11 (Tokyo: Seikansha, 2012), 88. One variant of Saigyō's poetic collection includes a variation of this poem ending with "river" (川) instead of "shore" (岸): poem 378 in the 石川県立図書館李花亭文庫蔵 (*Ishikawa kenritsu toshokan rikatei bunkogura*) variant of *Saigyō shōnin shū* (西行上人集). Taniyama, Tanaka, et al. Accessed via Nihon bungaku Web toshokan.

承暦二年内裏歌合によみはべりける　　民部卿経信
Imperial poetry contest in the second year of Jōryaku [1178]
Minister of Civil Affairs [Minamoto no] Tsunenobu

君が世は	Your reign
尽きじとぞ思ふ	will surely not end
神風や	as long as the Mimosuso River,
御裳濯川(みもすそ)の	[driven by] the winds of the gods,
澄まむかぎりは[297]	clearly flows

This firmly establishes links among the flow of the Mimosuso River, the legitimacy of current sovereign from divine favor, and the length of one's reign.

The concepts from Tsunenobu's poem are frequently cited during the early medieval period, particularly in poems of felicitations. We can see one example of this directed towards GoToba in a collection of poems recorded at the Retired Emperor's first one-hundred poem contest in the second year of Shōji [正治二年院初度百首, 1200], poem 11 by Jien:

神風や	[spurred by] divine wind,
御裳濯川に	in the Mimosuso River
寄る波の	there is no limit to the number
数限りなき	of gathering waves:
君が御代哉(かな)[298]	this is your reign

Jien's poem draws upon Tsunenobu's famous poem to praise GoToba, suggesting that his era, supported by the presence of unceasing waves, will go on as long as the imperial connection

[297] Kubota Jun and Hirata Yoshinobu, *Goshūi wakashū*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 8 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1994), 145.

[298] Kubota Jun, Nakamura Aya, Watanabe Yumiko, Ienaga Kaori, Kinoshita Hanako, and Takayanagi Yūko, *Shōji ninen In shodo hyakushu*, Waka bungaku taikei 49 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2016), 124.

to Amaterasu is maintained (i.e., forever). While the implication of excessive and possibly eternal long life is not dissimilar to other typical felicitous/celebratory poetry (*ga no uta* 賀歌), the use of the Mimosuso River here additionally highlights GoToba's imperial standing and authority.

Two relevant Ise Shrine-related poems appear in *Shinkokinshū* as well, poems 1871 and 1872 within the section of "Shinto" or god-related poems:

大将に侍りける時、勅使にて太神宮にまうでてよみ侍りける　摂政太政大臣

Composed during the time when he was a Major Captain and visited the Grand Shrine [of Ise] as imperial messenger
[Fujiwara no Yoshitsune] Regent and Chancellor

神風や	ah divine winds of
みもすそ河の	the distant headwaters of
そのかみよ	**Mimosuso Stream**
契しことの	do not let your past promise of
すゑをたがふな	protection ever change course

おなじ時、外宮にてよみ侍りける　藤原定家朝臣

Composed on the same occasion at the Outer Shrine
Fujiwara no Teika

契ありて	a bond exists so
けふ**みや河**の	I'll rely on its lasting
ゆふかづら	for a time as long
長き世までも	as linen hair ribbons I
かけて頼まん[299]	see today by **Miya River**[300]

As Rodd notes, in addition to Ise Priestesses, emperors sometimes sent Noble Messengers (*kugyō chokushi*) to Ise to pray on their behalf. Yoshitsune was given this task in 1195. Having been

[299] SNKBT, *Shinkokinshū*, 545–46. Emphasis added.

[300] Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*, 760. Emphasis added.

sent on this mission, we can read his poem as a rhetorical reminder to the gods, including Amaterasu, of their dedication to supporting the imperial line.

As we have seen, poetic convention links the Mimosuso River's ceaseless flow to both the descent of the imperial line from the gods (the flow forward) and ongoing imperial authority (the continuing/ceaseless nature). To turn back to Shichijō'in's poem—

> Go-Toba sent these poems to his mother, Shichijō'in, who replied:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 神風ヤ | O wind of the gods, |
> | 今一度ハ | I beg you: just one more time |
> | 吹カヘセ | blow him back to me: |
> | ミモスソ河ノ | the Mimosuso River |
> | 流タヘズハ[301] | surely has not ceased to run.[302] |

This obviously cuts against conventional grain, stating that if the river truly continues to flow—if imperial authority still holds—then the divinities should intervene and send GoToba back from exile to her in the capital. Her words rhetorically but essentially challenge the current status of the legitimacy of the imperial line: if her son, a former emperor, can be exiled, then the whole lineage falls into question.

Tsuchimikado and the Mimosuso River

Shichijō'in's Mimosuso River poem thus leaves an uncertain tone at the beginning of the description of Tsuchimikado's departure into exile—which, again, was deliberately chosen to appear here, non-chronologically in this otherwise chronology-centered text. The passage is

[301] SNKBT, *Jōkyūki*, 356.

[302] Tyler, *Before Heike and After*, 263.

short, focusing on the small number of attendants accompanying him. The final statement is the most relevant here, referencing the divinities directly. As Tyler translates it: “The eventual accession of Tsuchimikado’s son may suggest how deeply it affected the divinities Amaterasu and Hachiman.” Amaterasu, as previously stated, was of particular importance to the imperial line. Hachiman was worshipped by the Minamoto, including the first shogunal leader Minamoto no Yoritomo, as a protector of their ancestral clan, and also came to popularity among other warriors. Including them both in the statement marks the sentiment as cross-factional.

The beginning part of the final sentence describing Tsuchimikado’s exile, however, is a little more ambiguous. The original texts reads: 「此君ノ御末(おんすゑ)ノ様見奉ルニ、天照大神(てんせうだいじん)・正八幡(しやうはちまん)モイカニイタハシク見奉給ケン。」 One of Tsuchimikado’s sons did eventually become Emperor GoSaga (1220–1272, r.1242–1246), though this occurred after his father Tsuchimikado’s early death in 1231 at age 35. If this statement does refer to Emperor GoSaga, then either it was a later addition or the text was compiled later than is normally credited.[303] There is another possible interpretation, however, in which「御末」refers not to Tsuchimikado’s son but the end of his own life.[304] In this case, the quote would read: “Looking at how his life ended, what deep pity Amaterasu and Hachiman must have felt observing it.” How this line is interpreted, then, can have ramifications for determining a date for the composition of the original Jikkōji-bon variant manuscript.

[303] Tyler notes the primary reason for its current dating of the compilation to the 1230s is a statement that an individual who died in 1240 is still alive. But he also notes it likely that other parts of the text, such as the opening passage, were likely added later. Tyler, *Before Heike and After*, 212.

[304] SNKBT, *Jōkyūki*, 356, note 11.

In a discussion about these complications, Matsubayashi outlines previous scholarship on this issue. There are competing theories about if the manuscript was completed later than the 1230s or if there was an earlier ur-text to which narratorial interjections were later added as more events unfolded. Sugiyama Tsugiko and Masuda Jun both argue that the text was completed all at once, though Masuda argues for a later completion date with the interpretation of the line referring to GoSaga while Sugiyama defends the interpretation of it referring to Tsuchimikado himself. Murakami Mitsunori argues for an earlier ur-text.[305] Matsubayashi sides on the ur-test side, arguing that narratorial interjections (marked by 「〜ケン」) show clear signs of a later hand, and that the comment about 「御末」 refers to Tsuchimikado's line, starting with GoSaga, regaining power.[306]

Following this moment of uncertainty raised by Shichijō'in's poem, which questions if the Mimosuso River still runs—if imperial authority is still valid while her son GoToba remains in exile—we have an affirmation from a later interjecting narratorial voice that even if the gods allowed *that* to happen, they did not abandon GoToba's descendants entirely. Because GoSaga—Tsuchimikado's son and GoToba's grandson—eventually became emperor, the validity of imperial power carrying through lineage is reaffirmed.

We can see this same interpretation about Tsuchimikado's line regaining power even less ambiguously expressed in the later Maeda-bon variant. This text ends with a more explicit explanation that his exile was part of Amaterasu and Hachiman's plan:

> 抑(そもそも) 承久いかなる年号ぞや玉体ことごと西北の風に没し卿相みな東夷の鉾=あたる天照太神正八幡の御はからひなり[。]
> 王法此時かたふき東国天下を行べき由緒にてや有つらん御謀

[305] Matsubayashi, *Chūsei no senran*, 236–37.

[306] Ibid., 238–39.

反の企てのはじめ御夢ニ黒き犬御身を飛越ゆゝと御覧じけるとぞ承るかく院のはてさせ給しかども四条院の御末たえしかば後嵯峨ノ院ニ御位まいりて後院と申土御門院の御子なり[。]御うらみは有ながら配所にむかはせ給き。此御志を神慮もうけしめ給ひけるにや御末めてたくして今の世に至るまで此院の御末かたじけなし承久三年の秋にこそ物の哀をとゝめしか[307]

What kind of era was Jōkyū, anyway? —to have all these emperors vanishing into the northwestern winds, all these high-ranked aristocrats on the edge of eastern Ebisu barbarian territory—it was Amaterasu and Hachiman's plan. Imperial law was in decline during this time; was the lineage that should have been ruling in the east [the shogunate]? While the treasonous plan [of the Jōkyū Disturbance] began with [GoToba] hearing about a dream involving seeing a black dog leaping over himself, did Retired Emperor Shijō's lineage really end if the former Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado's son, GoToba, inherited the throne? While he was holding resentment, Tsuchimikado went into exile. This sentiment entered the gods' hearts, and they showered his descendants with such favor that to this very day, Tsuchimikado's lineage is favored, perhaps retaining the pathos of that autumn of the third year of Jōkyū (1221).

The Maeda-bon links the situation of imperial exiles within divine provenance to justify and authenticate GoSaga's ascension and the fact that his descendants continued to rule. It suggests that the gods may have made a mistake in Tsuchimikado's exile, but this solidifies and even further supports the legitimacy of the ongoing rule of his descendants. The Maeda-bon was the latest variant, composed during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century when political power had shifted even further away from the aristocratic court, from the shogunate to powerful families such as the Hōjō clan surrounding them. Its perspective on events is informed by this intervening history while still formally accepting imperial legitimacy as a source of ongoing, divinely ordained political continuity.

[307] Tanaka and Kusaka, 288–89.

The Jikōji-bon variant of *Jōkyūki* is not the only text in which Tsuchimikado is poetically described in terms of an aberration or loss of imperial power in relation to Mimosuso River imagery. There is another reference within the *chōka* (long poem) that concludes *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbo nikki*:

> From the beginning of spring to the close of the year, from then to now and from now onward, remembering and feeling without a moment's rest (from grief)—
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | はつはるの | At the beginning of spring |
> | 十日あまりに | just after the tenth day[308] |
> | くらゐ山 | a pine seed |
> | うつしうゑてし | was transplanted to |
> | まつがねの | the mountainous throne,[309] |
> | いつしかこだかく | and from the time when |
> | なりしより | it had gotten tall, |
> | あまつそらふく | even the wind |
> | 風なれど | blowing from the heavens |
> | えだもならさず | didn't rustle the branches,[310] |

[308] This date correlates with his ascension to the throne, referred to in poem 1.

[309] Tabuchi et al. note this as an unusual phrase. Other poems such as *Shinkokinshū* poem 729 reference the tradition of plucking and transplanting pine seedlings on the first Day of the Rat each year and wishing the Emperor the long life associated with the trees, but there are no direct comparisons of transplantation and the Emperor's ascension to the rank. Tabuchi et al., 399.

[310] This is a reference to a trope in Chinese texts which links a sovereign's peaceful reign with the image of wind not rustling tree branches. Yamazaki cites the *Seikeizakki* 西京雑記 (Miscellaneous Notes from the Western Capitol, here meaning Chang'an), a Chinese history of anecdotes from the early Han period: 「太平之世、則風不鳴条」. Yamasaki, 207. The same analogy is used by other *waka* poets including Lady Daibu. This appears as poem 1098 in the *Shinchokusenshū*:

> In the time of Emperor Takakura, this was tied to some fake leaves and dispatched to someone who said they wanted to see the autumn leaves from the Wisteria Hall:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 吹く風も | Such is this age |
> | 枝にのどけき | That even rushing winds |
> | みよなれば | Are tranquil in the boughs: |
> | 散らぬ紅葉の | Gaze, then, upon the colors |
> | 色をこそ見れ | Of maple leaves that shall not fall. |

Lady Daibu Poem 111. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 61; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 55. Nakagawa Hirō, ed., *Shinchokusen wakashū*, Waka bungaku taikei 6 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2005), 207.

