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The Space of Letters:

Correspondence and Narrative in *Kagerō Nikki*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Deborah Alexis Price

2026

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2026

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Space of Letters:

Correspondence and Narrative in *Kagerō Nikki*

by

Deborah Alexis Price

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2026

Professor Torquil Duthie, Co-Chair

Professor Michael Emmerich, Co-Chair

Like many vernacular *kana* texts of the Heian period (794–1185), the writing of *Kagerō nikki* (ca. 972-974) is predicated on correspondence as the essential mode of informal writing for men and women. The records of poetry composition and exchange throughout Michitsuna's Mother's (935–995) diary emphasize how correspondence between figures in the aristocratic social world of the Imperial capital and across geographies in the material world of the Heian realm utilized epistolary and poetic conventions to negotiate for real-world benefits, play with literary convention, and experiment with vernacular forms of individual expression. Moreover, *Kagerō*'s autobiographical narrative of these exchanges reveals how the abstract, discursive spaces in which the social, political, and literary intersect: Letters, poems, and the messengers who carry them traverse the geographic, social, gendered, and ritual spaces of the Heian capital and beyond, and the poetic content of these missives takes advantage of poets' knowledge of their

environment, even though this knowledge must be tacitly recognized by readers. As such, geographic and material spaces are implicated in certain social and cosmological discourses of movement and access, which are then implicated in sociopolitical discourses unique to the Heian capital. Because correspondence is a written/literary expression of movement, moments of epistolary exchange in *Kagerō* illuminate the elements of space and provide for the dedicated analysis of place, rather than merely time, in the narrative. This dissertation considers space as a lens for bringing into focus a narratological approach in considering the literary techniques that Michitsuna's Mother inscribes and the interpersonal contexts she ascribes to imagined, poetic geographies, which also have social and material significance to herself. Through her narrativization of these correspondences in her diary, the author and other contributors advocate and negotiate for social and material outcomes through a poetic logic that expands with Michitsuna's Mother's literary experience into a more individualized vernacular prose style. Ultimately, my examination of space in *Kagerō nikki* considers both the material and cultural conditions of space and place through the social practice of written poetic correspondence that constructs the unique literary space of the diary.

The dissertation of Deborah Alexis Price is approved.

Seiji Lippit

Christina Laffin

Torquil Duthie, Committee Co-Chair

Michael Emmerich, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2026

DEDICATION

For Cole and Yvonne

and for Michitsuna

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MYS	*Man'yōshū*
KKS	*Kokinwakashū*
GSS	*Gosenwakashū*
SIS	*Shūiwakashū*

SNKBT 6	*Gosenwakashū*. Katagiri Yōichi, ed. Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 6. Iwanami Shoten, 1990.
SNKBT 7	*Shūi-wakashū*. Komachiya Teruhiko, ed. Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 7. Iwanami Shoten, 1990.
SNKBT 24	*Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki, Murasaki Shikibu nikki, Sarashina nikki*. Hasegawa Masaharu, Imanishi Yūichirō, Itō Hiroshi, Yoshioka Hiroshi, eds. Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei 24. Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
SNKBZ 2	*Nihon Shoki I*. Kojima Noriyuki, Naoki Kōjirō, Nishimiya Kazutami, Kuranaka Susumu, and Mōri Masamori, eds. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 2. Shōgakukan, 1993.
SNKBZ 11	*Kokinwakashū*. Ozawa Masao and Matsuda Shigeho, eds. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 11. Shōgakukan, 1994.
SNKBZ 13	*Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki*. Kikuchi Yasuhiko, Kimura Masanori, and Imuta Tsunehisa, eds. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 13. Shōgakukan, 1995.

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This dissertation is the culmination of fourteen years of research dedicated to *Kagerō nikki*, and I have been fortunate to have received the support of many institutions and individuals that were invaluable to my education and academic development. Although words are not sufficient for expressing the depths of my gratitude, I shall try to articulate my appreciation to all of those involved here.

First, I thank the Terasaki Center for Japanese Studies, the Hiruhisa Shinto Chair, and the Yanai Initiative for sponsoring me at UCLA. With the support from these institutions, I have been able to complete research in Los Angeles and abroad, concluding in this dissertation. I am also humbled to have received research fellowships from the US Fulbright Scholars Program (IIE) and the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (DDRA) Program for my doctoral research in Japan. These fellowships enabled me to research with top scholars in the field of Japanese literary studies in Tokyo, as well as on-site at locations critical to *Kagerō nikki* in Kyoto.

In retrospect, it seems to have been providence that I enrolled in Torquil Duthie's Japanese Civilization course in my very first quarter as a UCLA undergraduate. The readings he assigned to the class drew from the breadth of Japan's literary traditions and deepened my understanding of the historical course materials. When I attended his weekly office hours, Prof. Duthie was happy to expand on the materials and was the first to reveal to me the joys of literary research—the complications and nuances of trying to comprehend writings and cultural artifacts from centuries long past. The following quarter, I changed my major from Political Science to Japanese. As I continued my undergraduate studies, I took many more classes on Japanese premodern literature with Prof. Duthie, so when it came time to decide on an advisor for an

undergraduate thesis, he seemed the natural choice. I explained to him that I was interested in reality and fiction—in the classical Japanese literary context—à la Jean Baudrillard, and he suggested the diary known as *Kagerō nikki* for my research focus. Little did I know that was only the beginning, for Prof. Duthie's patient mentorship (and corrections) in research as well as career planning for well over a decade gradually but resolutely challenged me to expand my mind, effort, skills and experience. Anything that I am now I owe to Prof. Duthie. Thank you.

I would be remiss were I to overlook the late Michael Marra's influence on my classical Japanese education. Prof. Marra first taught me classical Japanese in 2010. His adoration of *waka* poetry—and his insistence that his students learn it, and maybe even embrace it as he did—inspired my growing interest in classical Japanese literature, of course, but it was his ferocious tenacity for his work and life, as well as the kindness that he showed toward his students, that became a model for a deportment that undergirded my academic career. He and his then-TA, Kirk Kanesaka (whom I can proudly count as a colleague), were responsible for laying the foundation of my premodern Japanese literacy, and their impact on my work, thus, cannot be overstated.

It was in late 2012 that I first encountered Seiji Lippit. He had led a graduate seminar on modern Japanese literature that concerned body, affect, and movement; it was the seed from which this dissertation ultimately grew, steadily watered by my curiosity and benefactors. Prof. Lippit graciously probed the class for thoughts and opinions, demonstrating at once *what* to ask and *how* to ask to engage mindfully and meticulously with a variety of research materials, as well as with colleagues in the academic world. Beyond that, though, Prof. Lippit guided me in the appropriate ways to synthesize modern theoretical concerns with premodern textual praxis—and, importantly, how to express that synthesis effectively in writing.

Around that time, Prof. Duthie introduced me to Christina Laffin at the Association for Asian Studies. Prof. Laffin's advocacy for all students and aspiring scholars, excitement for a variety of academic pursuits, and remarkable breadth of knowledge in premodern (and modern) Japanese literary studies represented to me the University's unbounded potential for good in the world. She set forth an unparalleled example for academic rigor as well as social fluency that I sought to emulate in my own career. Prof. Laffin's careful and generous advice throughout the conceptualization and writing processes of this dissertation have been invaluable, and her endorsement of my work while I studied abroad was simultaneously a comfort and an honor to have received.

Under the auspices of the Monbushō of Japan, I attended Gakushūin Women's College for a total of three and a half years, first as a research student and then as a Master's student. While there, my advisor, Itō Moriyuki, guaranteed I received the highest standard of education on *Kagerō nikki* and Heian-period *kana* diary literature, more broadly. He demonstrated to me the value of meticulous research and how to expand close readings and historical details into broader yet academically responsible arguments—all in Japanese. Indeed, Prof. Itō bore my own ineptitude with the language with grace and understanding that encouraged me to improve my linguistic and analytical capabilities.

Also at Gakushūin Women's College, I was fortunate to learn from Tokuda Kazuo, whose humor and insatiable curiosity made his seminars the highlight of any week, and Iwabuchi Reiji, who leveraged my inability to read *kanbun* to have me perform the weekly readings aloud—I can now, somehow, read *sōrōbun* decently well. And in a delightfully surreal twist, Furushō Makoto taught me to read Geoffery Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in Middle English. He also extended the kindness of sharing his family's Christmas Eve festivities with me, a warm gesture in the midst

of a cold winter that proved to me (once again) the instinct for compassion that permeates the academic community throughout the world.

When I returned to UCLA for its PhD program, I had the opportunity to work with Michael Emmerich, whose brilliance stretched beyond his written research. His wit and imagination further challenged me to expand my intellectual inquiry to consider *Kagerō nikki* and other premodern writings in different contexts and to engage with literature, broadly, from diverse philosophical vantage points. Prof. Emmerich's support of my academic development extends also to the many cultural experiences, programs, and symposia that he coordinated, and his unwavering commitment to a global vision for Japanese studies indelibly transformed my approach to literature.

Also, Satoko Shimazaki shared with me her enthusiasm for premodern Japanese literature in her graduate seminar on Edo-period books, manuscripts, and ephemera, teaching me to reflect on *Kagerō nikki* beyond the Heian period. Thanks to Prof. Shimazaki, I was able to research Michitsuna's Mother as a figure in medieval and early modern books—to think of the diarist as an author who was reimagined in different contexts. Her encouragement of my cultural interests beyond *Kagerō* motivated me to approach my research holistically, to consider the world beyond the text and its immediate world.

When I returned to Tokyo once more to pursue doctoral research, the faculty and staff at Waseda University were tremendously obliging. Jinno Hidenori's familiarity with a wide range of methodologies for literature, his enduring patience, and his eagerness to aid in my research provided me with the tools and sources I needed to complete this dissertation. Prof. Jinno's insightful questions, comments, explanations, and corrections had a direct impact on my work, and I am forever grateful to him.

Fukuya Toshiyuki further helped me when I was at Waseda. His specialization in Heian diary literature made him a kindred spirit of sorts. Prof. Fukuya's recommendations for research materials and for the expansion of my topic inspired much the direction of this dissertation, particularly for Chapter 4.

Finally, I thank my colleagues, who grew with me through my graduate studies at UCLA: Ken Shima, Jack Wilson, Kelly McCormick, Shih-Wei Sun, and Nadia Kanagawa. From my earliest days as a kind-of-graduate student, they animated my intellectual drive and curiosity with insightful discussions in seminars and in more casual settings. I also thank Casey Martin, whose *joie de vivre* is unmatched and whose optimism I could always count on when my confidence wavered. Danica Truscott proved to be the best *senpai* one could ask for, and she taught me to see a casual humor in research. (I distinctly recall one Valentine's Day asking her when the first recorded "kiss" occurred in Japanese literature, and we spent an hour going down a rabbit hole online to find the answer. It was in *Tosa nikki*, by the way.) I must also express my immeasurable gratitude to Kim McNelly, whose help well exceeded the scope of academic inquiry. Beyond advising me on what to expect and how to manage the PhD program, Kim's guidance on transporting cats to and from Japan enabled me to bring my feline friend with me on my most recent research adventure.

Last but far from least, I thank the colleagues who have become dear, lifelong friends: Jesse Drian and Victoria Davis. Each in their own way made (and continue to make) a lasting, positive impression on my life. Throughout my scholarly wanderings, the casually intellectual conversations with Victoria over coffee and the casually critical discussions with Jesse over something a little harder proved to be the best of both worlds—a perfect blend of philosophical pursuit in everyday life on everyday terms. The academic spirit need not be limited to the halls of

the University, but rather it can (and arguably should) saturate our human connections. To Jesse and Victoria, thank you.

VITA

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("Space" and "place" in *Kagerō nikki*: A focus on two groups of poems)

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2014 Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies Conference

Title: *Kagerō nikki to Fujiwara no Kaneie* 『蜻蛉日記』と藤原兼家 ("*Kagerō nikki* and Fujiwara no Kaneie")

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on *The Kagerō Diary* (*Kagerō nikki*, ca. 974), written by Michitsuna's Mother (ca. 935–995), as a record of her marriage to the esteemed nobleman Fujiwara no Kaneie (929–990). Michitsuna's Mother was the daughter of Fujiwara no Tomoyasu (d. 977), who held various governor positions and, thus, would have been considered part of the middle aristocracy. Although Kaneie was a member of the elite aristocratic bureaucracy of the Heian capital, Michitsuna's Mother's poetic talent and rumored beauty made her a suitable second wife for the influential statesman. It is precisely because she was Kaneie's secondary wife that Michitsuna's Mother was afforded the time and circumstances to write *Kagerō*.

In its nascent form, the text that would become *Kagerō nikki* probably circulated as a poetry collection within aristocratic circles in the capital at the behest of Kaneie, who wanted to flaunt his wife's poetic talents—as well as his own by association.[1] Indeed, Kaneie is thought to have brought early copies of the *Kagerō* manuscript to Court,[2] where he served as a high-ranking official of the state bureaucracy and later became Regent to the Emperor.[3] This early circulation implies a wider readership of male and female aristocrats who were active in the social, literary, and political spaces of the Heian realm, and it is likely that Michitsuna's Mother developed a

[1] Imanishi Yūichirō, "*Uta, kashū,* Kagerō nikki," in *Shin-Nihon koten bungaku taikei*: *Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki, Murasaki Shikibu nikki, Sarashina nikki Vol. 24* (Iwanami Shoten, 1989). See also Noguchi Motohiro, "Kagerō nikki *no nikki ishiki*," in *Ōchō nikki no shin-kenkyū* (Kasama Shoin, 1995), 91.
[2] Fujiwara no Michinaga, *Ōkagami: The Great Mirror. Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027) and His Times*, trans. Helen CA. McCullough (Princeton University Press, 1980), 58-60.
[3] By the time Michitsuna's Mother began to write *Kagerō nikki* around 972, Kaneie was a Major Minister (*dainagon*, 大納言). In 979, he became Minister of the Right (*u-daijin*, 右大臣); in 986 he was appointed Sesshō 摂政, and in 989, Grand Minister of State (*daijō-daijin,* 太政大臣). In 990, shortly before his own death (and five years before Michitsuna's Mother's), Kaneie was named Chancellor (*kanpaku*, 関白).

more pronounced prose style in acknowledgement of this broad and literarily informed readership as the poetry collection (*shikashū*, 私歌集) was eventually reconceived as a familial record.[4]

In its preface, *Kagerō* defines itself as a diary (*niki*, 日記) that "would serve a purpose were one to inquire after an example of the lifestyle of a wife of a high-ranking minister,"[5] addressing an imagined readership of aristocratic women who might harbor unrealistic fantasies about marriage, which the author regards as an effect of "many old tales in the world" (*yo no naka ni ookaru furu-monogatari*, 世の中に多かる古物語) full of the "many falsehoods of the world" (*yo ni ookaru soragoto*, 世に多かるそらごと).[6] From its outset, Michitsuna's Mother places diary literature in contraposition with *monogatari* fiction or the wayward prattle common in the Court,[7] a world of import separate to the supposedly more mundane life and concerns she addresses in her diary. Here, "world" (*yo*, 世) is used broadly to refer to worldly matters and mature experience, but also narrowly to refer the sophisticated social realm of the aristocracy—particularly (though not limited to) those in Court service. It is noteworthy that Michitsuna's Mother never served at Court,[8] where *monogatari* (as a literary form) developed and where such

[4] Imanishi, "*Uta, kashū,* Kagerō nikki," 515-6. Noguchi, "Kagerō nikki *no nikki ishiki*," 88.
[5] SNKBZ 13, 89. All translations my own, unless otherwise noted.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Although Edith Sarra presents a compelling argument for referring to *nikki bungaku* (日記文学) as "memoir literature," in the case of *Kagerō*, which begins as a record of poems that necessitated at the time of writing an explanation of the temporal and/or spatial circumstances of composition, I feel that "diary literature" well reflects the real and imagined contingency of the compositional record. For a discussion on the *nikki bungaku* genre, see Edith Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity: Literary Inventions of Gender in Japanese Court Women's Memoirs* (Stanford University Press, 1999), 1-4. Further, I use "prattle" to refer to the spoken aspect of *monogatari* as a form of gossip, which helped courtiers in service pass away the time.
[8] All of the other Heian-period woman authors whose diaries survive served at Court. I shall note here that I delineate the materially bounded space of the imperial court (*dairi*, 内裏) from the social and imperial institution by

narratives were often set.[9] This is likely due to her lack of steady male support in the Heian capital because her father, Tomoyasu, was often sent to govern provinces, leaving his wife and children to maintain the urban household and the family's status in his absence. Although *Kagerō nikki* does not indicate any rancor for the Court, nor does Michitsuna's Mother seem to resent never having served in the Imperial Court, the author nonetheless assumes a dichotomy between the Court and other aristocratic—as well as religious—spaces from the opening lines, encouraging her readers to understand space through literary assumptions, as a method for organizing and interpreting physical, social, political, religious, and gender-specific matters or circumstances.

Akazawa Mari's research on spaces and borders of *shindenzukuri* (寝殿造) style residences acknowledges how Heian and medieval aristocratic and imperial structures provided inhabitants and visitors the architectural flexibility to continually re/define space according to various prerogatives. For example, architectural features such as raised or lowered corridors and platforms, verandas, stairs, blinds, curtains, and walls were leveraged by aristocratic residents to indicate differences in social status between visitors, as well as others living in the house (e.g., relatives, attendants).[10] The correspondence between divisions of space and divisions of the social order was an everyday practice for the lettered aristocracy; indeed, that Michitsuna's Mother mentions not her house's architectural spaces but rather the provisional—and movable—

capitalizing the latter as a proper noun: The Court is a social institution, though it is located at court. This is to distinguish the geographic and social aspects of the selfsame Imperial center.

[9] E.g., *Taketori monogatari* (竹取物語, ca. 850–950), *Ise monogatari* (伊勢物語, ca. 905), *Yamato monogatari* (大和物語, ca. 951), *Ochikubo monogatari* (落窪物語, late tenth century). Although I have limited the selection of *monogatari* to those that predate *Kagerō*—meaning Michitsuna's Mother would have known them—*monogatari* that antedate *Kagerō* are also largely concerned with the social fantasy of success at Court. In the case of *Ise*, "Courtly success" is perhaps better rendered as "courtly (*miyabi*, みやび) success."

[10] Akazawa Mari, "The Borders of *Shindenzukuri*: 'Inside' and 'Outside' as Staged by *Uchi'ide*," *Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture* 1 (2018), 40-3.

curtains and screens behind which she conceals her body suggests that the *Kagerō* author (and perhaps those like her) took as a given the relationship between space and their social order. Moreover, Akazawa emphasizes how the dual gates of these lavish estates served to reinforce the rituals of access and movement: The outer gate cordoned off the residential property from the city geography, but only those of high rank or those who had an intimate connection with the head of the house were permitted to pass through the inner "middle gate" (*chūmon*, 中門), access the middle gate corridor (*chūmonrō*, 中門廊), and approach the residence from the southern courtyard.[11] Even before one can enter the residential space of the *shindenzukuri*, there are strict social protocols of access in place.

In the course of this dissertation, I examine the intersections between the material and imagined spaces of the Heian capital and the cultural contexts that give meaning to them. For example, there is gendered space: the architectural and literary spaces to which women had access and their roles *as women* within those spaces. There is also the orthographic space of the vernacular: the literary and discursive spaces made available by virtue of a text having been written in *kana* script. There is geographic space: the material spaces of the Heian realm that may acquire particular significance for their topographical features and/or proximity to people or places. Ultimately, my research of *Kagerō nikki* considers how geographic/material spaces and social/literary spaces are mutually constitutive of one another, and I use space and movement as a focus for analyzing correspondence—i.e., poetic and epistolary exchanges—to understand how Michitsuna's Mother's written pursuits synthesize the various spaces in which she participates into a coherent discursive world—and to what effect.

[11] Akazawa, "The Borders of *Shindenzukuri*," 41-2.

In my attempt to draw attention to space as a narratological approach for examining correspondence in premodern Japanese literature, I consider the literary techniques that Michitsuna's Mother inscribes and the interpersonal contexts she ascribes to the imagined, poetic geographies that also contain material significance to herself and/or to the Heian empire. I analyze how the diary genre provides for an experimental literary space in which the author and other contributors can advocate for and negotiate social and material outcomes through a poetic logic that expands with Michitsuna's Mother's literary experience into a more individualized vernacular prose style. At the core of my inquiry lie these questions: How are relationships between characters predicated on the social expectations and customs of correspondence, and to what effect are those relationships and correspondences narrativized in *Kagerō nikki*? In what circumstances is geography deployed to convey social, literary, political, and interpersonal relationships, why are such moments narrativized with particular techniques, and how does movement reveal the relationship between geographic space and writing?

Directions of Previous *Kagerō* Scholarship

In addition to drawing upon a robust tradition of Japanese philological criticism on *Kagerō nikki*,[12] in order to pursue these questions, this dissertation takes much of its inspiration from Kyōraku Mahoko's *Heian-kyō toshi shakai-shi no kenkyū* (*Research on the Urban Social History of the Heian Capital*).[13] Kyōraku analyzes historical as well as literary sources to reconstruct social practices and seemingly common attitudes of urban residents of the capital,

[12] For example, Uemura Etsuko's prodigious work collates dozens of *Kagerō* exegetical sources from various historical periods for side-by-side comparison. Uemura Etsuko, *Kagerō nikki kaishaku Taisei Vols. 1-9* (Meiji Shoin, 1983-1995).
[13] Kyōraku Mahoko, *Heian-kyō toshi shakai-shi no kenyū* (Hanawa Shobō: 2008).

especially of aristocratic residents. Her research leaves room for further inquiry into how religion, gender, or class inflects interpretations of specific urban spaces, and her historical arguments provide literature scholars, especially, with historical and social contexts within which to analyze the written sources of the Heian period.

In Anglophone research, relatively little has been conducted on *Kagerō nikki* outright, and what does exist usually highlights *Kagerō* as an example of or exception to arguments made about other Heian texts or genres. The foremost scholar on *Kagerō nikki* is Sonja Arntzen, whose monumental translation—replete with annotations and introductory statement—of the diary into contemporary English[14] has expanded the global readership of Michitsuna's Mother's diary and writings. Arntzen's introduction is particularly useful for beginning discussions about marital, erotic, and social expectations of Heian society, questions of power dynamics in gendered spheres, and broader problems of genre and canon in our approach to classical Japanese literature.[15]

Joshua Mostow is perhaps one of the most prolific Anglophone scholars and translators of classical diary literature and poetics; his monograph *At the House of Gathered Leaves* translates and collates five narrative poetry collections-cum-(auto)biographies that span the Heian period.[16] What becomes clear through these works is how male and female aristocrats consciously developed and extended their cultural influence through the measured circulation of their recorded poetic correspondences with one another. Some collections conceivably sought "to provide grist for the Fujiwara culture mill" that was ascendant at the time;[17] other collections

[14] Michitsuna's Mother, *The Kagerō Diary*, trans. Sonja Arntzen (Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997).
[15] Sonja Arntzen, "Introduction: Reclaiming an Ancestress," in *The Kagerō Diary*, trans. Sonja Arntzen (Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997), 1-52.
[16] Joshua Mostow, *At the House of Gathered Leaves: Shorter Biographical and Autobiographical Narratives from Japanese Court Literature* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).
[17] Mostow, *At the House of Gathered Leaves*, 46.

served to reinforce the appeal and romantic heroism of the "ladies' man,"[18] which further established Fujiwara political dominance through cultural and literary practice. Because the works in Mostow's collection feature a similar anthological style (i.e., prose prefacing of poetic exchange) to *Kagerō nikki* and concerned the powerful men and women of Michitsuna's Mother's lifetime, *At the House of Gathered Leaves* is a valuable resource for contextualizing the literary patterns—and eccentricities—we notice across texts of this period.

Furthermore, Mostow discusses the biography of Michitsuna's Mother within the collection *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyaku-nin isshu*, 百人一首; compiled 1235), in which one of her poems is anthologized, focusing on the author's persona as a poet.[19] In this essay on landscape, Mostow has also discussed Michitsuna's Mother's relationship to landscape in a publication that considers how the *Kagerō* author's autodiegetic writing replicated the painted landscapes associated with poetry.[20] Mostow challenges what Japanese scholar Watanabe Minoru sees as a text that is "self-centered to the point of solipsism" due to a writing style "result[ing] from the author's inability to view herself and the events that concern her objectively."[21] Instead, Mostow suggests that "Michitsuna's Mother saw the nature on her journeys through the medium of painting."[22] That Michitsuna's Mother produces a single poetic world in her diary by superimposing visual space (screen-paintings, pictures) and literary space (screen-poems, picture-diaries) is a tantalizing narratological argument for reading *Kagerō nikki*.

[18] Mostow, *At the House of Gathered Leaves*, 125.
[19] Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 298-300.
[20] Joshua S. Mostow, "Self and Landscape in *Kagerō Nikki*," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 5 (1993), 8-19.
[21] Mostow, "Self and Landscape in *Kagerō Nikki*," 9.
[22] Ibid., 10.

Mostow's discussion is quite useful for examining prose passages, especially the pilgrimage scenes that record details of the heroine's environment.

Mostow has also closely examined the possible historical and literary impetus for *Kagerō nikki*'s writing in his early essay titled "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess."[23] In it, Mostow considers how Michitsuna's Mother simultaneously undercuts and perpetuates social tropes that could be found in the tale literature (*monogatari*) against which she wrote: dueling carriages,[24] the poem that could keep a man,[25] and the amorous (male) lover.[26] Although he is ambivalent about which came first—whether sociological realities gave shape to these literary topoi or the literary topoi informed and transformed real-world social perceptions and relationships—Mostow reasonably concludes that Kaneie, like his father Fujiwara no Morosuke (908 or 909–960) before him, used his wife's literary talents to encourage other aristocrats to view him not only as a state bureaucrat (a powerful one), but also as a prolific and capable lover. Poetic exchanges and correspondences with reputedly beautiful, poetically talented, and politically valuable women corroborated such a gallant reputation, and those poems were compiled in personal anthologies for posterity.[27] In gaining a reputation among the aristocracy for poetic capability and romantic desirability imparted cultural authority to Morosuke and Kaneie, who each eventually held incredible power over the state bureaucracy and Imperial lineage. Significantly, Mostow notes how Michitsuna's Mother at times confirms Kaneie's romantic gallantry and at other times reveals his callousness as he acts against the trope.[28]

[23] Joshua S. Mostow, "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess: The Politics of Autobiography and the *Kagerō Nikki*," *Japan Forum* 4, no. 2 (1992), 305-15.
[24] Mostow, "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess," 306.
[25] Ibid., 306-11.
[26] Ibid., 311-13.
[27] Ibid., 312-3.
[28] Ibid., 310-1.

Edith Sarra's two monographs, *Fictions of Femininity* and *Unreal Houses*[29] factor crucial sociocultural feminist perspectives into literary discourses on genre and genealogy. In the former, Sarra explores "how gender norms—and attempts to challenge, redefine, or elaborate them—figure in the writings produced by the highly educated women of the Heian aristocracy."[30] Her examination of autobiographical writing centers around feminine visibility, agency, and desire in narrative and authorship, homing in on *Kagerō nikki* as a "memoir [that] dramatizes a perspective on Heian marriage as a system designed to contain and limit feminine desire," and that Heian women would create scandal "if not constrained by marriage ties and familial order."[31] *Unreal Houses* then goes on to explain the literal and figurative interconnections of marriage, genealogy, and architecture in *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, 源氏物語; ca. 1008) and corroborated in other Heian-period, woman-authored narratives. Sarra's research proves that the feminist approach is undeniably powerful. At the same time, narrowing the scope of a multivalent literary account of participation and experience within complex material and social dynamics runs the risk of ignoring (consciously or not) important context imparted by those dynamics.

***Kagerō* in Literary Analysis and the Geographic Turn in Narratology**

Before Michitsuna's Mother was reimagined as a diarist in the Meiji period (1868–1912), she was known primarily as a poet, having been anthologized in several Imperially sponsored

[29] Edith Sarra, *Unreal Houses: Character, Gender, and Genealogy in the* Tale of Genji (Harvard University Press, 2020).
[30] Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity*, 4.
[31] Ibid., 43.

and personally collated poetry anthologies,[32] especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nonetheless, *Kagerō nikki* remained a text that was preserved, read, and analyzed for hundreds of years before Meiji-period intellectuals came to value it according to newly adapted paradigms of "truth" and "authenticity." By anchoring my methodological approach in close readings to analyze literary techniques in the narrative, and then considering that analysis in the context of *what* Michitsuna's Mother narrates in *Kagerō nikki*, my dissertation attempts to resist the anachronistic privileging of modern definitions and patterns of reading.

Michitsuna's Mother's autobiographical narrative reflects the social, political, and literary spaces that intersect during moments of correspondence. In *Kagerō nikki*, letters and poems (and the oft-overlooked messengers who carry them) traverse the geographic, social, gendered, and political spaces of the Heian capital and beyond. Correspondences are sent across borders between interlocutors in the capital, in temples and on roads, and in distant domains, reflecting the author's written negotiation of the spaces oriented around the imperial center: gendered social spaces, political and ritual spaces, poetic/literary space and places, and sacred/religious space and places. Although the text leaves much of the geographic and physical configuration of epistolary culture to be tacitly recognized by readers, the cultural forces that implicitly control the movement of people, letters, and poems, such as commute routes and directional taboos, delineate how space can be accessed or traversed—and by whom. As a result, geographic and physical spaces are implicated in certain social and cosmological discourses of movement and access, which, in turn, are implicated in socio-political discourses unique to the Heian capital.

[32] E.g., *Shūishū* (formally *Shūiwakashū*, 拾遺［和歌］集; ca. 1005-1007), *Shin-Kokinshū* (formally *Shin-Kokinwakashū*, 新古今［和歌］集; ca. 1177–1221), *One Hundred Poets One Poem Each* (*Ogura Hyaku-nin isshu*, 小倉百人一首; ca. 1235).

Like nearly all other vernacular *kana* writings in the Heian period (794–1185), the writing of *Kagerō* is predicated on correspondence as the essential mode of informal writing for men and women. The sometimes-ritual of poetic correspondence differed from the ritual of poetry contests (*uta-awase*, 歌合せ) in formality, in topic choice and creativity, and—most significantly—in function. Poetry contests were formal affairs; teams of courtiers would labor for days (even weeks) to compose accomplished verses on assigned topics. These verses were presented in oppositional pairs to the emperor, and an appointed judge would offer his opinion on each poem's merits (or demerits, in some cases). Ultimately, poetry contests served to confirm the cultural authority of the Emperor, his empire, and his courtiers. Correspondence, on the other hand, functioned primarily as an erudite and elegant form of interpersonal communication within the aristocratic classes. Girls and boys of aristocratic families learned not only the art of poetic composition, but also attractive calligraphic styles, investing the child with cultural capital that the parents hoped to leverage when the boy or girl married. As a result, the artistic and literary capabilities of a young Heian aristocrat became entwined with the social (interpersonal) and the erotic (marital and genealogical) while also functioning as a perpetuation of the ideal literary and artistic aesthetics of the family.

Another purpose of this artistic "letteracy"[33] was to manifest the writer to those who would see the correspondence. Such a material representation of the writer is underscored by the fact that men and women, upon reaching maturity, were physically separated from one another's sight by screens and blinds. Thus, the skill of one's composition and aesthetic quality of one's calligraphy became some of the first criteria for judgment in social, erotic, and even political

[33] Laura Moretti, *Pleasure in Profit: Popular Prose in Seventeenth-Century Japan* (Columbia University Press, 2020), 178. Although Moretti discusses letteracy in the context of seventeenth-century readership, her proposal that "letteracy" describes the two-way function of writing as an object of both creation and consumption is helpful here.

spheres. We see an example of such judgment in the first episode of *Kagerō nikki*, when Kaneie sends Michitsuna's Mother a poetic correspondence to initiate marital proceedings:

> When I look at it, the paper isn't the usual [for a courtship letter], and his writing wasn't at all like the impeccable hand I'd heard of; because it was so bad that I thought it couldn't be [a courtship letter], I found it very strange.
> 見れば、紙なども例のやうにもあらず、いたらぬところなしと聞きふるしたる手も、あらじとおぼゆるまで悪しければ、いとぞあやしき。[34]

It is clear that the letter is a stand-in for Kaneie, who at this point had heard rumors of Michitsuna's Mother's elegance and had supposedly discussed marriage with Tomoyasu. His letter is the first token that Michitsuna's Mother has by which to judge her soon-to-be husband, as she had never before seen him.

In discussing Heian marriage practices in *Kagerō nikki*, Edith Sarra acknowledges that the vernacular poems known as "*waka*—and tales that revolve around the exchange of them—constitute a crucial means of evaluating a suitor,"[35] suggesting that not only poetic correspondences themselves but significantly *narratives* of poetic exchange form the expectations of—and provide the substitute for—the unseen interlocutor. Sarra's main argument in her discussion of *Kagerō* in her first monograph, *Fictions of Femininity,* valorizes women (and Michitsuna's Mother, in particular) by explaining how *waka* poetry exchange was used as a site of social and cultural negotiation, where women could equal or even surpass men in demonstrations of compositional skill and taste, and as an occasion to experience the world more broadly: "…the composition and reception of *waka* was, especially for the women who spent their lives on the other, inner side of screens and hanging blinds, one of the chief means of

[34] SNKBZ 13, 90.
[35] Edith Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity*, 54-5.

knowing the world (knowing the suitor) on the outside of the blinds…"[36] While I have no wish to dispute Sarra's arguments about the roles that (narratives of) poetic correspondence may play in marital, erotic, and gendered social spaces, Sarra's laser-focus on women's experiences of courtship and marriage forecloses pertinent questions of how female narrators perceived male perspectives in light of men's and women's mutual invisibility toward one another. For example, the *Kagerō* author-narrator explains:

> …indeed, I had an inkling of what his [Kaneie's] intentions were. An ordinary person would use an intermediary, someone like a maidservant, and have them say things [on their behalf to woo their intended], but he [Kaneie] went directly to whom he thought is my father, hinting in half-jest half-seriousness [his intentions toward marriage]. Looking as if he didn't hear [my father] saying that the match is not appropriate[37] he sends a man riding a horse to pound on our gate.
> かく言はせむと思ふことありけり。例の人は、案内(あない)するたより、もしはなま女などして、言はすることこそあれ、これは、親とおぼしき人に、たはぶれにもまめやかにもほのめかししに、便(びん)なきことと言ひつるをも知らず顔(がお)に、馬(むま)にはひ乗りたる人して、うちたたかす。[38]

Sarra focuses on the narrative of correspondence ("An ordinary person would use an intermediary, someone like a maidservant") yet does not address how the female author-narrator draws her conclusions about Kaneie's behavior, implying that her conclusions are informed by narratives of poetic correspondence within *Kagerō nikki*'s own narrative and, thus, experienced by the heroine. However, this explanation neglects the multiple narratological voices established

[36] Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity*, 55.
[37] Kaneie's status is far above Tomoyasu's and, therefore, Michitsuna's Mother's. A marriage between them could disadvantage Kaneie and/or any offspring from the union due to insufficient backing on the maternal side. Kimura Masanori and Imuta Tsunehisa, the editors of the SNKBZ, note that this evaluation of the in/appropriateness of the marriage is not a matter of Tomoyasu's mindfulness of Kaneie's status, but is rather an impression expressed by the author, a figure of Michitsuna's Mother writing/narrating this moment at a later date that foresees disaster. SNKBZ 13, 90, note 6.
[38] SNKBZ 13, 90.

in *Kagerō*'s preface, which immediately precedes the passage from which the above was excerpted and which are at the forefront of the careful reader's mind when crossing the threshold into the diary entries. In considering the phenomenology of writing and compiling a poetry collection/diary, the question remains: From what spatiotemporal standpoint is Michitsuna's Mother speaking here, and how does that standpoint uniquely position her to comment on the events presented in the diary? Furthermore, how does the fact that Michitsuna's Mother is a woman factor into her ability to render judgment on a man, especially one whose social and political connections are more extensive than her own? To reduce the answers to such questions to "the cultural power of *waka*, which is uniquely accessible to women," as Sarra seems to suggest, is to lose sight of the power of the autobiography (and prose writing, more broadly) to convey a woman's experience of the worlds and phenomena that subsume *waka*. Sarra's claims are compelling and have helped me to better understand how gendered power can be invoked in literature; her arguments prioritize the themes of Heian diary writing that she wishes to explore, and these explorations are conducted from a sociocultural feminist perspective. In approaching *Kagerō* from a narratological perspective, however, I am afforded a broader panorama of the social landscape across multiple, intersecting narrative times, spaces, and voices. From that vantage point, I can examine how both men and women are represented through correspondences in the text, examining gender dynamics as they are relevant to the narrative world, rather than as a given sociological reality external to the text.