たのみあふがぬ	there were none
人もなし	who did not rely on him.
四海のなみも	Even the waves of the seas
しづかにて	in the four directions calmed,
ゆきかふゝねも	even the boats coming and going
おそれなく	were not in danger,
たみのかまども	even the people's cooking stoves
ゆたかなり	were abundant.[311]

春は宮人	Spring: the palace attendants
うちむれて	gathering together en masse,
のどけきゝみの	and as it's his
みよなれば	peaceful reign,
おほうちやまの	viewing the Ōuchiyama
花をみる	cherry blossoms.[312]

Saionji Saneuji (1194–1269), who sided with Emperor GoToba in the Jōkyū Disturbance and was briefly held in captivity afterwards before being released, has this poem appear as #28 in the same imperial anthology:

> Composed in the eleventh month of the first year of Kangi [1229] at the folding screen [poetry contest] at Her Majesty's entrance into court, on the topic of "a willow outside of a dwelling near a river and the mountains."
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | うちはへて | unchanging |
> | 世は春ならし | as if springtime lingers in the world |
> | 吹く風も | even the rushing winds |
> | 枝をならさぬ | don't howl in the branches |
> | 青柳の糸 | of the strands of the willow tree |

Shinchokusenshū poem 28. Nakagawa, *Shinchokusenshū*, 12. My translation.

[311] This is yet another reference to the goodness of the Emperor, and echoes a poem by Emperor Nintoku, *Shinkokinshū* poem 707:

たかき屋に	climbing the highest
のぼりて見れば	tower I gaze about me
煙たつ	and see the thick smoke
民の竈は	rising from the cook stoves of
にぎはひにけり	my people what happiness

SNKBT, *Shinkokinshū*, 209. Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*, 291.

[312] Ōuchiyama 大内山 is another name for the imperial palace, but this doesn't fit with the above lines. If the author is emphasizing the peacefulness of the reign, then the location for cherry blossom viewing could be outside of the palace walls. Ōuchiyama is also the mountain-name for Ninna-ji, a temple in western Kyoto. Ōuchiyama could also refer to a specific type of cherry blossom, thought to be named such due to growing in abundance around Ninna-ji. It is likely that the author is talking about viewing this particular type of cherry blossom, possibly at or near Ninna-ji temple.

夏は衣を	Summer: the clothes
たちかへて	changed out,
山郭公	continuing to wait for
まちえつゝ	the mountain *hototogisu*,
おなじ心に	and since we exchange words
かたらへば	with the same intention,
みじかきよをぞ	is it the short nights
うらみこし	that deepen our resentment?
秋はよすがら	Autumn: even the insects
なくむしも	that cry all night long
のどかなるべき	raise their voices
君がよを	spreading the word
こゑふりたてゝ	of his reign
きこゆなり	that should be tranquil.
冬はあしまの	Winter: even the little grebes[313]
にほどりも	in a gap of the reeds
たまものとこに	cross wings
はねかはし	on their nest of water-weeds;
おどろくけしきも	there is no sight
さらになき	more surprising.
花ももみぢも	Gazing at
月ゆきも	the cherry blossoms and the maple leaves,
をりをすぐさず	and the moon and the snow
ながめつゝ	which didn't miss one moment,
十返り三つの	**ten-and-three**
春秋は	**springs and autumns**
こゝのへにてぞ	**had gone past**
すぎこしを	**in the palace,** [314]
みもすそがはの	***and (even) the flow***
ながれには	***of the Mimosuso River***
かぎりありける	***has limits***
ふちせいて	***in its transient shallows and depths***

[313] Yamasaki notes that にほどり is an old term for カイツブリ, the little grebe or dabchick water bird with a distinctive red neck.

[314] Tsuchimikado'in ruled for twelve years and ten months, then abdicated at age sixteen under intense pressure from his father GoToba in favor of his brother Emperor Juntoku. Yamazaki, 210.

つひにはおりゐ	**and in the end**
給ひにき	**(he) abdicated**
しづかなりける	**And during the time**
うれしさと	**when I was happy**
きみをあふぎて	**with the quiet**
すぐすまに	**as I looked up to him,**
よのお[ゝ]あみに	**he was caught up in**
ひかれつゝ	**the large net of the world's happenings**
とさへあはへと	**and traveled**
めぐりきて[315]	**to Tosa, to Awa,**[316]
あとにとまれる	and the women (divers)[317]
あま人は	were left behind
なみだをながして	to stream tears
すぐすかな	and continue on
はるかなりとも[318]	and though he's distant,
わびつゝは	while we grieved
よにだにおはし	at the very least
ませかしと	he was still in this world
思ひしことも	we thought
かひなくて	but even that was lost
つひにむなしき	and in the end
ふねなれば	with his death like an empty boat—
いかにせましと	how should we respond to that?—
なげくとも	even while grieving,
月日のみこそ	only the months and days
かさなりて	pile up
たとへむかたも	and there is nothing
なかりけれ	to which this can be compared.
返す／＼も	Thinking over and over,
なにせんに	"How on earth
春をうれしと[319]	could we have thought
おもひけん	spring happy?"

[315] Emphasis added (italics and bold).

[316] Emphasis added (italics and bold).

[317] This references poem 17; the author is included in this group.

[318] This references the headnote to poem 42; see Chapter Two.

[319] This refers to the spring of Tsuchimikado's accension; see the headnote of this *chōka*, referencing 初春 (*hatsuharu*).

はてはかなしき	The end is sad [of spring drawing nearer to]
神な月哉[320]	the godless month[321]

As Tabuchi et al. note, this is the only known poetic occurrence of the use of "depths and shallows" (ふちせ) in relation to the Mimosuso River, though that is a poetic term used with the Asuka River to symbolize a transformation.[322] The concept of depths and shallows is concerningly associated with disruption in flow, as seen in *Kokinshū* poem 836, in a section of grief poetry:

姉の、身まかりにける時に、よめる	（壬生忠岑）
Written after the death of his elder sister	Mibu no Tadamine
瀬(せ)を塞けば	if one stems the flow
淵(ふち)となりても	of the rapids the waters form
淀(よど)みけり	deep pools still and
別れを止むる	unchanging yet there is no
しがらみぞなき[323]	weir that would hold you with me[324]

Therefore this discussion of the Mimosuso River's varying depths within Tsuchimikado's former female attendant's *chōka* is unusual in itself, but the explicit statement that the Mimosuso has

[320] Tabuchi et al., 204–9. Emphasis and lineation added.

[321] My translation. Emphasis added. The "godless month" refers to the 10th month, the anniversary of Tsuchimikado's death; see also poem 40, discussed in Chapter Two.

[322] For example, in *Kokinshū* poem 933. Tabuchi et al., 208.

[323] Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizō, ed., *Kokinwakashū*, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), 251.

[324] Rodd, *Kokinshū*, 289.

limits (「ながれにはかぎりありける」) is even more shocking.[325] As we have seen above, it is always characterized in poetic writing as ceaseless and unending due to the resonances between the flow of the river and imperial genealogy and legitimacy. Diverging from this precedent is an expression of doubt in the mythomotor that defined the aristocratic court as a political body coalescing around the divinely appointed figure of the emperor.

The mention of Tsuchimikado being "caught up in a large net of the world's happenings" (「よのお[ゝ]あみにひかれつゝ」)—i.e., the repercussions he faced after his father and brother's actions in the Jōkyū Disturbance—immediately following the discussion of shallows and depths resonates with this river imagery. One can imagine Tsuchimikado as a fish, accidentally trapped in the shallows and thus outside of the flow of the deeper parts of the river—less steeped in or affected by the otherworldly powers of the gods that resonate at Ise, particularly Amaterasu, which translates to less political influential power at court. In that exposed position, unable to escape from the limiting shallows, it is more difficult for him to avoid the turbulence and random happenings of the world.

The net imagery also links the river's shallow/depths section of the poem to the following discussion of the female divers (*ama* あま). This is a standard poetic trope used in relation to a woman's heartbrokenness, relational sadness, and crying, although it is usually employed in love poems. As I have argued elsewhere, love poetry was one of the ways that early medieval aristocratic women poetically expressed their situations after the sudden loss of loved ones from war or political conflicts, even though that use of love poetry didn't entirely align with standard

[325] Tabuchi et al. note these two phrases in particular are exceedingly exceptional usages. Tabuchi et al, 402.

conventions.[326] This is another example of bending poetic convention to express extraordinary historical circumstances.

We see in these texts written in the near-aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance—the Jikōji-bon variant of *Jōkyūki* and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*—expressions of doubt about imperial legitimacy. These are poetically coded through aberrant employment of Mimosuso River imagery. While the examples in these two texts are the earliest extant examples of this heretofore extraordinary expression of doubt using Ise Shrine references, they were not the last, as we shall see in the next section.

Mimosuso River depictions in later *gunki monogatari*

Gunki monogatari dating after the 1240s include a smattering of references to the Mimosuso River, using it as a symbol through which questions about imperial legitimacy could be raised. For example, in the Enkyō-bon of *Heike monogatari*, this quote appears in reference to Emperor Antoku: 「此ハ正キ御裳濯川ノ御流、カヽルベシヤ」[327] Literally translating to something like "Was [he] truly of the Mimosuso's flow?" a looser translation would be, "Was he really part of the imperial line?" This statement does not question all of imperial legitimacy as the examples above did, but it does question it in relation to an individual who had been an emperor.

We can see another example in *Taiheiki* 太平記 (Chronicle of Great Peace, late fourteenth century), which details the mid-fourteenth century conflict between the Northern and Southern courts (1336–1392). This situation of two courts arose after an attempt by Emperor

[326] Mc Nelly, 38–51.

[327] Kitahara Yasuo and Ogawa Eiichi, ed., *Enkyōbon heike monogatari*, *honbun hen* 2 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1990), 408–9. Referenced in Bialock David T., "Outcasts, Emperorship, and Dragon Cults in The Tale of the Heike." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 13 (2002), 275. Emphasis added.

GoDaigo (1228–1339, r. 1318–1339) to reclaim imperial authority from the *shogunate*; he and his descendants ruled the Southern court while the Ashikaga shogunate controlled those enthroned in the Northern court.

> 天下久しく乱れて静かならざる事は、末法の風俗なれば且く謂ふに足らず。延喜・天暦より以来、これほどの聖文・神武の君は御さざりしかば、何となくも聖徳一たび開け、拝鄒忠功の臣私の望みを達せぬ事あらじと憑み思ひしに、君かくならせ給ひしかば、「今は御裳濯川の末も絶え終て、筑波山の陰に寄る人もなくて、天下皆魔魅の掌握に堕ちぬべき世となりぬ」と。。。[328]
>
> When the world has long been in disorder and without peace, for a time there's no end to people talking about it being the way of the latter days of Buddhist law [*mappō*]. From the Engi and Tenryaku eras until now,[329] there hasn't been an emperor as talented and gifted as this [Emperor GoDaigo], and though nothing changed it was as if [imperial] virtue blossomed, and there wasn't an instance of those serving loyally and diligently not achieving success, but but because the emperor passed away [people think], "Now the Mimosuso's end [=imperial lineage] has come to an end, and those who counted on imperial favor are also gone, it's degenerated into a world where demons are in control."[330]

As we can see from this later example, literary expressions of doubt about the strength and legitimacy of the imperial lineage and power in *gunki monogatari* grow parallel with the political disruption and chaos they describe.

[328] Tadashi Hasegawa, *Taiheiki* 3, Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 56, 4th printing (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2008), 31. Emphasis added.

[329] This is a reference to Emperors Daigo and Murakami.

[330] My translation. Emphasis added.

River imagery and non-imperial family lineages

The imperial family is not the only lineage to link itself to the Mimosuso River, nor is it the only river to be depicted as a symbol for familial lineage. This section will analyze some examples of non-imperial figures poetically forming ties with the Mimosuso River as well as introducing other rivers associated with family lines.

The earliest example of a poem using Ise Shrine-related river imagery related to praise or prayer for a non-imperial familial line dates to the late Heian period. It occurs in the Kyūan hyakushu 久安百首 (Kyūan One-Hundred Poem Sequence, 1150)[331] in poem 181:

神祇二首
Two Shintō poems

家のかぜ	winds of [my] house,
たえずぞわたれ	never cease but continue!
神風や	in the divine wind
みもすそ川に	and **Mimosuso River**
心そめてき[332]	[our] heart is steeped[333]

The author, Tokudaiji Kinyoshi 徳大寺公能(1115-1161), was a member of one of the branches of the Northern Fujiwara lines and Shunzei's brother-in-law. The "house wind" (*ie no kaze* 家のかぜ) here refers to a house's traditions—customs and artistic styles that a house passes down through its patrilineal line. The "continuing" or "crossing" (わたれ, *watare*) builds on a desire for the family's line to continue, crossing through the ages. However, the わたれ also

[331] This is also known as the Kyūan Sixth Year [1150] One-Hundred Poem Sequence, or the Retired Emperor Sutoku One Hundred Poem Sequence.

[332] Taniyama, Tanaka, et al. Accessed via Nihon bungaku web toshokan. Emphasis added.

[333] My translation. Emphasis added.

links to the Mimosuso River in the latter half of the poem, echoing back to associations of the Ise Priestess' crossing of the Mimosuso River to worship at the shrine. Thus the latter half of the poem, 「神風やみもすそ川に心そめてき」(*kamikaze ya mimosuso gawa ni kokoro someteki*) also links the author's familial line with the imperial line and expresses that their two lineages are deeply entwined. Two variant manuscripts, the 今治市河野美術館本[334] (*Imabari shi Kōno bijutsukan bon*) and 容山茂氏蔵本 (*Yōzan Shige shizō bon*), even replace "divine wind" (*kamikaze* かみかぜ) with "shrine boundary fence" (*kamigaki* かみがき), further strengthening the spatial metaphor relating to Ise Shrine. This reading is not out of place when considering northern Fujiwara/*sekkanke* marriage politics, through which the Fujiwara and imperial lines were closely intertwined.

To give a pre-Jōkyū Disturbance early medieval example of the ongoing link between the Fujiwara family and Mimosuso River imagery in *waka*, we turn to the Buddhist monk-poet Saigyō. Late in life when Saigyō was living near Ise Shrine, he completed a self-matching poetry contest called the Mimosuso River Poetry-Matching Contest (*Go-Mimosusogawa uta-awase* 御裳濯河歌合) in 1187 and asked Fujiwara no Shunzei to judge the matches and provide comments on them.[335] After reading one of Saigyō's poems in the thirty-sixth pairing related to the Mimosuso River and providing a response, Shunzei further wrote his own poem in response:

藤なみを	**Waves of wisteria**
みもすそ川に	divert the flow
せき入れて	of the **Mimosuso River**;
ももえの松に	let it flow to

[334] The base manuscript for *Kyūan hyakushu zenshaku* 久安百首全釈.

[335] Kiyoko Takagi, "Saigyō: A Search for Religion," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 4, no.1 (March 1977), 57.

かけよとぞ思ふ　　the hundreds of pines

Shunzei's response:

ふぢなみも　　If the **waves of wisteria**
みもすそ河の　　are at the end
末なれば　　of the **Mimosuso River**,
しづえもかけよ　　let it flow to the lower branches
松のもも枝に[336]　　of the hundreds of pines[337]

The "waves of wisteria" (*fuji nami*) are a reference to the Fujiwara family lineage. The literal meaning of the pines mentioned here are the pine forests that surround Ise Shrine. The metaphoric meaning, however, is that the highest-ranked Fujiwara family members, who Saigyō notes have diverted some imperial power to themselves, should share more with others. As a member of the Fujiwara family himself, Shunzei's response is self-denigrating; as someone on a lower or less high-status branch (of the family tree), he does not have enough status to receive such imperial power or change the situation for others.

Lady Nijō's *Towazugatari* とはずがたり (An Unrequested Tale, ca. 1306) offers a later medieval example from after the Jōkyū Disturbance. Discussing the 1289 deposition of the imperial prince Koreyasu's appointment as *shōgun*, she writes:

> さても、将軍と申すも、夷(えびす)なるなどか、おのれの世を打ち取りて、かくなりたるなどにてもおはしまさず。後の嵯峨天皇第二の皇子と申すべきにや、後の深草御門(みかど)には御年とやらむほどやらむ御まさりにて、まづ出で来たまひにしかば、十善(じふぜん)の主(あるじ)にもなりたまはば、これも位をも継(つ)ぎたまふべき御身なりしかども、母准后(じゅごう)の御事ゆゑかなはでやみたまひしを、将軍にて下りたまひしかども、ただ人にてはおはしまさ

[336]Taniyama, Tanaka, et al. Accessed via Nihon bungaku web toshokan. Emphasis added. Both of these poems also appear in the *Fūgawakashū* imperial poetry anthology.

[337] My translation. Emphasis added.

で、中務（なかつかさ）の新王と申しはべりしぞかし。その御跡なれば、申すにや及ぶ、何となき御思ひ腹など申すこともあれども、藤門執柄（とうもんしっぺい）の流れよりも出でたまひき。いづ方（かた）につけてか、すこしもいるかぜなるべき御事にはおはしますと思ひつづくるにも、まづ先立つものは涙なりけり。

Although Prince Koreyasu held the title of shōgun, this did not mean that he had engaged in great military exploits. His father, Prince Munetaka, was known as the second son of Emperor GoSaga, but I understand that Munetaka was actually born a few months or a year before GoFukakusa, which would have made him the eldest son. If Munetaka had become emperor, Koreyasu would probably have succeeded him; but the lowly position of Munetaka's mother prevented this. And although Munetaka went to Kamakura to became shogun, he remained a member of the imperial family, being known as the prince of the general affairs ministry. Hence Munetaka's son Koreyasu was a nobleman beyond all cavil, and rumors of his illegitimacy were unfounded: His mother was a Fujiwara of the highest standing. Recalling the purity of Koreyasu's lineage on both sides, I could only weep.[338]

［Lady Nijō's poem］

五十鈴川	Mimosuso River,
同じ流れを	do not forget
忘れずは	those swept up in your flow!
いかにあはれと	what kind of pathos
神も見るらむ[339]	the gods must feel looking on[340]

The subject of interest here—Koreyasu—is of the imperial line, and Lady Nijō's poem expresses similar sentiments to those we saw above in relation to the gods feeling regret about abandoning Tsuchimikado to his fate. What I want to highlight here, however, is Koreyasu's lineage,

[338] Karen Brazell, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), 191. Emphasis added.

[339] SNKBZ, *Towazugatari*, 438–39. Emphasis added.

[340] Poem is my translation as Brazell's translation eliminates the Mimosuso River reference. Emphasis added.

particularly the emphasis on his mother's lineage.[341] She is of the Fujiwara regental line (藤門執柄), which like a river is discussed in terms of a "flow" (流れ). The tragedy of Koreyasu's shogunal deposition is multiplied by the fact that his "lineage on both sides" (いづ方につけて) is of a high caliber.

A second example from *Towazugatari* focuses on Lady Nijō's own familial connections to the divine:

> 十五日の朝、小町殿もとより、「今日は都の放生会の日にてはべり。いかが思ひ出づる」と申したりしかば、
>
> On the morning of the fifteenth I received a letter from Lady Komachi: "Today is the day of the Hōjōe festival at the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine in Kyoto. What memories does it bring to mind?" I replied with a poem:
>
> 思ひ出づる　　Useless memories!
> かひこそなけれ　　Though of Iwashimizu lineage
> 石清水　　No water from its stream
> 同じ流れの　　Flows through to me now.
> 末もなき身は
>
> 返し、
> She responded:
>
> ただ頼め
> 心の注連の[342]　　Yet have faith, for the gods
> 引く方に神も　　Weave their compassion

[341] The underlined portions above highlight the subject (Koreyasu) and discuss his lineage.

[342] 注連 is a boundary that designates land or a place as one's own, like ropes strung between trees, and is associated with the gods.

あはれはさこそ[343]　　Round those who draw near.[344]

This poem exchange with Lady Nijō demonstrates a few things. First, we see an example of lineage being used with water imagery—a forward-moving flow (*nagare* 流れ) that culminates in an end (*sue* 末)—and linked to an ancestral shrine, in this case the Seiwa Minamoto, Lady Nijō's line.[345] Lady Komachi's question is based on the presumption that Lady Nijō should have positive associations with the festival and shrine, given her lineage. However, Lady Nijō instead expresses her frustration at a perceived lack of positive divine intervention in her life from Hachiman. Although his favor should flow to her—the "end" of her current lineage, i.e., its current living descendants—she and that flow are spatially misaligned. Lady Komachi's response—that Lady Nijō needs only ask for divine assistance—is also compounded in spatial terms, i.e., the god will enfold Lady Nijō within the boundary of its purview (*shime* 注連(しめ)). As such, in Lady Komachi's interpretation, divine favor is geographically inscribed not only as linked to lineage and river imagery, but also in the symbolic location of where one is in relation to it. This poetic exchange is followed, however, by a disappointing account of Lady Nijō's viewing of the Hōjōe Festival at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. Visiting the shrine did not change her experience or connection to her familial patron god.

[343] SNKBZ, *Towazugatari*, 435–36.

[344] Brazell, 189.

[345] Iwashimizu (Hachimangu) was also designated one of the "two ancestral mausoleum" (*nisho sōbyō* 二所宗廟) along with Ise Shrine in the medieval period.

Summary

I have shown in this chapter how texts about the Jōkyū Disturbance reacted to and explained the exile of three former emperors, a heretofore inconceivable situation. The chapter contextualized why it was important to carefully narrate these exiles, including describing historical practices of spirit pacification (*chinkon*), the danger of the spirits of high-ranked aristocrats who died in the political impotency of exile, and the need to rationalize the exiles to retain a sense of aristocratic cohesion as the mythomotor of imperial legitimacy was endangered.

Later depictions of the exiles, such as the mid-thirteenth century Rufu-bon and late thirteenth to early fourteenth century Maeda-bon variants of *Jōkyūki*, represent GoToba and Tsuchimikado as written against historic precedent for imperial exiles in the cultural imaginary. GoToba is linked with Sugawara no Michizane and Retired Emperor Sutoku, respectively; none of the descriptions of his exile include a more literary poetics of place. In these texts and also *Rokudai shōjiki*, Tsuchimikado's exile is linked with Emperor Antoku and Retired Emperor Sutoku, but we also see more literary references that link him to a poetics of exile that was standardized in *Genji monogatari*; this seems more of a direct effort at spirit pacification and/or softening his position within the exile narrative. The texts composed immediately following the events of the Jōkyū Disturbance, however, including the Jikōji-bon variant of *Jōkyūki* and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, poetically express doubt about imperial legitimacy through ancestrally linked Mimosuso River imagery in reaction to the exiles. Before the disturbance, poets had tried to link their familial lines to the Mimosuso River as a symbolic association with imperial authority and power. Afterwards, however, we see increasing doubts about the efficacy of prayer and the power of the gods to intervene.

Conclusion

This project began as an attempt to understand what a newly discovered poetry-based historical narrative about the aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance could tell us about the interconnections of cultural memory, textual circulation, literary conventions, and political power. Who are the dominant protagonists in the historical narratives that form the basis of cultural memory, and who tells their stories? How does our conception of a historical period change when a new voice is added to its larger narrative—both in terms of what that voice says but also what we can interpret about its exclusion? What falls into the gaps of communicative and cultural memory and why? What effect do literary conventions have on what is said and the degree to which it is valued?

My first chapter set the stage by arguing that *waka* poetry is a medium for historical narrative, particularly for the court aristocracy in the early medieval period. At a moment when the main protagonists of dominant historical narratives shift from emperors and high-ranked Kyoto aristocrats to the newly-developing *shogunate* in Kamakura, we still see voices of the court woven through the fabric of a spectrum of literary works in the form of poetry embedded within other genres. In particular, we see representations of aristocratic women, who appear only marginally in earlier *kagami* vernacular histories inspired by Chinese classics. Chapter One also begins to explicate the complications of *waka* as a medium for historical narrative by addressing the multiple temporalities coexisting within it. Over the course of the chapter, I demonstrated a shift in early medieval poetry towards relativistic poetic temporalities by (a) showing increasingly individuated geographies of time in a comparison of the opening spring poems in

Kokinshū and *Shinkokinshū* and (b) comparing the seasonal progression of a year of mourning in *Genji monogatari* with the early medieval individual timeless year of mourning.

Chapter Two examined cultural and linguistic barriers between experience and literary narration as well as the gap between what is written and what is remembered. I argued that omniscient dominant narratives about "turning points" of early medieval Japanese history are written with an emphasis on the past (pacifying the losers) and the future (securing the power of those who won), but that we see multiple narrative challenges in texts written from the perspective of confusion during the present moment of the event. Drawing on trauma theory and memory studies theory, I showed how these difficulties range from logistics, such as lack of information outside of what one witnessed, to the challenge of narrating traumatic experience. After composition, these narratives also faced problems in reception, as they neither supported the post-war dominant powers nor were they fully able to articulate experiences within standard literary conventions. Narrating the extraordinary, in these cases, required pushing the boundaries of literary expectations.