Examining *The Tale of Genji* alongside other Court tales and woman-authored memoirs, Sarra's most recent monograph, *Unreal Houses*, proposes a logic of architectural and metaphorical "houses" to consider how representations of polygyny in Heian literature inscribe

social spaces with gendered meaning.[39] Sarra's discussions of space and place intricately connect material and metaphorical architectures to gender, female bodies, and genealogies. A woman being "installed" in her husband's residence, for example, was assurance of marital, social, and financial stability for the lady,[40] who otherwise relied on her male relatives for support in the Imperial capital. The emplacement of a woman at a particular residence signified real-world social, interpersonal, and geographic relationships to those around her, especially her husband, children, and parents. Discussing *Kagerō nikki* specifically, Sarra notes how Michitsuna's Mother uses her literary talents and social connections to exalt "a secondary branch of [Kaneie's] house, the cadet lineage that will be perpetuated by Michitsuna."[41] Sarra thus concretizes genealogy by locating it in residential spaces that pivot around the male progenitor of the lineage while also leaving room for reinterpretation by strong-willed women.

In order to broaden the discourse of gender dynamics, my research places time and especially space at the center of academic investigation: I analyze the *Kagerō* text itself as a narrative site—a textual and literary place—of social negotiation made possible by virtue of its autobiographical narrative that combines multiple genre styles to effect social and cultural perceptions of Michitsuna's Mother and her family. I consider how the spaces, places, and sites imagined by and described in the narrative world serve the author's purposes, which are informed by epistolary customs and aspire to produce social and genealogical benefits, particularly as they relate to Kaneie, her son, and her adopted daughter. Poetry exchange and epistolary correspondence best highlight the roles of space and place in the *Kagerō* text because

[39] Sarra, *Unreal Houses*, 4.
[40] Ibid., 25.
[41] Ibid., 45-7

the phenomenon of exchange—as a moment of material/geographic movement and liminality—contrasts with the presumed immovability of places and sites of the Heian imperial realm.

Also analyzing gender and women's sexuality in medieval narratives of *The Tale of Genji*, Rajyashree Pandey discusses how interior architectures concealed the female body and thus produced an imaginary figure onto which any number of socially and sexually alluring traits could be projected.[42] Pandey's wider discussions of the allure of the unseen (female) body allow scholars to consider the cultural accoutrements of status and refinement—e.g., robes, papers, drawing, calligraphy—that evoke the woman's body as an expression of her identity. Indeed, Pandey's readiness to claim that these cultural trappings *themselves* constitute the female body in *Genji*[43] raises ontological questions about how its author, Murasaki Shikibu (紫式部; ca. 970 or 978–1019) and the highly literate ladies of the Court salons perceived their own bodies—and to what extent material substitutes (e.g., epistles, gifts, robes as manifestations) for the human body were understood to constitute the body itself. Although Pandey appears to conflate the notions of body and identity at times,[44] her examination nonetheless reveals the trend in Heian society to analogize writing skills (composition and calligraphy) and aesthetic taste (choice of paper, layering of robes, use of perfume/incense, etca.) to physical beauty. These analogies can be inferred due to the relative invisibility of the female body in Heian aristocratic, heterosocial society; aristocratic women, after all, were expected to remain in place and behind blinds.

Although *Kagerō nikki* does not directly challenge this perception of Heian aristocratic society, Michitsuna's Mother's writing does provide more nuanced insight into how analogies or

[42] Rajyashree Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2017).
[43] Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*, 5-7, 33-7.
[44] Ibid., 13-5, 33-40.

manifestations of the female body contradict the assumption of the "woman in stasis."[45] For example, we might consider the narratological paradox of diegetic stasis of *Kagerō*. By this, I refer to the fact that Michitsuna's Mother may be emplaced someplace where she writes about her past experiences that conjure a heroine and correspondences that are in motion. The pilgrimages in Book 2[46] demonstrate the incongruities of time and space between the diegetic and nondiegetic worlds inhabited by the different narratological aspects Michitsuna's Mother (protagonist, narrator, and author). During these pilgrimages, the author writes retrospectively, imaginatively returning to the places and moments she already experienced while reconstituting herself in written form—in ink and paper—as the heroine. These slippages across literary space are exacerbated by narratives of correspondences, which are predicated on the movement of writing—the movement of material representations of different writers from one place to another. To complicate matters further, the correspondences recorded in *Kagerō nikki* are themselves substitutes that replace the original, material letter sent across geographic space.[47] The material letter, which must have been carefully preserved until time consumed it (or at least until Michitsuna's Mother recorded it), regains its mobility within the literary world when readers imagine the diary's scenes of poetic and epistolary exchange for themselves.

It is precisely this substitution of narrative voices and slippage in time-space with which Susan Lanser contends in her exploration of the "equivocal I-I relationship" between the narrator

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[45] I mean to shift the discussion from the "waiting woman" (*matsu onna*, 待つ女) literary trope to a space/movement-centered paradigm, hence "woman in stasis." The "waiting woman" arises in instances of love stories: The lady waits (sometimes forever) for her husband/male lover to arrive at her residence for marital/erotic union. Thus, the trope is inextricable from the context of romantic, marital, or erotic visitation. However, the discourse of space and movement allows for terms like "static" or "stasis" as neutral alternatives to "waiting," which is encumbered with assumptions of romance based on tropes of erotic narrative against which Michitsuna's Mother writes.

[46] Also known as, the "Second Scroll." I use "Book 2" to conform to the categories in Sonja Arntzen's English translation.

[47] See the discussion of "replacement" in Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 10-23.

and author of an autodiegetic text.[48] Her study critically examines how authors—but really actually readers—construct the relationship between the spoken "I" in autodiegetic and homodiegetic[49] texts. The issue, Lanser claims, lies in the practice by contemporary narratologists (and literature scholars, more generally) to delineate narrator and author by linguistic and structural parameters presented within a text by its author—parameters that are insufficient at a practical level for ascertaining the ontological relationship between the author and narrator as presented in the text itself.[50] Rather than seeking an answer in the linguistic pragmatics and literary devices deployed by the author, Lanser instead focuses attention on the pragmatic and contingent interpretation of the reader as the source that determines the relationship between narrator and author. It is the reader who "attaches" or "detaches" the narrator to and from the author based on five criteria that she lists: singularity, anonymity, identity, reliability, and nonnarrativity.[51] As such, it becomes the prerogative of the reader to determine genre categories, such as fiction and nonfiction, based on his or her individual logic and perceptions of the text.[52]

Lanser is keen to point out that (present-day) readers will, in spite of their recognition that a narrator and an author should remain separate entities narratologically, overlook or ignore such a structuralist approach when interpreting voice in homodiegetic and autodiegetic narratives.[53] This is possible as a result of what Lanser calls equivocal ("equi-vocal") genres that

[48] Susan S. Lanser, "The 'I' of the Beholder: Equivocal Attachments and the Limits of Structuralist Narratology," in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, eds. James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Wiley-Blackwell Press, 2005), 208.
[49] Homodiegetic texts are those in which the protagonist/character and narrator are the understood to share the same focalizing perspective or subject-position; the author is usually considered a separate focalization. Autodiegetic texts are those in which the protagonist/character, narrator, and author are assumed to share the same focalizing perspective. See Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (University of Toronto Press, 2009), 8-12, 76-7.
[50] Lanser, "The 'I' of the Beholder," 206, 210.
[51] Ibid., 212.
[52] Ibid., 211.
[53] Ibid., 207-8.

"*rely for their meaning on* complex and ambiguous relationships between the 'I' of the author and any textual voice. The 'I' that characterizes literary discourse, in other words, is always potentially severed from *and* potentially tethered to the author's 'I'."[54] Attachment, the mechanism by which readers associate the narrative "I" and the empirical "I," thus depends upon the reader's readiness and willingness to acknowledge (or not) the five criteria listed above, and the equivocality of the narrative allows for a narrator-author complex that can be attached or detached simultaneously or alternatingly. Because equivocal narratives retain the potential for both attachment and detachment, normative generic ascriptions of "fiction" and "nonfiction" are often transgressed and categories remain negotiable.[55]

Lanser's argument about the prerogative of the reader to determine equivocality of subject-position in homodiegetic and autodiegetic texts can be extended to the prerogative of the reader to determine the equivocality of time-space. Thus, a reader of *Kagerō nikki* can consider the equivocality of phenomena that Michitsuna's Mother experiences in her roles as protagonist, narrator, and author. The reader can determine for him/herself which time-space(s) may be relevant for interpreting a particular event recorded in the diary. For example, Michitsuna's Mother experiences the receipt of Kaneie's courtship letter differently depending on the time that the reader wishes to interpret: The protagonist is disappointed, confused, and left in disbelief by the blandness of the letter's physical and compositional forms; the narrator and author, however, are sternly judgmental (to maintain her posture as an aesthete *par excellence*) yet resigned to the marriage she knows will continue. One might even see a form of approval in Michitsuna's Mother's decision as an author/compiler to include Kaneie's courtship poem in her record of family poetry for her children. According to the logic put forth by Lanser, it is left to the reader

[54] Lanser, "The 'I' of the Beholder," 210-1. Emphasis in original.
[55] Ibid., 215.

to decide which of Michitsuna's Mother's narrative voices is/are relevant for interpreting the text, as well as which voices can/must be interpreted in light of the other(s).

As the field of narratology in which Susan Lanser participates expanded its vision beyond the narrative text, narratologist and geographers collaborated in the resurgence of a "geographic turn" of narratology. In so doing, they sought to reconcile questions of time-space by confronting them from different angles: Narratologists, specializing in the analysis of time, attempted to account for space in narrative, while geographers, specializing in the analysis of space, attempted to account for time in places. This geographic turn is well illustrated in the monograph *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative* in which its authors examine a plethora of case-studies that reveal entry points for analyzing time and space in multiple academic disciplines.[56] Crucial to this dissertation is the authors' (re)framing of how people imagine space—"space as a container, and space as a network."[57] The potential for space to refer to containers/networks in the imaginary that correspond to containers/networks in a material world is necessary for establishing an abstract network between the imaginary and the material, allowing for the us to apprehend the discursive space encompassing both the imaginary and the material.

Especially in *Kagerō nikki*, a text narrated in retrospect and drawn from a literary world of intertextual citation, the network connecting material space and imagined (remembered) spaces is implicated further in a logos of geographic/textual "annotation" (i.e., "marking," especially marking something as distinct) that derives "as much from folklore, tradition and secondhand information as from lived experience and genuine recollections."[58] For the authors of *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative*, memory is particularly compelling for how it reveals

[56] Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu, *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative: Where Narrative Theory and Geography Meet* (Ohio State University Press, 2016).
[57] Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu, *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative*, 18-9.
[58]Ibid., 117.

tensions between time and space in these annotations, as changes in the material/geographic realm through time reveal how "nostalgia suggests the ephemeral nature of place, compared to the enduring nature of space…The space is still there, but the place exists only in the narrator's memory."[59] Thus, time affects place, even if it cannot affect space. This notwithstanding, *Kagerō nikki* and other texts of the cultural world of the Heian period cite places in a shared literary imaginary, as well as places experienced firsthand by authors and poets. It is to these material/imagined/remembered places to which I direct my inquiry.

Following Kendra Strand, I examine the interstices, harmonies, and tensions between the phenomenological experience of the Heian material world and the shared cultural imagination of aristocratic society, replete with its in-built meanings and interpretations. Strand explains, "Representations of geographic space, whether textual, visual, or performative…created a rhetorical space to explore ways of constructing logical links between landscape/geography and political identifications of land or state."[60] Her study's concentration on the poetics of travel literature and its relationship to the structures and institutions of power, such as the imperial seat and sites of Buddhist practice, consider many of the literary and rhetorical strategies that are also analyzed in this dissertation; at the same time, Strand expands upon the "travel mode," a manner of narrative writing that deploys conventional language to represent space, as a methodological approach to medieval travel diaries.[61] Because this dissertation is concerned primarily with the travel and movement implied in poetic and epistolary correspondence, as well as with the rhetorical conventions contained in the epistles and how these exchanges are narrated, Strand's articulation of the travel mode is useful for revealing the subtleties of space and movement.

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[59] Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu, *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative*, 117.
[60] Kendra Strand, *An Unfamiliar Place: Poetry, Power, and the Travel Memoir in Medieval Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2025), 4.
[61] Strand, *An Unfamiliar Place*, 39-59, 181-3.

Directions of Literary History

Before explaining the map of this dissertation, it is worthwhile to look backward at where *Kagerō nikki* has been. Here, I limit myself to *Kagerō*'s premodern afterlives because excellent scholarship on its canonization as a classic of Japanese literature during the Meiji period already exists.[62] Following its author's death in 995, *Kagerō nikki* itself seems to have enjoyed little notoriety beyond exclusive literary circles. At that time, Michitsuna's Mother was famous as a poet and as the mother of Michitsuna (and wife of Kaneie). Poets of the late Heian period (roughly 1050–1185) anthologized her poetic compositions in various collections, but little attention was given to *Kagerō nikki*. Like many Heian-period texts, *Kagerō* found its second wind during the medieval period (ca. 1185–1600) when commentary practices maintained a reading/annotating tradition of *Kagerō*—or, more accurately, Michitsuna's Mother's known writings. Jamie Newhard has shown that medieval-period literati elites sought to establish their literary legitimacy through professionalization, specifically through "secret teachings" of philology and explication of the Heian texts, like *Tales of Ise*.[63] Like *Ise*, *Kagerō nikki* was also the object of study for professional and amateur literati circles, and the earliest extant manuscripts of the diary date to the mid-sixteenth century. These manuscripts were carefully annotated by scholars with specific knowledge of the diary, its author, and her genealogy. In time, medieval manuscripts were copied and carved onto woodblocks to meet commercial printing demands in the early modern period.

[62] Tomi Suzuki, "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, eds. (Stanford University Press, 2000), 71-95.
[63] Jaime Newhard, *Knowing the Amorous Man: A History of Scholarship on* Tales of Ise (Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 63-116.

In the Edo period (ca. 1600–1868), when accessibility to reading technologies increased exponentially due to the commercialization of woodblock printing in major cities,[64] geographic priorities shifted from primarily Kyoto (formerly the Heian capital) to a division between the three publishing centers, Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo (present-day Tokyo), while social discourses no longer excluded commoner classes outright. With these socially and geographically diverse readerships came more lenses through which to interpret *Kagerō nikki* and Michitsuna's Mother, especially as educational books gained cultural prominence.

The early modern period witnessed many transformations in literary discourse. Peter Kornicki traces the discourse of women reading *monogatari* during this time, a discourse that advocated for the genre's educational potential.[65] Seventeenth-century scholars and literati argued about the virtues or evils of *monogatari*, each basing his or her (but mostly his) opinions on Buddhist or (Neo-)Confucian doctrine, and neither doctrinal system afforded *monogatari* any inherent positive value.[66] However, Kitamura Kigin (1625–1705), author of *Genji monogatari Kogetsushō* (源氏物語湖月抄**,** 1673) and *Kana retsujoden* (仮名列女伝; 1655),[67] shifted the discourse away from the absolute moral/ethical question of reading *monogatari* (i.e., whether or not reading *monogatari* at all is sinful) to the ethics of *how* one approaches *monogatari* reading "correctly." Kornicki suggests that Kigin's publication of the *Kana retsujoden* encouraged women to read about exemplars of feminine morality the *kana* vernacular gave Japanese women

[64] Peter F. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 112-41.
[65] Peter F. Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women? 'Genji Monogatari' and 'Ise Monogatari' in Late Seventeenth-Century Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 2 (Summer, 2005): 147-93.
[66] Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?," 152-62.
[67] *Genji monogatari Kogetsushō* is a set of volumes of *The Tale of Genji*, annotated for comprehensibility in early modern Japan (ca. 1600–1868). *Kana retsujoden* is a Japanese-language adaptation of the Ming *Biographies of Notable Women*, which originated on the East Asian mainland.

access to these narratives.[68] At the same time, Kigin argues that the authors of supposedly frivolous *monogatari*, including *Genji*, intended for their works to impart moral and ethical lessons to their presumed female readership, adding that one must approach reading *Genji* (and other *monogatari*) with a fully moralized mind to prevent corruption of one's own morals.[69] Thus, Kornicki draws attention to the *mode* of reading as the arbiter of moral propriety and concludes with an account of the surrender of aristocrat-controlled doctrinal systems, which governed the very act of reading, to the commoner-status writers and readers who demanded greater access and participation in literary culture: "The process by which *Genji* and *Ise* gradually came to be accepted as works valuable for women to read intersected with the larger sociological transformation of court culture in the seventeenth century as it passed out of the controlling hands of the aristocracy and ever more into the hands of those of lesser social status."[70]

It is precisely such trends for moralized reading praxis, especially for a female readership, that gave rise to vernacular prose books (*kana zōshi*, 仮名草子) featuring female paradigms of Japanese history and literature, that also affirmed how Edo-period readers came to valorize certain women in Japan, which the *Kana retsujoden* did for certain women of the Chinese Ming period (1368–1644). An example of such a vernacular prose book of such women is the *Honchō bijin kagami* (*Mirror of Japanese Beauties*, 本朝美人鑑).[71] This woodblock-printed volume consists of biographical profiles of around two dozen women from Japan's historical and literary worlds, with each profile filling two to three pages in *kana* and

[68] Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?," 164.
[69] Ibid., 165.
[70] Ibid., 179.
[71] Tsuruya Kiuemon, *Honchō bijin kagami Vol. 2* (Tsuruya, 1688).

accompanied by a drawn (then carved and printed) image of the woman. Focusing on Murasaki Shikibu and *The Tale of Genji*, Satoko Naitō has demonstrated that the *Honchō bijin kagami* carefully constructs an image of the author to remove doubts of moral decadence that hundreds of years of medieval discourse ascribed to her; the purpose, of course, was to rehabilitate for Edo-period readers the image of Murasaki Shikibu (and other Japanese figures of women) as unequivocally intelligent, beautiful, and moral.[72] Not coincidentally, Michitsuna's Mother features in the same volume. Like Murasaki Shikibu, whose *Tale of Genji* was dismissed as worthless prattle or dangerous falsehood by medieval and Edo-period literati and religious commentators for the very fact that it is a work of fiction (*monogatari*, 物語),[73] the controversies of Michitsuna's Mother's literary production, namely the occasion of locking her husband out of her house which prompted the composition of her oft-anthologized "Lamenting" poem,[74] the *Honchō bijin kagami* emphasizes Michitsuna's Mother's positive—and notably gendered—traits as a seamstress, weaver, cloth-dyer, and good mother to her son. *Honchō bijin kagami* observes how Michitsuna's Mother provided Michitsuna an upright education, reframing Kaneie's lock-out as a deserved punishment to show her child "correct" marital relations. When it introduces the author's famous "Lamenting" poem, the edition tacitly condemns Kaneie's infidelity for driving his own wife to expel him temporarily from the house.[75] In conforming to the broader genre expectations of biographies for women (*retsujoden*, 列女伝), *Honchō bijin kagami* asserts

[72] Satoko Naito, "Beyond the Tale of Genji: Murasaki Shikibu as Icon and Exemplum in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Popular Japanese Texts for Women," *Early Modern Women* 9, no. 1 (2014), 49-50, 55-7.
[73] Naito, "Beyond the Tale of Genji," 52-5.
[74] See p. 71, note 102 of this dissertation.
[75] Tsuruya, *Honchō bijin kagami Vol. 2*.

a contemporaneous, Edo-period (e.g., Neo-Confucian) morality for readers and projects this vision onto famous female figures of the past.

Laura Moretti continues the scholarly inquiry of early modern readership by making a compelling argument for how the print culture of the seventeenth century transformed contemporaneous perceptions of various genres, producing a high literacy rate and broadened readership. Central to Moretti's analysis is the burgeoning reading class, mostly an urban commoner class,[76] driven by discourses of "contemporary intellectuals and pedagogues [who] assert literacy as the key for everyone seeking to become successful members of society."[77] Because literacy had become regarded as a necessary skill for participating in society, urban commoners sought to develop their reading and writing abilities by purchasing or renting books to achieve a basic level of literacy and, therefore, social and financial success. At the same time, Moretti resists the "idea of literacy in the singular" and urges contemporary scholars "to think in terms of literacies," suggesting how levels of reading ability were diverse or uneven across society.[78] Since readers (and writers) had different reasons or goals for developing their lettered skills, from simple counting to complex poetic composition to stories for pure entertainment, publishers responded to reader demands by printing and selling a wide variety of books that could appeal to readers at different skill levels and seeking to purchase books at different price points.[79] In this way, publishers were able to meet and stimulate demand simultaneously, thus ensuring that readers could purchase the books they desired, while also profiting financially.

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[76] Moretti makes the distinction between the "urban commoner class" and the "merchant class" (and others of the four-estate system) that has been the accepted way to conceive of social differentiation during the early modern period. The urban commoner class (or, simply, "urban commoners") seems to be a more accurate understanding how early modern Japanese people viewed their own social statuses—that is, social differentiation based on locality and access rather than based on ideological templates (i.e., Neo-Confucianism). Moretti, *Pleasure in Profit*, 25-6.
[77] Moretti, *Pleasure in Profit*, 66.
[78] Ibid., 27.
[79] Ibid., 96.

A Roadmap for this Dissertation

At its core, this study uses the trifold lens of space, place, and movement to analyze how correspondences are narrated in *Kagerō nikki*. It would be impossible to analyze space, place, and movement for every entry of the diary—let alone make any reasonable conclusions about the text's entirety. Consequently, I have selected specific exemplary passages to illustrate my claims.

Chapter 2 argues that an exchange of long-form poems (*chōka*, 長歌) between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie creates a malleable literary space through correspondence, which allows each poet to deploy poetic toponyms and dis/emplaced imagery to appeal to material and social expectations beyond the act of writing. In particular, the long-form poems conform to each poet's self-image, with Michitsuna's Mother composing images of stasis and emplacement for herself and her father, and with Kaneie invoking images of mobility and disemplacement for himself. Because family connections, literary norms, and social geography are crucial for analyzing this exchange, the chapter begins with the social and literary histories of the mid-Heian period, focusing on the intersections of genealogy (i.e., the social development of the family through marriage and child-rearing) with mid-tenth-century poetic practices of composition and collection. Then, I examine how poetic topoi, the rhetorical patterns of expression contingent on genre and occasion, generate a literary space for the negotiation of material and social outcomes. After an explanation of how these poetic topoi manifest in Heian literature, particularly in poetic discourse, I present a close-reading analysis of the *chōka* exchange between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie. What is significant about the *chōka* exchange and its accompanying envoys in *Kagerō nikki* is that the correspondence becomes a site for mediating individualized concerns and disagreements through metaphors of moving or static poetic image.

Chapter 3 analyzes the cultural forces that control the movements of Heian-period aristocrats, especially those forces that are not readily legible in the narrative text. Two extended poetic exchanges between Kaneie and Imperial Prince Nori-akira reveal how unrecorded movements through the urban geography of the Heian capital are acknowledged in poetic composition and how the knowledge of the spaces/places inhabited by one's correspondent can change the tone and topic of an exchange. This subtle change in the exchange allows Kaneie (and Michitsuna's Mother) to capitalize culturally on their intimacy with an esteemed member of the imperial family. *Kagerō nikki*'s narrative and presentation of the second correspondence with the Imperial Prince argues for the social and political benefits of observance of the imperial cosmologic. I first consider the development and implications of the imperial imaginary, and how aristocrats participated in this imaginary, before examining one of the Heian period's most pervasive everyday practices of the Imperial cosmologic—ritual taboo and periods of abstinence. I then demonstrate how the movement and emplacement necessitated by ritual taboo bring characters into and out of close proximity with one another, and how that proximity can allow for professional, social, and material benefits. Ultimately, Michitsuna's Mother's narration of the correspondences with the prince reveals how knowledge of space and one's adherence to the Imperial cosmologic creates moments of narrative harmony, as well as how they uphold Imperial authority and order.

In Chapter 4, I examine epistolary and poetic exchange through Michitsuna's Mother's maturing vernacular prose in Book 2 of *Kagerō*. Unlike Book 1, the second volume of the diary is less concerned with anthologizing family poetry and is instead more focused on recording daily occurrences and Michitsuna's Mother's emotional state. To accomplish this, Michitsuna's Mother expands upon existing vernacular prose styles to experiment with vocabulary and

expression, establish recognizable narrative patterns, and define the limit of the social and material advantages that are attainable through correspondence. Specifically, Michitsuna's Mother develops a non-poetic lexicon of expressing emotion through bodily sensation, and her multiple records of passing carriages and unanswered/unsent letters develops through a similar narrative pattern each time. In order to preserve contextual cohesion for the episodes discussed in the chapter, I maintain the temporal linearity of *Kagerō* entries that recount the events leading up to Michitsuna's Mother's flight from the Heian capital for religious retreat in the mountain temple of Narutaki. I examine how the physical/bodily effects of narrated movement, like Kaneie passing by the heroine's gate and Michitsuna's Mother's observance of ritual taboo, takes a form unique to vernacular prose.

With *Kagerō nikki* so contextualized in both literary and scholastic histories, it is now that we can delve into the text and how it situates time and space into its narrative. The following chapters of this dissertation examine how Michitsuna's Mother writes space into her narrative—consciously or unconsciously. By examining passages that illustrate how the narrative reveals the significance of space, movement, and time, we might better understand how Heian aristocrats understood and participated in the geographic and imaginary worlds that surrounded them.

CHAPTER 2: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PLACES, CORRESPONDING SPACES

This chapter argues that the emerging literary trends and socio-political concerns that define *Kagerō nikki*'s aristocratic world find analogues to a material, geographical reality which is, in turn, reinterpreted through poetic composition and correspondence. Specifically, Michitsuna's Mother's worries about the ostensibly weakening support from her male supporters, and this anxiety is expressed in poetry through a rhetoric of emplacement and disemplacement, as well as through the strategic use of poetic toponyms relevant to the poet's social and geographic reality. Significantly, Michitsuna's Mother's use of poetic toponyms in *Kagerō nikki* engage simultaneously the shared, imagined space of poetic landscape and the unique, material space of geographic landscapes relevant to her social concerns.

In the poetic correspondences examined here, Michitsuna's Mother expands the range of acceptable poetic topoi and deploys established toponyms to effect interpersonal outcomes; specifically, she engages in poetic exchange to appeal verbally to her husband for his continued support. Not only is the *Kagerō* author successful in resecuring her husband's material and social support due to her talent in poetic composition, but her success also reminds her husband of the importance of projecting authority through literary pursuits. Expressed as part of an autobiographical narrative, these poetic exchanges demonstrate a pragmatic use for the relatively newly legitimized vernacular poetic form—i.e., *waka* poetry written in *kana*.

Bloodline Avenues

The foundations of the Heian capital's socio-political environment were built upon the genealogies of esteemed bloodlines, as families vied for influence over the Imperial family and within the Imperial Court. By the mid-Heian period (ca. tenth–eleventh centuries), the Fujiwara clan had become adept at positioning itself within the imperial bloodline and in key positions within the Court. Fujiwara fathers would have their daughters trained extensively in artistic and aesthetic pursuits to entice a favorable convergence of lineages when the lady (presumably) served in Court—and non-Fujiwara clans followed suit in preparation for the rare chance to unseat their political rivals. As such, one's family history and connections dictated one's proximity to the Imperial seat of power, and one's family history and connections depending on the cultural capabilities of previous generations.[1]

Within such a world, Michitsuna's Mother's resources were fraught with paradox: She was well-connected through her father's family, and she was recognized as poetically and literarily gifted, even in her youth. However, Michitsuna' Mother's genealogical connections would prove too weak to leverage because she bore but a single son, who could only ever achieve political power within the Heian bureaucratic administration, rather than a daughter (or several) who could be inserted into the Imperial bloodline. Although her father, Fujiwara no Tomoyasu (藤原倫寧, d. 977), hailed from the provincial governor (*zuryō*, 受領) sector of the aristocracy and had the financial means to capably prepare his children for marriage to Heian courtiers or perhaps Court service, Tomoyasu was beyond the hope of vying for a minister position or the regency once his daughters married administrator-courtiers, and most accounts

[1] Sonja Arntzen, "Introduction: Reclaiming an Ancestress," in *The Kagerō Diary*, trans. Sonja Arntzen (Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1997), 13-7.

suggest that he preferred the more lucrative position of provincial governorship anyway.[2] Following her marriage to Kaneie and the birth of their son, Michitsuna, Michitsuna's Mother was left mostly reliant on her husband for social and financial support during Tomoyasu's relatively frequent appointments in the provinces.[3]

The marriage between Kaneie and Michitsuna's Mother was a particularly strategic alliance—for both parties. Kaneie was one of the sons of Fujiwara no Morosuke (藤原師輔, 909–960) and great-great-grandson of Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (藤原良房, 804–872), who is often cited as the key figure in consolidating the Fujiwara Regency through marriage politics. Kaneie's nascent dreams of his own ascent to Regent, like his father and great-great-grandfather before him, required not only the production of children for building strategic alliances, but also the increasingly significant cultural cache of the aesthete, which he seemed to lack.[4]

Throughout the ninth century, *waka* (和歌) composed in the vernacular syllabary *kana* (かな or 仮名) gained traction as the premier form of social intercourse and correspondence among the literate aristocratic class, culminating in the first Imperially sponsored poetry collection (*chokusenshū*, 勅撰集) known as the *Kokinshū (Kokinwakashū*, 古今和歌集; ca. 920) and followed closely by the second Imperially sponsored poetry collection known as the *Gosenshū* (*Gosenwakashū*, 後撰和歌集; ca. 958). Also during this time, Yoshifusa's nephew/adopted son, Fujiwara no Mototsune (藤原基経, 836–891), and grandson, Fujiwara no

[2] Oka Kazuo, *Michitsuna no Haha—Kagerō nikki geijutsu-kō* (Yūrindō, 1986), 15-6.
[3] Oka, *Michitsuna no Haha*, 13, 15-24.
[4] SNKBZ 13, 90. Michitsuna's Mother complains of Kaneie's failures in the epistolary arts. See pp. 12, 39-40 of this dissertation.

Tadahira (藤原忠平, 880–949), consolidated Regental authority in the Northern Branch of the Fujiwara Clan (*Fujiwara hokke*, 藤原北家) by ensuring that their daughters married crown princes and imperial princes, thereby ensuring a Northern Fujiwara man remains in a regent position. In an environment where men and women of notable aristocratic rank were physically kept separate—even to the point of invisibility—by screens, blinds, and other devices,[5] heterosocial intercourse was possible through *kana* writing and messengers relaying verbal correspondences. Consequently, this period witnessed increasing emphasis on abilities of poetic composition and *kana* calligraphy, as *waka* came to signify the primary means of erotic, social, and even political negotiation between the sexes. Excellence in these poetic arts not only enabled men and women to attract one another in lieu of knowledge of one another's physical appearance, but it also demonstrated one's cultural refinement and education, which were legitimized by the advent of imperially sponsored poetry collections. Yamaguchi Hiroshi discusses this phenomenon of Fujiwara Regents bolstering their political authority, gained through strategic marriage, with projections of cultural authority garnered by the proliferation and circulation of personal poetry collections in which Fujiwara men exhibited their talent for social negotiation. Yamaguchi calls this a "Regental Family poetry circle" (*sekkanke kadan*, 摂関

[5] Michitsuna's Mother makes unambiguous reference to these visual obstructions throughout *Kagerō nikki*. An example of this is when Kaneie forcibly extracts his wife from her retreat at Hannyaji Temple at Narutaki. In his haste and exasperation, Kaneie barges into Michitsuna's Mother's apartments, and she scrambles to hide behind a screen curtain: "At this time, [he] walks right in without pause, and since he just comes right in, I fret and though I pull the screen to conceal myself, it is to no avail" (こたみはつつむことなくさし歩みて、ただ入りに入れば、わびて几帳(きちやう)ばかりを引き寄せて端(はた)隠るれど、なにのかひなし). SNKBZ 13, 250. Despite this, Heian aristocratic men and women seem to have been allowed in each other's company during transit, such as when Kaneie, Michitsuna's Mother, and her sister share the ox-carriage back to the capital; SNKBZ, 251-2.

家歌壇).[6] Thus, Michitsuna's Mother's widely recognized poetic talents, especially in the ascendant art of vernacular *waka* composition, must be refigured not as a mere curiosity about her abilities or personality, but rather as a vital component of her marital alliance with the promising son of an established power player in Court.

Poetic Foundations

As Torquil Duthie points out in one of several companion essays to his translation of selected poems from the *Kokinshū*, this first imperially sponsored poetry collection helped to establish a usage for the relatively new style of cursive vernacular writing, *kana*.[7] Predicated on the authority of sinographic historical, philosophical, and literary works that had come to regard poetry as the cultural keystone of the state,[8] poetic and literary anthologies, like the *Kokinshū*, also contained the hope that the work would survive for eons, thereby preserving and elevating the names and families of selected poets. This practice of imperially sponsored poetic anthology motivated aristocrats and courtiers from all levels to engage in vernacular writing and poetry composition in the chance that they, too, might be a source of pride or delight for future generations of their family. Although not all poems were selected for their compositional virtuosity,[9] poets included in an imperial anthology could boast poetic authority, which could

[6] Yamaguchi Hiroshi, *Ōchō kadan no kenkyū: Murakami, Reizei, En'yu chō hen* (Ōfūsha, 1967).
[7] Torquil Duthie, ed., "The Heian Court and Kana Writing" in *Kokinshū: Selected Poems* (University of Columbia Press, 2023), 262-3.
[8] Duthie, "Poetry Before the Heian Period," in *The Kokinshū: Selected Poems*, 239-41.
[9] Gus Heldt discusses how Ki no Tsurayuki (紀貫之; 866 or 872–945), author of *Tosa nikki* (土佐日記; ca. 934) and notable compiler of the *Kokinshū*, constructed the poem-tale of his return to the imperial capital from his governorship by appealing to the tastes and imaginations of aristocrats whose patronage he wished to court. Notably, the poems selected for *Tosa nikki* are not present in Tsurayuki's later, self-selected *Tsurayuki-shū* poetry collection (貫之集; mid-tenth century), which, Heldt argues, is due to differences in Tsurayuki's professional prerogatives at different stages of his career. Gus Heldt, *Navigating Narratives: Tsurayuki's* Tosa Diary *as History and Fiction* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2024), 4-7, 44-9, 50-5.

then be leveraged in the broader social and political environment of the Heian capital. It is for this reason that *kana* writing—especially vernacular *waka* poetry—became regarded as a legitimate tool for non-administrative writing, which also allowed for greater written correspondence between men and women.

Significantly, the *Kokinshū* canonized "love poems" as a distinct genre, dedicating five books to the topica. Many sequences of the Love Poems seem to replicate epistolary exchanges that reflect the lifecycle of an erotic relationship: first yearnings; hopes/doubts of initiation; the morning after the first encounter; waiting for progression; parting. Many aristocratic couples would exchange letters—almost always accompanied by poems—for each of those stages of a relationship, so exchanges of love poetry were tightly intertwined with an informal, private mode of epistolary culture. Even though most apparent pairings or sequences of the *Kokinshū*'s Love Poems were rarely contemporaneous correspondences between poetic actors,[10] the juxtaposition of poems strongly encourages readers to interpret them as such. For example, the first book of the *Kokinshū*'s Love Poems (Book 11) begins thus:

> Topic Unknown; Composer Unknown
>
> The cuckoo calling from among the Fifth Month's irises—does it too love so blindly?
>
> Sosei Hōshi
>
> For the white dew upon the chrysanthemum hearing only cries: it must have been set down at night and fades in the longings of day
>
> 題知らず　　読み人しらず
>
> 郭公(ほととぎす)鳴くや五月(さつき)のあやめぐさあやめもしらぬ恋(こひ)もするかな
>
> 素性法師

[10] Rather than exposing the romances of their fellows in Court, or possibly because they had been written for compositional practice and not public submission, the compilers of the *Kokinshū*'s volumes of Love Poems usually preface *waka* in these books with "Topic Unknown" (*dai shirazu*, 題しらず) and "Composer Unknown" (*yomibito shirazu*, よみびとしらず). Gian Piero Persiani, *Poets, Patrons, and the Public: Poetry as Cultural Phenomenon in Courtly Japan* (Brill, 2025), 28-30. See also Yamaguchi Hiroshi, *Ōchō kadan no kenkyū: Uda, Daigo, Suzaku chō hen* (Ōfūsha, 1972), 426-8.

音(をと)にのみきくの白露夜(しらつゆよる)はおきて昼(ひる)は思ひにあへず消(け)ぬべし[11]

The first poem expresses the speaker's obsessive infatuation with his/her lover, introducing a summer songbird that seems to have lost all sense of reason in the pursuit of love (*ayame mo shiranu kohi*, あやめもしらぬ恋). The speaker of the second poem appears to hear the cuckoo's mating call as mere "cries" and questions the intensity of the first poem's love, which comes only at night and does not last through the daylight sun (his/her own intense "longings," *omohi*, おもひ). Although a topic is not recorded for either poem nor is the relationship between the poets known—in fact, one of the poets is specified as "unknown" (*yomibito shirazu*, 読み人知らず or 詠み人知らず)—the sounds of the cuckoo's cries and the topos of initiating erotic courtship appear to be shared, suggesting that the compilers of the *Kokinshū* made attempts to create narratives through sequencing. Because the poetic setting is explicitly romantic/erotic, the sequence is easily read as a written correspondence between lovers, which would be the typical manner of initiating such a relationship.