I argued that the "deep memory" of eyewitnesses holds a special value within cultural memory, even these memories were not widely disseminated through literary works. This value may lie more in how the event was experienced than content about the event itself. Accounts such as those I analyze in this chapter, *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, offer perspectives on historical experiential moments through revealing how it *felt* to live through such tumultuous times. The narrators' inner worlds convey the gravity of the events with the affect of the experience, impressing on the reader what it was like in a way that third-person narration could not capture. Drawing on trauma theory which proposes that the nature of traumatic experience destabilizes the division between individual and collective

experience, I further asserted that even eyewitness wartime narratives are never solely speaking only for themselves; even if a text was never disseminated widely, it is still part of the cultural memory of that moment.

My last chapter investigated literary expressions of concern about the legitimacy of the imperial family's power in the aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance. I analyzed how three variants of *Jōkyūki* portrayed the exile of three former emperors, reading these passages through the literary-religious lense of using of literature as part of spirit pacification (*chinkon*); the historical lens of comparison to the precedent of former high-ranked historical exiles such as Sugawara no Michizane and Retired Emperor Sutoku; and the literary lens of comparison with a poetics of exile established in *Genji monogatari*.

I determined that the depiction of Tsuchimikado is consistently an outlier among all the textual variants—resisting pacification, historical comparison, or a standard poetics of exile. I argued how the passage describing his exile is colored by a poem immediately preceding it by GoToba's mother, Shichijō'in, in which she directly questions the legitimacy of the imperial line if the gods allow these men to remain in exile through a metaphor about the Mimosuso River. I contextualized this poem within larger discourse about the Mimosuso River, linked to Ise Shrine, within early medieval *waka* poetics, showing the unusual nature of this usage. Drawing on another example of a similar Mimosuso River reference from *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, I argued that this poetic narration of Tsuchimikado's exile was another extraordinary circumstance that required pushing the boundaries of standard *waka* composition. I then showed later examples from *gunki monogatari* that used similar language to express the same unbelievable circumstance—the idea that a former emperor had lost divine favor. In this and other poems linking aristocratic lineage to rivers associated with aristocratic family shrines, I argued that we

see increasing disbelief in the early medieval period in divine power to save those ostensibly under their protection.

While my research offers an initial approach to reading early medieval poetics as cultural memory and representation of the aristocratic court, further work could be done on other poetry found within dominant historical narratives of early medieval Japan. I have analyzed a few poems and depictions in the Jikōji-bon variant of *Jōkyūki*, but there is more to be gleaned from poems in *Rokudai shōjiki* as well as *Heike monogatari* about the narrative representation of the aristocratic court's loss of political power.

Appendix I: First 20 poems in *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū*

Kokinshū

(1) 旧年に春立ちける日、よめる — 有原元方
Written when the first day came within the old year — Ariwara no Motokata

年の内に — spring is here before
春はきにけり — year's end when New Year's Day has
ひとゝせを — not yet come around
去年(こぞ)とやいはむ — what should we call it is it
今年とやいはん — still last year or is it this

(2) 春立ちける日、よめる — 紀貫之
Written on the first day of spring — Ki no Tsurayuki

袖ひちて — today long-awaited
むすびし水の — day when spring begins will
こほれるを — the breeze melt icebound
春立けふの — waters in which we once dipped
風やとくらむ — cupped hands drenching summer robes

(3) 題しらず — よみ人しらず
Topic unknown — Anonymous

春霞 — where is it that the
たてるやいづこ — warm mists of spring are rising—
み吉野(よしの)の — here on the slopes
よしのの山に — of lovely Mount Yoshino
雪はふりつゝ — the snows continue to fall

(4) 二条后の、春の初めの御歌(おほむうた)
Composed by the Nijō Consort on the beginning of spring — (Anonymous)

雪の内に — spring has come amidst
春はきにけり — the icy lingering snows
鶯の — of winter surely
こほれるなみだ — now the frozen tears of the
いまやとく覧(らむ) — mountain thrush will melt away

(5) 題しらず 読人しらず
Topic unknown Anonymous

梅が枝に he cries on and on
きゐるうぐひす the mountain thrush perched on
春かけて branches of the plum
鳴けどもいまだ long-awaited spring has come
雪はふりつゝ still the snows of winter fall

(6) 雪の木に降り掛れるを、よめる 素性法師
Snow on the trees Sosei

春たてば has he come to see
花とや見らむ if those are not spring's blossoms—
白雪の white snow clusters rest
かゝれる枝に heavily on bare branches
鶯のなく where now the mountain thrush cries

(7) 題しらず よみ人しらず
Topic unknown Anonymous

心ざし so longingly have I
ふかく染めてし awaited the fresh flowers
おりければ of spring that they have
消えあへぬ雪の dyed my soul and I see snow
花とみゆらん as clustered blooms on branches

ある人の曰く、前太政大臣の歌也
Some say this poem was composed by the former Chancellor.

(8) ニ条后の、春宮の御息所と聞えける時、正
月三日御前に召して、仰せ言ある間に、日は
照りながら、雪の頭に降り掛りけるを、よま
せ給ける 文屋康秀
Ordered by the Nijō Consort (who was then known as Lady of the Bedchamber)
to compose a poem about the snow falling on his head in the sunshine,
as he stood in audience before her on the third of January Funya no Yasuhide

春の日の though I bask in the
光にあたる comforting warmth of spring's light

我なれど　　how melancholy
頭の雪と　　to think that my hair now
なるぞわびしき　　wears a crown of winter snow

(9)　雪の降りけるを、よめる　　紀貫之
On falling snow　　Ki no Tsurayuki

霞たち　　when the warm mists veil
木の芽も春の　　all and buds swell　while yet
雪ふれば　　spring snows drift downward
花なく里も　　even in the hibernal
花ぞちりける　　village　crystal blossoms fall

(10)　春の初めに、よめる　　藤原言直
At the beginning of spring　　Fujiwara no Kotonao

春やとき　　has spring come early—
花やをそきと　　or are the plum blossoms late—
聞き分かむ　　I would like to know
鶯だにも　　but not even the song of
鳴かずもあるかな　　the mountain thrush trills the answer

(11)　春の初めの歌　　壬生忠岑
A poem on the beginning of spring　　Mibu no Tadamine

はるきぬと　　already　they say
人はいへども　　spring is here　but as for me
うぐひすの　　while yet there is no
なかぬかぎりは　　song from the mountain thrush　I
あらじとぞ思　　cannot believe spring has come

(12)　寛平御時后宮歌合の歌　　源当純
A poem from the poetry contest held at the residence of the Consort in the Kanpyō era (889-898)　　Minamoto no Masazumi

谷風に　　warm breezes blowing
とくる氷の　　down the valley slopes　melt the
ひまごとに　　winter’s ice　at each
打ちいづる波や　　crack a foamy wave bubbles

春のはつ花　　upward　spring’s first showy blossoms

(13)　　紀友則
(from the same contest)　　Ki no Tomonori

花の香を　　on the wings of the
風のたよりに　　wind　I’ll send the fragrant scent
たぐへてぞ　　of plum blossoms
鶯さそふ　　a summons of spring　to guide
しるべにはやる　　that longed-for mountain thrush to me

(14)　　大江千里
(from the same contest)　　Ōe no Chisato

うぐひすの　　were it not for the
谷よりいづる　　song of the mountain thrush that
声なくは　　rises from the glen
はるくることを　　who would even suspect that
誰かしらまし　　spring has　at long last　arrived

(15)　　在源棟梁
(from the same contest)　　Ariwara no Muneyana

春たてど　　no flowers show their
花もにほはぬ　　beauties in the lonely mountain
山ざとは　　villages　though spring
もの憂かる音に　　has come　the very notes of
鶯ぞなく　　the mountain thrush are cheerless

(16)　題しらず　　読人しらず
Topic unknown　　Anonymous

野辺ちかく　　because I make my
家居しせれば　　home near the fields and meadows
うぐひすの　　each and every
なくなるこゑは　　morning I hear the song of
朝な朝なきく　　the mountain thrush trilling spring

(17) (topic unknown) (Anonymous)

春日野は　not today do not
けふな焼きそ　burn the Kasuga Meadows
わか草の　now for here amidst
つまもこもれり　the soft spring-green grasses hide
我もこもれり　my gentle sweetheart and I

(18) (topic unknown) (Anonymous)

深山には　deep in the lovely
松の雪だに　mountains lingering snow weighs
きえなくに　the pine boughs while in
宮こは野べの　the fields of the capital
わかなつみけり　already they pluck young herbs

(19) (topic unknown) (Anonymous)

春日野の　oh guardian of
飛火の野守　the fields at Tobuhi
いでて見よ　on Kasuga Plain
今幾日ありて　go out to look how many
わかなつみてん　days before we pluck new herbs

(20) (topic unknown) (Anonymous)

梓弓　like arrows shot from
をして春雨　a catalpa bow raindrops
けふ降りぬ　stream down today
あすさへ降らば　even should it rain tomorrow
若菜つみてん[346]　I will pluck the young spring herbs[347]

[346] SNKBT, *Kokinshū*, 19–24.

[347] Rodd, *Kokinshū*, 49–55.

Shinkokinshū

(1) 春たつ心をよみ侍りける — 摂政太政大臣
Imagining 'the beginning of spring' — Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, Regent and Chancellor

み吉野は — lovely Yoshino
山もかすみて — mists hide the mountains from view
白雪の — but to the ancient
ふりにし里に — village where but yesterday
春はきにけり — the white snows fell spring has come

(2) 春のはじめの歌 — 太上天皇
On the beginning of spring — Emperor GoToba

ほのぼのと — indistinctly yet
春こそ空に — it seems a new spring has come
きにけらし — to the sky across
天の香具山 — Kagu mountain of the heavens
かすみたなびく — trail wispy banners of mist

(3) 百首歌たてまつりし時、春の歌 — 式子内親王
A spring poem composed when she was presenting a hundred-poem sequence — Princess Shokushi

山ふかみ — so deep the mountains
春ともしらぬ — waiting unaware that spring
松の戸に — has come sporadic
たえだえかゝる — taps on my pine bough door are
雪の玉水 — jeweled drops of melting snow

(4) 五十首歌たてまつりし時 — 宮内卿
Composed when she was presenting a fifty-poem sequence — Kunaikyō

かきくらし — the sky darkens and
なをふる里の — in the untouched snow that falls
雪のうちに — still on the village
跡こそ見えぬ — where I once lived I see no
春はきにけり — footprints yet still spring has come

(5) 入道前関白政大臣、右大臣に侍ける時、百
首歌よませ侍けるに、立春の心を
Imagining ‘the beginning of spring’ when asked to compose a hundred-poem sequence during the time the Lay Monk and former Regent and Chancellor was Minister of the Right

皇太后宮大夫俊成
Fujiwara no Shunzei, Master of the Palace Quarters of the Empress Dowager

けふといへば　　today　this special day
もろこしまでも　　I thought of spring as something
ゆく春を　　that comes only to
都にのみと　　our capital　though we know it
思ひけるかな　　journeys even to far Cathay

(6) 題しらず
Topic unknown

俊恵法師
Shun’e

春といへば　　because they say it’s
かすみにけりな　　spring　mists veil the landscape　till
きのふまで　　yesterday they were
波間に見えし　　visible between the waves
淡路島山　　mountains of Awaji Isle

(7)
(topic unknown)

西行法師
Saigyō

岩間とぢし　　this morning　it seems
氷もけさは　　it’s begun to melt　ice that
とけそめて　　clogged the spillways through
苔のしたみづ　　the crags　water now seeping
道もとむらん　　beneath the moss seeks release

(8)
(topic unknown)

よみ人しらず
Anonymous

風まぜに　　although the chilly
雪はふりつゝ　　winds carry whirling snowflakes
しかすがに　　even now　we still know
霞たなびき　　spring has arrived at last
春はきにけり　　trailing its banners of mist

(9) (topic unknown) (anonymous)

時はいまは　　this is the time of year
春になりぬと　　when spring arrives they say as
み雪ふる　　banners of mist trail
とをき山べに　　across distant mountainsides
霞たなびく　　where lovely white snow falls

(10) 堀河院御時百首歌たてまつりけるに、残りの雪の心をよみ侍りける　　権中納言国信
Composed while imagining ‘lingering snow’ when he was presenting a hundred-poem sequence during the reign of Retired Emperor Horikawa　　Minamoto no Kunisada, Supernumerary Middle Counselor

春日野の　　beneath the surface
したもえわたる　　of Kasuga field new buds
草の上に　　of grass push upward
つれなくみゆる　　eager as my love through
春のあは雪　　a thick blanket of spring snow

(11) 題しらず　　山辺赤人
Topic unknown　　Yamabe no Akahito

あすからは　　in fields I roped off
若菜つまむと　　I’d thought to pick the young shoots
しめし野に　　from tomorrow on
昨日もけふも　　but yesterday and today
雪はふりつゝ　　snow has continued to fall

(12) 天暦御時屏風歌　　壬生忠見
A screen poem composed in the Ten’ryaku Era (947-957)　　Mibu no Tadami

春日野の　　already the grass
草はみどりに　　that covers Kasuga field
なりにけり　　has turned a spring green
若菜つまむと　　who has marked these fields as his
たれかしめけん　　who will come to pluck these shoots

(13) 崇徳院に百首歌たてまつりける時、春の歌　　前参議教長
A spring poem composed when he was presenting　　Fujiwara no Norinaga,
a hundred-poem sequence to Retired Emperor Sutoku　　former Consultant

若菜つむ　　like white sleeves of girls
袖とぞ見ゆる　　plucking young herbs on the plain
春日野の　　of Kasuga　on
とぶひの野べの　　Tobuhi field are scattered
雪のむらぎえ　　patches of unmelted snow

(14) 延喜御時の屏風に　　紀貫之
From a screen painted in the Engi Era (901-923)　　Ki no Tsurayuki

ゆきて見ぬ　　even those who don't
人もしのべと　　come to see them must yearn　so
春の野の　　as a memento
かたみにつめる　　of spring fields I pluck young herbs
若菜なりけり　　and pile them in my basket

(15) 述懐百首歌よみ侍けるに、若菜　　皇太后宮大夫俊成
On 'young herbs,' when he was composing　　Fujiwara no Shunzei, Master of the
a hundred-poem sequence on grievances　　Palace Quarters of the Empress Dowager

沢におふる　　it is not because
若菜ならねど　　I have been plucking young herbs
いたづらに　　growing in marshy
年をつむにも　　waters　for in vain the years
袖はぬれけり　　pile up and my sleeves grow damp

(16) 日吉社によみてたてまつりける子日の歌
A poem on the Day of the Rat　　(Fujiwara no Shunzei, Master of the
presented to the Hiyoshi Shrine　　Palace Quarters of the Empress Dowager)

さゞ波や　　the pines on Shiga
志賀の浜松　　shores where the small waves roll in
ふりにけり　　have grown old　in whose
たが世にひける　　reign might the seedlings have
子の日なるらん　　been plucked　on which Day of the Rat

(17) 百首たてまつりし時 藤原家隆朝臣
When presenting a hundred-poem sequence Fujiwara no Ietaka

谷河の even icy waves
うちいづる波も surging through floes in valley
こゑたてつ rills raise happy cries—
鶯さそへ summon the mountain thrush
春の山風 spring wind from the high peaks

(18) 和歌所にて、関路鶯といふことを 太上天皇
Composed at the Poetry Bureau on the topic
'mountain thrush at the barrier' Emperor GoToba

鶯の a mountain thrush calls
なけどもいまだ but still the snow flakes fall on
ふる雪に cryptomeria
杉の葉しろき needles silvery white
逢坂の山 mountains of Ōsaka

(19) 堀川院に百首歌たてまつりける時、残りの雪
の心をよみ侍ける 藤原仲実朝臣
Composed imagining 'lingering snow' for a hundred-poem Fujiwara no Nakazane
sequence presented to Retired Emperor Horikawa

春きては so that we may see
花とも見よと blossoms signs that spring has come
片岡の delicate snow falls
松のうは葉に sheathing the upper branches
あは雪ぞふる of pines on Kataoka

(20) 題しらず 中納言家持
Topic unknown Ōtomo no Yakamochi, Middle Counselor

巻向の at Makimuku
檜原のいまだ there are as yet no clouds to
くもらねば hide the cypress plains
小松が原に delicate snow falls to film

あは雪ぞふる[348]　　the meadow of little pines[349]

[348] SNKBT, *Shinkokinshū*, 20–25.

[349] Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*, 3–12.

Appendix II: A Translation of *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*

(1)[350]

At four years old [Tsuchimikado] gained the rank of Emperor and then (protected the realm) for twelve years [1198–1210]. After that, he was (in the capital) for ten (and one) years (as Retired Emperor).[351] Then, although he humbly spoke of his hope (to remain there), (it was decided that) he move. Surely those [servants] from the previous reign [in the capital/at court] would be taken with him, but as we heard it… and with that… [there was] his departure.[352] With those who were to live with him decided… anxiety, people…. those left behind suffered, but there was nothing to be done about it.

みにかへて	even if I switch places….
おもは(ぬ)__しも	although I wasn't thinking to stay,
なきもの__	there's no helping it:
とまるはをしき	staying here is
いの(ち?)なりけり	my unfortunate lot in life

(2)

In the (tenth) month on the Retired Emperor's journey out [to Tosa], they stayed for short awhile at the Horikawa Temple,[353] and as I went along to accompany him [that far], I realized, "I only have now to see him (for the last time)," and all I could think was, "I want to die [here],":

---

[350] Poem numbers have been added for easier reference. Significant insect damage, particularly in the initial portions of the text, has created some textual gaps. I consulted both Tabuchi et al. and Yamasaki's annotations for the unmodified transcription of the poems and use the following shorthand symbols:
( ) = content inferred from unreadable or missing text; I follow Tabuchi et al. and/or Yamasaki's suggestions
(?) = content inferred from unreadable/missing text for which Tabuchi et al. and/or Yamasaki have a low level of certainty
a blank underlined area = missing text that has no single logical reading
[ ] = extradiegetic information, added to make the English translation more accessible

Finally, a note about the title and genre. The difference between (prose-heavy) vernacular *wabun* memoirs (*nikki*) and (poetry-focused) personal poetic collections (*shikashū*) is contentious due to the debatable degree of emphasis on one or the other, but we can see clues from the manuscript itself. In imperial poetry anthologies—which set standards for poetry collections—the headnotes prefacing a poem are indented, and the poems are not. The reverse is true for memoirs, where the prose takes precedence and poetry is indented. Despite the relatively small amount of text we see here and the title which was added later, for this manuscript—the only extant version of this text—the poems are indented, indicating an emphasis on prose narration. I formatted by translation to follow this visual layout of the original manuscript.

[351] Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado was in the capital for eleven years. Three characters are missing after「十年」(*jyūnen*), and Yamasaki suggests this included something like「余り一年」(*amari ichinen*) . Yamasaki, 154.

[352] Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado left the capital on the tenth day of the tenth month of 1221 for Tosa province.

[353]「ほりかわの堂」(*Horikawa no Dō*) is an unclear reference. It could refer to the place mentioned in the tenth scroll of the Kakuichi version of *Heike monogatari* as the place where Taira no Shigehira is held after being

いてゝいなん	while I see his figure now
すかた＿みても	departing and heading off,
いかにせむ	what can I do about it?
＿＿さきたつ	Ah, if only (my) life
いのちとも(がな?)	went before (his)

(3)

Dawn (and his departure) approached, and because I was feeling out of sorts,

いつちとも	not even knowing
思もわか(ぬ)	which way (he has gone)
あけほのに	as day breaks—
いかてなみ(だ)の	how is it that these tears
さきにたつらむ	somehow lead the way?

(4)

Hearing the crying of those who came to present themselves as the imperial palanquin approached near dawn, I was of course saddened[354]—

ありしにも	Even just thinking
あらぬ(み?)ゆきと	how this trip
思ふにも	is not like any that came before,
つら(な＿)そては	the sleeves of those lined up are
さこそぬるるらめ	so drenched through

[No manuscript gaps from this point on]
---

(5)

captured alive (Hachijō Horikawa Hall), but this would place it in an unexpected direction for someone traveling to Tosa. Yamasaki, 155.

[354] "*Yoru*" here refers to both "night" (close to dawn) and the palanquin drawing physically near. This is a pun with "dew" and "*koshi*" as the night finishes its circuit.

On returning to the Tsuchimikado Palace,[355] as I was doing things like removing cushions from the sovereign's noontime resting place and dusting them off, I was overcome with emotion and choked on tears.

かはりゐる	I hadn't thought of it
かりのよとこの	even as much as
ちりはかり	the dust that replaces him
おもはさりきな	on the bed of this temporary world:
かゝるへしとは	that something like this would happen.[356]

(6)

As the imperial trip is to Tosa,

人かすに	although like everybody else
けふはゆくとも	I went today,
わひつゝは	this anguish
かへるもとさと	is of thinking

[355] Yamasaki explains the complicated living arrangements. In 1214, then-Emperor Tsuchimikado's imperial palace burned. It had been called various names by different resident emperors—in Tsuchimikado's time, it was known as the Kyōgoku Imperial Palace (大炊御門京極殿), but previous emperors Shirakawa, Toba, and GoToba had also lived there. After the palace burned, Tsuchimikado moved in with his mother Shōmeimon'in (承明門院), the wife of Emperor GoToba. Yamasaki, 161. This imperial "temporary residence" (*sato-dairi* 里内裏) had already been known as the Tsuchimikado Palace as it was located on Tsuchimikado Avenue (土御門大路).

[356] As Yamasaki notes, the motifs of a lonely woman and dust on an (unused) pillow for her lover are taken up in *The Tale of Genji* and by Lady Daibu, when she exchanges poems with Taira no Shigemori's widow after his death in 1179:

Lady Daibu:

とまるらむ	My thoughts are with you
古き枕に	As the dust lies thick
塵はゐて	On his old pillow,
払はぬ床を	Where it surely still remains
思ひこそやれ	On a bed that is unswept.

Reply from Shigemori's widow:

磨きこし	Piled high, the dust lies
玉の夜床に	On that bed of ours, which once
塵積みて	We kept as bright as a polished gem,
古き枕を	And there lies his pillow as of old—
見るぞかなしき	To see it brings such misery!

SNKBZ, *Ukyō no daibu*, 58–59. Harries, 135.

おもはましかは　　if only my return was also to Tosa[357]

(7)

It was thought the emperor should move to a place nearby (the capital), so on hearing that he was expected to move to Awa[358]—

なにと又　　why, again,
なるとの浦の　　is his move to beyond
うらわたり　　the strait of Naruto?
あはれやなにの　　how wretched, and for what
むくひなるらん　　is this in retaliation to?

(8)

Lying down and gazing out at the bamboo growing in the eastern-facing interior garden, I can't even handle the poignancy of the wind blowing.

よろつよの　　Companion of
ともとそうへし　　a thousand ages!
たけのはに　　in the leaves of the grown bamboo
ひとりかなしき　　I hear the solitary sadness
風わたるなり　　of the wind moving.[359]

---

[357] This contains two references to Lady Daibu's poems and one to a poem in the *Senzaiwakashū*. The Lady Daibu poems are:

(1) Poem 280, from the fifth section of Tanabata poems:

人数に　　Today, like everybody else,
今日は貸さまし　　I would lend the Weaving Maid
唐衣　　My Chinese robe,
涙に朽ちぬ　　But for the moldering of its sleeves
たもとなりせば　　From the dampness of my tears.

SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu*, 139; Harries, 247.

(2) Poem 151, when Sukemori had not been in contact with Lady Daibu for some time:

わびつつは　　It was in my dejection
重ねし袖の　　That I broke off this orange blossom,
移り香に　　For it brought to mind
思ひよそへて　　The scent with which my sleeves were steeped,
折りしたちばな　　When they were piled on yours in sleep.

SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu,* 78. Harries, 159.

[358] Present-day Tokushima Prefecture.

[359] This poem is discussing how the author thought that Tsuchimikado'in would remain with her, in the capital, for a long time; in other words, how his departure is as unnatural as the bamboo's leaves turning color. There is a lot of

(9)

Unable to sleep, I gaze at the cloudless moon at dawn with the entrance to my partitioned room not entirely closed. The Tsuchimikado Major Counsellor [Sadamichi][360] had gone to Her Highness' sleeping quarters,[361] staying until it was close to dawn. Perhaps it because he was leaving that there was the sound of her sliding doors opening, and when he walked toward a middle gate[362] with no one accompanying him, he leaned against [a pillar and sat down], gazing up at the dawn moon.