In contrast to the *Kokinshū*'s contrivance of exchanges of love poetry by its compilers, the books of the *Gosenshū* teem with poems taken from actual romantic correspondences, most copied from personal poetry collections (*shikashū*, 私歌集) of high-ranking aristocrats. Gian Piero Persiani explains that the shift in the origin of poems collated into these two earliest imperially sponsored poetry collections—the *Kokinshū*'s poems largely deriving from the lowest levels of aristocratic society, and the *Gosenshū*'s often originating in the poetry exchanges of

[11] KKS 469 and KKS 470. SNKBZ 11, 196.

high-ranking aristocrats—is explained by two broad cultural shifts that occurred simultaneously through the ninth and tenth centuries. The first shift was in the cultural status of *waka*, which had been overshadowed by literary Sinitic poetry (*kanshi*, 漢詩) as the prestige poetic form until the *Kokinshū* editors made arguments in favor of *waka* in their anthology's prefaces.[12] Alongside this shift in discursive paradigm in the literary world was an expansion in the utility of *waka* as a mechanism of courtship, which accordingly extended *waka* authorship across broader sectors of the Heian aristocracy.[13] *Waka* could be written in vernacular *kana* by both men and women, so it became the de facto orthography for written communication between the sexes, particularly as *waka* was increasingly used in courtship contexts. Furthermore, Persiani explains how the writers of the *Kokinshū*'s two prefaces—one in *kana* and one in Literary Sinitic (*mana*, 真名)—sought to "correct" the notion of *waka* as an unworthy or frivolous poetic form, justify its burgeoning favor at Court, and create a positive impression of *waka* composition, poets, patrons, and practitioners.[14]

With the reputation of *waka* successfully rehabilitated and with the increasing necessity of poetry for courtship and other social and professional discourse, *waka* composition surged in the decades between the first two Imperial anthologies, which is made legible by an increase in *Gosenshū* poems that either fully record or are taken piecemeal from poetry exchanges (*zōtōka*, 贈答歌), which also allowed for greater numbers of female-authored poems to be included.[15] Compared to the simulation of poetry exchanges found in the *Kokinshū*, the *Gosenshū* illustrates

[12] For the *Kokinshū kana* preface, see SNKBZ 11, 17-30. For its *mana* preface, see SNKBZ 11, 422-30.
[13] Persiani, *Poets, Patrons, and the Public*, 28-33, 38-40, 44-50.
[14] Ibid., 55-9, 114-9, 127-130.
[15] Ibid., 38-40, 70-7.

the increased usage of *waka*, *kana*, and poetry exchange not only as a literary pursuit but also as a tool of social intercourse among all levels of the Heian aristocracy. Insofar as imperial poetry anthologies collected love poems—most of which originated from personal/familial poetry collections and letters—public/Imperial poetry anthology compilers validated *waka* as a legitimate literary form and tacitly encouraged aristocrats to engage in a *kana*-based epistolary culture in the hope that one of their poetic exchanges might be anthologized.

Vernacular *waka* as a mode of informal, heterosocial correspondence became a powerful yet unassuming method, especially for women, to attract the attention of potential allies; public and imperial poetry anthologies amplified this effect. Still, the day-to-day practice of calligraphy and epistolary aesthetics allowed writers to transcend the physical barriers of blinds and screens to represent themselves materially and culturally to their correspondents. Indeed, the phenomenon of deploying material substitutes for one's own body—often women's bodies—is addressed by Rajyashree Pandey.[16] Pandey's discussion of robes, dress, and attire in *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, 源氏物語; ca. 1008) concludes that the "body and self are contiguous with clothing and it is this proximity that allows for feelings and desires to flow freely from one to the other," and that there was "a degree to which metonymic substitutions between the body, clothes, and self had come to be naturalized" by the medieval period.[17] Pandey's argument relies on the aesthetic and material proximity of the body and its clothing: The choice of robe, for example, represents the wearer's taste and fashion sensibilities, while the robe itself is so seldom removed from the wearer that it can be used as a direct reference to her/him. Although Pandey does not discuss epistolary culture, the same can be of letter-writing: The choice of paper and

[16] Rajyashree Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 34-45.
[17] Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*, 42.

adornments demonstrates the writer's epistolary sensibilities, the calligraphy demonstrates her/his artistic style, and the material letter itself serves as a substitute for the writer (and/or his/her voice).

In *Kagerō nikki*, Michitsuna's Mother establishes the metonymic relationship between writers and their letters at the outset of her narrative. The diary begins with a recollection of Kaneie's unsatisfactory courtship. The narrator prefaces the courtship itself as the beginning of "the whole disappointing affair,"[18] suggesting that Kaneie's substandard approach to courtship was the harbinger of an equally disappointing marriage.

> An ordinary person would use an intermediary, someone like a maidservant, and have them say things [on their behalf to woo their intended], but he [Kaneie] went directly to whom he thought is my father, hinting in half-jest half-seriousness [his intentions toward marriage]. Looking as if he didn't hear [my father] saying that the match is not appropriate[19] he sends a man riding a horse to pound on our gate. With everyone asking who this messenger might be from, as it wasn't unclear [why he'd come], there was a big commotion, so, anxious about it, we accepted [the letter], which caused even more commotion. When I look at it, the paper isn't the usual [for a courtship letter], and his writing wasn't at all like the impeccable hand I'd heard of; because it was so bad that I thought it couldn't be [a courtship letter], I found it very strange.
> 例の人は、案内(あない)するたより、もしはなま女などして、言はすることこそあれ、これは、親とおぼしき人に、たはぶれにもまめやかにもほのめかししに、便(び)なきことと言ひつるをも知らず顔(がほ)に、馬(むま)にはひ乗りたる人して、うちたたかす。誰(たれ)など言はするには、おぼつかなからず騒いだれば、もてわづらひ、取り入れてもて騒

[18] The first entry of *Kagerō nikki* begins as follows: "Now, the whole disappointing affair being what it is, from when he [Kaneie] had surpassed the treetops of the oak [i.e., a palace guard], I thought I'd have to say something like this [about it]" (さて、あへなかりしすきごとどものそれはそれとして、柏木の木高(こだか)きわたりより、かく言はせむと思ふことありけり), SNKBZ 13, 90.

[19] Kaneie's status is far above Tomoyasu's and, therefore, Michitsuna's Mother's. A marriage between them could disadvantage Kaneie and/or any offspring from the union due to insufficient backing on the maternal side. Kimura Masanori and Imuta Tsunehisa, the editors of the SNKBZ, note that this evaluation of the in/appropriateness of the marriage is not a matter of Tomoyasu's mindfulness of Kaneie's status, but is rather an impression expressed in retrospect by the author, a posture assumed by Michitsuna's Mother writing/narrating this moment at a later date that foresees disaster. SNKBZ 13, 90, note 6.

ぐ。見れば、紙なども例のやうにもあらず、いたらぬところなしと聞きふるしたる手も、あらじとおぼゆるまで悪(あ)しければ、いとぞあやしき。[20]

Michitsuna's Mother foregrounds the receipt of Kaneie's initial courtship letter with his cavalier attitude ("half-jest half-seriousness") and refusal to abide by the circumspect convention for approaching a lady ("Usually people use an intermediary…but he goes directly to whom he thinks is my father;" "he sends a man…to pound on our gate"). Much like how "the whole disappointing affair" presages the dismal courtship and marriage, Kaneie's indelicate actions presage the heroine's impression of all aspects of the letter: Its paper is inappropriate for commencing a marital or erotic relationship; the calligraphy is careless; it cannot possibly be such an important letter, requiring the pomp of a messenger on horseback, as it is presented to be. Following Pandey's logic, Kaneie's letter represents his aesthetic tastes and calligraphic abilities (or lack thereof), and the material remnant (disappointing paper selection and all), which the author must have at-hand while she replicates epistolary exchanges in her diary, becomes a metonym of the young nobleman that persists throughout the narrative. It is a manifestation of Kaneie's tactlessness and consistent source of aesthetic/artistic discomfort for Michitsuna's Mother across the years. Significantly, this substitution of letters for their writers established at the outset of the diary suggests not only the prevalence of written correspondence in the text, but also provides an interpretive template originating from the author herself.

Further, the poetry *contained* in this epistolary courtship suggests the metonymy of letters for their writers. After Michitsuna's Mother describes Kaneie's outrageous behavior and letter, she continues to record the poem and ensuing correspondence:

The words in it were:

[20] SNKBZ 13, 90.

When I hear only its chirps—how sad, cuckoo! My heart yearns that I would to converse with it

or thereabouts. “What to do? Isn’t this something you ought to respond to?” and such they say. As I was deciding [how to deal with this], the one of Old [my mother] was there; “It’s the normal thing to do,”[21] I fretted and wrote,

Coming to the village where there’s no one with whom to converse—O cuckoo; my voice, which must have no effect, dwindles

With this beginning, even though many other [letters] came, I didn’t respond to any of them, so again from him:

Do they remember—those hesitant waters of Silence Falls? I shall ask the rapids which know not where they go

To this, when we said, “From now, [I shall prepare a reply]”—does he not seem such a fool?—[for, without waiting, another letter from him arrives.] On it was written:

As I wait, thinking what no one knows, “Is it now? Or is it now?” That which doesn’t come back was just so wretched

Because of this, my mother said, “How dreadful! It would be for the best were you to collect yourself and reply.” I had an appropriately appointed servant write what must be written. He seemed truly happy and had many more letters sent [to me].

Again, when I look at the accompanying letter:

That I do not see the beach plover’s tracks impressed[22] into the shore—they must be erased by waves approaching me

ありける言は、

音（おと）にのみ聞けばかなしなほととぎすこと語らはむと思ふ心あり

とばかりぞある。「いかに。返りごとはすべくやある」など、さだむるほどに、古代（こだい）なる人ありて、「なほ」とかしこまりて書かすれば、

語らはむ人なき里にほととぎすかひなかるべき声なふるしそ

これをはじめにて、またまたもおこすれど、返りごともせざりければ、また、

おぼつかな音なき滝の水なれやゆくへも知らぬ瀬をぞたづねる

これを、「いまこれより」と言ひたれば、痴（し）れたるやうなりや、かくぞある。

人知れずいまやいまやと待つほどにかへりこぬこそわびしかりけれ

とありければ、例の人、「かしこし。をさをさしきやうにも聞こえむこそよからめ」とて、さるべき人して、あるべきに書かせてやりつ。それをしもまめやかにうち喜びて、しげう通はす。

また、添へたる文見れば、

[21] It is unclear if Michitsuna’s Mother herself concludes that replying to the letter is “the normal thing to do” or if her mother (*kodai naru hito*, 古代なる人) says this.

[22] The pun on ふみ is significant here: Kaneie deploys a metaphor for the erasure of the beach plover’s tracks to imply that he knows Michitsuna’s Mother is not writing her reply letters (*fumi*, 文) herself.

浜千鳥あともなぎさにふみ見ぬはわれを越す波うちや消(け)つらむ[23]

Although the courtship begins with an exchange of poems, Michitsuna's Mother attempts to maintain distance from Kaneie, often by hesitating or refusing to reply to his letters. When Michitsuna's Mother does reply, she does so by having a suitably talented servant write in her stead, prompting Kaneie's poem about the missing "beach plover's tracks."[24] At first Kaneie was content to receive *any* letter from Michitsuna's Mother, even if it was written by proxy; however, as the courtship became increasingly one-sided, he wants a show of good faith—and others around the heroine felt this effort was necessary, too.[25] In Kaneie's poem, the beach plover's footprints pivots the poetic discourse from birds' voices/chirping to their imprints in a physical, poetic world: "That I do not see the beach plover's tracks impressed" (*hama-chidori ato mo*

[23] SNKBZ 13, 90-2.

[24] Kaneie's poem refers to KKS 1093: "Would that the waves surmount the Tip of Mount Pine if I were to possess an aimless heart that leaves you behind" (君をおきてあだし心をわが持たばすゑの松山波も超えなむ). SNKBZ 11, 414; see Appendix A, Excerpt 2, p. 154 of this dissertation. And GSS 695 by Taira no Sadafumi (平定文): "The waves that come to me—do not erase these tracks steeped of the impression that I shall know to rely on the beach plover" (浜千鳥たのむを知れとふみそむる跡うち消つな我を越す浪). SNKBT 6, 201. There is also an oblique reference to the closing lines of the *kana* preface of the *Kokinshū*: "Though Hitomaru has passed, does not poetry remain? Supposing if time moves on and things go away, and happiness and sadness comes and goes, we still have the letters of these poems. Just as the strands of the green willow never snap, nor the needles of the pine tree are lost or scattered, the scent of the jasmine lingers on, and should the tracks of the bird remain for a while, we will understand the character of poetry; as if gazing at the moon in the vast sky, one who might possess the heart of things must look up to the past and love the present" (人麿なくなりにたれど、歌のこととどまれるかな。たとひ時移り事去り、楽しび悲しびゆきかふとも、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、真拆(まさき)の葛長く伝はり、鳥の跡久しくとどまれらば、歌のさまを知り、ことの心を得たらむ人は、大空の月を見るがごとくに、古を仰ぎて今を恋ざらめかも). SNKBZ 11, 30.

[25] This becomes apparent when someone says: "'How dreadful! It would be for the best were you to collect yourself and reply'" (例の人、「かしこし。をさをさしきやうにも聞こえむこそよからめ」とて). SNKBZ 13, 91-2. Here, 例の人 means "the usual person" or "a typical person," and refers to a commonsense of the Heian aristocrat. It also can refer, contextually, to Michitsuna's Mother's mother or to another servant in the household who expressed the necessity of her lady's reply. I have chosen to translate it as Michitsuna's Mother's mother speaking because of the directness of the exhortation to reply to Kaneie.

nagisa ni fumi minu ha, 浜千鳥あともなぎさにふみ見ぬは).[26] The doubled meaning of *fumi* (ふみ) as both "footstep, impression" (踏み) and "letter, missive" (文) makes explicit the discursive shift in the poetry exchange: Kaneie is clearly dissatisfied that Michitsuna's Mother will not respond to him herself, in her own hand and words. This sequence suggests that voice (of the bird in poetry, of the composer in material reality) in an insufficient substitute for the "true" essence of the correspondent; the correspondent creates a suitable material analogue of herself when she inscribes her voice in her own hand. The letter's paper and decoration may serve as a kind of substitute for the correspondent, but the material letter alone lacks the vitalizing touch of the calligraphic hand of the composer alone can imbue. Like the beach plover's footprints impressed into the sand are to be read as a signifier of its material existence, the physical touch of hand to brush, brush to paper, by the intended correspondent is requisite to constructing a letter that authoritatively represents its writer in the material world.

Navigating a Literary Society

As the culture of *kana* writing—and *waka* exchange, specifically—came into ascendancy in the mid-tenth century, social dynamics re-formed around a new paradigm of literary correspondence. Not only did *waka* exchange provide the discursive space in which aristocrats could pursue their place in poetic history (through anthologies), but these poetic correspondences also allowed aristocrats a way to invent a literary image for themselves for later generations while further securing social and political power in the immediate future.

[26] SNKBZ 13, 92.

Joshua Mostow argues, following Yamaguchi Hiroshi and Moriya Shōgo, that mid-Heian noblemen accumulated social largess and political power by performing the role of the "skilled lover" (*suki-bito* 好き人, or *iro-gonomi* 色好み), demonstrated through personal (including familial) anthologies in which the gallant would successfully court high-ranking and talented ladies through poetic correspondence.[27] Mostow likens this deployment of literary performance to a "PR firm of 'Fujiwara and Associates,' or, more accurately, of 'Morosuke and Descendants,"[28] describing how Fujiwara no Morosuke, Kaneie's father and key consolidator of regental authority in the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan, ensured his poetry exchanges with high-ranking lovers—three of whom were Imperial princesses—were preserved in the *Kujō Udaijinshū* (九条右大臣集 aka. *Morosukeshū* 師輔集). This apparent mastery of *waka* exchange, which offered the potential for both erotic congress and literary immortality, bestowed upon Morosuke a cultural prestige that could support his political aspirations, as by this time the aristocracy had recognized literary ability as a requisite for political authority.[29]

Going further, Moriya traces the political strategy of poetic mastery (or the *appearance* of mastery) beyond Morosuke: His eldest son, Koretada (also read Koremasa, 伊尹; 924–972), was literarily talented and seems to have anthologized many of his *iro-gonomi* exchanges in the

[27] Joshua Mostow, "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess: The Politics of Autobiography and the *Kagerō Nikki*," *Japan Forum* 4, no. 2 (1992), 311-3. See also, Yamaguchi Hiroshi, *Ōchō kadan no kenkyū: Murakami, Reizei, En'yu cho hen*, (Ōfusha, 1967), 139-46; Moriya Shōgo, "Kagerō nikki *zenshi—kashū kara nikki keisei he no sobyō*," *Kagerō nikki*, eds. Ishihara Shōhei, Tsutomo Nobuhiro, and Nishizawa Masashi, *Joryū nikki bungaku kōza Vol. 2* (Benseisha, 1990), 43-61.
[28] Mostow, "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess," 311.
[29] The connection between poetry anthologies as records of Imperial glory as well as elegy for the past (i.e., fond remembrance of that which is lost) is critical to poetry's role in early imperial politics. See Mostow, "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess," 311-2. The role of elegiac poetry as political support is further explored Chapter 5 of Torquil Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan* (Brill, 2014), 172-9, 180-95.

tale-like poetry collection called *Toyokage* (とよかげ aka. *Ichi-jō sesshō gyoshū* 一条摂政御集, ca. 952–954). The poems in the *Toyokage* date from Koretada's young-adulthood, but the anthology was collated in his late-twenties, indeed, around the time when he was involved with an imperially sponsored annotated rendering of the *Man'yōshū* (collated 759–780) as well as selecting poems for the second Imperial *waka* collection, the *Gosenshū*,[30] which contains two of his poems. Moriya argues that Koretada was inspired by his father to collate (and tactically disseminate) a collection of poetic correspondences that boast of this eldest son's various talents.[31] Thus, Koretada's erotic desirability, as translated through the literary enterprise of poetic anthology, could produce pathways for alliances (both the erotic and the social) that could be leveraged for political and/or social advantage.

As the second and third sons of Morosuke, Kanemichi (兼通, 925–977) and Kaneie learned from their father and older brother that establishing oneself as an erotic hero of a poetry collection could yield broad cultural appeal among—and political authority over—their aristocratic rivals. Although Kanemichi was not known for his literary skill[32] and never himself

[30] Koretada was not among those officially tasked with these imperially sponsored poetry projects; however, his poetic activities and involvement with the project leaders around the time of completion implies Koretada's hopes of being assigned similar work in the future. Those tasked with the *Man'yōshū* annotation (*kunshaku*, 訓釈) and compilation of the *Gosenshū* in Tenryaku 5 (951) are known as the Five of the Pear Pavilion: Ō-nakatomi no Yoshinobu, Minamoto no Shitagō, Kiyohara no Motosuke, Sakanoue no Mochiki, and Ki no Tokifumi. See Moriya, "Kagerō nikki *zenshi*," 47.

[31] Moriya, "Kagerō nikki *zenshi*," 47.

[32] SNKBZ 13, 352-6. In this passage, Michitsuna's Mother describes a letter (and its poetic content) sent from Kanemichi in ambiguous terms, often remarking how "strange" (*ayashi*, *ito ayashi*, あやし、いとあやし) the whole affair is. This is likely a result of a combination of factors: 1) Kanemichi's poem is composed in response to one by Michitsuna's Mother, which she did not send to him, so he viewed/heard it indirectly or else was shown it; 2) Michituna's Mother's poem expresses bitter frustration at her growing irrelevance (in the world) and powerlessness (in brokering her children's marriages), so a reply from one so advanced in Court is a little awkward, even if he is her brother-in-law; 3) at this time (974), Kanemichi is Grand Chancellor (*ohoki otodo* or *dajōdaijin*, 太政大臣), and he and Kaneie are bitter rivals that could barely stand each other; and 4) Kanemichi's poem strains to accommodate poetic techniques and rhetoric, producing an unnatural or belabored response, so the correspondents appear mis-matched in their abilities.

compiled an anthology of his poetry, the *Hon'in no Jijūshū* (本院侍従集, mid-tenth century) narrativizes the poems of his romantic correspondences with Hon'in no Jijū (dates unknown), a distinguished poetess in service to the Court.[33] Like Koretada's *Toyokage*, the *Hon'in no Jijūshū* envisions Kanemichi at the height of his youth—and the object of desire by high-ranking ladies. Despite his shortcomings as a poet, the young Kanemichi embodies the gallant lover while also exhibiting a marked improvement in *waka* composition. Jijū's anthology portrays Kanemichi as the inexperienced yet earnest lover, a heroic archetype that possesses a unique charm within a Court of highly trained poets and literati.[34] The contrast of Kanemichi's portrayal in *Hon'in no Jijūshū* and Koretada's in *Toyokage* reveals that the skill of a nobleman's poetic composition is subordinate to the fact that his poetic correspondences with desirable/powerful women and men indicate his social/political connections and transform him into a romantic hero to be admired.

Like Morosuke's other sons, Kaneie learned the value of constructing an image of himself as a poetically inclined lover. It was likely not his intention to woo and wed Michitsuna's Mother for the explicit purpose of having her create a poetry collection that configured his romantic heroism; however, the lady's exceptional poetic talents and physical beauty were widely known among the aristocracy,[35] and providence seemed to work in Kaneie's favor. He would gain an enviably beautiful wife—and further opportunities to produce offspring to be

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[33] Hon'in no Jijū served Emperor Murakami's consorts Anshi (安子, dates unknown), who was also one of Morosuke's daughters, and Kishi (徽子, 929–985). Fujiwara no Kintō (藤原公任, 966–1041) named Kishi among the Thirty-Six Poet Immortals (*sanjūrokkasen*, 三十六歌仙). For further discussion of Kanemichi in the *Hon'in Jijūshū*, see Kanechika Nobuyuki, "Hon'in no Jijūshū *ha dō yomeru ka*," *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Letters, Arts, and Sciences of Waseda University* 67 (2022): 69-74.

[34] Kanechika, "Hon'in no Jijūshū *ha dō yomeru ka*," 82-4.

[35] In the *Sonpi bunmyaku* (*Lineages of Nobility and Commoners*; 尊卑分脈, sometimes written 尊卑分詠), a genealogy of Heian aristocrats compiled in the late fourteenth century, Michitsuna's Mother was referred to as "among the three most beautiful ladies of our land" (本朝第一美人三人内也). Uemura Etsuko, *Kagerō nikki no kenkyū* (Meiji Shoin, 1972), 435-6.

placed in administrative or Court service—as well as the literary capital of having become a protagonist in the recorded poetic correspondences with his talented and elegant wife. The exchange of letters and poetry during courtship and throughout their marriage naturally produced the materials for a narrativized poetic anthology centered on Kaneie and his correspondents, though Michitsuna's Mother, her children, and *their* correspondents come to the fore later in the *Kagerō* narrative (Books 2 and 3) as the text came to explore different narrative techniques and categories of writing. Although there are occasions in the narrative when Kaneie seems antagonistic toward Michitsuna's Mother and others, the benefit of appearing to have an expansive and eminent social network incentivized him to share his written materials and correspondences with his wife, provide paper and economic support for producing *Kagerō*, and distribute the text as sections were completed.[36] In this way, *Kagerō* is unique within Morosuke's and his descendants' valorization projects: Michitsuna's Mother leverages Kaneie's youthful, romantic heroism to buoy the narratives of other characters, like herself and her children while her husband's protagonism transforms from diegetic gallant to nondiegetic (or partially diegetic) benefactor and statesman.

In addition to literary intercourses, everyday interactions within the aristocratic bureaucracy provided critical moments for social correspondence. For example, Kaneie's courtship of Michitsuna's Mother begins in an unusual manner: It was largely brokered *a priori* by men of the imperial administration, rather than the typical *ad hoc* employment of women of the household as mediators for the lovers. As discussed earlier, the *Kagerō* author was incredulous at Kaneie's courtship behavior, noting that most suitors "use an intermediary, someone like a maidservant, and have them say things [on their behalf to woo their intended],"

[36] Yamaguchi Hiroshi, *Ōchō kadan no kenkyū: Murakami, Reizei, En'yu chō hen*, 139-65.

but that Kaneie went "went directly to whom he thought is [her] father [Tomoyasu]" to announce his intentions of marriage.[37] The abrupt beginning of a disastrous courtship not only emphasizes the author-narrator's argument that her disappointing marriage to Kaneie is not represented by any of the "many old tales in the world" (*yo no naka ni ohokaru furu-monogatari*, 世の中に多かる古物語),[38] but his failure to observe standard protocol for initiating courtship gestures to the division of social worlds along gendered lines. This is because Kaneie and Tomoyasu were, indeed, quite familiar with one another. Their administrative and Court duties gave them cause for interaction, and, importantly, Tomoyasu had previously worked as steward (*ie no tsukasa*, 家司) in the household of Fujiwara no Saneyori (藤原実頼, 900–970), Minister of the Left and older brother of Morosuke.[39] In other words, Kaneie's and Tomoyasu's professional duties put them into such social and geographic proximity that Kaneie did not deem it necessary to exit the male-dominated social space of the administrative bureaucracy to pursue his romantic interest in a lady. Considering this, the affront and disbelief expressed by the *Kagerō* author-narrator suggests that men conscientiously entering women's spaces (i.e., using female servants as intermediaries, etca.) is a necessary element of the courtship protocol, and Kaneie's refusal to observe such a compromise for crossing gendered boundaries foreshadows a pragmatic unwillingness to inconvenience himself to appear "dignified."[40]

[37] SNKBZ 13, 90.
[38] SNKBZ 13, 89.
[39] Oka Kazuo, *Michitsuna no Haha:* Kagerō nikki *geijutsu-kō* (Yūrindō, 1986), 14.
[40] Another notable instance when Kaneie refuses to observe proper protocols for crossing into a lady's private space is when he barges into the apartments at which Michitsuna's Mother stays during her retreat to Hannyaji at Narutaki in order to bring his wife back to the capital. See SNKBZ 13, 249-52.

The Topics and Topoi of Poetic Correspondence

Michitsuna's Mother is unique among Heian female authors whose work survives the centuries, for she never served in Court. Rather, she maintained her parents' household on First Avenue until Tenroku 4 (973), when she relinquished her marriage at age thirty-nine by moving to a home in the Hirohata Nakagawa area,[41] which lacked the convenience and grandiosity appropriate for receiving Kaneie, who had risen to Head Greater Councilor of the Right (*u-taishō dainagon*, 右大将大納言) the previous year. It is also around this time that Michitsuna's Mother wrote *Kagerō nikki*, and, although the marriage had ended, Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie maintained a relatively amicable relationship.[42] In any case, Michitsuna's Mother's figuration as a "lady of a residence" (*ie no onna*, 家の女), as opposed to a "lady of the Court" (*nyōbō*, 女房), allowed her greater freedom to maintain her residence and to travel on pilgrimage. However, as a woman, she was still defined primarily by her emplacement in a specific location rather than by movement or displacement, which was mostly afforded to men. Throughout *Kagerō nikki*, Michitsuna's Mother demonstrates how a rhetoric of dis/emplacement can negotiate material, real-world outcomes while overlapping material/geographic places onto literary topoi to appeal to cultural authority and aesthetic sensitivities.

[41] 広幡中川のほど. SNKBZ 13, 316.

[42] Michitsuna's Mother seems to have accepted that Kaneie was not going to love her the way she had hoped, but she recognized that he would nonetheless provide the social, political, and economic support for Michitsuna's career and for her adopted daughter (Kaneie's daughter by another lady), which was reassuring. See SNKBZ 13, 316-317. Following the end of their marriage, it is likely that Michitsuna's Mother tacitly supported Kaneie's political ambitions—and, by extension, their son's administrative career—by positioning him as a protagonist of *Kagerō*. See "Navigating a Literary Society," above.

Spaces of Writing

Because aristocratic men and women were physically separated by screens and blinds—if not by meaningful geographic distance—epistolary correspondence came to mediate heterosocial intercourse, and, as noted previously, these correspondences relied upon the relatively newly developed *kana* vernacular for wide-ranging legibility. The movement of letters (whole epistles and/or individual characters) within and across geographies inscribes the imaginary of a highly sophisticated, aristocrat-led empire. Ki no Tsurayuki's (紀貫之; 866 or 872–945) *Tosa nikki*, the earliest extant *kana* diary (ca. 934), records the travels of an aristocratic governor's party as it returns from provincial Tosa[43] to the Heian capital city, the imperial center. Among the many poems documented in *Tosa*, two exemplify the combination of imperial consciousness with poetic topoi to (re)establish imperial authority and, by extension, the aristocratic writer's cultural necessity to the project of empire.

> For the Chinese poems, [people] raised their voices and recited them. For the Yamato poems, master and guest alike recited theirs to each other. I cannot write the Chinese poems here. For a Yamato poem, the master of the province composed:
>
> It is in vain that we have come to meet you who left the *capital*—have we already parted?
>
> 漢詩(からうた)、声あげていひけり。和歌(やまとうた)、主(あるじ)も客人(まらうど)も、こと人もいひあへりけり。漢詩はこれにえ書かず。和歌、主の守のよめりける、
>
> みやこ出でて君にあわむと来しものを来しかひもなくわかれぬるかな[44]
>
> (…)
>
> Returning to the capital city, we thought sadly of only the little girl's absence. Those who were there couldn't bear it. At that time, someone wrote out a poem:
>
> What's sad about casting one's thoughts toward the *capital* is that there are those who won't return to it.
>
> 京(きやう)へ帰るに、女子(おむなご)のなきのみぞ悲しび恋ふる。ある人々もえ堪えず。このあひだに、ある人の書きて出だせる歌、

[43] Modern-day Kochi Prefecture on the island of Shikoku.
[44] SNKBZ 13, 16-7.

みやこへと思ふをもののかなしきはかへらぬ人のあればなりけり[45]

Both poems discuss the capital from the position of one who is outside of it, and both poems deal with separation from this imperial center. In the first poem, the speaker's interlocutor has left the capital to meet him only to return immediately after their (re)union; the speaker implies that he will not be accompanying his friend (or lover), thus he is relegated to obscurity in the provinces. The "parting" (*wakarenuru*, わかれぬる) of the interlocutor from the speaker provides the topos and occasion for poetic composition. The second poem is more explicit in lamenting separation from the capital: "[T]hose who won't return" are forever removed from Imperial grace. Be it of meetings between friends/lovers or of the death of a child, the social world of the aristocratic bureaucracy revolves around the Imperial capital.

Kikuchi Yasuhiko notes that Tsurayuki—or later transcribers—renders "capital" (*miyako*, みやこ) exclusively in *kana* for poetry (denoted by italics for English, and underline for Japanese in the excerpt, above), while prose mostly utilizes the *kanji* (京, read variously as *miyako* or *kiyau/kyō*) to refer to the imperial city. Consequently, Kikuchi suggests that the use of *kana* to render "capital" inscribes a cultural valence onto its material/geographic referent.[46] Like other imperial realms of the Sinographic sphere, the Heian Court ruled from the center: The emperor occupied a ceremonial position, overseeing the rituals and projects necessary for

[45] SNKBZ 13, 18.
[46] In the *Tosa* prose, there are twelve instances of writing *miyako* in *kanji* and six examples of writing it in *kana*. All six examples of "*miyako*" written in *kana* are found in poetry. Kikuchi wonders at the significance of this and offers that the capital's cultural function (rather than geographical significance) is denoted through *kana* usage. SNKBZ 13, 17, note 15.

government functions from his axis in the Court,[47] while administrators derived executive authority from this ceremonial center. The administrators who comprised the aristocratic bureaucracy might remain within the capital city, usually working closely with the Court, or they might be dispatched to the provinces (*kuni*, 国; or *agata*, 県) to govern directly as agents of the imperial state,[48] as Tsurayuki did, which gave rise to *Tosa nikki*. These provincial governing positions were occupied by men,[49] whose fortunes and prestige depended on his aptitude in projecting the culture of the Imperial center—the aristocratic society—in addition to his administrative capabilities. Critical to the task establishing both administrative and cultural hegemony over the archipelago was the development of Sinitic—and, subsequently, *kana*—writing.

As we can see in the preface to the first poem of the *Tosa* excerpt, there were exchanges of Chinese poems (*kara-uta*; 唐歌) and Yamato poems (*yamato-uta*, 和歌) in seemingly equal measure. However, Tsurayuki's literary impersonation of a woman narrator prohibits him from

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[47] The Court, as a geographic/material space, is usually considered as encompassing both the *dairi* (内裏), which included public/administrative offices, as well as the *dai-dairi* (大内裏), located within the *dairi* and refers to the spaces inhabited by the emperor. "The Court" will refer to both the *dairi* and the *dai-dairi*, unless otherwise noted.

[48] The provincial governors, or *zuryō* (受領), were primarily drawn from the Fourth and Fifth Ranks. Depending on the text and time period, provincial governors may be referred to as *kuni no kami* (国守), *agata-nushi* (県主), *kuni no tsukasa* (国司), or, most broadly, *chihō-kan* (地方官), which is set in opposition to capital administrators, *kyō-kan* (京官). Ōtsu Tōru, "*Heian jidai no chihōkan-shoku*," in *Heian kizoku no kankyō—Heian jidai no bungaku to seikatsu*, eds. Yamanaka Yutaka and Suzuki Kazuo (Shibundō, 1994), 162-3.

[49] Women could serve in the Imperial bureaucracy, most often in support roles for the Court or for executive administrators in both the capital and provinces. Ladies of the *zuryō* sector (i.e., women whose husbands or fathers/fathers-in-law occupied *zuryō* positions) primarily upheld household administration and familial systems, ranging from the vital task of dying and sewing clothes for various—and high-profile—Court functions to managing household personnel. Fukutō Sanae, *Ka-seiritsu-shi no kenkyū* (Kōsō Shobō, 1991), 118-23. In *Kagerō nikki*, the significance of women's household tasks in support of her male relatives is made clear, for example, when Michitsuna's Mother refuses Kaneie the sewing services of her household; SNKBZ, 109-10. Later, Kaneie asks Michitsuna's Mother and her household to resew some worn-out clothes for his official duties, and this request occasions a poetry exchange, SNKBZ, 270-1.

transcribing the Chinese poems in Sinitic characters. Many aristocratic women were capable of reading and writing Sinitic characters, but it was considered in bad taste for a woman to boast of such an education. Although there was no strict gendering of orthography during the Heian period, general attitudes toward writing imagined Literary Sinitic as the language of administration, governance, and official correspondence, professions occupied almost exclusively by men.[50] Thus, different professional worlds determined which orthographies were accessible to those inhabiting them. The development of cursive *kana* from Sinitic calligraphic styles allowed men and women to occupy the same (or similar) social spaces through writing, granting not only orthographic correspondence but also greater socio-cultural correspondence. Tsurayuki's comment that he "cannot write the Chinese poems" in a *kana* diary highlights that *Tosa nikki* was supposedly kept by a woman, who occupies no bureaucratic profession and thus would not be expected to have achieved fluency in Literary Sinitica. Yet, by mentioning that the Chinese poems will not exist in her written diary, Tsurayuki's female narrator asserts they did exist in the social phenomenon of the farewell party. As an author, poet, and returning governor, Tsurayuki suggests that the practice of effortlessly composing Sinitic poetry is widespread enough to suffuse the even the provinces, tacitly asserting the effective cultural subjugation of the provinces to the imperial center—and that talented poets/governors like himself are necessary to extending that imperial power.

[50] The Heian aristocratic administration was supported through a bureaucratic education program regulated by the College Bureau (*daigaku-ryō*, 大学寮). Professional administrative positions were available only to men, though women could serve in support roles (e.g., running errands). The College Bureau initially focused its curriculum and examinations on reading and explicating Confucian classics from the Asian mainland; by the Heian period, Confucian learning took a secondary position to Sinitic poetry and prose collections, histories, and Daoist philosophies. This shift in education foregrounded a shift in literary tastes, with Japanese writers *adapting* Sinitic writing techniques to their own literary visions, resulting in what Akiyama Ken describes as a performance of an imagined "Chinese culture." Akiyama Ken, *Ōchō no bungaku kūkan* (Tokyo University Press, 1984), 6-7.

The centrality of the capital city (*miyako*, みやこ or 京) as the seat of imperial authority is reflected by the centrality of the capital as a literary topos in the *Tosa* poems. The *topos*, or *topic*, as a literary device was most significantly explored by Ernst Robert Curtius in the mid-twentieth century. To Curtius, literary topoi constituted rhetorical formulae that might affect word choice, syntax/rhetorical structure, or tone but which largely followed an (arche)typical formal structure according to genre. For example, in the Latin Middle Ages (Curtius' field of expertise) consolatory or elegiac rhetoric first praises the life and accomplishments of s/he who is now departed before moving on to contextualize death or contemplate the nature of time more broadly. The specific expressions of praise, context, and contemplation differ from author to author, but Curtius argues that the rhetorical form of consolation/elegy (in medieval Western literary traditions) generally conforms to the same pattern.[51] Further, these formulae and patterns are not limited to completed oratory or argumentative compositions; rather, components of speech and writing, such as tone/voice, metaphor, and other verbal "accoutrement," also qualify as topoi so long as the cultural conventions are predictable enough to be maintained across several writers and readerships.[52] Simply put, topoi comprise the verbal (and phenomenological) cliches that cultural participants can deploy as a shorthand for complicated—yet well understood—sentiments. In the *Tosa* poems, the "capital" is a place seen always from a distance, from the outside, which carries a sense of separation or alienation from the Imperial and social center, as well as a corresponding expectation of happiness upon returning (for reunion with friends/family and Imperial proximity). This attitude is reinforced even in *Tosa*'s prose. Toward the end the journey (and diary narrative), the party arrives at an inn in Udono, a port town in

[51] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Harper & Row, 1963): 70, 79-105.
[52] Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 91.

Settsu Province just west of the capital. The travelers realize it is now a short, over-land trip to the capital and exchange poems, after which the narrator exclaims, "We rejoiced at our closeness to the *capital* and set out."[53]

Tosa nikki is an early example of contextualizing poetic topoi through narrative prose; it also justifies the growing trend of deploying toponyms, especially poetic place-names (*uta-makura*, 歌枕),[54] as an Imperially legitimized poetic device.[55] Such legitimization of poetic toponyms in prose narrative and treatise is also found in the *Kana* Preface of the *Kokinshū*. Usually attributed to Tsurayuki, the *Kana* Preface cites *uta-makura* and conventional poetic landscape that the author and his colleagues anthologized in this first of imperially sponsored poetry collections: Mount Tsukuba, Mount Fuji, the chirps of (autumn) crickets, the twin pines of Takasago and Suminoe, the distant past of Mount Man and the fleeting moment of the Maiden Flower, etca.[56] It is significant that the *Kana* Preface's writer describes the topic, tone, or occasion for which these toponyms are deployed, establishing them well within Curtius' definition of topoi as patterns of verbal expression associated with specific genres and occasions. For example, the *Kana* Preface identifies the twin pines of Takasago and Suminoe as exemplars of the friendship that withstands the passing years,[57] and the smoke rising from Mount Fuji indicates the burning passions one has for another.[58] The *Kana* Preface writer delimits the

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[53] SNKBZ 13, 51. "Capital" is originally rendered in *kana* as *miyako* (みやこ) reflected again by use of italics.
[54] *Uta-makura* initially referred to a wide range of rhetorical techniques for poetry, including toponyms and pillow words (*makura-kotoba*, 枕詞), but came to refer specifically to place-names by the late Heian period as the usages of *makura-kotoba* became more codified and their meanings more esoteric. Okamura Tsuneya, *Uta-makura* (Heibonsha, 1984), 11, 76-81.
[55] For the development and use of poetic devices across the tenth century, see Persiani, *Poets, Patrons, and the Public*, 148-58.
[56] See Appendix A, Excerpt 2. The poetic topoi are underlined and numbered, and their corresponding poetic citations in the *Kokinshū* can be found after the translated excerpt.
[57] Appendix A, Excerpt 2, Underline 7 and accompanying KKS poetic citations.
[58] Appendix A, Excerpt 2, Underline 5 and 21 and accompanying KKS poetic citations.

interpretive range of these toponymic topoi by citing the *Kokinshū*'s collected poems, which later exegetical scholars have collated and analyzed,[59] thus establishing in literary treatise the topical conventions for using specific poetic landscapes and motifs. Mention of Takasago or Suminoe should conjure the twin pines and reference the passage of time, even if obliquely or ironically; the mere invocation of these toponyms/landscapes manifests the wistful speaker of these poems. Likewise, mention of Mount Fuji should revolve around the angst of love and will almost certainly deploy the word for "burning longing" (a pun on *omohi*, 思ひ or おも火). Thus, the *Kokinshū* and its *Kana* Preface self-consciously set lexical and genre (topical) precedents that connect places to occasion, mood(s), and rhetorical practices.

The emergence of landscape as a shorthand citation for a constellation of images, topics, themes, speaker-positions, etca. is posited as a departure from previous notions about vernacular Yamato poems. The *Kokinshū*'s *Kana* Preface elaborates:

> At present the world is painted in love; from the heart of man has blossomed only empty songs, and vain words have come forth [from that], so masters of colorful debauchery are buried like a bog oak; the tip of their pampas-grass brushes are not something that should extend into public places [before the Emperor].[60]

Vernacular poetry—specifically, *waka* composed for and recorded in the recently developed *kana* style—was unsuitable for public or official literary production. However, the very fact that the *Kokinshū* was understood to be commissioned by Emperor Daigo (醍醐天皇; 885–930, r. 897–930)[61] required Ki no Tomonori (紀友則; 845?–907), Tsurayuki, and their collaborators to justify

[59] Nearly every modern edition of the *Kokinshū* includes notes of the poems cited in the *Kana* Preface. These *waka* citations are remarkably consistent across these editions, suggesting some consensus among modern scholars about which passages refer to which poems specifically. Compare notations across NKBT 8, 97-8; SNKBT 5, 9-12; SNKBZ 11, 22-4.
[60] Appendix A, Excerpt 2.
[61] There is doubt as to which person(s) exactly commissioned any of the Imperially sponsored poetry collections (*chokusenshū*, 勅撰集), but the commission was, ultimately, done in the Emperor's name. For a detailed

Imperial interests in a *waka* anthology, and they do so by imagining a history of Imperial figures who are charmed by—and command their attendants to be charmed by—man's geographic and emotional environments: "Generations of the emperors of old summoned their attendants for the mornings of spring blossoms and the nights of autumn moons and had them present *uta* about such things."[62] At its outset, the *Kana* Preface presents the proliferation of vernacular poetry (*uta* or *Yamato-uta*) that moved "generations of the emperors" as the inevitable consequence of human experience:

> Yamato *uta* take the human spirit as its seed and have grown into myriad leaves of words. For people in the world, because there are so many things that happen, they think of things in their hearts, and in seeing and hearing, they speak forth. When they hear the cuckoo cry among the flowers and the call of the frog living in the waters, and all of the living things, how did they not compose *uta*?[63]

This is followed by a summary of the divine origins of *waka*, which eventually came under the purview of the Imperial House because of the emperor's legendary connection to deities. It is not insignificant that the purported divine origins of *waka* also feature place-names and landscapes of the Japanese archipelago.[64] Although the *Kana* Preface lists taxonomies of poetry,[65] its

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examination of poetic patronage—especially of Imperially sponsored collections—see Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* (Cornell University Press: 2008), 14-6.

[62] Appendix A, Excerpt 2.

[63] Appendix A, Excerpt 1.

[64] The summary of *waka*'s divine origins through to its consummation with the (human) Imperial House follows shortly after the *Kana* Preface's opening lines. SNKBZ 11, 17-9. In particular, the *Kana* Preface claims the first thirty-one syllable *waka* was composed by Susano'o no Mikoto upon the occasion of having built a palace in Izumo Province to live with his wife, Kushinada-hime, and the poem he composed utilizes lexical repetition derived from the place-name of his palace in Izumo to suggest a timeless grandiosity and playfulness: "To seclude my dear wife within the eight-fold hedges like those brilliant eight-fold clouds that rise at Izumo [the cloud spring], I shall build those eight-fold hedges upon eight-fold hedges" (八雲立つ出雲八重垣妻籠めに八重垣つくるその八重垣を). SNKBZ 11, 18.

[65] The *Kana* Preface discusses six types of poetry, which have Sinitic poetry analogues defined in the *rikugi* (六義), the *Six Principles* of writing outlined in the *Book of Odes*. In the *Kana* Preface, these types are: 1. Accompanying Poems (*sohe-uta*, そへ歌), which convey a meaning separate to the object/phenomenon on which the poem was composed; 2. Enumerating Poems (*kazohe-uta*, かぞへ歌), which list associated words (*engo*, 縁語), pillow words (*makura-kotoba*, 枕詞), etca. for a topic; 3. Comparative Poems (*nazurahe-uta*, なずらへ歌), which make marked use of metaphor and allegory; 4. Allegorical Poems (*tatohe-uta*, たとへ歌), which are nearly indistinguishable from

opening lines, which assert that "Yamato *uta* take the human spirit as its seed," foregrounds poetic composition as a literary equivocation[66] generated from human (or human-like) affect, often expressed in nature imagery and metaphorical landscape. This correspondence between the natural world and human nature in the *Kokinshū*'s *Kana* Preface[67] represents a significant departure from classical Chinese poetry anthologies, which legitimize verse through a state-oriented Confucian philosophy. Still, the *Kokinshū* compilers sought to place their opus in correspondence with the most authoritative literary treatises they had available (e.g., the Mao Preface, the Preface to the *Wen xuen*, etca.) to construct a native poetic discourse.[68]

Comparative Poems for use of metaphor and allegory; 5. Straightforward Poems (*tadagoto-uta*, ただごと歌), which celebrate a world of truth and limits use of rhetorical devices; and 6. Celebrative Poems (*ihahi-uta*, いはひ歌), which commemorate significant events or occasions. SNKBZ 11, 19-22.

[66] I use "equivocation" here in the sense discussed by narratologist Susan Lanser. Just as narrative voice can alternate between author and character depending on how the reader wishes to interpret a passage, so too does the *Kokinshū*'s *Kana* Preface equivocally correspond nature imagery and human will (e.g., "leaves of words," *koto no ha*; 言の葉). Rather than clearly delineate speaker from author, or image from meaning, Tsurayuki's *Kana* Preface allows for a broad semantic range, the understanding of which depends on the reader's familiarity with diverse poetic traditions practiced by the Heian aristocracy. Susan Lanser, "I of the Beholder: Equivocal Attachments and the Limits of Structuralist Narratology," in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, ed. James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Wiley-Blackwell Press, 2005), 210-4.

[67] Additionally, the *Kokinshū*'s *Mana* Preface, written by Ki no Yoshimochi (紀淑望; d. 919), begins with an expression of the origin of poetry through a metaphor of nature imagery: "The Yamato song [*uta*] entrusts its roots to the heart; its blossoms are that which spring forth as a forest of words," translation my own. (夫和歌者。託二其根於心地一。発二其花於詞林一者也). SNKBZ 11, 422. More broadly, the *Mana* Preface maintains a similar structure and content to the *Kana* Preface, though the two prefaces are far from identical. There are many significant differences in lexicon and examples raised by the writers of the two prefaces. For the *Mana* Preface, see SNKBZ 11, 422-30. For a complete and annotated English translation of the *Mana* Preface, see Duthie, *The Kokinshū: Selected Poems*, 7-15.

[68] Examples of the classical Chinese poetic canon include the *Book of Odes* (CA. *Shijing*, J. *Shikyō*; 詩経, sometimes J. *Mōshi*, 毛詩; ca. eleventh–seventh centuries BC) and the *Wen xuan* (J. *Monzen*; 文選; ca. 520–530). The Great Preface to the *Book of Odes* (CA. *Tashu*, 大序), or Mao Preface, dates to around the first century. There are disputes about its authorship, with traditional convention arguing that Confucius' direct disciple Zixia (507–400 BC) wrote it, and historical skeptics regarding Wei Hung (ca. first century) as the author. For a careful explication on the intersections of poetry, rhetoric, and statecraft in the Mao Preface, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Brill, 2020), 37-56. Because the Mao Preface was among the foundational Confucian texts to be studied for the Heian administrative examinations, the *Kokinshū* compilers were familiar with these texts and referenced them throughout the *Kokinshū* project. Yamaguchi Hiroshi argues that because both Tsurayuki and Tomonori, another compiler of the *Kokinshū*, worked in the Major Bureau of Records (*dainaiki*; 大内記) around the time that the *Kokinshū* was commissioned, the two men were deeply invested in the organization of the state and its society. Because the tenets of state and social organization of the Heian administrative and legal codes ultimately

The Great Preface's argument that literary production can be a tool of state governance is critical to the development and legitimization of vernacular *kana* poetry through the *Kokinshū*. The *Mana* Preface contains many passages that reference the Mao Preface,[69] and, significantly, it shares an enumeration of the Six Principles of writing (CA. *liuyi*, J. *rikugi*; 六義) with the *Kana* Preface.[70] The echoes—or outright replication—of these passages across poetic prefaces demonstrate the *Kokinshū* compilers' intention to elevate *kana* writing and vernacular poetry composition through this first Imperially sponsored poetry anthology because, as Gian Piero Persiani explains, *waka* was of an orthographic and poetic form that elevated the low- and middle-ranked aristocracy to which the compilers belonged.[71] The *Kokinshū*'s *Mana* Preface

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derive from Confucian texts, including the *Analects* (CA. *Lunyu*, J. *Rongo*; 論語), its various explications, as well as the *Book of Odes*, Yamaguchi concludes that Tsurayuki and Tomonori manifested (consciously or otherwise) the Confucian-influenced morality that underpinned their professional and social worlds as they were compiling and editing the *Kokinshū*. The prevailing Heian legal codes were the *Yōrō Codes* (*Yōrō ritsuryō*, 養老律令; 718) that were enacted around 758, as well as its legal predecessor, the *Taihō Codes* (*Taihō ritsuryō*, 大宝律令; 701). Tsurayuki and Tomonori would have studied these legal codes and their Confucian explications, such as the *Ryō no shūge* (令集解; ca. 859–877), in preparation for their administrative exams. Contemporaneous exegesis of the Mao Preface and Preface to the *Wen xuan* on the Japanese archipelago were influential in connecting the ethos of the *Kokinshū* compilers' bureaucratic and literary careers. Yamaguchi Hiroshi, *Ōchō kadan no kenkyū: Uda, Daigo, Suzaku chō hen* (Ōfūsha, 1973), 378-81.

[69] A translation with notes about the *Mana* Preface's citation of the Great Preface can be found in Duthie, *The Kokinshū: Selected Poems*, 7-15. See also p. 58, note 67; and note 70, below, of this dissertation.

[70] Stephen Owen's translation of the poetic taxonomies in the *Book of Odes* reads as follows: "Thus there are six principles in the poems: 1) Airs; 2) exposition; 3) comparison; 4) affective image; 5) Odes; 6) Hymns," translation by Stephen Owen. (故詩有六義焉。一曰風。二曰賦。三曰比。四曰興。五曰雅。六曰頌。) Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 45. For Owen's discussion of these poetic types, see Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 45-6. Moreover, the *Kokinshū*'s *Kana* Preface reads: "Without even exerting force, they move the heavens and earth; they move the hearts of even the deities, who are invisible to their eyes; even the relations between men and women are pacified; and the fierce heart of the warrior is comforted—that is what *uta* is," translation my own. See Appendix A, Excerpt 1. The *Mana* Preface reads: "Emotions are begotten of will; poetry takes from words. With this, those who are at peace voice their happiness; those who are disappointed sing their misery. [Thus] we can express our thoughts; we can exorcise our gloom; we move the hearts of the gods of heaven and earth; we make the deities feel; we change the morality of man; we ameliorate the relationship between husband and wife. There is nothing better [for this] than *Yamato* song/poetry," translation my own. (感生二於志一。詠形二於言一。是以逸者其声楽。怨者其吟悲。可二以述一レ懐。可二以発一レ憤。動二天地一。感二鬼神一。化二人倫一。和二夫婦一。莫レ宜二於和哥一) SNKBZ 11, 422.

[71] Persiani, *Poets, Patrons, and the Public*, 19-28, 30-8. For further discussion of the deployment of *waka* for statecraft, see Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 188-9.

imagines a future in which poetic talent positively impacts professional appointment.[72] This sentiment is echoed in the *Kana* Preface:

> Generations of the emperors of old summoned their attendants for the mornings of spring blossoms and the nights of autumn moons and had them present *uta* [poetry] about such things. At times, to accompany the blossoms' many meanings was to be lost in an uncertain wilderness; at times, to long for the moon was to peer into the dark lands of the heart fumbling without a guide; [the emperors] must have known wisdom from foolishness.[73]

The potential future in which poetic ability could be a means for assessing professional potential was important to the *Kokinshū* compilers, who were commissioned with the *waka* anthology at an historical inflection point. The regent (*sesshō*, 摂政) and later Chancellor (*dajōdaijin*, 太政大臣) Fujiwara no Mototsune (藤原基経, 836–891) had recently died, and Emperor Uda (宇多天皇; 867–931, r. 887–897) named two non-Fujiwara statesmen to powerful positions: The distinguished scholar Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真; 845–903) was appointed as the Head of the Imperial Secretariat (*kurōdo-dokoro no tō*, 蔵人所頭), and Tachibana no Hiromi (橘広相; 837 or 839–890) was named as an Imperial advisor.[74] The demise of the Fujiwara patriarch combined with the political and social elevation of non-Fujiwara scholar-statesmen—alongside the *Kokinshū* compilers' own status as non-Fujiwara administrators—fostered hopes for a meritocratic professional environment that aligned with the Confucian texts with which these administrative scholars were familiar through their examination studies, at minimum. Thus, the *Kokinshū* became a project of forging a new path for professional advancement, which could be

[72] Persiani, *Poets, Patrons, and the Public*, 19-21.
[73] Appendix A, Excerpt 2.
[74] Persiani, *Poets, Patrons, and the Public*, 21-2.

achieved by justifying a literary discourse around a native poetic form and emerging orthographic style.

Part of the justification of *waka* discourse was the *Kokinshū* prefaces' explications of poetic taxonomies, which were derived from the Six Principles in the *Book of Odes*, a text that unequivocally describes the relationship between poetry (song) and state. The Prefaces' respective exegeses gesture toward the compilers' wish to validate their relatively unimpressive administrative careers within the aristocratic bureaucracy (itself initially based on Confucian principles of statehood from the Asian continent) and reinforce the function of poetry in the Heian empire. Thus, the *Kokinshū* compilers appeal both to an established philosophical tradition that makes poetic production a tool of the state and to an imaginary future in which a new type of literary talent can expect the favor of rulers and administrators wise enough to recognize it.

The development of vernacular *waka* in *kana* continued to develop through the first half of the tenth century, and its next clear tentpole is the *Gosenshū*, Japan's second Imperially sponsored poetry collection. Katagiri Yōichi describes the poems anthologized in the *Gosenshū* as being centered on the Court (i.e., mid- to high-ranking aristocracy), featuring the everyday poetry and romantic exchanges of budding poets (especially female poets), and possessing a conversational tone across sequences (i.e., reflecting *kana* poetry's relatively new role as informal correspondence).[75] That the poetic protagonists of the *Gosenshū* are mid- and high-ranking courtiers suggests that the *Kokinshū* compilers' gambit to elevate *waka* was successful. Indeed, Persiani demonstrates how imperial princes, high-ranking aristocrats (*kugyō*, 公卿; and *tenjō-bito*, 殿上人), and female poets gained notable representation in the second Imperial poetry

[75] Katagiri Yōichi, "*Gosenwakashū no hyōgen*," *Joshi-dai Bungaku* 11, no. 16 (1964).

anthology in comparison to the first.[76] This acknowledgement of *kana* vernacular poetry by a broader section of aristocratic society seems to have represented a new frontier for both literary composition and experimental use.

Although the of literary focus and social purposes of the Imperial poetry collection transformed in the decades between the *Kokinshū* and *Gosenshū*, the rhetorical devices deployed by poets became codified. Research by Sugitani Jurō reveals that the compilers of the *Gosenshū* developed a logic of toponymic correspondences that were initially set forth in the *Kokinshū* roughly forty years prior. These toponymic correspondences encompass the toponym itself, a set of related-words (*engo*, 縁語) that could be used with it, a standard tone/mood for its use, and a genre of poetry composition for which it could be deployed. Furthermore, the physical features of the place signified by the toponym became abstracted to the point of irrelevance for poetic composition.[77] Rather than an attempt at reflecting or describing the material world, what mattered to tenth-century poets was the proper invocation and deployment of lexical associations and/or cliches to the shared imaginary of the poetic landscape. Indeed, a visually faithful account of geographic locations could be accomplished only if one were separated from the imperial capital, which was not an ideal social situation (even if it brought financial fortune). Thus, the imagined landscape and its hermeneutic associations came to overwrite both the physical geography of a place, as well as the desire to ever see those geographies in-person.[78] By the time that the *Gosenshū* was completed, the correct use of lexical and topical (genre/occasion) correspondences to toponyms, as established by the *Kokinshū*'s *Kana* Preface, signified one's

[76] Persiani, *Poets, Patrons, and the Public*, 30-40. See especially Table 1.2 and Figure 1.2.
[77] Sugitani Jurō, "*Chokusenshū no tenkai—Gosenwakashū*," in *Waka bungaku kōza 5: Ōchō no waka*, ed. Ueno Tadashi (Benseisha: 1993), 36-8.
[78] There are, of course, *waka* in which the speaker claims that s/he wishes to see or go to a poetic place, but these could be examples of topoi of separation or longing, which was a source of poignant affect or of other lexical plays, like puns and phonetic repetition.

participation in a new, shared, literary paradigm centered on the Imperial Palace and the aristocrats who had access to it.

The *Kokinshū* poets would use toponyms and natural geographies to illustrate through metaphor and wordplay an affective phenomenon.[79] With the socio-literary paradigm shift witnessed in the *Gosenshū*, we notice that early- to mid-tenth-century poets narrowed their range of common toponyms in accordance with the expanded use of *kana* for interpersonal correspondence. The *Gosenshū* reflects a formalization of toponymic correspondences, which derive from the *Kokinshū*, such as the trope of Ōsaka as a poetic location for romantic or friendly rendezvous,[80] and the Asuka River as a signifier of the swift passage of time and changing state of the world.[81] At the same time as this definitional and associative formalization occurred, Sugitani argues, conventional expressions of poetic toponyms in the *Gosenshū* came to prioritize their potential usage in social and interpersonal settings—namely, love poetry and romantic/erotic poetry exchange. For example, there is a marked decrease in instances of toponyms for non-romantic topoi (e.g., Mount Tatsuta, *Tatsuta-yama*, 龍田山) accompanied by

[79] For examples, see Appendix A, Excerpt 2.

[80] The topos of Ōsaka as an imagined place of meeting derives from a pun on the location's phoneme *afu* (あふ) (pronounced: ō), "to meet" (逢う). Corresponding poetic phrases/tones for separation, reunion, and meeting were applied to any usage of Ōsaka, including Mount Ōsaka (*Afusaka-yama*, 逢坂山) and the Ōsaka Barrier (*Afusaka no seki*, 逢坂の関).

[81] In contrast to Ōsaka, the Asuka River (*Asuka no kaha* or *Asuka-gaha*, 飛鳥川 sometimes 明日香川) derives its poetic correspondences from its usage in previous, well-known poetry collections, including the Man'yōshū: 年月もいまだ經なくに明日香川瀬瀬ゆ渡しし岩橋も無し (MYS 1126), NKBT 5, 210-1; 明日香川行く瀬を速み早けむと待つらむ妹をこの日暮しつ (MYS 2713), NKBT 6, 226-7. In the *Kokinshū* and after, poetic use of the Asuka River is usually accompanied by "ravine" (*fuchi*, 淵), "rapids" (*se*, 瀬), and/or "the world" (*yo no naka*, 世の中) to evoke fast-paced changes with a nostalgic mood. Sugitani, "*Chokusenshū no tenkai—Gosenwakashū*," 38-40.

an increase in instances of toponyms for romantic topoi (e.g., Ōsaka) across the development of the first three Imperially sponsored poetry anthologies.[82]

As Joshua Mostow, Yamaguchi Hiroshi, Moriya Shōgo, and others have shown,[83] the rapidly evolving discursive space of poetry exchange was quickly filled by aristocrats who could be (and wanted to be) immortalized as imperially acknowledged literary (and romantic) heroes/heroines. Indeed, the sheer volume of *kana* correspondences within aristocratic circles—including the practice of creating and sharing personally selected poetry collections (*shisenshū*, 私選集) and family poetry collections (*shikashū*, 私歌集)—represents the countless opportunities that aristocrats made for themselves to have their poems and letters collected. *Kana* writing, especially for informal epistle and *waka* exchanges, had lost the negative stigma that was lamented in the *Kokinshū*'s *Kana* Preface, and it became both the road and the vehicle for talented poets to pursue professional as well as literary glory. It is into this evolving discursive space that Kaneie's eldest brother, Koretada, wielded effective influence on the collation of the *Gosenshū*,[84] ensuring that two of his own poems and fourteen of this father's poems were included and inaugurating a narrative of poetic/literary dominance by Morosuke's lineage henceforth.[85] And it is in this efflorescent space of correspondence that Michitsuna's Mother began her own innovations on poetic rhetoric, genre, and style.

[82] Sugitani, "*Chokusenshū no tenkai—Gosenwakashū*," 48.
[83] See pp. 44-5, of this dissertation.
[84] The *Gosenshū* was compiled under the purview of Koretada, Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu (大中臣能宣; 921–991), Kiyohara no Motosuke (清原元輔; 908–990), Minamoto no Shitagō (源順; 911–983), Ki no Tokibumi (紀時文; 922?–996?), and Sakanoue no Mochiki (坂上望城; d. ~980) at the behest of Emperor Murakami (926–967, r. 946–967) beginning in Tenryaku 5 (951).
[85] See pp. 44-6, note 29, note 30, and note 33 of this dissertation.

Poetic Topoi in *Kagerō nikki*: The Long and the Short of It

Michitsuna's Mother, supported by her mother and father (Tomoyasu), cultivated her poetic talents and aesthetic sensibilities to attract the attentions of powerful men, which she had hoped would result in a fairy tale marriage. As the *Kagerō* Preface makes clear, however, her marriage was nothing like those "many old tales," which suggests that the cultural impact of poetry could be limited in the real-world outcomes it could affect under normal circumstances. As Kaneie's second wife[86] and mother of only one child[87]—a concern she asserts arose from her husband not visiting her often enough—Michitsuna's Mother's position in Kaneie's marital/erotic world was precarious, given that a husband's emotional (as well as financial) investment in a marriage depended on having children to prepare for bureaucratic careers or presentation at Court. Adding to this, Kaneie is often described by the *Kagerō* narrator as

[86] The commonly cited phrase to describe Heian polygyny, "one husband, many wives" (*ippu tasai,* 一夫多妻), has been challenged most recently by Kudō Shigenori. Kudō's objection to this characterization of marriage is that *ritsuryō* codes stipulated that men may have *one wife* (*tsuma/sai*, 妻), though aristocratic men were permitted concubines and mistresses (*shō*, 妾) outside the legal scope of marriage. Although her relationship with Kaneie followed contemporaneous social praxis for marriage, Michitsuna's Mother could not legally be recognized as Kaneie's wife. Kudō Shigenori, *Heian-chō no kekkon seido to bungaku* (Fūma Shobo, 1994), 3, 7-9, 37-59. However, scholars like Masuda Shigeo argue that these relationships were identical to marriage in practice and cultural impact: Even if a woman could not legally be called a man's second or third *wife*, she still acted in that capacity and was treated as a legal wife in social contexts. Masuda Shigo, *Heian kizoku no kekkon, aijō, seiai: tasaisei shakai no otoko to onna* (Seikansha, 2009). Although the matter is unresolved, I take Masuda's pragmatic approach to regard Michitsuna's Mother as a wife to Kaneie.

[87] It should be noted that in Tenroku 3 (972), Michitsuna's Mother adopted a daughter borne of a relationship Kaneie had with an unspecified lady. There are many credible arguments that the *Kagerō* author began the diary for the education of Michitsuna and, primarily, for her adopted daughter, especially regarding details of marriage. For discussion of the inception of *Kagerō nikki*, see Oka Kazuo, "*Kagerō nikki no seiritsu to jidai*," in *Heian-chō nikki Vol. 1: Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki*, ed. The Association for Japanese Literature Research Materials Publications (Yūseidō, 1971-1975), 126-33; Kita Yoshio, "*Kagerō nikki no kenkyū*," in *Heian-chō nikki Vol. 1: Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki*, ed. The Association for Japanese Literature Research Materials Publications (Yūseidō, 1971-1975), 134-42; and Uemura Etsuko, "*Kagerō nikki: sakusha, seiritsu, denbon*," in *Heian-chō nikki Vol. 1: Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki*, ed. The Association for Japanese Literature Research Materials Publications (Yūseidō, 1971-1975), 143-55; Moriya Shōgo, *Kagerō nikki keisei-ron* (Yūgenkaisha, 1975).

flippant and insensitive toward her,[88] though she has been able to change his regard for her through poetry exchange.[89]

Kagerō nikki contains several long-form poems, or *chōka* (or *naga-uta*, 長歌), including a rare example of *chōka* exchange. These *waka* of indeterminate length preserve the 5-7 syllabic structure of short-form *tanka*, and their length allows for increasingly complex rhetorical strategies borne from combinations of different poetic devices. However, composing *chōka* requires mastery of poetic techniques and lexicon, as well as a great deal more effort than thirty-one syllable *tanka*. The practice of composing *chōka* can be traced back to the *Man'yōshū* (萬葉集; ca. 759–780) where they comprise 265 poems (out of 4,473). However, *chōka* composition had greatly declined by the mid-Heian period, or else not many records of them survive. For example, of the *Kokinshū*'s 1,111 poems, five are *chōka* and all of them can be found in the Book

[88] For example, when Kaneie forcibly removes Michitsuna's Mother from Narutaki, he barges into her apartments, tosses her things in bags for travel, and makes jokes on the road and after they return to her residence. SNKBZ 13, 249-54. Regarding her attitude toward Kaneie's insensitivity, specifically, the narrator explains, "…even though [Kaneie] raised his voice as if it were the world's greatest joke, I resolutely said nothing; even though only tears bubbled up, while I endured [his behavior] without responding to him, it took some time for the carriage to come" to the temple entrance to take them back to the city (天下(てんげ)の猿楽言(さるがうごと)を言ひののしらるめれど、ゆめにものも言はれず、涙のみ浮けれど、念(ねん)じかへしてあるに、車寄せていと久しくなりぬ). SNKBZ 13, 251.

[89] An example of this is the *wobana/hana-susuki* poetry exchange between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie in which the former uses poetry to convince the latter to visit her again: "Not putting forth plumes of words, rather will I charge the pampas grass to sway whither it will, in general, I will watch" (穂に出でていはじやさらにおほよそのなびく尾花にまかせても見む). [Kaneie replies:] "When the plume comes forth whither first will it sway, flowering pampas grass? With the east wind, which says 'come hither,' and so it does." (穂に出でばまづなびきなむ花薄こちてふ風の吹かむまにまに) [The messenger is there, so Michitsuna's Mother has him take her response:] "At a house that is only buffeted by storms, flowering pampas grass, even if it puts forth plumes of words, what good does it do? (あらしのみ吹くめる宿に花薄穂に出でたりとかひやなからむ). And so on, we had a good exchange and he came to visit again" (など、よろしういひなして、また見えたり) SNKBZ 13, 110-1. For a detailed analysis, see Deborah Price, "Poetry, Tales, and Literary Subjectivity in *The Kagerō Diary*" (MA thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2013), 23-6.

of Poems of Irregular Form,[90] along with *sedōka* and *haikai*.[91] By the time of the third imperially sponsored poetry collection, the *Shūi-wakashū* (or *Shūishū*, 拾遺[和歌]集), completed between 1005 and 1007, still only five (of its 1,351) poems were *chōka*, one of which belonged to Kaneie.[92] Of those five *chōka*, two are from an exchange between the poets,[93] once again demonstrating that poetry exchange had become the prevailing a mode of informal social intercourse over the course of the tenth century. Because *kana* poetry—in particular, *tanka* exchange—came to the fore as Heian aristocrats hoped to be selected for poetry anthologies and literary memorialization, the appearance of *chōka* in anthologies (public or private, or both) became remarkable projections of the poet's cultural power. In addition to the capability of extended poetic phrases and metaphors, the *chōka* poet required enough spare time to compose the poem, paper and inks to write it, perhaps even a talented spouse or attendant to help compose it, messengers to send it, etca. Notwithstanding the monetary costs of the materials for poetry composition or exchange, the records of *chōka* allowed the poet to exude an air of refined luxury and quietly proclaim his/her centrality to existing literary and socio-political structures: The

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[90] Book 19: *Zatsutai no Uta* (雑躰歌).

[91] *Sedōka* (旋頭歌) poems consist of two verses, with each verse consisting of a line in the 5-7-7 meter. *Haikai*, or *haikai-ka* (俳諧歌), are poems that conform to a 5-7-5-7-7 meter, but they deploy a humorous tone and poetically unconventional language to differentiate them from other *tanka* that employ the same meter.

[92] Kaneie's *chōka* in the *Shūishū* (SIS 574) does not appear in *Kagerō nikki*. SNKBT 7, 169-71, 431. Kaneie's poem, offered to then-Emperor En'yū (円融天皇; 959–991, r. 969–984), attempted to restore his and Michitsuna's administrative ranks after they had been demoted at the behest of Kaneie's older brother and rival, Kanemichi, who was Regent and Grand Minister of the Center (*kanpaku nai-daijin*, 関白内大臣) at the time. Scholars speculate that Michitsuna's Mother helped Kaneie compose this *chōka*. See Imanishi Yōichi, "*Uta, kashū, Kagerō nikki*," in SNKBT 24, 522-4. Perhaps the reason it is not included in *Kagerō nikki* is because this *chōka* represents professional negotiations in the public/official sphere, which Michitsuna's Mother usually does not include in her diary. (The notable exception to this is her narrative of the Anna Disturbance (see p. 68, note 94 of this dissertation), but even this is carefully hedged to avoid discussing public matters. See SNKBZ 13, 172-3.

[93] The *chōka* of the *Shūishū* were composed by Kakimoto no Hitomaro (柿本人麻呂; late-seventh – early-eighth centuries), Minamoto no Shitagō, Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu, Fujiwara no Kaneie, and an anonymous poet (*yomibito shirazu*, 詠み人 or 読み人). All the *chōka* can be found in the Book 9: Miscellaneous Book II. The *chōka* exchange occurs between Shitagō and Yoshinobu. SNKBT 7, 165-7.

chōka poet was either very skilled him/herself, or s/he had allied with people who would be able to help him/her advance an outward image of poetic mastery, but probably both.

In *Kagerō nikki*, three of the 311 poems are *chōka*: Two were composed by Michitsuna's Mother, and one was composed by Kaneie (in response to one of his wife's). Significantly, these instances of *chōka* composition arrive when the *Kagerō* author exhorts a profound emotional struggle with a social situation. Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie exchange *chōka* when the former seeks to remonstrate her husband's apparent insincerity toward their marriage, especially in the absence of her father; much later, Michitsuna's Mother composes a *chōka* for the wife of Minamoto no Takaakira (源高明; 914–983), who had been recently exiled.[94] For its ability to reveal the topoi of correspondence between the literary and material, it is to the exchange of *chōka* between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie which we now turn.

The *chōka* exchange is embedded in the narrative of Kaneie's first known affair, when the *Kagerō* author describes how she comes to suspect her husband of courting an unknown lady. Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie have been married for about a year, and Michitsuna was born in

[94] Known as the Anna Disturbance (*Anna no hen*, 案和の変) for occurring in Anna 2 (969), this political incident involved the designation of the Crown Prince. Prince Morihira (守平親王) was backed by the Fujiwara, while his rival and elder brother, Prince Tamehira (為平親王; 952–1010), was backed by the Minamoto, specifically Takaakira, who was Minister of the Left at the time. Eventually Morihira was named Crown Prince, becoming Emperor En'yū upon accession to the throne. To circumvent the seniority policy of accession among Imperial brothers demonstrably required the Fujiwara to exert their familial influence over the emperor; had they failed to do so, Takaakira would have been positioned to become Regent and wrest power away from their clan. The victorious Fujiwara thus had Takaakira exiled, effectively removing an immediate rival while also discouraging future challenges to their hegemony. The Anna Disturbance is described obliquely in *Kagerō nikki*; SNKBZ 13, 172-3. For Michitsuna's Mother's *chōka* to Takaakira's wife, see SNKBZ 13, 178-80. It is worth noting that Takaakira's wife is Morosuke's fifth daughter and Kaneie's half-sister. It is unclear to what extent Michitsuna's Mother knows of her husband's and father-in-law's involvement in exiling one toward whom she appears to have great affection, but most scholars agree that her lamentation for Takaakira and her attempt to comfort those remaining in the capital are uncalculated.

the Eighth Month.[95] The following month, Michitsuna's Mother discovers signs of her husband's dalliance:

> Now then, it was around the Ninth Month, when he [Kaneie] was out, I was fiddling around with a writing box and, upon opening it, found a letter that must have been meant to be sent to someone else [another woman]. In surprise, I thought to show him that I'd seen [the letter], and I wrote on it:
>
> How suspicious! When I see this letter that shall step over to another, would your visits this way come to an end?
>
> As I thought of this, well obviously, toward the end of the Tenth Month, there was a time when I didn't see him for three nights in a row. Indifferently [he said], "I was just testing you a little," and he had [just that kind of] attitude.
>
> さて、九月ばかりになりて、出でにたるほどに、箱のあるを手まさぐりに開けて見れば、人のもとに遣らむとしける文あり。あさましさに、見てけりとだに知られむと思ひて、書きつく。
>
> うたがはしほかに渡せるふみ見ればここやとだえにならむとすらむ
>
> など思ふほどに、むべなう、十月つごもりがたに、三夜しきりて見えぬ時あり。つれなうて、「しばしこころみるほどに」など、気色あり。[96]

The affair seemed quite serious: In the Ninth Month of Tenryaku 9 (955), Michitsuna's Mother notices that Kaneie is likely having an affair with a lady who becomes known as the Machi Alley Woman. Michitsuna's Mother then has Kaneie followed to discover the meaning of the letter she found. A month later, Kaneie is away for three nights in a row, suggesting the initiation of a marriage to the woman addressed in his letter. Later, it is revealed that the affair also produced a son, and Kaneie fussed over the newborn with enough pomp to worry both Michitsuna's Mother and his primary wife, Tokihime (時姫; d. 980), about the legitimacy of this rumored marriage.