梁元昔遊	The ancient revels of Emperor Yüan of Liang!
春王之月漸落	—Again, the moon of Spring Prince Terrace slowly sinks.
周穆新会	A modern gathering of King Mu of Chou!
西母之雲欲帰	—The clouds of the Queen Mother of the West are now about to leave.[363]

On hearing him recite this,

みなれこし	just how truly deep is

word-play in this poem; Yamasaki points out word-associations (*engo*) among "a thousand ages/worlds" (*yorozu yo*), "bamboo" (*take*), and "lie down" (*fushi*). The "thousand ages" connection stems from the bamboo's ever-green leaves. "Companion" (*tomo*) is a reference to poem 432 in the *Wakan Rōeishū* by Bai Juyi in which he uses the phrase 「吾友」 (*ware tomo*, "my friend") for bamboo. Yamasaki, 166.

[360] Minamoto or Tsuchimikado Sadamichi (1188–1247). He began the Tsuchimikado line. His father was Minamoto no Michichika (1149–1202), who served at court during the reigns of seven emperors. Michichika wrote *Takakura'in Itsukushima Gokōki* (1180, The Record of Retired Emperor Takakura's Imperial Trip to Itsukushima, 高倉院厳島御幸記), and *Takakura'in Shōkaki* (1181, The Record of Retired Emperor Takakura's Death, 高倉院昇霞記). The two documents are collectively called *Minamoto no Michichika Nikki* (Minamoto no Michichika's Memoirs, 源通親日記). Both Yamasaki and Tabuchi et al. note many similarities between these records and *Tsuchimikado'in Nyōbo Nikki*. Sadamichi was the fourth son of Fujiwara no Hanshi (藤原範子). She adopted Minamoto no Zaishi (1171–1257, 源在子), who would be later known as Shōmeimon'in (承明門院)—the wife of Emperor GoToba and mother of Emperor Tsuchimikado—making Sadamichi the maternal half-sister of the retired Empress.

[361] Referring to Shōmeimon'in, Sadamichi's maternal half-sister.

[362] There was one western and one eastern "middle gate," in the middle of covered corridors running perpendicular to the sleeping quarters. Someone sneaking in would ride an ox-cart to the gate, dismount, take off their shoes, and tiptoe in from there.

[363] Sadamichi is quoting *Wakan Rōeishū* poem 659, a *kanshi* by Sugawara no Funtoki. Translation from J. Thomas Rimer and Jonathan Chaves, *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*: *The Wakan rōei shū* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1997), 196–7.

そのおもかけの	even the longing for
恋しさも	that familiar face
いかにまことに	I had grown accustomed to,
ありあけの月	the dawn moon

(10)

Because I was feeling out of sorts, I looked out through the south-facing gate middle gate[364] and saw the unchanged state of the place where the imperial small bow had been.[365]

もゝさやむ	(meaning unclear)
むなやなかりし	(meaning unclear)
あつさゆみ	has it become a world
なとひく人の	without the person
なきよなるらん	who drew the catalpa bow?[366]

(11)

わすられぬ	attached only to
おもかけはかり	the visage
みにそえて	I can't forget
みるもかなしき	even gazing (alone) is sad
月のかけ哉[367]	ah, the light of the moon

[364] The author is facing into the south garden that was in front of the main hall. Yamasaki, 169. This "south-facing middle gate" doesn't appear to exist in standard drawings of the type of palace architecture popular at the time (*shinden-zukuri*). However, it's possible that as this is a temporary imperial residence, the construction is a bit different.

[365] The "small bow" (こゆみ) is not a real bow but a toy-like version used in aristocratic contests of skill, which frequently occurred in spring. Yamasaki notes a possible relation between this memory and the one in poem 25, which involves cherry-blossom viewing near the middle gate.

[366] To restate more directly, has this person died. Bows were commonly made from the soft wood of catalpa trees (あづさ).

[367] Yamasaki lists a few poems preceding and following this which also include おもかげ (visage, face, image) and 身に添える (to attach to oneself). Predecessors include *Shinkokinshū* poem 837**,** a poem by Saigyō in the grief poetry section and Lady Daibu poem 225:

なきあとの	kept company now
面影をのみ	only by memories of
身に添えて	the image of one
さこそは人の	no longer here such is the depth
恋しかるらめ	which human love may reach

SNKBT, *Shinkokinshū*, 251. Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*, 345.

(12)

Her Highness' grief surpassed even reason, so on seeing and expressing that sadness—

なみたかは	in the river of tears
そてよりをつる	falling from her sleeves
たきつせに	in rapids—
うきぬはかりと	oh, the sorrow at seeing
みるそかなしき[368]	only the reflection [of her son]

(13)

Consumed by the feeling that there was no one on whom I could rely, I lamented, "What should I do?"

かすならて	while I'd thought myself
ほとなきみとそ	so insignificant
おもひしに	as to not be counted [among the attendants],
いまは心の	now there is no place in my heart
をきところなき	to put [more grief]

(14)

Even when an acquaintance dispatched a message to me asking, "What is the extent of your grief?"[369] I felt it.

かなしさの	if this sadness
そのあか月の	remained the same as during

ためしなき	Cruel, cruel,
かかるわかれに	That despite this parting,
なほとまる	Such that we shall never see its like,
面影ばかり	The specter of his face
身にそふぞうき	Clings to me yet!

SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu*, 113. Harries, 207.

[368] Tabuchi et al. note two poems related to Retired Emperor Takakura's death that may have influenced this one, from Lady Daibu's memoir and *Takakura'in shōkaki*.

[369] This could be a reference to part of the headnote of *Izumi Shikibu shū* poem 162: 「なげく事ありとききて、人のいかなる事ぞととひたるに」("A time when I had grief came, and what things people have asked!")

まゝならは	that approaching dawn,
けふまて人に	would I still today
とはれましやは	be asked/checked in on by others?[370]

(15)

Reminded of the impending dawn when he left the capital, I remembered thinking "It's over now,"[371] but somehow I spent my days and lived on and emotionlessly thought,[372]

いまはとて	it's the 'now'
おもひをくりし	that I'd thought (would be the end),
あけほのゝ	how does the me
心のいかて	of that dawn
なをのこりけん	still remain?

(16)

When there's something delightful I can't help but smile, but think to myself, "What happened to this?" surprising even myself.

ありふれは	as time passes
なくさむとしも	even when
なけれとも	it isn't an amusing moment,
なみたのひまの	I'm sad at
あるそかなしき	the lack of tears

(17)

---

[370] Yamasaki points out that the "approaching dawn" (あか月, *akatsuki*) refers back to the author's separation from Tsuchimikado'in in poems 2–4. This poem rhetorically asks if she would have lived this long if her grief had remained the same as that day (indicating that it has lessened in intensity). Yamasaki, 173.

[371] Literally, "the limit" of her life.

[372] Yamasaki notes 「つれなく」(*tsurenaku*)—literally, "without feeling" –indicates a separation or disconnect between the author's mind/thoughts/feelings and physical body. I suggest that "emotionlessly" could be used interchangably here with "numbly." Lady Daibu poem 230 also includes this phrase:

かばかりの	enduring
思ひにたへて	this much feeling
つれもなく	so numb
なほながらふる	and still indifferent even to
玉の緒も憂し	the lengthening thread of my life

SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu*, 116. My translation.

Day and night, there is no end to the falling tears.

わかそてを	to what shall I compare
なにゝたとへむ	my sleeves?
あま人も	those of female divers,
かつかぬひまは	I have heard,
ぬれすとそきく	dry out when not diving[373]

(18)

Looking at the cloudless moon and thinking perhaps [Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado was also viewing] the same moon, my mood brightened—

おもひやる	thinking of him
心やゆきて	my heart travels there—
もろともに	are we now together
たひのそらなる	looking at the moon
月をみるらん	from his perspective?

(19)

[Rain] spilled in to my sleeping area, and asked if I'd seen it [I replied]—

このころの	these days
とこはなみたに	my bed is so
ならはれて	drenched with tears,
あめのもるにも	even if it was wet with rain
かへさゝりけり	I wouldn't flip the bedding

(20)

Contemplating the [female attendants] serving [Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado] who think, "My [feelings of grief] aren't inferior to anyone else's" is very sad.

たつねはや	I'd like to pay a visit;
たれもなけきを	we all gather our grief
こりつめて	like firewood, but
むねにたく火の	to compare the flame
ほのをくらへを	blazing in our chests

[373] The implication is that the narrator's never dry out because of her constant tears, so this is not an appropriate comparison.

(21)

Hearing of others' grief at having lost someone, [those left behind] think, "How do I go on living?"

あさましく	how wretched
おもふにたかふ	for life to be
いのちかな	so different than expected
いとふもなかし	to have taken care and lengthened it
おしめともなし	and even then to have lost it

(22)

At or in the vicinity of [Tsuchimikado'in's] palace, there was no way to find consolation as even now I felt I might see him [there], so I left my room there. There was even less comfort elsewhere—

やとかへて	even changing my lodging
おもふもかなし	is sad to consider
いかにせん	what should I do
みをもはなれぬ	with his shadow
きみかおもかけ	that I can't part from?

(23)

From me, who was [so insignificant as] to not be counted [among Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado's attendants], there was no hope for my respectfully prayers [for his return], but on [today], the third day of the month, I humbly asked, "If only I could see [him] again..."

三日のよは	on the evening of the third day
かけたにみむと	I prayed to see him
いのれとも	just by the light of that day's moon,[374]
むなしくてのみ	but it came to naught:
ありあけの月	the dawn moon

(24)

[374] With the days being determined by a lunar calendar, the first day of the month was a new moon and the fifteenth day of the month was a full moon. In this scheme, the moon on the third day of a month would have little light.

From then to now and from now onward,[375] my feelings of anguish somehow continued, interfering with my sleep and piling up the number of days I stayed up all night—

まとろめは	if I fall asleep
ゆめにも君を	I could maybe see
みるものを	his highness again...
ねられぬはかり	there's nothing more painful
うきものはなし	painful than lack of sleep

(25)

Grieving, grieving, [in this way] it became the first month.

さりともと	even saying that
まつ事もなき	I hadn't been waiting
としたにも	for this year,
かならすかへる	could it not be spring
春にやはあらぬ	that always returns[376]

(26)

As it's become spring, on seeing the blossoms at the middle gate [of Tsuchimikado's former residence][377] blooming beautifully—

きみまさぬ	with the owner [Tsuchimikado] gone
やとにはなにと	why do the blossoms
さくらはな	[still bloom]?
かへらぬはるは	in this spring without [his] return,
えたにこもらて	they do not hide on the branches[378]

(27)

おのかさく	if the blossoms know
はるをもしらは	it's spring when they bloom,
心して	show some care [for the grieving],

[375] This phrase is echoed in the headnote for the final *chōka* (long poem). The "then" it refers to includes the Jōkyū Disturbance and Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado's departure from the capital into exile.

[376] The narrator here is conflating the "return" of spring with the "return" of Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado from exile. While spring has returned again, she wishes for it to have been her former patron.

[377] This is the same middle gate referenced in the headnote to poem 9.

[378] This poem suggests that the blossoms should not bloom until Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado's return.

ことしは花の	what if they didn't
にほはさりせは	bloom this year

I enviously remembered [the line from the poem], "the thing called flowers..."[379]

(28)

Because I had long served in the palace, there was someone who invited me to return to service in the rear palace, but first the tears overflowed:

さらに又	to once again
おほうちやまの	view the moon
月もみし	from the palace—
なみたのひまの	if there's a break [in his] tears,
あらはこそあらめ	then there really is no break[380]

(29)

Seeing that in the eaves of the old palace, a grass called *shinobu* was growing thickly,[381]

のきはには	in the eaves
わするゝ事も	though there is something
ある物を	that has forgotten [grief],
しのふはかりは	why is it that
なにしけるらん	only the grass called endure thrives

(30)

The kerria (in the garden) in front of my room had bloomed beautifully, but on a morning when I could see it had wilted with dew—

くちなしに	though its orange-yellow
物こそいはぬ	is the color of
いろなれと	speechlessness,

[379] This is a reference to poem 524 in the fifth imperially commissioned *waka* poetry anthology, *Kin'yō wakashū* (Collection of Golden Leaves, ca. 1120s), which describes blossoms as things that don't know sadness. Tabuchi et al., 374.

[380] Recalling poem 18, this is another instance of the narrator conflating her view of the moon with Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado's view. If there is a break in his tears to see the moon (from exile), then he'll see it isn't a view from the moon from the palace, which will reignite the tears. Tabuchi et al. note that other female aristocratic court attendants have narrated sadness at returning to the palace to serve after losing a former patron, notably Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu and Sanuki no Suke. Tabuchi et al., 376.

[381] "*Shinobu*" can mean "to remember/recall" (偲ぶ) or "to endure" (忍ぶ).