[95] The *Kagerō* author and Kaneie were married in Tenryaku 8 (954), and Michitsuna was born in the Eighth Month of Tenryaku 9 (955).
[96] SNKBZ 13, 99-100.

Upon hearing of the death of the infant and Kaneie's dismissal of the Machi Alley Woman, Michitsuna's Mother is relieved but shaken.[97]

Compounding this crisis, her father, Tomoyasu, was (relatively) recently positioned in a governorship in Michinoku,[98] an area in the modern-day Tōhoku region that occupies parts of Fukushima and Miyagi Prefectures. Although the Michinoku governorship is lucrative and allows Tomoyasu to support his family financially, it is also one of the provinces farthest from the Heian capital, so he cannot readily respond to any variety of difficulties that arise in the city. However, Michitsuna's Mother writes that Kaneie composes and dispatches a poem to Tomoyasu's Michinoku party just as they leave:

> I couldn't look anyone in the eye, and, because I was lost in thought, [Kaneie] said, "Why [are you acting so sad]? This [leaving for a governorship] is a typical thing in our world. For you to be [so sullen] like this, you must not find me very reliable." Upon seeing the letter at the inkstone, he said, "How pitiable," and to those who were leaving the gate, he sent:
>
> > Because you say you have only me to rely upon, see that my pledge to the Future Pine[99] is fulfilled.
>
> 目も見あはせず、思ひ入りてあれば、「などか。世の常のことにこそあれ。いとかうしもあるは、われを頼まぬなめり」などもあへしらひ、硯(すずり)なる文(ふみ)を見つけて、「あはれ」と言ひて、門出(かどで)のところに、

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[97] SNKBZ 13, 99-110; 114-5. Had Kaneie married the Machi Alley Woman, as Michitsuna's Mother feared, this would have put the *Kagerō* author in direct competition with two wives for Kaneie's attention. Michitsuna's Mother is consistently perturbed that Kaneie neglects her in favor of Tokihime, so the addition of another lady to divert his affections also threatens her livelihood and her son's future professional prospects, both of which are contingent upon Kaneie's continued support, attention, and interest in the *Kagerō* author.

[98] Tenth Month of Tenryaku 8 (954)–Tentoku 3 (959). Tomoyasu returned to the capital in the Third or Fourth Month of Tentoku 4 (960). Oka, *Michitsuna no Haha*, 15-6; SNKBZ 13, 439-40.

[99] "Future Pine" combines the word for "future" (*yukusuye*, ゆくすゑ) with a poetic allusion to KKS 1093: "Would that the waves surmount the Tip of Mount Pine [*suye no matsu yama*, すゑの松山] if I were to possess an aimless heart that leaves you behind." SNKBZ 11, 414. See Appendix A, Excerpt 2 and accompanying poems. The phrases ゆくすゑ and すゑの松山 deploy すゑ to refer to the "tip/top," "edge/end," and "future" (i.e., "to the end of time;" it also implies "future progeny"). The *Kokinshū* poem likens the chance of the speaker's infidelity to the ocean's waves engulfing the summit of a mountain—that is, impossible. The poem is included in Book 20, which collects songs featuring poetic lexicon (*uta-kotoba*, 歌詞), under the section "Songs of the East" (*Adzuma uta*, 東歌), subsection "Michinoku." Because of its prevalence in Heian poetry, the "Tip of (Mount) Pine" (すゑの松[山]) also became conventional poetic geography (*uta-makura*, 歌枕) for a location in Michinoku.

われをのみ頼むといへばゆくすゑの松の契(ちぎ)りも来てこそは見めとなむ。[100]

Kaneie swears that his marital duty and affection for Michitsuna's Mother is as sure as the impossibility of the waves swallowing the mountain summit alluded by the "Future Pine"—a toponym for a mountain in Michinoku. Still, *Kagerō* scholars Kimura Masanori and Imuta Tsunehisa question that this declaration of fidelity is not merely a polite gesture to reassure a departing father-in-law.[101] This interpretation is borne out by the *Kagerō* narrator immediately following this episode of Kaneie's pledge with her revelation of his affair with the Machi Alley Woman. Michitsuna's Mother is keenly aware of her father's absence, as it requires her to rely solely on an ostensibly unreliable Kaneie for social and financial support—both of herself and their son. As the crisis escalates on both sides, with Kaneie openly seeing his mistress and Michitsuna's Mother expressing more and more emotional turmoil, the *Kagerō* author famously locks her husband out of her house.[102] Kaneie's affair seems to end rather anticlimactically: The *Kagerō* narrator summarizes in a few words how the child died, and Kaneie's interest in the Machi Alley Woman wanes, despite her best efforts to retain them.[103] Although the situation ends with the continuation of their marriage—a satisfactory resolution, even if not necessarily a happy one—Michitsuna's Mother articulates that she lacks a sense of closure:

> …what ought I to do? And with only myriad longings grown rampant [in my mind], and at times when I wondered how to tell [him] of my heart's painful throbbing, my chest was in an unsensible uproar of only things that I couldn't say.

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[100] SNKBZ 13, 97-8.
[101] SNKBZ 13, 98, note 4.
[102] This episode generated Michitsuna's Mother's "Lamenting" poem: "As I am lamenting the moments I lie alone at night until the day brightens, perhaps you know how long it's been since" (嘆きつつひとり寝(ぬ)る夜(よ)のあくるまはいかにひさしきものとかは知る), which was collated in Fujiwara no Teika's (藤原定家; 1162–1241) famous *Ogura hyaku-nin isshu* in the Fifth Month of Bunryaku 2 (1235). SNKBZ 13, 100-1.
[103] SNKBZ 13, 114.

And yet I longed to write out [my feelings] and show them to him.[104]

Prose was insufficient to convey her thoughts, so Michitsuna's Mother turned to her specialty: poetic composition. Indeed, the prose preface (cited here) to the *chōka* she composes presages its length, for her "myriad longings" (*yorodzu omofu koto*, よろづ思ふこと) and heart full of an "unsensible uproar" *(kokoro-dzuki naki mune uchi sawagite*, 心づきなき胸うち騒ぎて) of things she could not say are the results of months of enduring humiliation from her husband's actions. The appearance of *chōka* here is inscribed as an inevitability.[105]

Michitsuna's Mother's *chōka* begins with an unequivocal criticism of Kaneie's unreliability, citing his increasing neglect of his wife and Michitsuna. This neglect, she then argues, was exacerbated by the absence of her father, Tomoyasu, who provides her with social and financial backing independent of her marital status, which is a notable distinction from Kaneie's marriage-dependent support. Like Kaneie did in his "Future Pine" poem, Michitsuna's Mother refers to Tomoyasu through toponyms and images associated with Michinoku:

> the truly sad thing is,
> can I not wait for the time when the bear-vine
> comes back again from the azalea hills of Michinoku?
> While I hope at least to see again the one in Abukuma—
> the one with whom my ties from a previous life should have been cut—[106]

Literarily, the "azalea hills of Michinoku" paint a scene of fuchsia bushes, and the "bear-vine" (*kuma-tsudzura*, くまつづら), which is also found among the province's flowering hills, repeats the *kuma* phoneme of "Abukuma" (阿武隈),[107] a place in and *engo* of Michinoku. The aural and orthographic repetition emphasizes Michitsuna's Mother's recurring thoughts of her father while

[104] SNKBZ 13, 115. See Appendix B, lines 4-9.
[105] Refer to Appendix B for the following analysis of the *chōka* exchange.
[106] Appendix B, lines 40-4.
[107] An area in southern Michinoku Province occupying parts of present-day Fukushima and Miyagi Prefectures.

also pointing to the azalea-colored world he inhabits in Michinoku—a stark contrast to Kaneie's "too faint"[108] promises.

A significant result of this passage is that Michitsuna's Mother, like Kaneie previously, emplaces Tomoyasu in the distant province and argues for his immobility within the poetic landscape. By alluding to Tomoyasu through phrases and images associated with the place he resides (or will soon reside), the speaker advances several arguments simultaneously. First, the consecutive phrases of Michinoku's unusual flora and fauna remind the recipient/reader of the geographic and cultural distances between the province and the Imperial capital. The speaker laments that it will be several years until "the bear-vine/ comes back again," implying the absence of emotional (and financial) relief until her father returns from his governorship. Finally, Tomoyasu's poetic (and correspondingly physical) emplacement in Michinoku render his support virtually ineffectual, so Michitsuna's Mother must rely on Kaneie. Michitsuna's Mother's poem, like Kaneie's parting "Future Pine" poem and his responding *chōka*, indicates a speaker who does not seek to *go* to any of the places cited; rather, these poems deploy toponyms (and, later, residential imagery) to emplace persons, while nature imagery (e.g., moving waves or clouds) often describes those who are disemplaced or mobile. In Michitsuna's Mother's *chōka*, the speaker's sympathetic tone toward the emplaced (e.g., the much-missed "bear-vine" of the "azalea hills of Michinoku," Tomoyasu, or "Mitsu Bay" and its shells,[109] the *Kagerō* author), coupled with her anxiety toward the disemplaced (i.e., the "heavenly clouds" on a journey[110] or the "white waves" along the Mitsu shore,[111] both Kaneie), establishes a unique rhetorical framework in which the materially dependent are poetically emplaced through toponymic

[108] Appendix B, line 15.
[109] Appendix B, Lines 66-8, also discussed below.
[110] Appendix B, Lines 59-63, also discussed below.
[111] Appendix B, Line 71, also discussed below.

allusion while the materially powerful are disemplaced through metaphor to natural objects or phenomena. And, although he takes a speaker-position opposite his wife's, Kaneie's responding *chōka* upholds this rhetorical structure. Consequently, the various citations of places and natural objects common in the Heian poetic tradition comprise on one level poetic topoi for appealing to affect and lexicon corresponding to those spaces and objects, and the affective and lexical correspondences comprise on another level on a rhetoric of dis/emplacement contextualized by the interpersonal/social relationships of the characters of the diary.

Continuing through the poem, the heroine briefly ponders removing herself from the system of phallological dominance and support by taking the Buddhist tonsure.[112] Although Buddhism was a male-dominated institution that regularly interacted with secular society, it was still considered enough of a removal from the "world" (*yo*, 世), or society, that women felt insulated from social and political pressures or reproach. In any case, the heroine must have felt herself so strained between her two male benefactors that she believed that were she to take the tonsure, she would "pass through even a world/ in which lamenting tears don't fall upon [her] sleeves."[113]

However, the heroine ultimately rejects this option in favor of reconciliation with Kaneie, deploying clothing imagery to express her complicated feelings toward their marriage, recalling the *chōka*'s prose preface of the "unsensible uproar" of her heart:

> Being so separated, however,
> if I were to wish to meet with you again,
> of course I would think fondly of you,
> like the unlined, threadbare heart
> of one who has grown accustomed to coming to wear a Chinese robe.
> It is no use to turn from the hateful world,
> for my memories well up, 'Must it be me?'

[112] Appendix B, Lines 44-7.
[113] Appendix B, Lines 45-6.

I wonder as I fall in love [again], and as I think of this,
the dust of our laid-out bedclothes piles up—
if you were to count it,
[the dust] must surely match the number of nights I've slept alone.[114]

Although Michitsuna's Mother argues that her heart is raw from constant anguish, like a "threadbare" robe, she emphasizes that she would still "think fondly" of Kaneie and recapitulates her affection for her husband despite herself. After confirming that she would be willing to reconcile, the speaker returns to cloth imagery, particularly the couple's "strewn-out pillows" (*shikitahe no makura*, しきたへの枕), which has gathered a mountain of dust from want of use and reflects the mountain of thoughts she has about their relationship. At once, the unused bedding reproaches Kaneie for his erotic dalliance, implies that it is he who is at fault for her matrimonial loneliness, and extends an offer for reconciliation.

The imagery of the Chinese robe (*kara-koromo*, 唐衣) and bedding function as poetic topoi to indicate a wife's residence. In the uxorilocal conventions of Heian marriage, the lady's household provides bedding for her husband when he visits her; the implication is that they will share it in erotic conjugation. Adding to this, cloth—used for bedding, robes, décor, etca.—was woven and sewn by the women of a house (wives, mothers, daughters, female servants, etca.); the implication is that Michitsuna's Mother would have a hand in the clothing manufacture for her own household, as well as for Kaneie's.[115] The robe's and bedding's material production, which results from the cultural expectations placed on the speaker's gender, and their location at her home, where she must (generally) remain, suggest how Michitsuna's Mother's emplacement at her residence leaves her vulnerable to exploitation by Kaneie's wanderings—both geographic

[114] Appendix B, lines 48-58.
[115] Recall that Michitsuna's Mother (and her household) rejects Kaneie's request to sew for him because he is openly visiting the Machi Alley Woman (SNKBZ 13, 109-10) and later accepts his official clothes for repair (SNKBZ 13, 216, 270-1).

wanderings through the city and emotional/erotic wanderings among women. Indeed, Kaneie's retort to the Chinese robes is overshadowed by his *chōka*'s prolific deployment of nature imagery and toponyms, against which he defines himself, underscoring his disemplacement in the poetic landscape of the exchange:

> Seek not to meet he who is now in Abukuma,
> but stick with one who is not so bounded!
> I am so unlike the boulders and trees—
> I won't censure this heart that yearns for you.
> How much the bay crinum is heaped up
> In separated layers like Chinese robes,
> which even though drenched in a river of tears,
> when my burning thoughts burst forth,
> perhaps these eyes are dried in the smoke of fragrant woods
> that waft through the brazier.[116]

The Chinese robes lie abandoned on the banks of a "river of tears," seemingly an afterthought in Kaneie's poetic world, and the river itself eventually disappears as it dries up in the heat of his affection.

Although Kaneie suggests Michitsuna's Mother "cleave [herself] to one upon whom [she] can fall," it is not a reference to himself; rather, he responds to her threat of taking the tonsure[117] by recommending instead that she marry someone else who will support her the way she wants. Uemura Etsuko emphasizes that Kaneie's response here demonstrates his experience in both love and statesmanship: A divorce is not ideal, but there is no greater disgrace for a nobleman than to be so intolerable that his young wife (who has recently given birth) believes the only escape from him is to enter the monastic life and leave public society altogether. Thus, the poetic turn of "unbounded/untethered" from religious vows (*kakaranu yo*, かからぬ世) in Michitsuna's

[116] Appendix B, lines 106-15.
[117] Summarized above: "this body of mine must pass through even a world/ in which lamenting tears don't fall upon my sleeves…" Appendix B, lines 45-6.

Mother's *chōka* to remarriage vows (*kakaranu hito*, かゝらぬ人) in Kaneie's reply exhibits Kaneie's circumspect attention to his wife's future in aristocratic society, as well as to his own reputation.[118] In any case, the recommendation that his wife remarries someone reliable is juxtaposed with Kaneie's assertion of his ineluctable affection for his wife because he "is so unlike the boulders and trees,"[119] unfeeling, stationary objects, which recall Michitsuna's Mother's stationary gate and residence,[120] and her emplacement within it. Instead, Kaneie is highly mobile, which is evident not only in his refusal to emplace himself poetically or allude to himself through unmoving natural objects, but also in how his *chōka* nimbly moves from place to place (and argument to argument), incorporating unusual citations and subtle political maneuvers, to answer the threats and accusations raised in his wife's poem.

Returning to Michitsuna's Mother's *chōka*, the speaker contraposes her emplacement in the residence's weaving/sewing and bedding rooms with Kaneie's drifting attentions:

> Alas, I think you are on a journey that stopped at times,
> and from thence the wind wanders;
> even upon seeing you that day,
> when the heavenly clouds left,
> you'd comfortingly said such words, 'I'll come soon.'[121]

Michitsuna's Mother confronts Kaneie's affair with the Machi Alley Woman through images of windswept clouds and numinous heavens to reference her husband's inconsistent attention

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[118] Uemura Etsuko, *Kagerō nikki kaishaku taisei, Vol. 1* (Meiji Shoin, 1983), 406.

[119] The phrase "unlike the boulders and trees" originates from Tang poet Bai Juyi's (772–846) *Haku-shi monjū* (白氏文集), or *Master Bai's Selected Writings*, which had become one of the Sinitic texts that aspiring administrators would review for their exam. In the *Haku-shi monjū*, the phrase Kaneie cites: "People are not like trees and rocks; we [people] all possess feelings" (人木石ニ非ズ、皆情有リ). SNKBZ 13, 119, note 21.

[120] Appendix B, lines 99-102. This is also an explicit reference to the "Lamenting" (嘆きつつ) exchange occasioned by Michitsuna's Mother having locked Kaneie out of her house during his open affair with the Machi Alley Woman. SNKBZ 13, 99-101. See also p. 71, note 102 of this chapter.

[121] Appendix B, lines 59-63.

toward her. The preceding lines, which position Michitsuna's Mother in the bedroom (or cloth-making room), contrast Kaneie's mobile positioning within the atmosphere, among the wind and clouds. The distinction between the speaker's homely position and her husband's atmospheric one also implies the emotional void that lies between them: Michitsuna's Mother's emplacement and Kaneie's movement (and disemplacement) represent a fundamental difference in modes of existence, and it is precisely this difference in mode that, she argues, lies at the heart of their marital disagreements.

Reinforcing that difference are Michitsuna's Mother's closing lines, which situate the speaker in an ocean of tears on Mitsu Bay, the shoreline's once-charming seaweed and shells rendered ineffective for drawing the attention of the waves:

> It is these words that our expectant pine ceaselessly imitates,
> and hearing this, only pathetic
> tears fill up this body of mine unto a sad sea, though
> I know there is no seaweed to draw your eyes to Mitsu Bay—
> its shells must not have any effect either—
> but you'd said, 'As long as I'm alive…'
> and so I've come to rely on you.
> If the white waves would come by, I would like to ask them.[122]

These lines reflect contemporaneous seascape paintings with their description of shoreline attributes (seaweed, shells) and pine trees. Indeed, Kakimoto Tsutomu notes that Mitsu Bay is a poetic seascape that cannot attract seaweed because it is a bay (*ura*, 浦), not a sea/ocean (*umi*, 海),[123] a toponymic convention that dates to at least the *Gosenshū*.[124] Despite this, "seaweed"

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[122] Appendix B, lines 64-71.

[123] Kakimoto Tsutomu, *Kagerō nikki zen-chūshaku*, *Vol. 1* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1973), 105.

[124] GSS 772: みるめ刈る方(かた)ぞあふみ(近江)になしと聞く玉藻(たまも)をさへや海人(あま)は潜(かづ)かぬ; and its envoy GSS 773: 名のみし逢(あふ)事浪のしげき間(ま)に何時(いつ)か玉藻を海人は潜かむ. SNKBT 6: *Gosenwakashū*, 225-6. The citation is proposed in various *Kagerō* exegetical sources; Uemura Etsuko, *Kagerō nikki kaishaku taisei, Vol. 1*, 383.

(*mirume*) is an *engo* of Mitsu Bay's pine-studded yet seaweed-sparse imaginary due to the potential orthographies—and, thus, meanings—of *mirume*: seaweed (海松藻) and seeing eyes (見る目). Complicating the wordplay, the *kanji* rendering for *mirume* as "seaweed" contains the Sinograph for "pine tree" (*matsu*, 松; its homophone, 待つ, means "to wait"), a phrase Michitsuna's Mother uses explicitly to refer to their son, the "expectant pine" awaiting his father's sporadic visits. The density of meaning here relies on different yet equally applicable orthographies: 松 is hidden in an unwritten and unvoiced form of *mirume* (海松藻) yet the reference is foregrounded in the previous stanza of the "expectant pine"[125] (*sa mo ya to matsu no midori-go no*, さもやとまつのみどりの) and the conventionally understood landscape of Mitsu Bay.

Because the associations of seaweed and pine trees with Mitsu Bay had become such a poetic cliché by the mid-Heian period, it is difficult to know how much Michitsuna's Mother intended to deploy unseen *kanji* to make poetic meaning—it was taken for granted that reference Mitsu Bay would entail "*mirume*" and "*matsu*" as visual images and as lexical playthings. Still, Michitsuna's Mother was known to have been literarily clever, and Kaneie goes so far as to cite Sinitic poetry to her in his response *chōka*: "I am so unlike the boulders and trees."[126] It was unusual for Heian ladies to exhibit their knowledge of Sinitic writing, including poetry, and we can recall that in *Tosa nikki* Tsurayuki wrote, "For the Yamato poems, master and guest alike recited theirs to each other. I cannot write the Chinese poems here,"[127] an oft-cited example of the male author's contrivance of a female narrator. During the early and mid-Heian period, Bai Juyi's Sinitic poetry and writings, especially his "Song of Everlasting Sorrow" (CA. *Chang hen*

[125] Appendix B, line 64.
[126] Appendix B, line 108, also discussed above. See p. 77, note 119 of this dissertation.
[127] SNKBZ 13, 16-7. See p. 50 of this dissertation.

ge; J. *Chōgonka*; 長恨歌), had gained popularity among aristocrats and influenced their literary tastes,[128] yet the ladies of the provincial governor class, like Michitsuna's Mother and the *Tosa* narrator, resisted overt reference to Sinitic works.[129] However, Kaneie's obvious citation of Juyi's writing assumes his reader—Michitsuna's Mother—would understand the reference, implying she was familiar with Juyi's works in one form or another.[130] Although we may not know whether Michitsuna's Mother, or female authors like her, self-consciously instantiated *kanji* meanings in their *kana* poetry or if these lexical slippages were already "baked in" to the literary topos of places like Mitsu Bay, this *chōka* exchange suggests that some Heian women had read (and could cite) popular Sinitic writings and, thus, probably understood the orthographic connections implied by the toponym and its *engo*.

These closing lines of Michitsuna's Mother's *chōka* draw upon the imagery and aesthetic associations of Mitsu Bay to construct a literary space for reconciliation. The imagined seascape of Mitsu Bay, a poetic monolith of perpetual seaweed/seeing eyes (*mirume*) and pine trees/pining (*matsu*), emphasizes the shoreline's inconsistent "white waves" (*shiranami*, しらなみ), a metaphor of reliable coming and going that is often used to describe romantic or erotic visitation. Because Michitsuna's Mother "would like to ask" the waves about their reliability, she opens a space for reconciliation with Kaneie—if only he would come to visit. This final line entreats

[128] Akiyama Ken discusses the influences of Sinitic literature and poetry in the Heian Court. Akiyama, *Ōchō no bungaku kūkan*, 7.
[129] Despite Heian ladies' aversion to citing literary Sinitic sources because it was perceived that women's direct participation in the re/production of Sinitic writing lacked gentility, *Kagerō nikki* nonetheless demonstrates the development of a multicultural/multimedia literary vernacular as a result of influences from Sinitic poetry and prose within the broader Heian aristocratic society. Shinagawa Kazuko, "*Kagerō nikki to kanshibun no kankei ni tsuite*," in *Heian-chō nikki Vol 1: Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki* (Yūseidō, 1971-1975), 269-84.
[130] It is possible that the literary Sinitic of Bai Juyi's poetic and prose works had been "translated" into the *kana* vernacular.

Kaneie to respond to the poem in some way,[131] signifying correspondence (action for action) and the mutual expenditure of effort (time for time) as the fundamental process for marital/social reconciliation. It is not insignificant that Michitsuna's Mother initiates this reconciliatory process within the literary realm of poetry, where she is more comfortable, capable, and (arguably) more powerful than her husband.[132] Despite the poetic emplacement of the *Kagerō* heroine variously at Mitsu Bay and her residence (and Tomoyasu at Michinoku) within the poem, the occasion for which the *chōka* is composed—that is, an uncertain and potentially disemplaced emotionality and marriage, as foregrounded by the diary's prose narrative—establishes a context of social crisis or liminality for the exchange. Although the phenomenon of exchange necessitates the movement of people or objects through liminal spaces, like roads and bridges, which makes poetic correspondence the ideal action/moment for social re/negotiation, Michitsuna's Mother embeds the exchange materially in her residential realm and literarily in her diary's narrative. She places her written *chōka* in a writing box in her home for Kaneie to come and find: The heroine's offer of reconciliation obliges her husband to visit her, that is, to enter her residential domain, in order to access her emotional space (i.e., the "myriad longings" and "unsensible uproar" of her thoughts). Thus, the poetically disemplaced Kaneie must emplace himself, even momentarily, within Michitsuna's Mother's material realm, conceding his predilection toward physical and interpersonal mobility or liminality, to unlock the chance for reconciliation that will allow him to return to his *status quo* of disemplacement. By demanding from Kaneie such concessions as a prerequisite for reconciliation, Michitsuna's Mother asserts the broad cultural

[131] Kaneie has responded to Michitsuna's Mother's poems with both poetry and physical visitation. See SNKBZ 13, 110-1. Michitsuna's Mother's *chōka* assumes Kaneie might respond with visitation: "If the white waves were to come by, I would like to ask them." However, he surprises her with a poem—a reciprocal *chōka*, which are increasingly rare by the mid-Heian period.

[132] Recall that Michitsuna's Mother criticizes Kaneie's epistolary and poetic capabilities, especially at the outset of their courtship and marriage, positioning herself as the key authority on poetic composition withing their marriage. SNKBZ 13, 90-1.

power of poetry and literature, as well as her own talent at exploiting literary production to effect social change for one's own benefit.

Michitsuna's Mother places the *chōka* in a writing box, likely to hint to its intended recipient that he ought to respond in writing; despite the hope for correspondence, the heroine is nonetheless surprised that Kaneie composes a *chōka* in response. In his poem, Kaneie refuses to apologize, and he even condemns Michitsuna's Mother's temper and rash actions. As discussed previously, Kaneie retains his wife's logos of emplacing her and Tomoyasu in poetic architectures and geographies through appropriate toponyms or *engo*, while suggesting his own mode of disemplacement through natural imagery that resists geographic specificity.

The closing lines of Kaneie's *chōka* generate the image of horses on the Hemi plains in Kai to refer to Michitsuna's Mother and her untamable attitude, which her husband asserts has corrupted Michitsuna's opinion of him:

> What is to no avail is,
> in the grazing pastures of Hemi in the province of Kai,
> there is a wild horse that one ponders how to possibly catch;
> knowing only [one of] its parents,
> the colt and its one-sided affections might cry out loudly [for the other parent].
> Just thinking about it—it must be so heart-wrenching.[133]

To the last, Kaneie's poem emplaces Michitsuna's Mother and their son in the Hemi pastures of Kai, but this reference to horses may have a more complex social usage here: Like the Hemi pastures of Kai, Michinoku is known for its fine horses. It is unclear whether or not Kaneie intended to superimpose the images of horses in Kai Province's Hemi plains with the horses in Michinoku, yet Michitsuna's Mother contrives to correspond the equine associations of the two geographies, almost certainly to remind her husband of his social obligation to take care of her

[133] Appendix B, lines 116-21.

(and Michitsuna) in Tomoyasu's absence, initiating a remarkable exchange of envoys that allows for their marital reconciliation:

> Because there was a messenger, I wrote this.
>
> 'Because it had been let loose by the one who should love it, to the horse of Michinoku, it must be the end.'
>
> What must he have though of that? Then this came,
>
> 'Just because my name is the Colt of Obuchi, you must think that I can't be caught were you to try [though this is not the case].'
>
> My response, again,
>
> 'Were the colt to come hither more and more—I come to rely ceaselessly on my little rein that cajoles it here.'
>
> Again, his response,
>
> 'Because I am paused at the Border of Shirakawa, many are the days that I have come pulling this colt
>
> I'll be at [the] Ōsaka [Border] the day after tomorrow,' he wrote.
>
> The date was the Fifth day of the Seventh Month. Because he was about to enter a long period of abstinence, I sent this as a response:
>
> 'If you had the heart to swear upon the Heavenly River on the Seventh Day, gaze upon the light of the stars' meeting!'
>
> He must have come to some sort of decision [because] he started to show more concern for me, and thus some months passed.[134]

By minimizing *Kagerō*'s connective narrative prose, Michitsuna's Mother juxtaposes Kaneie's *chōka*'s final lines with her own envoy, relocating the "wild horse" of the Hemi pastures of Kai Province (modern-day Yamanashi Prefecture)[135] to a place more immediately relevant to her own concerns. The envoy exchange develops primarily through the conceit of taming horses, though the emplaced location of the horse changes depending on the poem's speaker. Michitsuna's Mother locates the horse in Michinoku to reflect Tomoyasu's absence from the capital, as well as to remind Kaneie of his "Future Pine" promise to care for her and Michitsuna while her father is gone. Kaneie responds by comparing himself to the bellicose Colt of Obuchi (in modern-day

[134] Appendix B, lines 125-54.

[135] In the Kantō region, just west of modern Tōkyō Prefecture. Kai Province abutted the Tōkaidō highway, the northernmost part of which abutted Michinoku Province.

Aomori Prefecture),[136] which maintains the broader province of the horse's location while shifting its metaphorical referent from Tomoyasu to himself, an assertion of the speaker's continued support of Michitsuna's Mother and their son. The *Kagerō* author then dispatches a response that invokes the infant Michitsuna to request that Kaneie "rein" in his wild ways and behave more appropriately as a husband and father—with regular visits.

As the exchange develops, the brevity of the connective prose collapses composition, dispatch, and delivery times, foregoing any mention of the practical movement needed to transmit these poetic epistles from one person to the other. This collapse of experienced time and space within the narrative constructs a literary discourse in which both poets perform as master rhetoricians capable of quarreling through clever poetry. Because the narrative prose presents the envoys as immediate responses to one another, the diary emphasizes the speakers' respective arguments. Thus, it is the protracted exchange of their corresponding arguments that facilitates marital reconciliation. The mode of exchange is disemplaced, arising from the movement of epistles through material space and from the negotiation of relationships in the social liminality; this removes the poets from typical power structures of the Heian aristocracy and refocuses action on poetic production. Simply, the *Kagerō* author presents poetic correspondence (i.e., action for action) as the most consistent pathway for social negotiation,[137] regardless of how valid or convincing the argument of any one poem is.

We see the confirmation of correspondence as a reconciliatory pathway in the final two envoys. Kaneie maintains the conceit of taming the wild northern horses, but he also integrates

[136] In the Tōhoku region, stretching over the northernmost tip of the archipelago's main island. Aomori Prefecture was once fully contained within Michinoku Province.

[137] Earlier in Book 1, Michitsuna's Mother effectively uses poetic exchange to convince Kaneie to visit her, even though he was in the midst of an affair with the Machi Alley Woman. See SNKBZ 13, 110-1; see pp. 66, note 89 of this dissertation.

his material experience of the Border topos.[138] The Shirakawa Border was one of the transit points on the Tōsandō highway (東山道), and it was a critical juncture for traveling to and from Michinoku. Transporting the fine horses of Michinoku to anywhere outside of their original province would necessitate taking them through the Shirakawa Border. However, as the remainder of his epistle explains, Kaneie will be at the Ōsaka Border (the "Meeting Barrier")[139] near the Heian capital. Thus, the complete letter exploits the border topos—a geographic and literary place of coming-and-going, of liminality—to superimpose the spaces of Michinoku's Shirakawa Border and Heian's Ōsaka Border. In the poetic world of the exchange, the Shirakawa Border separates Michitsuna's Mother (and Michitsuna) from Kaneie, while in the material world of imperial geographies the same border separates Michitsuna's Mother (and Kaneie) from Tomoyasu. However, the invocation of the Shirakawa Border as a topos of parting/meeting poetry, reinforced by Kaneie's mention of the poetically famous "Meeting Barrier," implies that these various social separations will be imminently overcome. By poetically transposing the Michinoku landscape onto the Heian capital, Kaneie intentionally conflates the interpersonal relationships emplaced in each location, bringing together the various parties—and their socio-political concerns—and reorganizing them to assure his wife and father-in-law of his attentions to his marital and parental obligations.

[138] Appendix B, lines 142-5.

[139] 逢坂関. The name is a pun on *afu* (逢う, to meet). The border/barrier (*seki*, 関) was a poetic trope for entering, leaving, and/or returning to the Imperial capital. Semimaru's poem "This, now this! Those who go and those wo return—exchanging farewells. Those we know and those we know not—at the Meeting Barrier" (これやこの行くも帰るも別れては知るも知らぬも逢坂の関), anthologized as GSS 1089 and *Ogura Hyakunin isshu* 10, is perhaps the most recognizable usage of this poetic topos. Note that the *Gosenshū* records the third stanza as 別れつつ, while the *Ogura Hyakunin isshu* renders it as 別れては. SNKBT 6, 322-3.

Michitsuna's Mother's response is compelling for how it confirms and then sublimates the couple's reconciliation to the cosmic level, for she asks Kaneie to swear by the stars that they will meet again. The poignancy of her reply is achieved through its relationship to the border topos and cosmological timing, particularly as these relate to the Tanabata myth. Just as the Milky Way forms a mythic barrier between the Weaver Star and the Herd-boy Star, so too does the Ōsaka Border form a material barrier between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie, and so too does the Shirakawa Border form material and metaphorical barriers between different members of the family. However, the prose context of Kaneie's ritual taboo ("long period of abstinence," *mono-imi*, 物忌), which is determined by astronomical calculations, coinciding with the festival

of Tanabata underscores a logos of Imperial calendrics for the organization of time and space. During the period of ritual taboo, it would be improper for Kaneie to send or receive correspondences, and this ritual phenomenon would form another barrier between himself and Michitsuna's Mother. Despite this, Michitsuna's Mother circumvents the separation of ritual abstinence by alluding to herself and Kaneie as the lovers destined to meet once a year on Tanabata—in two days' time. Consequently, the narrative situates the couple within a mythic and cosmological time-space that takes advantage of the Milky Way as a border topos to construct a poetic, liminal space during which reconciliation is possible while also affirming that reconciliation on a cosmic scale. Thus, the coinciding of material geographies with cosmic timing plays a crucial role in providing the occasion and topic for this final envoy, replicating in the literary space of *Kagerō nikki* the liminality of the border as a space/place of meeting, negotiation, and, eventually reconciliation. Despite the material, metaphorical, and cosmological barriers that had kept them separated, the Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie are cosmically ordained to reunite, their reconciliation seemingly blessed by the heavens.

Conclusion

The aristocratic world in which *Kagerō nikki* and its characters/contributors are embedded involves complex, multigenerational shifts in writing technologies, political strategies, social prerogatives, and literary discourses. It is difficult to overstate the magnitude of these transformations: the ascendancy of vernacular cursive *kana* writing with new modes of poetic and literary participation, and the calculated deployment of anthologized poetic correspondences as a performance of social networking charged literary production with responsibility for familial legacies, political jockeying, and interpersonal negotiations. As the potential functions for poetry-centered genres expanded, so too did writing styles evolve to accommodate increasingly nuanced casts of characters, expressions of circumstance and emotion, and relationships.

Because *Kagerō nikki* participates in multiple literary traditions of the Heian period it is necessary to examine at the outset these antecedents in order to appreciate the extent to which *Kagerō* departs from them. Michitsuna's Mother expands on mere anthology of poetic exchange by inscribing her thoughts and emotions in a prose narrative that is evidenced by the poetic compositions themselves, demonstrating her editorial and critical stance toward characters in the narrative. Furthermore, the social contexts of the Heian capital city that exerted force on aristocrats' everyday lives is significant for interpreting the stakes of poetic correspondence. Epistolary exchange was, after all, a practical and versatile tool of the lettered classes. The *chōka* and envoy exchange examined in this chapter illustrate how the rhetorical deployment of poetic toponyms and the narration of correspondence in the diary function as sites of confrontation and negotiation within social realities: In the narrative of the past, they function to secure interpersonal benefits that could have immediate as well as long-term genealogical consequences; in the author's present moment of writing, they advocate for the importance of

Michitsuna's Mother's line by exhibiting her and her husband's cultural affluence and literary talents.

This chapter has prioritized the movement and stasis described in poetry and how pairs of corresponding poems use poetic place (toponyms) in dialogue with each other. Although the destination and timing of the exchange is sometimes relevant, the act of composition and responding to poetic geographies is important for achieving a mutually favorable outcome. In the next chapter, which examines the unwritten spaces of the Heian urban geography, I shift the focus from movement within poetry to the movement of poetic exchange—i.e., the movement of poetic epistles from one person/place to another in the material world beyond the narrative, in order to reconstruct the cultural forces that controlled space and movement, and how the narrative of *Kagerō nikki* suggests the benefits of acquiescing to these forces.

CHAPTER 3: VISIBLE SPACE, INVISIBLE MOVEMENT

Because poetic correspondence depends on the movement of letters through space from place to place, and because places are inscribed with cultural meaning, the social or political significance of a letter's destination exerts as much force on the interpretation of the writing as does the material world through which it travels. This chapter argues that epistolary exchange in the Heian capital city allowed aristocrats to maneuver through material and social/literary worlds simultaneously and that the phenomenon of epistolary movement in/through material space imparts geographic knowledge that can be exploited in topics of poetic composition. First, I examine how a series of epistolary correspondences that Michitsuna's Mother observes between Kaneie and Imperial Prince Noriakira reveals the ways in which shifts in poetic conversation reflect shifts in knowledge about the correspondents' geographic location and proximity to one another. These shifts in known geographic location/proximity and their corresponding shifts in poetic topic reveal how poets leveraged real-time information from their urban, aristocratic environment to manage interpersonal/social relationships and engage in poetic play. Although Michitsuna's Mother does not remark upon these shifts in her record of the exchange, the changes in topic and tone within the poems make clear how epistolary movement altered the course of poetic dialogue.

Next, I examine the effects of ritual on the spaces of the Heian capital. Focusing on taboo/periods of abstinence, I consider how the imperial cosmologic intersects with quotidian practice of movement in the prose of *Kagerō nikki*, as well as in a successive poetic exchange between Kaneie and Imperial Prince Noriakira. Building upon the previous section, I trace how Michitsuna's Mother's observation of rituals that control movement and access to space brings

her and her husband into the immediate proximity of the Imperial Prince, reinforcing the Heian presupposition that there are social (and material) benefits to upholding the cosmic order of the realm.

Finally, I analyze how the occasion and social contexts of poetic correspondence produce a literary space of gender-play in which poets can experiment. Although the extent of the play depended on specific social circumstances and the compositional talents of the writer, the second epistolary correspondence between Kaneie and the Imperial Prince illustrates the flexibility of the boundaries of gendered conventions in literary spaces of exchange.

Proximity: A *Waka* Exchange with Imperial Prince Noriakira

Immediately following the *chōka* and envoy exchange, discussed in the previous chapter, one finds the record of Kaneie's *waka* correspondences with Imperial Prince Noriakira.[1] Michitsuna's Mother's curation and placement of these exchanges in her diary seem to reconfirm her marriage while subtly suggesting that her literary and cultural talents are essential to the relationship. Because the correspondence presents the Imperial Prince and Kaneie as the sole interlocutors, it is curious that Michitsuna's Mother is intent on including it in her memoir, considering the fraught relationship she had with her husband. It is moments such as this correspondence with the Imperial Prince that provide convincing evidence of Moriya Shōgo's and Yamaguchi Hiroshi's arguments[2] for Kaneie's support of the *Kagerō* project : Despite her

[1] Noriakira shinnō, sometimes pronounced Akiakira shinnō (章明親王; 924–990). Third son of Emperor Daigo (醍醐天皇, 885–930, r. 897–930). Imperial Prince Noriakira had a long friendship with both Kaneie, who worked in the same office at the time of the exchange discussed here, and Michitsuna's Mother, who lived nearby until she retired to an address at Hirohata-nakagawa (広幡中川) in 973.

[2] Moriya Shōgo, "Kagerō nikki *zenshi—kashū kara nikki keisei he no sobyō*," *Kagerō nikki*, eds. Ishihara Shōhei, Tsutomo Nobuhiro, and Nishizawa Masashi, *Joryū nikki bungaku kōza, Vol. 2* (Benseisha, 1990), 43-61; Yamaguchi Hiroshi, *Ōchō kadan no kenkyū: Murakami, Reizei, En'yu cho hen*, (Ōfusha, 1967), 139-46; see also, Joshua

disappointments with their marital/erotic relationship, Michitsuna's Mother dutifully narrates her husband's poetic exchanges with high-ranking aristocrats, especially those of the imperial family, as they imply a professional and social intimacy between the two men that benefits Kaneie's public image, as well as the reputations of those who are connected to him.

The correspondence arises because Prince Noriakira, who worked in the same administrative corps as Kaneie,[3] noticed the young Fujiwara's absence from the Military Bureau (*hyōbu-shō*, 兵部省).[4] Concerned for Kaneie's professional prospects, the Imperial Prince sends a letter, and Michitsuna's Mother begins to narrate an extended poetic exchange:

> …and when he [Kaneie] reached the Fourth Rank,[5] he was permitted at Court among the summoned administration, and because it was said that he was some sort of very twisted Steward [*taifu*], and seemingly finding the world so loathsome, since he wasn't commuting here and there or walking about anywhere, [we] had two or three very peaceful days [together].
> And so, from that reluctant Imperial Prince [*miya*] of that office, this came:
>
> The tangled lengths of the officials' threads that have become one—have you come to cease your winding ways?
>
> In response:
>
> To speak of officious ceasing, there is no point in winding my way to the same office as my disheartened lord.[6]

It is significant that the *Kagerō* author contextualizes the exchange within Kaneie's career ascendency and his attention to her at her residence. In her preface to this exchange,

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Mostow, "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess: The Politics of Autobiography and the *Kagerō Nikki*," *Japan Forum* 4, no. 2 (1992), 311-3.

[3] SNKBZ 13, 121, notes 15 and 16.

[4] The Military Bureau regulated the Heian state's militaries, including personnel, travel/mustering, horses, castles/defensive structures, and weapons. It was also responsible for the defense of the Imperial capital city and security for the Court and Imperial residences.

[5] Kaneie ascended to the Junior Fourth Rank Lower (従四位下) in Ōwa 2 (962) on the Seventh Day of the First Month, and he obtained a position as a Steward in the Military Bureau (*Hyōbu taifu*, 兵部大輔) on the Sixteenth Day of the Fifth Month of the same year.

[6] Appendix C, "The First Correspondence," lines 5-16.

Michitsuna's Mother foreshadows many of the poetic motifs found throughout the exchange. Kaneie's "very twisted" (*ito nedjiketaru*, いとねぢけたる) habits and personality echo the "thread" (*ito*, いと・糸) imagery and "winding" (*kuru*, 繰る) motif. Kaneie's unusual reluctance for "commuting here and there" or "walking about anywhere" gestures toward that same "winding" in its secondary, movement-related sense (*kuru*, 来る) in the ensuing exchange. The *Kagerō* author asserts her role as the compiler of this poetic correspondence by presaging the Imperial Prince's clever wordplay about the "tangled lengths of the officials' threads that have become one" (*midare ito no tsukasa hitotsu ni narite*, みだれ糸のつかさひとつになりて) in his initiating poem with her introduction of him as "that reluctant Imperial Prince of that office" (*kano kokoro no yukanu tsukasa no miya*, かの心のゆかぬ官の宮). Here, the repetition of "office" (*tsukasa*, つかさ) in Michitsuna's Mother's preface with the Imperial Prince's wordplay on the same phrase within the exchange itself demonstrates the *Kagerō* author's active participation—as compiler, at minimum, and perhaps as poet, too.

The Prince's opening phrase leverages the semantic flexibility of *kana* to connect a poetic image—i.e., of disparate threads bundled together (*midare ito no tsuka*, みだれ糸のつか［束］)—with the social reality of his and Kaneie's professional relationship—i.e., that Kaneie has been negligent in attention to his administrative duties (*midare ito no tsukasa*, みだれ糸のつかさ［官］). That Michitsuna's Mother emphasizes this play on "bundle" and "official" (*tsuka*/*tsukasa*, つか・つかさ) by juxtaposing the phrase in her preface with the Prince's poem

demonstrates her talent for poetic composition by suggesting she well understands the full implications of the Prince's poem. Further, she presents herself within the diary's preface to the exchange as enthusiastic for her husband's professional ascendancy in depicting Kaneie—and, by extension, herself and her family—as social and cultural agents corresponding with[7] (and to[8]) an imperial prince.

Suddenly, however, the topic of the exchange shifts from work duties to women in the Imperial Prince's second poem (the third in the exchange):

> Again, a response:
>
> What reasoning from the summer-spun yarn, which continues its warp through two or three skeins without attending to work!
>
> In response:
>
> Nay, it hesitates to reckon seven skeins, though the summer-spun yarn has leisure time for but one or two.
>
> Again, from the prince:
>
> "You and I—indeed the white thread must wonder how to cut it out without bitter difficulty
>
> Two or three wives is truly too few! As it is a ritual taboo, I have stopped [speaking of wives] here."
>
> In response to the lord's words:
>
> Even as it goes in the world, one must be able to see the increasingly inauspicious threads that twist through the warp of the pact we swore.
>
> I was able to hear all this [from Kaneie].[9]

The thread and weaving motif changes from addressing the men's official Court duties to their wives and lovers[10] following Kaneie's first response poem (the second of the exchange). This shift in topic almost certainly results from Kaneie's reply having been dispatched from Michitsuna's Mother's residence. The Imperial Prince realizes that his initial poem had been

[7] I.e., epistolary exchange.
[8] I.e., socially/culturally related.
[9] Appendix C, "The First Correspondence," lines 17-31.
[10] The phrase for "skeins" (*me*, め) possesses a dual meaning of "wife" (*me*, 妻) and "measure for weight" (*me*, 目). Again, the semantic flexibility of *kana* allows for such nimble wordplay.

redirected from its intended destination at Kaneie's Third Avenue residence—where he should have been—to the First Avenue residence of Michitsuna's Mother—where he was. The Prince would have been made aware of both the epistolary redirection as well as the origin of Kaneie's response poem, as it would have taken longer than expected for a reply to arrive given that the messenger(s) would have traveled first to Third Avenue, then to First Avenue, and then back to the Prince's quarters around Fourth or Fifth Avenue.[11] The geographic miscalculation translates into a time delay that would require explanation, as the purpose of the Prince's initial poem is to remonstrate Kaneie for his "winding ways," so Prince Noriakira would be told that Kaneie could be found at Michitsuna's Mother's residence. Thus, the Prince realizes that Michitsuna's Mother is probably helping Kaneie write his poems (if not writing them herself), which is made clear when the Prince introduces the pun on "skeins"/"wives" (*me*, め [目] or [妻] in *futame mime yori*, ふためみめより) in his second poem (the third in the exchange) and later jokes about a "ritual taboo" to excuse himself gracefully from further comment on Kaneie's romantic life (*imi areba, tometsu*, 忌あれば、とめつ) in his third correspondence (the fifth in the exchange). The Imperial Prince is made aware of the geographic proximity between Kaneie and Michitsuna's

[11] Prince Noriakira is noted in *Kagerō nikki* to live near Tomoyasu, Michitsuna's Mother's father. Tomoyasu's residence is located in the vicinity of Fourth or Fifth Avenue, which is quite distant from Michitsuna's Mother's residence on First Avenue, near the Left Capital stables: "Now, as with throughout these ten-plus years, the only one upon whom I could reliably depend—only he who walks among the provinces [my father]—was at the time in the capital, and since he was around Fourth or Fifth Avenue and since we were by the side near the Left Stables, it was such a distance [between us]" (いまはひとりを頼むたのもし人は、この十余年のほど、あがたありきにのみあり、たまさかに京なるほども、四五条のほどなりければ、われは左近の馬場をかたきしにたれば、いとはるかなり). SNKBZ 13, 147. Notably, this passage follows an explanation that Tomoyasu's residence is separated only by a fence from the Prince Noriakira's own residence: "…in going over to the place of he who walks among the provinces…in going over to that place that was separated from [the residence of] the Imperial Prince by only a hedge" (あがたありきのところに渡りたるに、宮ただ垣を隔つるところに渡りたまひてあるに). SNKBZ 13, 123. See also Appendix C, "The Second Correspondence," lines 32-5.

Mother by his messenger(s), and he flirts with provoking the jealousy of the lady, who he presumes has been reading the exchange, at minimum.

Indeed, as Imanishi Yūichirō notes, it was not uncommon for Kaneie to ask Michitsuna's Mother to write poems in his stead and he would also defer to her judgment in evaluating poetry.[12] As discussed in the previous chapter, Michitsuna's Mother was well-regarded for her poetic talent, and one of the benefits she brought to their relationship was the literary authority she could exert within Kaneie's sphere of influence. In recording the poetic exchanges between her husband and prestigious aristocrats, Michitsuna's Mother elevates not only her husband's socio-cultural prestige, but also her own through her association with him.

Given that Kaneie was temporarily residing in the *Kagerō* author's household for the duration of the exchange with the Imperial Prince, it is almost certain that Kaneie leveraged his wife's poetic talents for his response poems. Furthermore, Michitsuna's Mother recorded the exchange in her autobiography/poetry collection, which suggests having had direct access to the poems at some point. Although the *Kagerō* narrator explains, "I was able to hear all this [from Kaneie],"[13] suggesting that she did not access the exchange firsthand, and, thus, proposing the illusion of Kaneie composing such skillful poetry alone, the physical proximity of Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie at her First Avenue residence during the period of composition is a strong indication that the former had a larger role in the exchange than is explicitly stated. Even if Michitsuna's Mother had no role in the composition of the poems, her mere proximity to Kaneie and presence throughout the exchange were significant enough to cause a shift in topic between

[12] Imanishi, Yūichirō, "*Uta, kashū, Kagerō nikki*," in *Shin-Nihon koten bungaku taikei Vol. 24* (Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 523.
[13] Appendix C, "The First Correspondence," line 31.

the two courtiers: The Prince begins with reluctant admonition about work and ends with light-hearted jokes about romance.

However, it is difficult to imagine that Michitsuna's Mother would have been completely uninvolved in the exchange. Recalling that *Kagerō nikki*'s prose introduces the Imperial Prince's initial poem with the motifs and language deployed in the ensuing exchange,[14] we can surmise that Michitsuna's Mother was very familiar with the exact content and nature of the poems—beyond what she might have learned from a secondhand account from her husband. Her more active role as a third composer in the exchange is also suggested by the Imperial Prince's implication that he must stop discussing ladies in observance of "ritual taboo;"[15] Michitsuna's Mother's presence hints to him that she read the poems (and so he ought to refrain from discussions of keeping many wives and lovers), and her contemporaneously acknowledged talent for poetry suggests to him that Kaneie would have asked her advice about poetic composition for his own responses, if she did not compose the replies outright.

Considered as a complete sequence, the exchange is presented with little explanation between the individual poems, a narratological technique that implies a rapid response to each of the preceding poems, producing the image of a technically skilled and deviously playful tete-a-tete between the poets. Although the *Kagerō* narrator presents the exchange as one between Kaneie and the Imperial Prince, the implication that Michitsuna's Mother is (at least) partially responsible for Kaneie's skillful replies simultaneously elevates Kaneie within his social and professional domains and solidifies her own position as a prime literary authority who supports her husband's cultural elevation. As such, Michitsuna's Mother's tenuous position within

[14] Appendix C, "The First Correspondence," lines 6-9.
[15] Appendix C, "The First Correspondence," lines 26-7.

Kaneie's sphere[16] is strengthened by her literary skill on two levels. First, the Imperial Prince's response poem illustrates his knowledge of Michitsuna's Mother's presence and, thus, influence in the exchange, meaning her poetic talent is acknowledged by a member of the Imperial family—regardless of whether that talent was actually deployed as composing poet. Second, by portraying Kaneie and the Imperial Prince as the primary protagonists of the exchange in the narrative of *Kagerō nikki*, Michitsuna's Mother tacitly elevates herself (among Kaneie's intimates) insofar as Kaneie recognizes that he relies on her literary skills both to help compose/evaluate poetry in the moment *and* to report his relationships with esteemed figures of the Imperial family in her diary thereafter. Thus, Michitsuna's Mother and her writings are integral components to the performance of Kaneie's cultural prestige in the capital.[17] In proving herself to be essential in establishing her husband's cultural prestige, the *Kagerō* author secures her own position among the women in Kaneie's intimate space.

It is here where the assertion of poetic exchange as a nexus for navigating social, political, and erotic spaces in addition to real-world, geographic places comes into stark relief. At once, the thread/weaving motif is versatile enough to allow for a radical change in topics (from Kaneie's truancy to his wives and lovers) in correspondence with the Imperial Prince's realization of a geographic location shift (from Kaneie's residence to the Michitsuna's Mother's), while the mode of epistolary/poetic correspondence itself is a literary place necessitating material movement, allowing the exchange to function as a site of social intercourse, which, in turn,

[16] Although it was common for high-ranking aristocratic men of the tenth century to seek wives from among the middle aristocracy and provincial governor (*zuryō*, 受領) sector, Michitsuna's Mother's position within Kaneie's marital/sexual circle was shaky because she bore one child, a son, and so did not produce the genealogical resources that Kaneie's wife, Tokihime, was able to. Furthermore, Michitsuna's Mother makes clear from the outset of her diary that she and Kaneie did not get along well, so she often worried that his interest—and consequent support—would evaporate at any moment.

[17] For further discussion on the occasioning and utility of women's diaristic writing, see Seno'o Yoshinobu, "*Ōchō joryū nikki no shippitsu keiki ni kansuru okusetsu—Kagerō nikki to Sarashina nikki no ba'ai*," in *Kokugo no kenkyū* 13 (Shintensha, 2003), 19-20.

reveals the knowledge of geographic movement that produces the change in poetic topics. With the phenomenon of poetic correspondence, the invisible geographic movement of physical letters through material space replicates the invisible social movement of cultural status in literary space, and vice versa. This exchange underscores how Michitsuna's Mother superimposes (consciously or not) the material and geographic worlds onto the social and literary worlds, demonstrating how writing—poetry, epistles, and diaries—operates as a valuable tool for navigating each of these spaces materially and culturally. The implication, of course, is that those who excel at such writing are better equipped to navigate these spaces.

Down a Side-Street: The Imperial Cosmologic and Capital Geography

The realities of geography and movement of the exchange between Imperial Prince Noriakira and Kaneie (and Michitsuna's Mother), above, are never made explicit in the *Kagerō* narrative; they are merely inscribed in what *must have* occurred to bring about the shift in topics and motifs of the poetic conversation. Insofar as the normative meanings of space and place were tacitly understood by tenth-century Heian readers, we can surmise that *Kagerō nikki*'s reluctance to describe movement in detail is due to the diary being predicated on a logos of quotidian experience and particularized knowledge (including imagination and memory) of urban place—specifically, of the capital city of the realm. The twentieth-century scholar Michel de Certeau contrasts such an embedded experience of the city with the "celestial eye," a totalizing and far-reaching view that generates an omniscient subject-position: "The voyeur-god created by this fiction…must disentangle himself from the murky intertwining daily behaviors and make himself alien to them... Escaping the imaginary totalizations produced by the [celestial] eye, the everyday has a certain strangeness that does not surface, or whose surface is only its upper limit,

outlining itself against the visible."[18] Paul Wheatley and Thomas See summarize how Japan's earliest written chronicles, the *Kojiki* (古事記; ca. 712) and *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀; ca. 720), establish the celestial view over the geography of the archipelago through imperial authority: "With the exploits of Jimmu Tennō, both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* narrative assume a quasi-historical, as opposed to purely mythological, character. Toponym by toponym the topography of the Yamato kingdom is established; item by item the cultural inventory of Archaic Japan is accounted for in etiological myth."[19] Thus, the "celestial eye" figuratively sees and imaginatively subjugates all places and things as part of the domain in its view. This panoptic vision was practiced in the planning of the Imperial capital and in the Emperor's ritual of "land viewing" (*kunimi*, 国見).[20] By the time Michitsuna's Mother, Kaneie, and Imperial Prince Noriakira were active in the tenth century, Japanese aristocrats had long been conditioned by their written histories, poetry anthologies, and long-observed social practices to regard the Emperor's authority as deriving from his vision of the geographic, material world, as well as from his unique position as the arbiter of the numinous powers on earth.[21]

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[18] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (University of California Press, 1988): 92-3.

[19] Paul Wheatley and Thomas See, *From Court to Capital: A Tentative Interpretation of the Origins of the Japanese Urban Tradition* (University of Chicago Press, 1978), 67.

[20] Ritual "land-viewing" by the Yamato sovereign is described in the *Kojiki* (ca. 712) and *Nihon shoki* (ca. 720), and its precedent in poetry anthologies can be found among the first poems of the *Man'yōshū* (萬葉集; ca. 759), in a poem composed by Emperor Jomei (舒明天皇; 593–641, r. 629–641). There are competing interpretations for how this ritual was conducted and the portents viewed by the sovereign, but most agree that the sovereign's gaze can establish rulership over the land and/or ascertain the well-being of the land and its people. For a detailed translation and interpretation of Jomei's poem, as well as the "land-viewing" ritual, see Torquil Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan*, (Brill, 2014), 231-3.

[21] Due to the Yamato emperor's mythologically divine lineage, which is recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, as well as the syncretic relationship between Buddhism and native spiritual/religious practices on the Japanese archipelago, the emperor's ritual duties tended to focus on maintaining harmony between various "factions" of divinity and between the earthly and the divine.

To elaborate on the Heian cosmologic briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the location of the Heian capital was selected based on both pragmatic and idealized factors. First, the Uta basin was less prone to the flooding that plagued previous Yamato capital cities, and this basin provided both greater natural defense and greater access to transportation and resources due to its surrounding mountains and waterways. Second, the broad valley was circled by geomantic portents that aligned with a vision of imperial cosmology imported from the Tang Court.[22] There is still debate within the archeological and historical fields as to why Emperor Kanmu (桓武天皇; 737–806, r. 781–806) may have moved the capital city to Heian-kyō so quickly after establishing the Nagaoka capital (*Nagaoka-kyō*, 長岡京; 784–794),[23] but the effect of the change was ultimately to exert the Emperor's authority over the imperial vision of governance through his dominion over both the geographic and the cosmic by acknowledging the geographical and cosmological advantages that the Uta Basin portended. Although the practical features of the new Heian capital's location were a chief concern for establishing good governance through natural defense and transportation infrastructures, it is the subtle yet pervasive influence of geomancy and cosmology that affected the ritualized, celestial Imperial vision of the sovereign, which directly affected the experience of everyday spaces and movement for the capital's urban residents.

[22] Matthew Stavros, *Kyoto: And Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 4-7. Scholars point to different interpretations of the geographic array surrounding Heian-kyō, but they agree that the eighth- and ninth-century Yamato sovereigns and bureaucrats perceived the Uta Basin's geography as cosmologically ideal according to Tang Court *onmyō* (陰陽) geomancy. According to the cosmological system imported from the East Asian mainland and established in the Yamato Court during the seventh century, the Imperial city is ideally set on a plain beset by a particular schema of mountains, rivers, and roads. These features were seen to represent celestial bodies, such as stars and constellations and corresponded to Buddhist deities who guarded the geographies of each direction.

[23] Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital*, 4-5.

By the mid-tenth century, the numinous powers of the cosmic imagination had been recorded in chronicles of the Yamato sovereigns and codified through the administrative bureaucracy. From the opening lines of Book 1 of the *Nihon Shoki*, which describe how the heavens and earth form according to the ideals of divine harmony (aka. yin-yang, *onmyō*, 陰陽),[24] the architects of Yamato history establish a cosmological order that becomes mythologically embodied by the sovereign throughout the chronicle. This cosmological order was systematized for quotidian use in the *ritsuryō* (律令) codes by establishing the Bureau of Yin-Yang (*Onmyō-ryō*, 陰陽寮), which oversaw ceremonial cosmology and produced the Imperial calendar through the Central Offices Bureau (*Nakatsukasa-shō*, 中務省). As a consequence, aristocrats of the Heian Imperial state oriented their daily activities around the regular observation of ritualized time (and space) determined by the Bureau of Yin-Yang so as to maintain the order and authority of the sovereign. Allan Miller describes the relationship between emperor and his (sometimes her) imperial subjects as one inextricably connected by a celestial temporal vision: the imperially sanctioned calendar calculated by masters of the Bureau of Yin-Yang and presented to the emperor was used to maintain an "orderly progression of the seasons" and "celestial-human harmony" throughout the imperial domain, at least theoretically.[25] Besides

[24] The *Nihon Shoki* begins: "In ancient times, when heaven and earth were not yet separated, when numinous light and dark were not distinct [from each other], [the resolution of] chaos and order was like chicken and egg—clouded and unfathomable yet containing seeds [of civilization]. Then, that which was pure yang, thin and yielding, became heavens. That which was heavy and muddy, stagnant and unmoving, became earth. The union of the refined and subtle was easy, but the condensation and depletion of the heavy and clouded was difficult. Therefore, heaven was formed first with earth was established later. Thereafter, the deities were born within it" (古天地未レ剖、陰陽不レ分、渾沌如二鶏子一、溟涬而含レ牙。及二其清陽者、薄靡而為レ天、重濁者、淹滞而為一レ地、精妙之合搏易、重濁之凝竭難。故天先成而地後定。然後神聖生二其中一焉). SNKBZ 2, 18.

[25] Allan L. Miller, "Ritsuryō Japan: The State as Liturgical Community," *History of Religions* 11, no. 1 (1971), 112.

the control over space and people's movement within it, a duty of the Emperor was also to control time and maintain its natural flow, and it was incumbent on Heian aristocrats to observe the flow of ritualized, imperial time by participating in routine festivals and daily consultation with calendric portents of the public almanacs.

By the tenth century, aristocrats' diaries, which were initially intended as reference material for later generations, recorded the daily practice of consulting astronomic/astrologic almanacs to determine auspicious and inauspicious (i.e., taboo) actions and directions. Kaneie's father, Morosuke, documented this routine in his accounts.[26] Inauspicious words/objects (*mono-imi*, もの忌み; or, *koto-imi,* こと忌), actions (*imi*, 忌), and directions (*kata-imi*, 方忌み) dictated to aristocrats how the practice of temporally and geographically oriented social ritual would maintain harmony within the imperial cosmos and, thereby, uphold the emperor's authority over the realm. Directional taboo (*kata-imi*, 方忌み) was understood to be especially perilous. As days and months changed, guardian deities would change geographic location in correspondence with the turning of the cosmos, thus "blocking" one of the eight primary directions. A direction occupied by foul-tempered or violent deities was to be avoided at all costs lest these powerful, unseen forces cause misfortune for the perpetrator; this blockage of direction by a deity is called *kata-fusagari* (方塞がり).[27] One could circumvent the blockage by taking a circuitous, rather than direct, path or by traveling to one's destination before/after the deity

[26] Bernard Frank, *Kata-imi to kata-tagae—Heian jidai no hōkaku kinki ni kan suru kenkyū*, trans. Saitō Hironobu (Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 10-1. Morosuke's diary, *Kyūreki* (九暦; ca. 960), explains the Fujiwara patriarch's morning routine: "First, I arise and call upon the deities of one's Guardian Star [*zokushō*] and the Seven Stars [Big Dipper]. Next, I take a mirror and behold my visage. Next, I look at the calendar and find out the auspicious and inauspicious of the day" (先起称二属星(ゾクショウ)ノ名号一七遍。次取レ鏡見レ面。次見レ暦知二日ノ吉凶一.)

[27] Frank, *Kata-imi to kata-tagae*, 13-7.

occupies that space; this avoidance of a taboo by changing direction or location is called *kata-tagae* (方違え or, in the classical spelling, 方たがへ).[28]

More common, however, was a taboo that afflicted the individual him/herself according to one's unique horoscope, requiring the affected person to change location to avoid transferring a lasting misfortune to his/her residence. This "period of abstinence" (also *imi*, 忌み) due to the onset of a taboo necessitated a provisional change in location/direction (*kata-tagae*, 方違え). For such periods of abstinence, which lasted either fifteen or forty-five days, Bernard Frank explains that people of this era believed that a taboo afflicting a single person could not affect two different spaces/places simultaneously, so individuals would quit their primary residence for a temporary one lest their main home be seized by the misfortune of the taboo.[29] The logos that informed the directional taboos and periods of abstinence was predicated on a recognition of spaces/places as fundamentally distinct from one another, so individual actors were essentially required to move from place to place to avoid misfortune and maintain the imperial vision of harmony between time and space in the cosmos.

While the pseudo-omniscient vision of the world was the purview of the emperor, Heian aristocrats supported the sovereign's geographic and cosmic imaginary through their own observation of spatial ritual in everyday life, presumably because their various powers derived from his imperial authority. *Kagerō nikki* demonstrates how this celestial, imperial vision intersects with the quotidian experience of capital-city's aristocratic residents most visibly in the phenomenon of ritual taboo/periods of abstinence, ritual practices of Heian-era cosmology that

[28] For a detailed discussion of *kata-tagae*, see Frank, *Kata-imi to kata-tagae*, 18-59.
[29] Frank, *Kata-imi to kata-tagae*, 44-5.

generated everyday spaces of movement, social intercourse, and, thus, correspondence. For example, the *Kagerō* entry immediately following Imperial Prince Noriakira's first correspondence with Kaneie begins as follows:

> Around that time, from the Twenty-something Day of the Fifth Month, in going over to the place of he who walks among the provinces so as to avoid a forty-five-day taboo, in going over to that place that was separated from [the residence of] the Imperial Prince [*miya*] by only a hedge…[30]

This preface to a second set of correspondences between the Imperial Prince and Kaneie describes the circumstances that continue from the previous poetic sequence in the diary, similar to how the editors of the *Kokinshū*, *Gosenshū*, and contemporaneous personal poetry collections created topical sequences in the books of those anthologies. Although the two exchanges between the Imperial Prince and Kaneie occur sometime apart,[31] Michitsuna's Mother connects these temporally disparate moments as a poetic sequence within the narrative of her everyday life through textual juxtaposition, as well as within the imperial cosmologic through the explanation of a ritual taboo that brought her—and, by extension, Kaneie who would visit her—into close geographic proximity to the prince. Not only are the two exchanges recorded immediately after one another, but also Michitsuna's Mother's preface to the second exchange repeats mention of a "taboo" (*imi*, 忌), which is found in the prince's epistolary epigraph to his final poem of the first exchange, foregrounding the aristocratic couple's geographic proximity with the Imperial Prince through a linguistic duplication that suggests their social proximity and intimacy with him. In the prose that connects the two correspondences, we notice the conjunction of the geographic/spatial

[30] Appendix C, "The Second Correspondence," lines 32-5.
[31] Scholars have dated both exchanges to the Fifth Month of Ōwa 2 (962), so the interim between the correspondences is several days or weeks. SNKBZ 13, 121, note 12.

and the temporal within the shared practice of a ritual, cosmological imaginary/space. This ritual movement—a signifier of participation in and observance of the imperial cosmologic—reproduces in the literary space of *Kagerō nikki* the convergence of providential timing/proximity in the ritual and material realms, justifying poetic composition in the text as it had been observed in the author's recollection.

In this preface to the second exchange, the Michitsuna's Mother becomes the object of a personal taboo, so she temporarily moves to her father's residence, which is mostly vacant while he governs in Michinoku, to prevent the taboo from cursing her primary residence on First Avenue. Still, the fact that "taboo" and the "period of abstinence" that sidesteps the effects of the taboo are described with the same vocabulary (i.e., *imi*) in *Kagerō nikki*, as well as other contemporaneous diaries, gestures toward its broad semantic range—a lexical correspondence of cause and effect, of problem and solution—within the Heian cosmologica.

Michitsuna's Mother explains that her move to her father's residence was "to avoid a forty-five-day taboo," tacitly performing her (and Kaneie's) allegiance to the imperial cosmic imaginary while also demonstrating how ritual taboos and period of abstinence affect daily life and social intercourse. During this period of abstinence, the diarist and her husband are brought—as if by divine providence—into close geographic proximity to Imperial Prince Nori-akira with whom the couple has exchanged friendly, even joking, letters and poems. Likely, the taboo that befalls Michitsuna's Mother here (and elsewhere) is due to the correspondence of her personal astrological details with the spatiotemporal (cosmological) circumstances of a given day or period.[32] This phenomenon seems to occur fairly regularly throughout *Kagerō nikki*, as well as

[32] Just as Kaneie's father, Morosuke, consulted his almanac each day to determine the auspicious and the inauspicious, so too would other aristocrats of the mid-tenth century have done the same. See p. 102, note 26 of this dissertation.

in diaries maintained by other male and female aristocrats in the tenth and eleventh centuries, so we can suppose that Michitsuna's Mother and others viewed these taboos and ensuing periods of abstinence as a regular part of their everyday lives. Because the taboo/period of abstinence creates an opportunity for Kaneie and Michitsuna's Mother to exchange letters and poems with Imperial Prince Noriakira, the *Kagerō* author implies that the cosmos ordains the intimate relationship, socially and spatially, between the Prince and her husband—and presumably herself, the existing relationships between the players notwithstanding. The prose that foregrounds this second poetic exchange suggests that complying and moving in accordance with the imperial cosmologic—with the emperor's "celestial vision"—in daily practice can produce moments of geographic and social intimacy with esteemed persons, despite the unexpected turns and misdirection one observes in the everyday, such as the misdelivered epistle examined in the first exchange between the Imperial Prince and Kaneie.

The second exchange of poems between the Prince and Kaneie, which will be explored more carefully in the next section, concludes with a passage that recalls the ritual practices of the imperial cosmologic found in its preface:

> At this time, when the [end-of-month] ritual ablutions must have passed, I think it was around when Tanabata was on the morrow. The taboo was on around its fortieth day. I was feeling unwell those days, and with a cough that was getting worse, [I thought] it must be a foul spirit, I thought to try incanting prayers [to the Buddha]; with the unbearable heat of that cramped place, I went up to the mountain temple that I usually go to. Because it was the Fifteenth or Sixteenth Day, it was time for the Obon and other offerings. When I looked [at it all], people of mystical appearance carried the offerings on their shoulders, each was rushing off and then convening; [seeing that made me] regard us together, and I felt admiration [for our situation] and also delight. Now then, I had [lukewarm] feelings and nothing in particular to do, so because the taboo had ended, I left for the capital. Autumn and winter passed in evanescence.[33]

[33] Appendix C, "Denouement," lines 79-89.

Michitsuna's Mother narrates the circumstances of the end of the ritual taboo that confined her to her father's residence, which shared a fence with Imperial Prince Noriakira. Consequently, the end of the time-period of her ritual taboo is inextricably linked to her and Kaneie's geographic immediacy to the poetically talented prince; put another way, the time-space of taboo (i.e., period of abstinence and the temporary relocation required to circumvent cosmic disaster) seems to orbit those of the imperial house. In maintaining the topic of invisible powers that control the cosmos found at the beginning of her denouement for the episode, the *Kagerō* author discusses falling ill in the heat and humidity of summer, when she suspects a "foul spirit" (*mononoke*, もののけ) of causing her discomfort. The solution to this, she concludes, is to offer prayers to the Buddha and eventually leave her father's residence for a pilgrimage to Hannyaji Temple in Narutaki.[34] The coincidence of this pilgrimage (and the spirit ostensibly responsible for the illness that necessitated it) with the period of Obon reinforces the mystical, numinous elements that control everyday life, especially time-space and movement.

In the midst of the bustling scene of pilgrims and priests readying the offerings for the Obon festival, the narrator considers her relationship with her husband at that time, concluding that she felt a sense of "admiration [for our situation] and also delight" (*aharegari mo warahi mo su*, あはれがりも笑ひもす).[35] Thus, the two sequences of epistolary and poetic correspondence with Imperial Prince Noriakira are punctuated with a sense of positivity for her marriage with Kaneie. Kaneie's (and Michitsuna's Mother's) intellectual and literary engagement in poetry with the Imperial Prince, Kaneie's cultivation of a more intimate social relationship with such a

[34] As long as she does not return to her primary residence during the taboo/period of abstinence, Michitsuna's Mother can prevent misfortune from befalling her house.
[35] Appendix C, "Denouement," lines 87.

talented and prestigious man, and the narrative's implication that appropriate correspondence with the imperial cosmologic can produce social and marital accord through joint literary production appear to motivate the *Kagerō* author's evaluation of her past experience in this instance.

Moving Hands: Socio-Sexual Play in the Second Exchange with Imperial Prince Noriakira

While the first exchange with the Imperial Prince, the preface to the second exchange with him, and the denouement of the sequence reveal a great deal about how the timing that governs the material and geographic realms correspond to proximity in social and literary worlds, the second poetic exchange between the Prince and Kaneie (and Michitsuna's Mother) reveals how the cultural phenomena encompassed by poetry exchange allowed writers to adopt temporary personas, some of which may even be contrary to their actual social status or sex.

This chapter has already examined how cosmic timing exerted influence over characters' movement through space and occasioned the serendipitous social intercourse with a member of the imperial house. Here, we will see also that seasonal weather (a marker of cosmic harmony in the imaginary of the imperial cosmos) and the everyday negotiation of polygynous relationships during the Heian period provided talented poets the leeway for literary playfulness, even in tricky social situations:

> Around that time, from the Twenty-something Day of the Fifth Month, in going over to the place of he who walks among the provinces so as to avoid a forty-five-day taboo, in going over to that place that was separated from [the residence of] the Imperial Prince [*miya*] by only a hedge, it turned over into the Sixth Month; as rain fell intensely, everyone's [houses] must have been drenched, and over here, because it was a shabby place, in the commotion of [people] getting wet from the leaks, this was given from his highness [the Imperial Prince]—it was even more eccentric [than before].
>
> I must be restless as the long rain and idle gaze pour in—the forms through the streaks of the downpour are so dear.