露にもしるし	the dew makes clear (its grief)—
やまふきの花	kerria flowers

(31)

In the sixth month, though I wanted today to be the end of my grief, my mood didn't change—

うき事は	though everyone thinks
みな月はつと	gloom ends
おもひしに	at the end of the sixth month,
秋たつ日こそ	even at the start of autumn
又かなしけれ	I'm still sad

(32)

My feelings of grief [for his exile] have reached three years. At the end of that [third] year—

けふもくれ	counting up,
あすもあはぬと	today has ended
かそへきて	and tomorrow hasn't yet dawned—
なけくみとせの	sadness at the end
はてそかなしき	of three years of grief

(33)

Without end, the tears not pausing day or night—

かくはかり	is there anything
なけかさらまし	more grievous than this?
あか月の	if only I
露よりさきに	had expired before
きえなましかは	the dew on that dawn [he departed]

(34)

It became autumn again. In the midst of listening to the insect cries, I heard a pine cricket—

かへりこむ	listening to
きみまつむしの	the cry of the pine cricket
こゑきけは	thinking to welcome [him] home—
秋よりほかに	I thought there could be

うれしきはなし　　nothing happier than autumn[382]

(35)

When I heard that he had died, it felt like I was seeing a dream within a dream; it absolutely did not feel real.

おのつから　　we'd thought perhaps
こきもやよすと　　he'd row back
思ひしを　　but in the end
やかてむなしき　　there's only the sadness of
ふねそかなしき　　an empty boat[383]

(36)

After he died, seeing the people from Awa [who had served him there] return to the capital—

いろ／＼の　　seeing the figures of those
花のすかたと　　who had [worn robes like]
みしものを　　multicolored flowers
一いろなる　　now all wear the same:
すみそめのそて　　black-dyed sleeves

(37)

After hearing that he had passed into Amida's Pure Land, I couldn't get it out of my head what he used to always say—

夏の日の　　"think of a lotus
はちすをおもふ　　on a summer day"[384]—
こゝろこそ　　the meaning here
いまはすゝしき　　now [on his crossing] sitting on
うてなゝるらむ　　a cool lotus platform

(38)

[382] Tabuchi et al. note there were multiple periods when rumors circulated of Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado's possible return to the capital, including from 1225–1227. They suggest this poem was composed during an autumn in that period of a possible hopeful return. Tabuchi et al., 383.

[383] The empty boat here being a euphemism for the former emperor's death.

[384] This is a quote from the *kanshi* poem 711 in *Wakan rōeishū* that Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado was apparently fond of. As Tabuchi et al. note, however, the author's use of it does not align with the original context. Tabuchi et al., 388.

Feeling like even now, I can hear his voice reciting the *kanshi* poetic line, “On an autumn night, awaiting the moon”[385]—

あまつそら	remembering
思いてゝや	the sky
なかむらむ	is he now looking or reciting?
あきのよまちし	on an autumn night, waiting for
山のはの月	the moon to peek over the mountain’s crest

(39)

Thinking that today was the [anniversary of the] day that [Tsuchimikado’in] departed the capital, I was saddened.

かそふれは	if I was to count,
うかりしけふに	we’ve come back around
めくりきて	to this grief-filled day, and
さらにかなしき	isn’t the sky at dusk
くれのそら哉	even sadder

(40)

On the eleventh day of the tenth month, [Tsuchimikado’in] passed away. Gazing at the sky at nightfall on the last day of the month [at the absent moon] with bitter regret—

十かあまり	Feeling sad
ひとひすくるも	that the tenth day
かなしきに	has already passed by,
たつさへをしき	ah, the bitterness also of the end of
神な月かな	the godless month

(41)

On the day when mourning ended, after hearing [Buddhist rituals] and leaving [the temple],

かへるさは	On the way back
いとゝ物こそ	somehow growing even
かなしけれ	sadder,

[385] This is a reference to the same *Wakan rōeishū* poem as referenced in poem 37.

なけきのはては	the end of grief
なをなかりけり	isn't here yet

(42)

Now not able to think about the reality (that he is dead), and thinking he's just on a journey away from the capital:

わすれては	Forgetting
おなしよにある	and feeling like
心ちして	we're in the same world—
さはさそかしと	the sadness at realizing
思かなしさ	he's gone[386]

(43)

From the beginning of spring to the close of the year, from then to now and from now onward, remembering and feeling without a moment's rest (from grief)—

はつはるの	At the beginning of spring
十日あまりに	just after the tenth day[387]
くらゐ山	a pine seed
うつしうへてし	was transplanted to
まつかねの	the mountainous throne,[388]
いつしかこたかく	and from the time when

[386] Yamasaki notes an influence here from *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* poem 218, which Lady Daibu sends to Sukemori as he is fighting in the west, just after his brother Koremori's death:

おなじ世と	How wretched it is
なほ思ふこそ	To think that this is still
かなしけれ	The same world as before,
あるがあるにも	A world where life itself
あらぬこの世に	No longer counts as life.

Yamasaki, 204. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 109. Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 107. Harries, 203.

[387] This date correlates with his ascension to the throne, referred to in poem 1.

[388] Tabuchi et al. note this as an unusual phrase. Other poems such as *Shinkokinshū* poem 729 reference the tradition of plucking and transplanting pine seedlings on the first Day of the Rat each year and wishing the Emperor the long life associated with the trees, but there are no preexisting extant examples in *waka* of direct comparisons of transplantation and the Emperor's ascension to the rank. Tabuchi et al., 399.

なりしより	it had gotten tall,
あまつそらふく	even the wind
風なれと	blowing from the heavens
えたもならさす	didn't rustle the branches
をとなくて	and made no sound[389]—
たのみあふかぬ	there were none
人もなし	who did not rely on him.
四海のなみも	Even the waves of the seas
しつかにて	in the four directions calmed,
ゆきかふゝねも	even the boats coming and going
おそれなく	were not in danger,
たみのかまとも	even the people's cooking stoves

[389] This is a reference to a trope in Chinese texts which links a sovereign's peaceful reign with the image of wind not rustling tree branches. This indicates a lack of disturbance to the peace. Yamasaki cites the original source of this imagery from *Seikeizakki* (西京雑記, Miscellaneous Notes from the Western Capitol, here meaning Chang'an), a Chinese history of anecdotes from the early Han period: 「太平之世、則風不鳴條」(*taihei no yo, sunawachi kaze ha eda wo narazu*). Yamasaki, 207. The same analogy is used by other waka poets including Lady Daibu. This appears as poem 1098 in the *Shinchokusenshū*:

> In the time of Emperor Takakura, this was tied to some fake leaves and dispatched to someone who said they wanted to see the autumn leaves from the Wisteria Hall:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 吹く風も | Such is this age |
> | 枝にのどけき | That even rushing winds |
> | みよなれば | Are tranquil in the boughs: |
> | 散らぬ紅葉の | Gaze, then, upon the colors |
> | 色をこそ見れ | Of maple leaves that shall not fall. |

Lady Daibu Poem 111. SNKBZ, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 61; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 55. Nakagawa Hirō, ed., *Shinchokusen wakashū*, Waka bungaku taikei 6 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2005), 207.

Saionji Saneuji (1194–1269), who sided with Emperor GoToba in the Jōkyū Disturbance and was briefly held in captivity afterwards before being released, has this poem appear as #28 in the same imperial anthology:

> Composed in the eleventh month of the first year of Kangi [1229] at the folding screen [poetry contest] at Her Majesty's entrance into court,[389] on the topic of "a willow outside of a dwelling near a river and the mountains."
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | うちはへて | unchanging |
> | 世は春ならし | as if springtime lingers in the world |
> | 吹く風も | even the rushing winds |
> | 枝をならさぬ | don't howl in the branches |
> | 青柳の糸 | of the strands of the willow tree |

Shinchokusenshū poem 28. Nakagawa, *Shinchokusenshū*, 12. My translation.

ゆたかなり	were abundant.[390]
春は宮人	Spring: the palace attendants
うちむれて	gathering together en masse,
のとけきゝみの	and as it's his
みよなれは	peaceful reign,
おほうちやまの	viewing the Ōuchiyama
花をみる	cherry blossoms.[391]
夏は衣を	Summer: the clothes
たちかへて	changed out,
山郭公	continuing to wait for
まちえつゝ	the mountain *hototogisu*,
おなし心に	and since we exchange words
かたらへは	with the same intention,
みしかきよをそ	is it the short nights
うらみこし	that deepen our resentment?
秋はよすから	Autumn: even the insects
なくむしも	that cry all night long
のとかなるへき	raise their voices
君かよを	spreading the word
こゑふりたてゝ	of his reign
きこゆなり	that should be tranquil.

[390] This is yet another reference to the goodness of the Emperor and echoes a poem by Emperor Nintoku, *Shinkokinshū* poem 707:

たかき屋に	climbing the highest
のぼりて見れば	tower I gaze about me
煙たつ	and see the thick smoke
民の竈は	rising from the cook stoves of
にぎはひにけり	my people what happiness

SNKBT, *Shinkokinshū*, 209. Rodd, *Shinkokinshū*, 291.

[391] Ōuchiyama (大内山) is another name for the imperial palace, but this doesn't fit with the above lines. If the author is emphasizing the peacefulness of the reign, then the location for cherry blossom viewing could be outside of the palace walls. Ōuchiyama is also the mountain name for Ninna-ji, a temple in western Kyoto. Ōuchiyama could also refer to a specific type of cherry blossom, thought to be named such due to growing in abundance around Ninna-ji. It is likely that the author is talking about viewing this particular type of cherry blossom, possibly at or near Ninna-ji temple.

冬はあしまの	Winter: even the little grebes[392]
にほとりも	in a gap of the reeds
たまものとこに	cross wings
はねかはし	on their nest of water-weeds;
おとろくけしきも	there is no sight
さらになき	more surprising.
花ももみちも	Gazing at
月ゆきも	the cherry blossoms and the maple leaves,
をりをすくさす	and the moon and the snow
なかめつゝ	which didn't miss one moment,
十返三の	ten-and-three
春秋は	springs and autumns
こゝのへにてそ	had gone past
すきこしを	in the palace, [393]
みもすそかはの	and (even) the flow
なかれには	of the Mimosuso River
かきりありける	has limits
ふちせいて	in its transient shallows and depths
ついにはをりゐ	and in the end
給ひにき	(he) abdicated
しつかなりける	And during the time
うれしさと	when I was happy
きみをあふきて	with the quiet
すくすまに	as I looked up to him,
よのをゝあみに	he was caught up in
ひかれつゝ	the large net of the world's happenings
とさへあはへと	and traveled
めくりきて	to Tosa, to Awa,
あとにとまれる	and the women (divers)[394]
あま人は	were left behind
なみたをなかして	to stream tears
すくすかな	and continue on
はるかなりとも[395]	and though he's distant,

[392] Yamasaki notes that にほどり is an old term for カイツブリ, the little grebe or dabchick water bird with a distinctive red neck.

[393] Tsuchimikado'in ruled for twelve years and ten months, then abdicated at age sixteen under intense pressure from his father GoToba in favor of his brother Emperor Juntoku. Yamasaki, 210.

[394] This references poem 17; the author is included in this group.

[395] This references the headnote to poem 42; see Chapter Two for a discussion.

わひつゝは	while we grieved
よにたにおはし	at the very least
ませかしと	he was still in this world
思しことも	we thought
かひなくて	but even that was lost
つひにむなしき	and in the end
ふねなれは	with his death like an empty boat—
いかにせましと	how should we respond to that?—
なけくとも	even while grieving,
月日のみこそ	only the months and days
かさなりて	pile up
たとへむかたも	and there is nothing
なかりけれ	to which this can be compared.
返／＼も	Thinking over and over,
なにせんに	“How on earth
春をうれしと[396]	could we have thought
おもひけん	spring happy?”
はてはかなしき	The end is sad [of spring drawing nearer to]
神な月哉	the godless month[397]

[396] This refers to the spring of Tsuchimikado’s accension; see the headnote of this *chōka*, referencing 初春 (*hatsuharu*).

[397] This refers to the tenth month, i.e., the anniversary of Tsuchimikado’s death.

Bibliography

Editions of Primary Sources

Abe Akio, Imai Gen'e, Akiyama Ken, and Suzuki Hideo, ed. *Genji monogatari* 1-6. Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 20–25. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994–1998.

Hasegawa Tadashi, ed. *Taiheiki*. 4 vols. Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 54–57. 4th printing. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2007–2008.

Hirata Hideo, ed. *Mimosusogawa utaawase*, *Miyagawa utaawase shinchū*. Shinchū waka bungaku sōsho 11. Tokyo: Seikansha, 2012.