In response,

Since it is a time that's restless everywhere that gazes into the downpours, those who pass through the world and rain must not be so serene.

Again, [the Prince] sends, "Must not be so serene, is it?

In the world beneath the rain where there is such commotion, is not everyone drenched on muddy lane of love by the great waters?"

In reply,

Remember also that there cannot be a world—or a night—in which the muddy lane of love for those who always see each other is dried out.

Again, from the Prince [*miya*],

As such, my lady who sits there must be soaked—[as for me,] the place I usually visit still does not even have a muddy lane of love.

"It such an unusual situation," and such, said [Kaneie] as we looked [at the poem] together.[36]

The Sixth Month[37] was hot, rainy, and humid. After her explanation for how she came to share a fence with Imperial Prince Noriakira, Michitsuna's Mother describes how the continuous rainfall affected everyone, drenching houses and attendants and leaking into her father's "shabby" residence.[38] In all the bustle of discovering and fixing the leaks, the Imperial Prince sends a letter of commiseration about the weather. Before even recording the exchange, Michitsuna's Mother remarks that the poem is "even more eccentric [than before]" (*itodo monoguruhoshiki*, いとどものぐるほしき), recalling the prince's previous jests about Kaneie busying himself with so many female intimates while simultaneously foregrounding the ensuing correspondence within the same mode and tone of poetic play.

The Imperial Prince's initial poem comments on the weather while also setting the tone of missing someone's presence, and Kaneie's reply (perhaps composed with input from

[36] Appendix C, "The Second Correspondence," lines 32-54.
[37] Late-June through early-August in the modern Gregorian calendar.
[38] Although the leaky roof probably was an actual factor for complaint, Michitsuna's Mother's use of "shabby" (*ayashiki*, あやしき) may also have been deployed to contrast with the grandeur of the Imperial Prince and his residence.

Michitsuna's Mother) cordially assuages the prince's concern that Kaneie and his consort are indifferent to him being right next door. The first two poems exhibit a high degree of familiarity between the correspondents, but it is in the Imperial Prince's second poem (the third of the exchange), that the prince's tone shifts to adopt a literary stance that mimics that of the "waiting woman,"[39] shading the rest of the exchange in an unequivocally romantic color: "is not everyone drenched on muddy lane of love by the great waters?" (*ohomidzu ni tare mo kohidzi ni nurezarame ya ha*, 大水に誰もこひぢに濡れざらめやは). Assuming the persona of a female lover, even when the correspondents are both men, was not an uncommon practice for male aristocrats engaging in poetic exchange. The previous poetic dialogue between Kaneie and Imperial Prince Noriakira, as well as Michitsuna's Mother's preface to this one, makes it clear that the prince's poetic inclinations are playfully teasing and "eccentric." Imperial Prince Noriakira seems to be a poet who wants to exercise the full range of his talents, unrestricted by social conventions of biological sex in his material reality. The flexibility of the poets' shared cultural conventions of epistolary exchange enables the prince to adopt different poetic personas, which reveals a correspondingly flexible discursive space that affords such literary play.

The correspondence continues flirting with the boundary between male friendship and heterosexual eroticism until Kaneie ultimately concludes to Michitsuna's Mother, "It is such an unusual situation" (*sa mo keshikaranu onsama kana*, さもけしからぬ御さまかな).[40] Given

[39] The "waiting woman" (*matsu-onna*, 待つ女) terminology developed hundreds of years after *Kagerō nikki* as modern methods of literary analysis were applied to classical works. Still, the trope of the waiting (female) lover was already well established by the Heian period. I use it here as a recognized shorthand for the poetic persona adopted by Imperial Prince Noriakira in the exchange. For further discussion of the development of the "waiting woman" trope in early Japanese literature, see Yoshida Mikio, *Nihon kodai bungaku-shi* (Kasama Shoin, 2015).
[40] Kakimoto Tsutomu ascribes the quotation to Michitsuna's Mother. Kakimoto Tsutomu, Kagerō nikki *zen-chūshaku, Vol. 1* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1973), 123. I follow Sonja Arntzen's interpretation that it is Kaneie who makes these remarks because the exchange ostensibly concerns only the two men, even though Michitsuna's Mother looks

that gendered personas in poetry composition were not bounded to biological reality at this time (i.e., men and women could quite freely adopt any gendered persona appropriate to an exchange),[41] the "unusualness" of the Imperial Prince's poem derives not from his adoption of a woman's perspective but rather from the rapid rate of change in the literary personas he inhabits. In the initiating poem of the exchange, the prince assumes the position of a friend, and Kaneie responds appropriately. But in the Prince's second poem (the third in the exchange), he adopts the persona of a lady waiting for her lover to visit her, and Kaneie responds as the male lover assuring the lady that he will be along for a romantic tryst. In the prince's third poem (the fifth in the exchange), he suddenly suggests that it is Kaneie who is in the role of the waiting woman: "my lady who sits there must be soaked" (*winu kimi zo nururamu*, ゐぬ君ぞ濡るらむ). Sonja Arntzen explains, "The prince's last poem is particularly ambiguous. It may be taken as a reproach of Kaneie for not visiting, which would mean that the prince is assuming a feminine persona," which would run contrary to the poem's assertion that the interlocutor (i.e., Kaneie) is the waiting lady.[42] Within the same poem, the prince alternately imagines his correspondent and then himself in the feminine position, which was very unconventional, and Kaneie (and Michitsuna's Mother) do not seem to have a poetically acceptable reply for such an eccentric composition.

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at and evaluates the prince's poem together with her husband (*morotomo ni miru*, もろともに見る). Michitsuna's Mother, *The Kagerō Diary*, 104-5.

[41] Ki no Tsurayuki (紀貫之; 866 or 872–945) freely adopts a woman's literary persona in his *kana* diary *Tosa nikki* (土佐日記; ca. 934), so assuming different literary personas was not restricted to poetry composition.

[42] Michitsuna's Mother, *The Kagerō Diary*, 104.

As the rainy season continues, so too do the letters from the Imperial Prince.[43] Taking advantage of a break in the rain, the prince sends a letter while Kaneie is visiting his wife, Tokihime; because the letter is intended for her husband, Michitsuna's Mother must wait for him to return to respond.

> During a break in the rainfall, on a day when [Kaneie] was gone to the regular place he visits, there was a letter [from the Prince] as before. [An attendant reported,] "Although I said, 'My lord [Kaneie] is not here,' [the Prince] only replied, 'Even so,'" and when I looked at what was inside,
>
> > "Do you not know that I am comforted by the eternal love of the maiden pinks I pick at your fence—and that you are there [on the other side]?
>
> Well, as there is nothing to be done about it, I take my leave," it said. Well, after about two days, when I was able to see [Kaneie], I showed the letter to him, saying, "This is what happened," so he said, "Since so much time has passed, there is no good reason [to reply so late];" only when I heard [that Kaneie sent a note saying], "There has been no word from you lately," his highness sent this:
>
> > "Because it's around the affectionless shore of the beach that the waters rise, did the imprints of the plover's tracks get lost?
>
> is how I see it, but it would be a mistake to be dissatisfied [that there has been "no word" from me]. Is it true that you will come yourself?" was written in the woman's hand. Though it was painfully unseemly [to respond] in the man's hand, [Kaneie sent]:
>
> > If it is the [plover's] tracks, which are difficult to see from the inlet [where I weather the rising waters], is it for the unpleasantly briny act of waiting for the tide to ebb?
>
> Again, the Prince:
>
> > "What would become of the [plover's] tracks pressed into the sand with no beach or hidden motive for the sea god's tide to recede from?
>
> or so I think, but even so I may have misjudged the situation," is what was there.[44]

Unlike most poetry correspondences in Book 1 of *Kagerō nikki*, this entry has extensive explanations of the situation interjected between the poems, making it unique in records of Kaneie's exchanges with Imperial Prince Noriakira. The Imperial Prince has his letter accepted by Michitsuna's Mother's household despite Kaneie being away, and the poem contained within

[43] One can argue that these are separate exchanges, but I interpret them as two parts of an extended exchange because of the continuation of the seasonal themes and because of the Imperial Prince's continued play with gender in poetry composition.
[44] Appendix C, "The Second Correspondence," lines 56-78.

it echoes one composed by Michitsuna's Mother just after her marriage to Kaneie.[45] The prince implies that he has seen or her heard poem, so it becomes immediately unclear who is the intended recipient. The prince *should* be seeking communication with Kaneie, but sending a poem to Michitsuna's Mother that resonates with her previous literary work and that carries a distinctly romantic air to it—*and* insisting the household accept it while the lady's husband is absent—suggests that Imperial Prince Noriakira may have been skirting the line between poetic playfulness and serious flirtation.

When Kaneie returns to Tomoyasu's residence to visit Michitsuna's Mother during her period of abstinence, she shows him the Imperial Prince's poem and explains the circumstances of having received it. Here, Arntzen notes that neither man seems to have been perturbed by knowing the full details of the situation and that "Kaneie was likely flattered to have the prince show interest in his wife," as both members of the couple gain social elevation "since [Michitsuna's Mother] is desired by a member of the royal family."[46] Because several days had passed since the prince's letter arrived, it would be inappropriate to send an envoy poem, so Kaneie simply sends a letter. The prince's next poem gently insists that Kaneie (and Michitsuna's Mother) respond to his first: "did the imprints of the plover's tracks get lost?" The plover's tracks imprinted (*fumi*, 踏み) into the beach sand and the Imperial Prince's epistle (*fumi*, 文) both seem to have been washed away in the rising tide.

Of course, the most remarkable part of the exchange is that the *Kagerō* narrator notes that the Imperial Prince's letter is written in "woman's hand" (*wonna-de ni kaki-tamaheri*, 女手に書

[45] "Because I am here picking [them] from the fence that I remember fondly, the dew never collected upon the maiden flowers" (思ほえぬ垣ほにをればなでしこの花にぞ露はたまらざりける). SNKBZ 13, 95.

[46] Michitsuna's Mother, *The Kagerō Diary*, 104.

きたまへり) and that Kaneie replies in "man's hand" (*wotoko no te nite*, 男の手にて).[47] Most commentators discuss the orthographic differences between these two calligraphic styles, the "woman's hand" utilizing thinner lines, lighter ink, and less pressure to produce a script that resists the blocky conformity that informs the script styling of the "man's hand." The reason for Michitsuna's Mother to remark upon the prince's choice of calligraphy at all puzzles even Sonja Arntzen.[48] When considered in the context of the first half of this exchange (with poems about the weather and "muddy lanes of love"), we might understand the Imperial Prince's penchant for poetic playfulness, with the calligraphic presentation of the composition being an integral part of a gendered poetic persona.

A poem composed by Kaneie and sent to Michitsuna's Mother during their courtship reads as follows: "That I do not see the beach plover's tracks impressed into the shore—they must be erased by waves approaching me."[49] Kaneie had sent it when Michitsuna's Mother still refused to send any poem written in her own hand—she had attendants inscribe the poems instead. The Imperial Prince's poem deploys language and motifs of lost letters and erased plover tracks that is strikingly similar to Kaneie's poem, though these motifs were commonly used together in such circumstances as unreturned correspondence. When read in combination with the prince's apparent citation of Michitsuna's Mother's "pinks" poem,[50] however, we can be certain that Imperial Prince Noriakira had seen or heard some version of these compositions, making it obvious that some version of Michitsuna's Mother's diary/poetry collection has

[47] SNKBZ 13, 125.
[48] Michitsuna's Mother, *The Kagerō Diary*, 106.
[49] "That I do not see the beach plover's tracks impressed into the shore—they must be erased by waves approaching me" (浜千鳥あともなぎさにふみ見ぬはわれを越す波うちや消つらむ). SNKBZ 13, 92. See also Taira no Sadafumi's poem on p. 42 of this dissertation.
[50] "Because I am here picking them from the fence that I think of so fondly, the dew never collected upon the maiden flowers" (思ほえぬ垣ほにをればなでしこの花にぞ露はたまらざりける). SNKBZ 13, 95.

circulated within their socio-literary sphere, even to a limited degree. Moreover, his reference to Kaneie's "beach plover" composition, which asks for a token from Michitsuna's Mother's own hand, strongly implies that the prince would also like a written token from the talented poetess. The prince's inversion of the calligraphic style to contrast Kaneie's antecedent,[51] along with his epistolary query ("Is it true that you will come yourself?"),[52] constructs a pretext for Michitsuna's Mother herself to compose, write, and send an envoy poem as if he were a female friend (not a suitor), which would be more socially and erotically appropriate in the context of her marriage (and immediate proximity) to Kaneie than if he were to use "the man's hand," which would certainly be an unacceptably erotic overture. In mentioning the Imperial Prince's feminine calligraphic style, the *Kagerō* narrator removes the question of erotic impropriety, thus preserving the prince's gentility and noting his calligraphic elegance, while creating plausible deniability for anything untoward—the Imperial Prince is merely "eccentric."

The discursive space of this epistolary exchange—the nexus of its social context, topics and motifs deployed, and orthographies chosen by its authors—is never settled. Imperial Prince Noriakira, especially, seems to resist gender conventions in poetry. He shifts his subject-position from male to female partway through an exchange—partway through a single poem, even—and curiously mixes masculine token-seeking poetic personas with feminine-styled calligraphy. It is impossible to determine exactly why the prince chose to write this way, but it is clear that he had both Kaneie and Michitsuna's Mother in mind as participants in the exchange, despite Kaneie

[51] Referring to Kaneie's courtship poem to Michitsuna's Mother, which was presumably written in a masculine style—he was proposing marriage, after all.
[52] Appendix C, "The Second Correspondence," line 70. Strictly speaking, the Imperial Prince does not ask for anyone to visit or "come" to him, but the ambiguity of his phrasing allows for multiple interpretations depending on how Kaneie and Michitsuna's Mother might wish to respond. In the context of the two male correspondents, the prince suggests that Kaneie ought to visit him in-person, as they are professional colleagues anyway. In the context of the three poets involved in the exchange, the prince suggests that Michitsuna's Mother might make her presence more apparent by responding herself, even in her own hand.

being the only other correspondent. As such, the space of poetic correspondence in the mid-tenth century evidently cannot be limited to composition or writing alone; the Imperial Prince's playful attitude toward gendered poetic conventions reveals his sensitivity to a broader social, sexual (biological), and material world, which itself becomes malleable and ambiguous under the brush of a skilled poet.

Conclusion

Kagerō nikki's record of poetic correspondence with Imperial Prince Noriakira reveals the invisible movement of writing through the urban imperial geography, and, in so doing, demonstrates how knowledge and experience of such movement can be exploited and experimented with in literary composition. The poetic ménage à trois of the first correspondence reminds us that Heian literary production and consumption were never assumed to be solo activities. Not only did aristocrats confer with one another about poetics and compositional advice, but lords and mistresses of a residence were also surrounded by "letterate" attendants who were proficient in poetic and calligraphic styles and who served as repositories of aesthetic knowledge for those in the household they served. Indeed, the fact that multiple people could be involved in poetic correspondence means that attempts at playfulness and experimentation could end up being misinterpreted if when one party misjudged the true identity of his/her interlocutor.

The everyday practice of ritual taboos also influenced people's movement, proximity to one another, and access to a particular location. Though the movement of letters through material space is largely controlled by the existence (or not) of urban geographies and architectural features, ritual taboo controls space through time—i.e., during certain periods, certain spaces become inaccessible. Because this model of time-space was adopted by early Yamato sovereigns

even before the Heian period, it became the foundations of the Heian cosmologic centered on the emperor. The epistolary exchanges between Kaneie and the Imperial Prince occasioned by a period when Michitsuna's Mother is removed from her primary residence in observance of a ritual taboo insinuate the serendipity of relocation (i.e., movement), insinuating that the relationship between the poets is divinely sanctioned.

CHAPTER 4: DISCURSIVE DOMAINS OF VERNACULAR PROSE

While Book 1 of *Kagerō nikki* explores how Michitsuna's Mother collates and presents vernacular poetic compositions in a narrated anthology, Book 2 demonstrates how the author experiments with and expands upon a vernacular prose style in an extended chronicle. It is difficult to ascertain what influences, literary or otherwise, the author might have referenced for the development of her vernacular, autobiographical prose due simply to the fact that *Tosa nikki* is the only earlier example to have survived in this style. In order to understand how Michitsuna's Mother may have come to describe the worlds around her, I have found the work of the scholar of human geography Yi-fu Tuan to be useful. Tuan argues that "the vocabularies of spatial organization and value have certain common terms" that "are ultimately derived from the structure and values of the human body." With the body at the center, individuals (and groups) instinctively describe spaces in terms of "up and down," "in and out," and "here and there," for example, and these positions relative to the body align with the value systems of a given culture.[1] Explanations of space become more sophisticated, of course, but the significance of Tuan's argument is that the body is a fundamental gauge for experiencing and articulating material space, which, in turn, becomes the foundation of discursive and literary spaces.

As Book 2 traverses ever more the material and geographic worlds beyond the pages of literary imagination and the shared poetic imaginary, Michitsuna's Mother must find ways describe her new experiences with expressions appropriate to prose narrative. Although the communal parlance of poetic emotion sometimes appears when affective experience is easily

[1] Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 37-47.

recognizable to the wider aristocratic community, Michitsuna's Mother experiments with new ways to express the intensity of emotion that the poetic expressions do not seem to capture. With Tuan's argument in mind, we can analyze extended passages of Michitsuna's Mother's narrative prose in relation to the idea that movement through space derives its meaning from the body. Indeed, as the *Kagerō* author inscribes more episodes of movement (her own and others') through the spaces of the Heian capital city, she ultimately returns to contemplating her own body and the effects these movements have on it. In so doing, Michitsuna's Mother departs from the shared lexicon of poetry (though she still deploys it strategically) and pursues an idiolect that integrates emotional expression and bodily experience. The narratives of movement and epistolary correspondence in Book 2 highlight how the author develops her literary technique and broadens the discursive modes of vernacular autobiographical writing.

Unlike the previous chapters, which are organized around a unifying proposition and illustrated by representative passages, this chapter maintains a tight focus on *Kagerō*'s narrative, spanning a period of roughly six months' worth of entries. I do this for several reasons, the primary being to observe and analyze how Michitsuna's Mother develops vernacular prose literary techniques, especially techniques that establish narrative patterns, as she continues the *Kagerō* project. Further, the experiences described with these literary techniques both require context from preceding passages and also form the context for succeeding passages, so maintaining the temporal linearity of the text is useful for readers who might be less familiar with the details of *Kagerō nikki*. Finally, the consistent forward movement through time (as opposed to skipping back and forth) subordinates (but does not obfuscate) the "time" factor of "time-space" to the "space" factor, so the features of space, place, and movement are more visible.

Missed Connections and "Body Language": Letters, Passage, and Impetus

At the beginning the First Month of Tenroku 2 (971), Michitsuna's Mother's residence on First Avenue prepares for Kaneie's routine New Year's visit, for "there has not been a time when [she] did not see [him] on the First Day."[2] At this time, Kaneie is rumored to be in erotic pursuit of a lady known as Ōmi,[3] who Michitsuna's Mother and her attendants had suspected a few months before.[4] Still, the *Kagerō* author and her household expect Kaneie to pay respect to his wife during the New Year. Kaneie's procession approaches the *Kagerō* author's house:

> I placated myself with thoughts that it would be that way [like other years]. Around the Hour of the Sheep,[5] [his] forerunners called out to clear the way. As people bustled about [thinking,] "This is it," the carriage suddenly pulled past us. Although I was turning over in my mind that "he is on urgent business right now," the night ended just that way, too. The next morning, along with [an attendant to] take the sewing work from here, there was this in a letter: "I passed before your house when it was so late…" Even though replying was utterly wretched, because [those around me] said such like, "As usual, it is the New Year; let's not begin it being angry," I wrote a slightly sulky [response].
> さもやと思ふ心遣(こころづか)ひせらる。未(ひつじ)の時ばかりに、さき追ひののしる。そそなど、人も騒ぐほどに、ふと引き過ぎぬ。急ぐにこそはと思ひかへしつれど、夜(よる)もさてやみぬ。つとめて、ここに縫(ぬ)ふ物ども取りがてら、「昨日(きのふ)の前渡りは、日の暮れにし」などあり。いと返りごとせま憂(う)けれど、「なほ、年の初めに、腹立(はらだ)ちな初(そ)めそ」など言へば、すこしはくねりて、書きつ。[6]

[2] ついたちの日は見えずしてやむ世なかりき. SNKBZ 13, 216.

[3] 近江. Kimura Masanori and Imuta Tsunehisa, editors and translators of the SNKBZ edition, argue that Ōmi refers to the daughter of Fujiwara no Kuniaki (藤原国章; 911 or 919–985). The daughter produced by the union of Kaneie and Ōmi, Suishi (also Yasuko, 綏子; 974–1004), would become the consort of Emperor Sanjō (三条天皇; 976–1017, r. 1011–1016), meaning Kuniaki is the consort's maternal grandfather and Ōmi's father. SNKBZ 13, 345.

[4] In the Seventh Month of Tenroku 1 (970). SNKBZ 13, 203.

[5] The Hour of the Sheep was between 2PM and 4PM.

[6] SNKBZ 13, 216.

The sounds of Kaneie's carriage alert Michitsuna's Mother to a visit that she awaits, yet he never arrives and sends only a letter in exchange for the anticipated visit, a marked departure from his previous gallantry of responding to his wife's letters by arriving in-person instead of sending written substitutions for his physical presence.[7] Although Michitsuna's Mother tries to make the best of the situation, the sounds of Kaneie's neglect on the road beyond her gate stimulates within the narrator a literary style that corresponds emotional experience to bodily phenomena. For example, Michitsuna's Mother's reaction to the voices of Kaneie's forerunners calling to clear the way and the letter with her husband's facile excuse for not coming on New Year's Day (presumably from a messenger or attendant) leaves her feeling that "replying was utterly wretched" (*ito kaheri-goto se ma-ushikeredo*, いと返りごとせま憂しけれど), and her wretchedness is interpreted as "anger," or, more literally, emotion that "rises to the stomach" (*hara-dachi*, 腹立ち).

[7] For example, in Book 1 of *Kagerō nikki*, Kaneie responds to Michitsuna's Mother's poetic request for his attention with a letter: "At the end of the month, at a time when I did not see him repeatedly for about two nights, in response to him sending just a letter: 'Upon the sleeves that still have not dried from the dew that fades again, even the sky this morning cannot help but cry its autumn showers.' He sent right back this in reply: 'Since the sky, like my thoughts, have come to long for you, you must have seen this morning raining.' Before I finished writing a response, I was able to see him [i.e., he came]" (つごもりがたに、しきりて二夜(ふたよ)ばかり見えぬほど、文(ふみ)ばかりある返りごとに、［道綱母］消えかへり露もまだ干(ひ)ぬ袖(そで)のうへに今朝(けさ)はしぐるる空もわりなし　たちかへり、返りごと、［兼家］思ひやる心の空になりぬれば今朝(けさ)はしぐると見ゆるなるなむ　とて、返りごと書きあへぬほどに見えたり). SNKBZ 13, 95. On another occasion, Michitsuna's Mother sends but a single poem, and Kaneie arrives at her home as a substitute for corresponding in writing: "Again, time passed, and when he was neglecting to see me, on a rainy day, he must have sent a letter saying, 'I'll come in the evening,' [so I sent]: 'At dusk, the grass beneath the protective oak forest that tells it, "Trust me as always," sees the rain fall nonetheless through the leaves.' In response, he cheated by coming himself" (また、ほど経(へ)て、見えおこたるほど、雨など降りたる日、「暮(くれ)に来(こ)む」などやありけむ、［道綱母］柏木(かしはぎ)の森の下草(したぐさ)くれごとになほたのめとやもるを見る見る　返りごとは、みづから来て紛(まぎ)らはしつ). SNKBZ 13, 95-6.

The correspondence of emotion to body continues as Kaneie repeatedly disregards Michitsuna's Mother during the New Year's festivities. By now the *Kagerō* author has heard credible rumors of her husband's affair, and, while there is no record that Kaneie replies to Michitsuna's Mother's "sulky response," the narrator explains instead that she learned that her husband has, indeed, been exchanging letters with Ōmi.[8] Thus, the narrative prose replaces Kaneie's visits and epistolary correspondences—the fact of his physical presence[9]—with the knowledge that he has transferred his epistolary and erotic intimacy to yet another woman. The New Year celebrations in *Kagerō* resume:

> Well, the Second and Third Days passed. On the Fourth Day, again at the Hour of the Monkey, even louder than the day before were the calls clearing the way [of Kaneie's procession], [my attendants] kept saying, "The lord comes, the lord comes!" just as [fretfully as] the day before. As I was thinking, "If I am [left] on the sidelines…," of course my heart is racing. Because [the procession] is close, the servants here push open the middle gate and on bended knee waited, but as I feared, they pulled right past. Even more today [than last time], perhaps you might guess [the pain] in my thoughts.
> さて二三日も過ごしつ。四日、また申(さる)の時に、一日(ひとひ)よりもけにののしりて来るを、「おはしますおはします」と言ひつづくるを、一日(ひとひ)のやうにもこそあれ、かたはらいたしと思ひつつ、さすがに胸走りするを、近くなれば、ここなるをのこども、中門(ちゆうもん)おし開(ひら)きて、ひざまづきてをるに、むべもなく引き過ぎぬ。今日(けふ)まして思ふ心おしはからなむ。[10]

Again, the sound of Kaneie's procession inspires the hope of visitation for Michitsuna's Mother and her household. Even the attendants scurry to prepare the house for him with cries that the esteemed nobleman is arriving, and they open the "middle gate," which is located between the

[8] This is a summary continuation of the translated passage, above. SNKBZ 13, 216.
[9] We can recall Rajyashree Pandey's arguments about the metonymic relationship between body and clothing. Rajyashree Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 37-9. As I suggested in Chapter 2, there is also a metonymic relationship between body and writing, especially epistles and poems. See pp. 38-9 of this dissertation.
[10] SNKBZ 13, 216-7.

front gate and the residence proper, for him. However, those hopes are dashed when the procession passes them again. The noises of Kaneie's forerunners' calls to clear the way and the wheels of his carriage on the street stimulate a bodily response in Michitsuna's Mother as her "heart is racing" (*mune-hashiri suru*, 胸走りする) at the prospect of her husband's visit during a period contextualized by confirmation of his affair and his previous neglect of her on New Year's Day. Directly, the sonic torture continues:

> On another day, people are clamoring about the New Year's banquet.[11] Since it is so close by, I think without letting anyone know, "Perhaps I can venture that tonight will be the night." At the sounds of carriages, my breast crushes in. At a good time of night, I can hear the noises of them all returning home. There are so many carriages that go, dispersing, right in front of my gate, and when I hear them passing, my heart sinks. When I heard what had to have been the last of them, I couldn't feel anything [anymore]. As day broke the next morning, [Kaneie seemed to think] "It can't stay like this," and I saw a letter [from him]. I did not reply to it.
> またの日は大饗(だいきやう)とてののしる。いと近ければ、今宵(こよひ)さりともとこころみむと、人知れず思ふ。車の音(おと)ごとに胸つぶる。夜(よ)よきほどにて、みな帰る音も聞こゆ。門(かど)のもとよりもあまた追ひちらしつつゆくを、過ぎぬと聞くたびごとに、心はうごく。かぎりと聞きはてつれば、すべてものぞおぼえぬ。明くる日まだととめて、なほもあらで文見ゆ。返りごとせず。[12]

Here, as well, the narrative emphasizes sound stimuli and emotional affect expressed through bodily sensation. Aristocrats' carriages heading to and leaving from the Regent Koretada's First Avenue residence for the New Year's banquet alternately promise and betray the prospect of Kaneie's visit to Michitsuna's Mother, and the diarist describes the experience of these sounds as

[11] The New Year's banquet is hosted by the Imperial Regent. In this case, it is Kaneie's eldest brother, Fujiwara no Koretada (sometimes Koremasa, 藤原伊尹; 924–972). Koretada also lives on First Avenue albeit closer to the Imperial palace compound than Michitsuna's Mother.
[12] SNKBZ 13, 217.

her "breast crush[ing] in" (*mune tsuburu*, 胸つぶる), her "heart sink[ing]" (*kokoro ha ugoku*, 心はうごく),[13] and she is left unable to "feel anything [anymore]" (*subete mono zo oboenu*, すべてものおぼえぬ). This movement through space, even movement that is not her own, triggers a bodily reaction or, at minimum, a reaction best expressed through body-oriented vocabulary. The change of expressive modes throughout *Kagerō nikki* is remarkable for this point: Unlike Book 1, the expression of emotion in Book 2 is increasingly mediated through the author's own body rather than through the shared lexicon of poetry anthologies.[14]

The passage ends with Michitsuna's Mother refusing to reply to Kaneie's letter. The comings and goings of powerful aristocrats for the various New Year's celebrations in the Heian capital brings Kaneie's failure to visit into sharp relief, and Michitsuna's Mother chooses not to correspond in writing with the husband who will not come to her in the first place. In the following days, Kaneie sends another message to his wife, and when she—or, rather, her attendants—excuse her for not feeling well, he arrives anyway.[15] When Kaneie finally visits, the *Kagerō* narrator describes his insensitivity to her plight and his inappropriate flippancy:

> As I feel stunned [by it all], when he was teasing me so unabashedly, it's infuriating. In telling him my deepest thoughts from all these months over here, [he acted like] "Why

[13] Literally, *kokoro ha ugoku* (心はうごく) means the author's "heart moves," but the decidedly negative emotions of disappointment and sadness at her husband's neglect during what should be a felicitous time "moves" the heart downward. Given this context, I follow Kimura's and Imuta's interpretation that Michitsuna's Mother's heart is "sinking" in emotional turmoil. SNKBZ 13, 217, note 21. Arntzen translates this movement (*ugoku*, うごく) as "a jolt." Michitsuna's Mother, *The Kagerō Diary*, 221.

[14] See my previous research on movement and emotional expression in *Kagerō nikki*. In short, I argue that Book 1, which was seems to have been commissioned by Kaneie as a poetry collection, adhered strongly to a communal lexicon of poetic expression of emotion in the its prose, while Book 2, which contains many extended records describing pilgrimage travel, provided Michitsuna's Mother the discursive space to experiment with verbal expressions of emotion and depart from lexical paradigms that confined such expression to poetic terms. Still, she never abandons these poetic expressions completely. Deborah Price, "*Kagerō nikki ni okeru kūkan-idō to kanjō-hyōgen: Chūkan no 'tabi' wo chūshin toshite*" (MA thesis, Gakushūin Women's College, 2018).

[15] SNKBZ 13, 217-8.

ever [would you think that]?" He stopped and, with no reply, appeared to lie down to sleep.
あさましと思ふに、うらもなくたはぶるれば、いとねたさに、ここらの月ごろ念じつることを言ふに、いかなるものと、絶えていらへもなくて、寝たるさましたり。[16]

Michitsuna's Mother, as a character, is clear with her husband about her concerns, which range from his neglect over the New Year to his openly secret affair with Ōmi. As a narrator of the story, she is straightforward with the reader that Kaneie's behavior is "infuriating" (*ito netasa*, いとねたさ). However, Kaneie ignores her attempts to communicate, refusing to engage with Michitsuna's Mother on an emotional level or address her concerns about his attitude and conduct. The emotional neglect, paired with geographic neglect (i.e., non-visitation) and erotic neglect, results in a period of complete non-communication[17] and decides the author to prepare for a pilgrimage.[18] Put another way, Michitsuna's Mother's and Kaneie's inability (and/or refusals) to correspond with each other in geographic/material space, literary space (i.e., poetry and epistolary exchange),[19] and emotional space drives the *Kagerō* author to flee the geographic confines of the capital—to flee from the cultural worlds with which she can no longer interact effectively. Thus, the cultural spaces of social intercourse and aristocratic discourse in the Heian

[16] SNKBZ 13, 218.
[17] In reply to Kaneie's nonchalant requests for sewing work, Michitsuna's Mother writes: "It is unbearable, and in refusing [the work], we arrived at the Twenty-something Day [of the First Month] without exchanging words" (いと憎くて、言ひ返しなどして、言絶えて二十余日になりぬ). SNKBZ 13, 218.
[18] "From this point on, I thought I might devote myself to the long purification [necessary before a pilgrimage] and retreat into a mountain temple" (これよりやがて長精進して、山寺にこもりなむに). SNKBZ 13, 219.
[19] From here until she reaches the mountain temple of Hannyaji, it is notable that Michitsuna's Mother's poetic compositions are in soliloquy, not in dialogue with another correspondent. She records only five of her poetic compositions dating from the First Month of Tenroku 2 (971) through her arrival at Hannyaji in the Sixth Month. One record of Kaneie's composition is also recorded, but it is left unanswered due to the haste of Michitsuna's Mother's departure.

capital and the author's developing literary awareness of her body become incompatible with one another, and she answer at which she arrives is to seek solace in the religious world and sacred spaces of the Buddhist temple.

Collapse and Transition: The Will to Pilgrimage and Movement into Prose Spaces

As proposed in the previous section, Book 2 of *Kagerō nikki* is remarkable for the shift in its author's vernacular prose style that expands upon the poetic vocabulary for emotional expression, allowing for what might be described as "self-expression."[20] This section explores how Michitsuna's Mother's evolving prose style corresponds to movement, especially movement to geographic spaces beyond the idealized (imagined) limits of the Heian capital city. Just as the sounds of carriages traversing the capital—and the social implications carried by them—stimulate the expression of uncomfortable bodily reactions for the *Kagerō* author that compel her to leave the city, so too does Michitsuna's Mother's departure from the social and cultural spaces of the capital produce an emerging style of vernacular prose and literary topoi, which are clearly legible in moments of geographic movement and epistolary correspondence among urban residents.

When the *Kagerō* author first learned of her, Ōmi had been suggested as the newest object of Kaneie's romantic affections, and Michitsuna's Mother shortly thereafter prepares to go

[20] I hesitate to ascribe modern sensibilities of selfhood (and its expression) to Michitsuna's Mother's prose style because the Heian aristocratic world was focused on communities and societies, the participation in which determined the limits of the self and agency. Furthermore, we will never know a "truth" beyond what the narrator reveals to us, so the presumption of authenticity accorded to modern notions of selfhood frustrate an analysis of premodern self-expression. However, the prose style of Book 2 marks a clear departure from the terse prose prefaces of poetry anthologies (a community-based practice) toward the expression of personal and inner (emotional) matters, contraposing the vernacular prose records of an external world found in *Tosa nikki*, for example. Tomi Suzuki also raises the pertinent argument that Western hegemony in modern literary analysis and reading norms effects a privileging of the self (and the novel), which further complicates the idea of "self-expression." Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford University Press, 1996), 3-7, 49-58.

on a pilgrimage in the mountains.[21] Her resolve to leave for religious devotions is repeated during the New Year's episode, above, when Kaneie's relationship with Ōmi establishes his neglect of his wife as he dotes upon a new romantic interest. As Kaneie's attention toward Ōmi leads him to pass by Michitsuna's Mother's residence and neglect both visitation and poetic correspondence with his wife—thereby denying her the opportunity to convince him through literary composition to redouble his effort toward their marriage[22]—Michitsuna's Mother prepares for a pilgrimage.[23] These examples of Michitsuna's Mother expressing a desire for a pilgrimage when confronted by Kaneie's behavior, particularly as it relates to his relationship with Ōmi, establish a narrative pattern in *Kagerō nikki*'s prose: In the absence of effective poetic or epistolary correspondence with her husband, the diarist chooses to quit the Heian capital for outlying Buddhist temples, especially when Kaneie flaunts his courtship with another woman.

Shortly after Michitsuna's Mother begins preparations to go on a retreat to the mountain temple following the New Year, rumors that Kaneie has married Ōmi circulate in the aristocratic spheres of the capital.[24] Although she resolves to leave after her purifications are complete, her attendants' persuasion and the birth of her sister's child, which would create ritual pollution (*kegare* or *kegarahi*, 穢れ or 穢らひ), convince the author to postpone her pilgrimage until the Third Month.[25] Still, Michitsuna's Mother's thoughts lie beyond the social spaces of the capital city, and she writes:

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[21] SNKBZ 13, 203-4.

[22] The strategy of literary expression to win back the attentions of her husband have worked in the past. See pp. 66, note 89 of this dissertation.

[23] These preparations include fasting and praying to purify the mind and body for receiving spiritual and religious enlightenment. See SNKBZ 13, 218-20.

[24] "Like thousands of blades of grass, people [all over the place] say that he has visited that place one hears about [Ōmi] for three nights [in a row]" (聞くところに三夜(みよ)なむ通(かよ)へると、ちぐさに人は言ふ). SNKBZ 13, 218.

[25] "When people [around me] said, 'Doing the purifications once it's autumn would be much more convenient,' and remembering that there is [my sister's child's] birth that I should not be able to overlook, I waited until the following

On the Twenty-Fifth Day,[26] even now the rain does not end. As [my thoughts] wandered and as if to say "into the mountains of no longing,"[27] I just feel [the many] things [around me]; [the only thing] that did not end were tears.[28]

Also with the falling rain do my tears drop—since my broken thoughts linger on each little thing.