Horiuchi Hideaki and Akiyama Ken, ed. *Taketori monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 17, 3rd ed. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999.

Inoue Muneo, ed. *Masukagami*. 3 vols. Tokyo: Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko, 1979–1983.

Ishikawa Yasumi and Tani Tomoko, ed. *Shikishi Naishinnō shū*, *Toshinari-kyō no Musume shū*, *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*, *Tsuyakotoba*. *Waka bungaku taikei* 23. Series ed. Kutoba Jun. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2001.

Ishino Keiko and Misumi Yōichi, ed. *Sumiyoshi monogatari*, *Torikaebaya monogatari*. Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 39. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2002.

Itoga Kimie, ed. *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*. Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei 28. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979.

Iwasa Miyoko, ed. *Fūgawakashū zenchūshaku*. Vol. 1–3. Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2004.

———, ed. *Gyokuyō wakashū zenchūshaku,* Vol.1–4. Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1996.

Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizō, ed. *Kokinwakashū*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 5. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989.

Kojima Noriyuki, Naoki Kōjirō, Nishimiya Kazutami, Kuranaka Susumu, and Mōri Masamori, ed. *Nihon shoki*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 2. Fourth printing. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, [1994] 2006.

Kubota Jun, ed. *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*, *Towazugatari*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 47. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999.

——— and Hirata Yoshinobu, ed. *Goshūi wakashū*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 8. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1994.

——— and Masuda Takashi, ed., *Hōgen monogatari*, *Heiji monogatari*, *Jōkyūki*. Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 43. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992.

———, Nakamura Aya, Watanabe Yumiko, Ienaga Kaori, Kinoshita Hanako, and Takayanagi Yūko, ed. *Shōji ninen In shodo hyakushu*. Waka bungaku taikei 49. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2016.

Matsubayashi Yasuaki, ed. *Shintei Jōkyūki*. Koten bunko 68. Tokyo: Gendai shichō shinsha, 2006.

Nakagawa Hirō, ed. *Shinchokusen wakashū*. Waka bungaku taikei 6. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2005.

Ōsone Shōsuke and Kubota Jun, ed. *Takakura'in shōkaki*. In *Chūsei nikki kikō shū*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 51. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990.

Tabuchi Kumiko and Chūsei Waka no Kai, ed. *Minbukyō no Tenji shū*, *Tsuchimikado'in no Nyōbō zenshaku*. Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 2016.

Tachibana Kenji and Katō Shizuko, ed. *Ōkagami*. Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 34. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996.

Tanaka Naoko and Kusaka Tsutomu, ed. *Maedakebon Jōkyūki*. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2004.

Tanaka Yutaka and Akase Shingo, ed. *Shinkokinwakashū*. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei 11. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992.

Taniyama Shigeru, Tanaka Yutaka et al, ed. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1-10. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1983. Accessed via JapanKnowledge.

Torao Toshiya, ed. *Engishiki* 1-3. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2000-2017.

Yamasaki Keiko, ed. *Tsuchimikado'in onhyakushū, Tsuchimikado'in Nyōbō nikki shinchū*. Shinchū waka bungaku sōsho 12. Tokyo: Seikansha, 2013.

Yuge Shigeru, ed. *Rokudai shōjiki*, *Godai teiō monogatari*. Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2000.

Secondary Readings

Bialock, David T. *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from The Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

———. "Outcasts, Emperorship, and Dragon Cults in The Tale of the Heike." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 13 (2002): 227–310.

Brazell, Karen. *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973.

Brightwell, Erin L. *Reflecting the Past*: *Place, Language, and Principle in Japan's Medieval Mirror Genre*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020.

Burk, Stefania. "Reading between the Lines: Poetry and Politics in the Imperial Anthologies of the Late Kamakura Period (1185–1333)." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001.

Carter, Beth M. "Engulfed in Darkness: Mourning Poetics in Classical Japanese Literature." PhD diss. University of Pennsylvania, 2016.

Caruth, Cathy. *Unclaimed Experience*: *Trauma, Narrative, and History*. Twentieth anniversary edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016.

Duthie, Torquil. *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan*. Boston: Brill, 2014.

———. *The Kokinshū*: *Selected Poems*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2023.

Ebersole, Gary L. *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Gatten, Aileen. "Fact, Fiction, and Heian Literary Prose: Epistolary Narration in *Tonomine Shosho Monogatari*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, No. 2 (Summer 1998): 153–95.

Gomi Fumihiko. *Heike monogatari*: *shi to setsuwa*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987.

Gunji Naoko "Horrified Victors: Spirit Pacification of Taira Losers." In *Lovable Losers: the Heike in Action and Memory*. Edited by Mikael S. Adolphson and Anne Commons. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015, 166–84.

Harries, Phillip Tudor. *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980.

Hayashi Kaoru, "Narrating Vengeful Spirits and Genealogies in Premodern Japanese Literature." PhD diss. Princeton University, 2018.

Heldt, Gustav. *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan*. Cornell East Asia Series 139. Ithaca, N.Y: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008.

Hertz, Robert. "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death." Extract from *Death and the Right Hand*. Translated by Rodney and Claudia Needham. Reprint of translation in *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader*. Edited by Antonius Robben. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004 (1960 [1907]): 197–212.

Huey, Robert. *Kyōgoku Tamekane*: *Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.

Iwasa Miyoko. *Iwasa Miyoko Serekusyon 1*: *Makura no sōshi*, *Genji monogatari*, *Nikki kenkyū*. Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2015.

Kashiwagi Yoshio. "Mimosusogawa." *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten*. Ed. Katagiri Yōichi. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983. Accessed via Nihon bungaku web toshokan.

Kawamura Teruo. "Yume [夢]." *Utamakura utakotoba daijiten*. Ed. Kubota Jun and Baba Akiko. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1999. Accessed through JapanKnowledge.

Kuroda Toshio. "The World of Spirit Pacification: Issues of State and Religion." Translated by Allan Grapard. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, nos. 3-4 (1996): 321–51.

LaFleur, William R. *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

Lifton, Robert Jay and Eric Olsen. "Symbolic Immortality." Extract from *Living and Dying*. Reprint in *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader*. Edited by Antonius Robben. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004 (1974), 32–39.

Luckhurst, Robert. *The Trauma Question*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Maki Yūsuke. *Jikan no hikaku shakaigaku*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997.

Matsubayashi Yasuaki. *Chūsei no senran to bungaku*. Ōsaka: Izumi shoten, 2018.

Matsumae Takeshi. "The Heavenly Rock-Grotto Myth and the Chinkon Ceremony." *Asian Folklore Studies* 39, no. 2 (1980): 9–22.

McCarty, Michael Barrett. "Divided Loyalties and Shifting Perceptions: The Jōkyū Disturbance and Courtier-Warrior Relations in Medieval Japan." PhD diss. Columbia University, 2013.

McCullough, Helen Craig. *Okagami, The Great Mirror: Fujiwara Michinaga* (*966–1027*) *and His Times: A Study and Translation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

——— and William H. McCullough. *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1980.

Mc Nelly, Kim. "Re-Cycling Her Words: The Transmission of Narrative Through Poetry in the Reception of *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* Within the Imperial Waka Anthologies." M.A. thesis. University of British Columbia, 2015.

Miller, Stephen D. With translations by Patrick Donnelly. *The Wind from Vulture Peak: The Buddhification of Japanese Waka in the Heian Period*. New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2013.

Mostow, Joshua S. and Royall Tyler. *The Ise Stories*: *Ise monogatari*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010.

Nakamura Aya. "'Iwamu kata naki' keiken to 'arazu naru yo'—*Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* ni miru jidai ishiki." *Nihon bungaku* 55 no.7 (July 2006), 2–11.

Nakano Masako, "Genji monogatari ni okeru aitō to yume—tōbō shi to Haku shi *Muhai shōkō* [夢裴相公] no kawari ni miru." In *Genji monogatari to Hakushi Bunshū*. Ed. Nihei Michiaki. Tokyo: Shintensha, 2012), 65–87.

Nishimiya Kazutami. "Isuzugawa to Mimosusogawa." *Kogakukan Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō* 43 (March 2005): 1–12.

———. "Isuzugawa to waka." *Tamagaki* no. 61 (Sept 1963): 7–25.

Obayashi Taryo. "*Uji* Society and *Ie* Society from Prehistory to Medieval Times." *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 11 no. 1 (Winter 1985): 3–27.

Oyler, Elizabeth. "Vernacular Histories: *Eiga monogatari, Ōkagami, Gukanshō*." *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*. Ed. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Barnett Lurie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016: 193–205.

Pandey, Rajyashree. *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*: *Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016.

———. *Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan: The Works of the Poet-Priest Kamo no Chōmei*. Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies no. 21. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998.

Perkins, George W. *The Clear Mirror*: *A Chronicle of the Japanese Court During the Kamakura Period (1185–1333)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Plutschow, H.E. *Chaos and Cosmos*: *Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990.

Rimer, J. Thomas and Jonathan Chaves. *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*: *The Wakan rōei shū*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Rodd, Laurel Rasplica. *Shinkokinshū*: *New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*. 2 vols. Boston: Brill, 2015.

——— with Mary Catherine Henkenius. *Kokinshū*: *A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*. Boston: Cheng & Tsui Co., 1996.

Selinger, Vyjayanthi R. *Authorizing the Shogunate: Ritual and Material Symbolism in the Literary Construction of Warrior Order*. Boston: Brill, 2013.

Sensō to Man'yōshū Kenkyūkai, ed. *Sensō to Man'yōshū* 1-5. 2018–2023. Available online: https://manyogakushi122.wixsite.com/manyo

Shimizu Fukuko. "'Shinkokinshū' kara monogatari e, monogatari kara 'Shinkokinshū' e—aishōka no keifu." *Kokinshū Shinkokinshū no hōhō*. Ed. Asada Tōru, Fujihira Izumi, et al. Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2004: 119–40.

Shirane, Haruo, ed. *Traditional Japanese Literature*: *An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

———. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*: *Nature, Literature, and the Arts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

———. *The Bridge of Dreams*: *A Poetics of* "*The Tale of Genji*." Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.

Shōgaku Tosho, ed. *Koji zokushin kotozawa daijiten*. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1982. Accessed via JapanKnowledge.

Steineck, Raji C. "Time and Old Japan: In Search of a Paradigm." *KronoScope*: *Journal for the Study of Time* 17, no. 1. Special Issue "Time in Historic Japan," ed. Brigitte Steger and Raji C. Steineck. Leiden: Brill, 2017: 16–36.

Stockdale, Jonathan. *Imagining Exile in Heian Japan*: *Banishment in Law, Literature, and Cult*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015.

Stone, Jacqueline I. *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*: *Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.

Takagi Kiyoko. "Saigyō: A Search for Religion." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 4 no.1 (March 1977): 41–74.

Tanaka, Stefan. *New Times in Modern Japan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Tani Tomoko. "*Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* ni miru Sukemori kuyō: Shōsokugyō no igi to hōhō." In *Kaiōgyū*: *Dan no Ura to Heike monogatari*. Ed. Matsuo Ashie. Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2005: 220–37.

Toyo'oka Shigeru. *Jingika*: *Chūsei kajin no kamigami e no inori*. Tokyo: Ebisu kōshō shuppan, 2007.

Tyler, Royall, trans. *The Tale of Genji*. New York: Penguin Books, 2001.

———. *Before Heike and After*: *Hōgen*, *Heiji*, and *Jōkyūki*. 2nd edition. Charley's Forest NSW Australia: Blue-Tongue Books, 2016.

———. *The Tale of the Heike*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2012.

Watanabe, Takeshi. *Flowering Tales*: *Women Exercising History in Heian Japan*. Harvard East Asian Monographs 427. Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Press, 2020.

Wilson, William R. *Hōgen monogatari*: *Tale of the Disorder in Hōgen*. New York: Cornell East Asian Program, 2001.

Yagi Ichio. "Mimosusogawa to Isuzugawa." *Shintōshi kenkyū*. Shintōshi kenkyūkai 29 no. 1 (January 1981): 31–47.

Yamaguchi Masatoshi. "Tsuchimikado Tennō." *Nihon kokushi jiten*. 1–15. Ed. Daijiten Henshū Iinkai. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1979–1997. Accessed through Japan Knowledge.

Young, James E. "Between History and Memory: The Voice of the Eyewitness." *Witness and Memory*: *The Discourse of Trauma*. Ed. Ana Douglass and Thomas A. Vogler. New York: Routledge, 2003: 275–283.

Yoshino Tomomi. *GoToba'in to sono jidai*. Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2015.