五日、なほ雨やまで、つれづれと、「思はぬ山に」とかやいふやうに、もののおぼゆるままに、尽きせぬものは涙なりけり。

降る雨のあしとも落つる涙かなこまかにものを思ひくだけば。[29]

Although the *Kagerō* narrator cites poetry in her prose records in Book 1 of the diary (i.e., the technique of citing or composing poetry in prose to produce a prosimetric style is not unique to Book 2), the emotional context of the passage and the fact that Michitsuna's Mother responds to the prosimetrum with her own composition indicates an expansion of the discursive spaces of her writings. Specifically, Kaneie's flagrant affair with Ōmi and his neglect for his wife during what should have been a celebratory period during the New Year weighs heavily on Michitsuna's Mother to the extent that she has resolved to visit a temple in the mountains for spiritual clarity.

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month when these matters will have passed" (人々、「精進(しやうじ)は秋つかたよりするこそ、いとかしこかなれ」と言へば、えさらず思ふべき産屋(うぶや)のこともあるを、これ過ごすべしと思ひて、だだむ月をぞ待つ). SNKBZ 13, 219.

[26] Although the excerpt in Japanese, below, says 五日, this count is a continuation from the previous entry of the Twenty-Fourth Day. In context, it is clear that this is the Twenty-Fifth Day of the Second Month.

[27] This is a citation of Fujiwara no Asatada's (藤原朝忠, 910–967) poem in the *Gosenshū*, GSS 70: "It is because time that, like the peak of the blossoms, is so merciless that perhaps I shall go into the mountains of no longing" (時しもあれ花のさかりにつらければ思(おも)はぬ山に入(い)りやしなまし). Though it is included in Book 2: Spring Poems II, Asatada's composition is interpreted an expression of desire to abandon the cruelty—as well as the beauty—of the material world in pursuit of monastic life. SNKBT 6, 25.

[28] The phrase "[the only thing] that did not end were tears" (尽きせぬものは涙なりけり) had become so common in vernacular poetry by this time that scholars cannot identify a singular citation for its use here by Michitsuna's Mother. Kimura and Imuta suggest the *Kagerō* author may be referring to GSS 1412: "Even though years have passed in the absence of my lord, in the Old Village the only thing that did not end were tears" (君まさで年はへぬれどふるさとに尽きせぬ物は涙なりけり). Attributed by scholars to a lady associated with Fujiwara no Kanesuke (藤原兼輔, 877–933), the poem is included in *Gosenshū* Book 20: Poems of Grief. SNKBT 6, 430.

[29] SNKBZ 13, 220.

The continued affronts to her pride, coupled with the material reality of endless rain, recall the vocabulary of a literary world that has given her solace in the past, as she had been able to rely on her talent for poetic composition to negotiate her status. With Kaneie effectively incommunicado, the option of poetic negotiation is foreclosed; Michitsuna's Mother has only herself and the previous works of poets with whom to correspond (literarily and emotionally). She cites Fujiwara no Asatada's (藤原朝忠, 910–967) "into the mountains of no longing" (*omohanu yama ni*, 思はぬ山に) poem, and she finishes her contemplation of retreat into the Buddhist priesthood with the poetic cliché that "[the only thing] that did not end were tears" (*tsukisenu mono ha namida nari keri*, 尽きせぬものは涙なりけり). In this state of yearning for a world exterior to the society (*yo no naka*,世の中) of the Heian capital and, with the rain falling like a sullen reflection of her interior world, Michitsuna's Mother responds to the poetic cues with a poem. This correspondence with her own literary memory—as well as with the poetic citations, themselves—in reaction to her social/marital circumstances, spiritual desires, and material reality represents a collapse of Michitsuna's Mother's material, social, spiritual, emotional, and literary spaces, as her internal conflict with her perception of the external world condenses into a few lines written on a page. Paradoxically, the compression of these disparate spaces into the area of mere lines expands the discursive space of *Kagerō nikki*, for the author demonstrates that she can access simultaneously multiple, substantiated worlds.

Taboo and Crisis: Correspondence and the Control of Movement

As the entries in *Kagerō nikki* resume, the Third Month arrives, and Michitsuna's Mother must observe a ritual taboo. She avoids the taboo by temporarily residing once again at her father's house:

> With nothing in particular to occupy myself, on the occasion of avoiding a ritual taboo anyway, I think to go somewhere else for a while, so I go over to the place of he who walks the provinces. As the matter which plagued my thoughts [the birth of my sister's child] happened smoothly, I began to think to start my long purifications, and when I was making arrangements for the things to bring, there was this [from Kaneie,] "The displeasure [I invited] must be heavy. If you forgive me, [I will come] in the evening. How about it?" Here and there, [attendants] see or hear of it and fuss, "This [your attitude] only will make [his affections] wander to the farthest reaches; it would be an awful thing to do. Now just this time, send a reply. It is not something you should stop doing." I sent only, "Not seeing even the moon, how strange."[30] Just when I thought it would never happen in this world, he hurried over. He was [utterly] nonchalant about seeing me over there [at my father's] so deep into the night. Even though there were many of the usual things bubbling and roiling [inside me], in so compact a place with so many people bustling about, I could not breathe, and as I was lying there with my hand on my breast, morning broke.
>
> いとつれづれなるを、忌(いみ)もたがへがてら、しばしほかにと思ひて、あがたありきのところに渡る。思ひ障(さは)りしこともたひらかになりにしかば、長き精進(しやうじ)始めむと思ひ立ちて、物など取りしたためなどするほどに、「勘事(かうじ)はなほや重からむ。許されあらば暮(くれ)に。いかが」とあり。これかれ見聞(みき)きて、「かくのみあくがらし果つるは、いと悪(あ)しきわざなり。なほこたみだに御返り。やむごとなきにも」と騒げば、ただ、「月も見なくに、あやしく」とばかりものしつ。世にあらじと思へば、急ぎ渡りぬ。つれなさは、そこに夜(よ)うち更(ふ)けて見えたり。例のわきたぎることも多かれど、程狭(ほどせば)く人騒がしきところにて、息もえせず、胸に手を置きたらむやうにて、明かしつ。[31]

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[30] Michitsuna's Mother cites Ono no Komachi's poem: "How strange that my heart is so difficult to comfort, not seeing even the moon over Abandoned Crone Mountain [Wobasute-yama]" (あやしくも慰めがたき心かなをばすて山の月もみなくに). Poem 96 in the *Komachi-shū* (小町集; late ninth century). Muroki Hideyuki, Takano Hareyo, and Suzuki Hiroko, eds., *Waka-bungaku Taikei Vol. 18: Komachi-shū, Narihira-shū, Henjō-shū, Sosei-shū, Ise-shū, Sarumaru-shū* (Meiji Shoin, 1998).

[31] SNKBZ 13, 221.

Michitsuna's Mother avoids the ritual taboo and[32] temporarily removes herself to her father's residence. Unlike the episode in which she and Kaneie correspond with Imperial Prince Noriakira,[33] which was socially and literarily beneficial for both husband and wife, the observance of the imperial cosmologic in the passage above is complicated by competing desires and wills. Michitsuna's Mother, as a character in the narrative, takes advantage of the ritual taboo for a change of pace (change of place?) and to distance herself from the worries emblematized her First Avenue residence where Kaneie openly ignores her by passing by in his carriage. She also wants to prepare for a pilgrimage that would put even more space between herself and her marital/social troubles in the capital. As a narrator, Michitsuna's Mother deploys the provisional avoidance of a ritual taboo in a preface to not poetic exchange, as she did in Book 1, but rather in the preface to an epistolary exchange that is embedded in prose narrative. The narrator maintains prefacing conventions for correspondences, be they poetic or otherwise, because the context of written exchange ultimately must be explained to readers. Still, Michitsuna's Mother, as both character and narrator, demonstrates her quotidian adherence to the Imperial cosmologic, and, as narrator, she affirms the cosmic providence that removes her character-self from the geographic and residential spaces that are responsible for her anguish.

Despite Michitsuna's Mother's relief for leaving her residence on First Avenue for her father's on Fourth Avenue, Kaneie intrudes on this space/place of provisional, emotional peace—a space/place sanctioned by the Imperial cosmologic of taboo avoidance. Kaneie ignores his

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[32] The phrase *gatera* (がてら) in *imi mo tagahe-gatera* (忌もたがへがてら) makes clear that the actions of avoiding the taboo and "think[ing] to go somewhere else for a while" (*shibashi hoka ni to omohite*, しばしほかにと思ひて) are separate. Michitsuna's Mother takes advantage of the former to also do the latter.

[33] See Chapter 3 (pp. 89-117), especially pp. 90-8, of this dissertation.

wife's epistolary reply remonstrating his behavior and attitude through literary judgment and citation, a technique that had been successful at earlier times in their marriage,[34] and he arrives late at night with apparent disregard for expected visitation timing. Further, his views are supported by Michitsuna's Mother's own attendants, who urge their mistress to reconcile with her husband, probably to ensure Kaneie's financial, social, and political support of her (and them, by affiliation). Cornered in her father's humble residence described as "so compact a place with so many people bustling about" (*hodo sebaku hito sawagashiki tokoro nite*, 程狭く人騒がしきところにて), Kaneie's intrusion and her attendants' protestations exert a seemingly physical pressure on Michitsuna's Mother body, leaving her unable to breathe and lying with a calming hand on her chest (*iki mo e-sezu mune ni te wo okitaramu yau nite*, 息もえせず胸に手を置きたらむやうにて). Initially, it was Kaneie's brazen disregard for her during the New Year's festivities and refusal to enter her residential, erotic, or even written spaces that caused Michitsuna's Mother's body to react; now, it is his brazen disregard for the geographic space she placed between them and his refusal to heed her poetic reply that causes her body to react.

Kaneie hastens to leave the following morning.[35] Following an interruption in the narrative where the text does not survive, Michitsuna's Mother describes the anticipation of a visit from her husband that never occurs: "Even more than what happened before, it feels like my heart is rent to pieces" (*arishi yori mo mashite kokoro wo kiri-kudaku kokochi su*, ありしよりも

[34] See pp. 13, 39-40, 128 of this dissertation.
[35] SNKBZ 13, 221.

まして心を切り砕(くだ)くここちす).[36] During her period of abstinence at her father's residence, the *Kagerō* author devotes herself to purification and Buddhist prayer in preparation for the pilgrimage she had to postpone. The prayers allow the narrator to remark upon her thoughts at the time, materializing as extended entries of introspection, dreams with apparent Buddhist significance, and self-criticism of her previous behavior and beliefs,[37] though she resists the prosimetrum exhibited in her musings about "mountains of no longing," above. Weeks pass into months, and Michitsuna's Mother returns to her First Avenue residence when her period of abstinence ends.[38]

Back in her own home, Michitsuna's Mother resumes her Buddhist devotions when, one day, she hears Kaneie's carriage procession:

> There is a day when that shocking person [Kaneie] comes crossed by my gate with his typical, grand procession to clear the way. At the time when I was conducting my religious devotions, I heard the commotion, "The lord comes, the lord comes," so I thought it would be just as it always was, and my chest races in heavy thumps. When he drew past, all the people around me exchanged glances…I need not describe the burning in my breast.
> あさましき人、わが門(かど)より、例のきらぎらしう追ひちらして、渡る日あり。行ひしゐたるほどに、「おはしますおはします」とののしれば、例のごとぞあらむと思ふに、胸つぶつぶと走るに、引き過ぎぬれば、みな人、面(おもて)をまぼりかはしてゐたり…胸の焦(こ)がるることは、いふかぎりにもあらず。[39]

Michitsuna's Mother maintains the form of first describing Kaneie's movement toward her residential (and intimate) space/place, her inner thoughts on the possibility of his visitation (this

[36] SNKBZ 13, 222.
[37] SNKBZ 13, 222-3.
[38] SNKBZ 13, 224.
[39] SNKBZ 13, 224-5.

time, doubt), and finally the bodily effects that his passage has on her. Though it now may seem repetitive, we can understand this narrative pattern as a technique that the author deploys to replicate the months of emotional turmoil—to the point of exhaustion—that creates the inflection point for her flight from the capital city "into the mountains of no longing" that she has craved since the beginning of the year, now well in the past.

Then, at the beginning of the Sixth Month, Kaneie suddenly sends a letter to Michitsuna's Mother speculating that she must have finished her period of abstinence and have returned to First Avenue. He informs her of his own ritual taboo and had his messenger slip his letter "under the gate" (*mikado no shita yori mo*, 御門の下よりも), a semantic tactic to that would absolve correspondents of affliction by the same taboo as the writer because the message is supposedly delivered by accident. Kaneie explains his passage by Michitsuna's Mother's gate with the excuse that her house is "inconvenient" (*ito bin-nakameri shikaba*, いと便なかめりしかば).

The *Kagerō* heroine was not expecting her husband to send words to her, as he had not even brought his own presence to her where she was living in so many weeks. Still, she organizes hers thoughts and writes a reply that unequivocally rebuffs him.[40] On many occasions to this point, Kaneie has openly broken with social and marital decorum, and, here, he tests the limit of observance of the Imperial cosmologic. He may be a powerful nobleman—at least powerful enough to bend societal norms to his will and desires—but he cannot defy the cosmologic that undergirds Imperial authority and, by extension, his own. In a different context, a man flouting the laws of the cosmos to correspond with his wife may be gallant, but Michitsuna's Mother writes in her letter to him that she has been disappointed by him too many times (and her mind is

[40] SNKBZ 13, 225-6.

fixed on her religious practices), so his words are unconvincing, as well as near-unrecognizable.[41] Although the verbal combat takes the form of refined phrases, sardonic inquiries, and (presumably) elegant calligraphy, it is clear from this epistolary correspondence that their marriage is not simply in crisis: Husband and wife are openly hostile toward each other.

In this context, we reach the climactic confrontation. Appropriately, it takes the form of written exchange. Michitsuna's Mother hastens to take advantage of Kaneie's observance of ritual taboo, which constricts his free movement through Imperial spaces. Calculating the day when his period of abstinence would end,[42] Michitsuna's Mother essentially weaponizes the imperial cosmologic and its incontrovertible control over movement and emplacement in order to detain Kaneie in the Heian capital while she flees for the mountains. As she finalizes her departure, Michitsuna's Mother finds a packet of Kaneie's medicine folded under one of the bedding mats.[43] Perhaps recalling better times when they shared a mattress, the narrator begins:

> Here and there [attendants] pull it out to look, saying, "What might this be?" I take it just as it is and, within the folds of the paper, I wrote this:
>
> Since I will no longer hide my feelings beneath that straw mat, it is sad that I have nowhere left to settle down.
>
> In the [accompanying] letter, I write, "Though they may have said, 'Since my self does not change,'[44] I think there is even a domain [*sekai*][45] in which you are not made to pass

[41] Michitsuna's Mother writes, in part: "It has been a long time since you have come here; how was it really to occur to me [that the letter was from you]?" (ここには久しくなりぬるを、げにいかでかは思(おぼ)しよらむ). SNKBZ 13, 225. The discovery of the medicine presents her with a topic for poetic exchange.

[42] SNKBZ 13, 226.

[43] Ibid.

[44] A citation of a poem from the *Fujiwara no Tadafumi Collection*: "No matter where, since my self does not change, even though you venture into the mountains draped in clouds, you do not inquire after me" (いづくへも身をしかへねば雲懸かる山ぶみしてもとはれざりけり). It is a poem sent to Tadafumi by a lady who is gone on retreat to a Buddhist temple in Ishiyama, and she chastises him for not visiting. See SNKBZ 13, 226-7, note 10; Michitsuna's Mother, *The Kagerō Diary*, 230.

[45] Because the SNKBZ edition does not include *furigana* for 世界 (thus indicating the characters appear this way in the manuscript and are not a reworking into *kanji* for modern legibility), it is hard to say conclusively how this word would have been pronounced or spelled in vernacular *kana*. I have chosen to transliterate the modern Japanese pronunciation here. It is notable that 世界 appears at this moment in the narrative when the author has exclusively

in front [of my gate]; perhaps today [I shall find that domain]. This was surely yet another strange, unsolicited tale [for you to hear].” As the young one [Michitsuna] said, “We will be on retreat soon [at the mountain temple], so I will tell him [Kaneie],” I gave him the letter [to give to Kaneie]. “If he tries to inquire about it, just say, ‘She wrote it, left it somewhere, and left quickly. I should be following shortly,’” I said and had him take [the message].
Seeing the letter, [Kaneie]’s mind must have been a flurry of confusion. In reply, he wrote, “Although you have myriad reasons for it, but for now just tell me where you would go. This season cannot be convenient for conduction [religious devotions], so just this time I want you to listen to what I say: Give up [your plans]. Because there are things we should talk together about, I will go [to you] presently.”

“So shocking! Your heart of breaking waves on Toko Beach upended the bedroom mats that I relied upon so placidly

It is most cruel,” says his letter, and when I look at it, well I hastened to depart even faster.

これかれ見出でて、「これ何ならむ」と言ふに、取りて、やがて、畳紙の中に、かく書きけり、

さむしろのしたまつことも絶えぬればおかむかただになきぞ悲しき

とて、文には「『身をし変へねば』とぞ言ふめれど、前渡りせさせたまはぬ世界もやあるとて、今日なむ。これもあやしき問はず語りにこそなりにけれ」とて、幼き人の「ひたやごもりならむ。消息聞こえに」とて、ものするにつけたり。「もし問はるるやうもあらば、『これは書きおきて、はやくものしぬ。追ひてなむまかるべき』とをものせよ」とぞ、言ひ持たせたる。

文うち見て、心あわたたしげに思はれたりけむ、返りごとには、「よろづいとことわりにはあれど、まづ行くらむはいづくにぞ。このごろは行ひにも便なからむを、こたみばかり、言ふこと聞くと思ひて、とまれ。言ひ合はすべきこともあれば、ただいま渡る」とて、

「あさましやのどかに頼むとこのうらをうち返しける波の心よ

いとつらくなむ」とあるを見れば、まいて急ぎまさりてものしぬ。[46]

Michitsuna’s Mother uses the discovery of Kaneie’s medicine while packing for her pilgrimage as the occasion for poetic composition. This final poem before she leaves simultaneously opens a

used 世 (*yo*) and 世の中 (*yo no naka*) to reference the “world,” society, or state of affairs in previous entries, so the differentiation must be made explicit.

[46] SNKBZ 13, 226-7.

literary space for dialogue and, presuming the answer to the poem, forecloses any chance at shaking her resolve. After all, there is "nowhere left [for her] to settle down" (*okamu kata dani naki zo*, おかむかただになきぞ) in a city—let alone in a residence—where Kaneie openly dispenses with social propriety and where his conspicuous movements take a toll on her mind and body.

Perhaps hoping to use the affection Kaneie should have for their child to soften his heart to her will, Michitsuna's Mother has Michitsuna take the letter along with him when he leaves to inform his father of their imminent travel. She must have already suspected that Kaneie would try to stop her because she instructs her son on what to say if her husband raises any objections. Michitsuna's movements are not recorded, but he must have returned to his mother's residence in order to give her Kaneie's epistolary response, which made her "[hasten] to depart even faster" (*maite isogi-masarite mono shinu*, まいて急ぎまさりてものしぬ).

The prose contents of the letters are unique for how unambiguously they address the situation. Previous entries of (non-poetic) epistles deploy vocabulary and expressions that are contingent on timing and social context for interpretation; those letters are vague for how terse they are. However, the correspondence cited above is quite explicit. Michitsuna's Mother cites a poem from the *Fujiwara no Tadafumi Collection* in which a lady remonstrates with a man (Tadafumi) for not visiting her when she is on a religious retreat in the mountains. The cited poem's complaint about a man's failure to visit *and* a woman's retreat into the mountains for religious observances makes Michitsuna's Mother's intentions unmistakable: She is going on a retreat and there is a strong likelihood that she may abandon the society of the capital by taking the tonsure and becoming a nun.

The threat of retirement from the social world of the Heian aristocracy is strengthened by Michitsuna's Mother's deployment of the phrase "domain" (*sekai*, 世界) when she muses about a place where Kaneie is "not made to pass in front" of her gate (*mae-watari se-sase tamahanu*, 前渡りせさせたまはぬ), which is itself a clear accusation of his continued misconduct that has driven her into the mountains. In any case, previous entries in *Kagerō nikki* discuss the "world," aristocratic "society," or general circumstances in terms of *yo* or *yo no naka* (世 or 世の中), a vernacular expression of social space—i.e., the spaces between people. In contrast, *sekai* (世界) indicates a material, geographic place, which is reinforced in the full phrase *sekai mo ya aru* (世界もやある; "there is even a domain"). The word *aru* (ある) confirms the domain's existence as delimited space/place on a material plane, so *sekai* connotes a world of geographies—i.e., the spaces between places. Michitsuna's Mother hopes to reach a place within the geographies of *sekai* where Kaneie's movement (and non-visitation) will no longer trouble her, or cause pain in her chest. Because her answer to where this place might lie is a mountain temple,[47] Michitsuna's Mother contraposes *sekai* with *yo no naka*:[48] One is the solution; one is the problem that necessitates it.

[47] She cites the *Fujiwara no Tadafumi Collection* poem and gives instructions to Michitsuna about how to handle Kaneie's inquiries of her whereabouts.

[48] Recall the opening of *Kagerō nikki* where the author describes herself: "In this way, the time passed, a futile existence in the world; there was a person passing through the world – restless, without adhering to one thing or another" (かくありし時過ぎて、世の中にいとものはかなく、とにもかくにもつかで、世に経る人ありけり). SNKBZ 13, 89.

Michitsuna's Mother concludes her letter by dismissing her epistle as a "strange, unsolicited tale" (*ayashiki tohazu-gatari*, あやしき問はず語り) for Kaneie to read—it is the idle chatter that should not concern a powerful administrator of the Imperial realm. Yet, Kaneie writes back immediately, sending his letter along with Michitsuna who must return to First Avenue to finish packing and leave with his mother. His letter contrives excuses for his wife to halt her plans (e.g., that she has every right to be angry with him, that the timing of the retreat is poor, and that he will arrive shortly to speak with her), demonstrating an uncharacteristic urgency and desperation in Kaneie's (as-yet recorded) epistolary prose, which confirms that he understands the social and genealogical threat of his wife's retirement in the Buddhist priesthood.[49] Kaneie states that he "will go [to her] presently" (*tadaima wataru*, ただいま渡る), but it is unclear from where he will be coming. Because Kaneie is observing a ritual taboo, he is not residing in his own residence, so his travel time may take longer or shorter than usual, depending on whose house he is using for the period of abstinence. For men as well connected in aristocratic society as Kaneie is, social historian Kyōraku Mahoko explains that such powerful noblemen of the Heian period utilized their social connections for their temporary relocation during ritual taboo or to circumvent directional taboo. Such people could rely not only upon close and extended family members to house them, but they could also avail themselves of the residences of their attendants, professional colleagues and inferiors, and affiliated relations (e.g., marital partners and their partner's family's residences).[50] Michitsuna, having just returned with

[49] Were Michitsuna's Mother to take the tonsure, Michitsuna would lack social, cultural, and financial backing from his maternal side. This would weaken his standing within aristocratic society and jeopardize his professional career. This could have knock-on effects as Michitsuna's children (Kaneie's grandchildren) as they try to navigate Heian aristocratic society. Michitsuna's Mother understands this, as well, which is why she vacillates between religious devotion and returning to aristocratic society during her retreat.
[50] Kyōraku Mahoko, *Heian-kyō toshi Shakai-shi no kenkyū* (Hanawa Shobō, 2008), 12-6, 23-35.

a letter from his father's location, would have been able to tell his mother which residence Kaneie is using, so the letter carries with it also the threat of impending visitation when it is not desired.

Ultimately, Kaneie's epistolary reply commands her to abandon her retreat and stay in the capital, and in a final effort to cajole her into dialogue, he composes a poem in response to hers. However, the prospect of dialogue, be it through poetic correspondence or in-person verbal exchange, is terminated when Michitsuna's Mother flees the city for a "domain" more conducive to the emotional and spiritual respite she has craved for so long.

Though *Kagerō nikki* records many instances when Michitsuna's Mother's and Kaneie's correspondences go unanswered—or are answered in a non-written mode[51]—the passage cited above illustrates the total failure of poetic and epistolary correspondence to reconcile a couple whose relationship has become so strained over so many months (and years). Despite the two participating in the same material, geographic, and social spaces of the imperial capital, Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie each inhabit wildly different emotional spaces, and that affects *how* they each access and engage (or not) literary, bodily, erotic, and spiritual spaces of discourse, which is necessary for correspondence.[52] The heroine's flight from the capital seems to be an inevitability of marriage to a high-ranking aristocrat, but the account of her departure is merely the culmination of the author establishing narrative patterns (e.g., formal repetition), experimenting with lexicon and style to expand modes of discourse, and arguing for the significance of time and space by highlighting movement in both exterior (material, social) and internal (emotional) worlds.

[51] See p. 121, note 7 of this dissertation.
[52] "Correspondence" in both senses of the term: "relatability" and "written exchange."

Conclusion

The narrative style of *Kagerō nikki*'s Book 2 develops from Michitsuna's Mother's literary experience of the poetic imaginary; as the intensity of her emotions exceeds the limits of poetic expression, the author centers literary expression on her bodily sensations. In the period leading up to her religious seclusion at Hannyaji Temple, Michitsuna's Mother participates in very few epistolary exchanges, suggesting her alienation to the social and literary worlds to which she was accustomed. Because aristocratic society and literary participation was centered on the Heian Court and its surrounding urban geography, the sense of social and literary alienation may have prompted Michitsuna's Mother to withdraw—first into her own body, and then into the mountains. As such, the vernacular prose of Book 2 represents a site of self-management and negotiation. Whereas the myriad epistolary and poetic correspondences in Book 1 afforded dialogue between parties and a *post hoc* projection of cultural authority, the extended prose passages of Book 2 construct a more solitary literary world around the author who is emplaced at its center. Like the movements Michitsuna's Mother observes in her material environment upset her sense of marital and social stability, her descriptions of movement in the text upset literary convention by limiting participation in the shared, poetic lexicon and instead experimenting with individualized, body-oriented language.

Consequently, Michitsuna's Mother describes bodily sensations and reactions when the refined restraint of the communal poetic lexicon, with its fixed definitions and expressions, seems inadequate, especially as Kaneie's behavior and attitude grows more flagrant and insulting. However, Michitsuna's Mother relies on some of the formal structures of her poetic training (and talents) to explore literarily unfamiliar topics and experiences through vernacular

prose. Techniques of juxtaposition, repetition, and intertextual citation convey Michitsuna's Mother's resigned attitude as narrator, as well as her emotional crisis at heroine of the diary.

Kagerō nikki's entries from the First Month to the Sixth Month of Tenroku 2 recount the growing marital tensions between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie. Much like *monogatari* established narrative patterns to help readers grow accustomed to reading tale literature as a mode, *Kagerō*'s narrative prose also establishes patterns, which seem largely to be instigated by Kaneie's movements (or the movements of someone emblematic of his house). First, Michitsuna's Mother hears the sound of a carriage or nobleman's procession. Then, she anticipates her husband's visit (eventually tempering her hope with the chill of his cold shoulder). When the carriage passes and the commotion disappears, Michitsuna's Mother describes the bodily sensation that his neglect causes her. And then the cycle repeats. Although there are some deviations in expression and the occasional poetic citation or mention of ritual taboo in these passages, the ultimate effect of the relentless cycle is to express (and, perhaps, justify) the heroine's flight from her husband into the mountains. The cyclical quality of *Kagerō nikki*'s extended prose contrasts its earlier passages of epistolary correspondence in literary time-space: Whereas poetic exchanges develop as a linear sequence through time, the formal flexibility of the extended prose passages allows the temporal progression to loop back on itself, replicating the same narrative patterns and intensifying the emotional rhythm of the diary. And whereas the material letters of correspondences recorded in *Kagerō* moved through geographic space to reach a specific person/destination, the pages of the diary in which the author composes her prose reflections do not seem to have circulated as widely as those earlier epistles. As such, Michitsuna's Mother's vernacular prose establishes a literary space defined by the tension between the forward movement of time in her narrative and the relative immobility of her

cyclical accounts; by the tension between the movement of others and her own emplacement in her residence as others pass her gate.

As the marital problems become ever more critical, the confines of the aristocratic social space prove to be too stifling, and not even epistolary or poetic correspondence—the usual mode of genteel negotiation—can create the opportunity for reconciliation. Although Michitsuna's Mother composes a poem and writes a letter to Kaneie—and he replies urgently—she rejects the prospect of negotiation by removing her bodily/physical presence from the spaces of Kaneie's professional and social operations. The correspondence itself represents willing engagement and participation in the social and literary worlds with which Michitsuna's Mother has become utterly disenchanted.

EPILOGUE

This dissertation has examined space, place and movement in *Kagerō nikki*'s narratives of poetic and epistolary exchange. Because narrative already strongly connotes the temporal aspect, analyzing narrative through the lens of space rather than time, reveals oft-overlooked or taken-for-granted details of the narrative's context. Both time and space are readily visible in moments of movement, so I focused my investigation on passages of epistolary exchange, as they demonstrate or necessitate movement to create meaning in the narrative.

The *chōka* and envoy exchange between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie establishes the correspondence between the literary/poetic and social/geographic/material worlds. The poets strategically deploy logics of emplacement, displacement, and mobility through the communal vocabulary of poetic expression (e.g., toponyms and types of imagery) in order to negotiate material and social benefits. Even if the imagined geographies of the poems do not align, the act of engaging in the exchange itself creates a socio-literary space in which correspondence allows for reconciliation. Through the *chōka* exchange we notice how literary, social, political, material, and geographic spaces can collapse into and correspond with one another; their interconnection is what allows negotiated agreements in one sphere to carry over into others.

Zooming out from the contents of poems, I then examined the ritual, material, and geographic conditions of poetic exchange in the Heian capital. The correspondences between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie and Imperial Prince Nori-akira illustrate that knowledge of the spaces external to the composed poem (i.e., knowledge of non-literary spaces) can and does influence the literary space. Just as the *chōka* demonstrates how mastery over literary space can produce material benefits, the exchanges with the Imperial Prince demonstrate how immediate experience of material spaces can affect literary production. The prince's redirected letter and

playful calligraphy, Michitsuna's Mother's ritual relocation to her father's residence, and Kaneie's bodily proximity to his talented wife all exemplify instances in which the poets exploited their access to certain material/residential and social spaces to correspond with each other through poetic composition.

Finally, I analyzed extended passages of movement in *Kagerō*'s vernacular prose narrative. Though Michitsuna's Mother's written style never fully abandons the communal poetic vocabulary, her prose narrative represents a profound shift in how she expresses her emotions and experiences. Formal techniques of poetry (e.g., repetition, metonymy, etca.) carry over into her prose style, bringing her new emotional expression through bodied language into sharp contrast with her previous preference for the poetic vocabulary of emotion in prose. As Michitsuna's Mother's experience of marriage to Kaneie traverses seemingly unexplored hills and valleys, the author develops a lexicon to accommodate such individualized feelings. Equipped with a wider range of emotional expression in her expanding prose style, the fact that poetic/epistolary correspondence between Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie fails to reconcile the couple delimits the extent to which literary space can affect the social or material worlds. Even for a talented poet like Michitsuna's Mother, the poetic standards of the period were insufficient for expressing and negotiating her interior world.

Readers familiar with *Kagerō nikki* will have noticed that this study does not address Book 3 of the diary. Although Book 3 contains many poetic exchanges, I chose to engage with Books 1 and 2 because these volumes communicate a stronger autobiographical identity than the last one Analyzing time-space in the *Kagerō* diary is difficult to begin with, and it grows ever more complicated as different grammatical voices are incorporated and as the cast of characters, and their respective genealogy, swells. Rather, a close examination of the autobiographical voice

and style helps to streamline what is an already cluttered analysis of space. With that said, future research into the intersections of grammatical voice and space would be very fruitful, and Book 3 of *Kagerō nikki* teems with illustrative passages, especially of poetic and epistolary correspondence. How does Michitsuna's Mother, as a first-person narrator, manage Michitsuna's and her Adopted Daughter's third-person actions and self-narratives of their epistolary correspondences with friends and romantic interests, and how do these competing voices interact with the social, literary, political, material, and geographic spaces in which they participate? How does the discursive space of the diary adapt to multiple narrating voices in multiple cultural spaces across multiple levels of time? For example, what happens when Michitsuna's Mother sends a letter to Kaneie that the suitor of her Adopted Daughter's (his daughter by erotic union) told her [Michitsuna's Mother] that he [the suitor] hesitates to finalize the marriage for this and that reason? How does the literary space of the narrative accommodate so many different agents and voices, and in what ways might material and social spaces/places be implicated in multi-vocal narrative?

In my approach to analyzing *Kagerō nikki* I have endeavored to draw attention to the various ways space—both abstract and material—intersect and interact with the narrative. This focus on a "geographic turn" in premodern Japanese literary scholarship hopes to reorient studies on literary analysis and materiality analysis toward each other to illustrate their mutual construction of a discursive space that addresses the myriad spaces of experience as they are expressed in vernacular *kana* narratives, particularly autobiographical narratives. Such an approach, extended to different *kana* narratives and vernacular modes of writing, promises to yield greater insight into how premodern authors inscribed the world(s) they experienced or imagined—and why they might have done so. While sociological context provides a great deal of

information for interpreting a work like *Kagerō nikki*, the text itself reveals how its author created a literary, discursive space that reflects, refracts, and contrasts the social, political, and material/geographic spaces/places of which she was a part. Supposing that these interconnected spaces form networks with each other, allowing for travel across and between them, we can understand the nuanced functions, modes, and occasions for writing by examining the textual and intertextual movements through such networks. Discovering a "true" motive for writing may be impossible, but we can, at minimum, learn the effects of writing by analyzing how it affects one space and then repositioning ourselves to analyze how it affects another space. In so doing, we develop a richer, more detailed image of the world(s) in which a work was created, as well as how the work affected that world(s).

In narrative texts, time is an obvious lens through which scholars can glimpse and glean a great deal about the setting, characters, and even author. By centering space in a narratological approach, I hope to focus attention on how people—be they characters or authors or, as in the case of *Kagerō nikki*, both—situated themselves in their surrounding worlds. Indeed, *Kagerō* shows us the intersection of the imagined (poetic) and the material spaces of an imperial geography that depended on aristocratic participation in a shared literary tradition to uphold the mythos of Imperial authority that sustained aristocratic powers in bureaucratic as well as literary realms.

APPENDIX A: Annotated Excerpts of the *Kokinshū*

Excerpt 1:

やまとうたは、人の心を種として、万の言の葉とぞなれりける。世の中にある人、ことわざ繁きものなれば、心に思ふことを、見るもの聞くものにつけて、言ひ出せるなり。花に鳴く鶯、水に住む蛙の声を聞けば、生きとし生けるもの、いづれか歌をよまざりける。力をも入れずして天地を動かし、目に見えぬ鬼神をもあはれと思はせ、男女の中をも和らげ、猛き武士の心をも慰むるは歌なり。 (SNKBZ 11, 17)

Yamato *uta* take the human spirit as its seed and have grown into myriad leaves of words. For people in the world, because there are so many things that happen, they think of things in their hearts, and in seeing and hearing, they speak forth. When they hear the cuckoo cry among the flowers and the call of the frog living in the waters, and all of the living things, how did they not compose *uta*? Without even exerting force, they move the heavens and earth; they move the hearts of even the deities, who are invisible to their eyes; even the relations between men and women are pacified; and the fierce heart of the warrior is comforted—that is what *uta* is.

Excerpt 2:

Underlined phrases, which are numbered to correspond the Japanese text with English translation, cite waka *collected in the* Kokinshū *(*KKS*). These* KKS *citations follow the English translation.*

今の世の中、色につき、人の心、花になりにけるより、あだなる歌、はかなき言のみいでくれば、色好みの家に埋れ木$_1$の、人知れぬこととなりて、まめなる所には、花薄穂に$_2$出すべきことにもあらずなりにたり。その初めを思へば、かかるべくなむあらぬ。古の世々の帝、春の花の朝、秋の月の夜ごとに、さぶらふ人々を召して、事につけつつ歌を奉らしめ給ふ。あるは花をそふとてたよりなき所にまどひ、あるは月を思ふとてしるべなき闇にたどれる心々を見たまひて、賢し愚かなりとしろしめしけむ。しかあるのみにあらず、さざれ石にたとへ、筑波山$_3$にかけて君を願ひ、よろこび身$_4$に過ぎ、たのしび心に余り、富士の煙$_5$によそへて人を恋ひ、松虫の音$_6$に友をしのび、高砂・住の江の松も相生$_7$のやうに覚え、男山の昔$_8$を思ひ出でて、女郎花のひととき$_9$をくねるにも、歌をいひてぞ慰めける。また、春の朝に花の散るを見、秋の夕暮に木の葉の落つるを聞き、あるは、年ごとに鏡の影に見ゆる雪$_{10}$と波とを嘆き、草の露$_{11}$、

水の泡[12]を見てわが身を驚き、あるは、昨日は栄えおごりて[13]、時を失ひ、世にわび[14]、親しかりしも疎くなり、あるは、松山の波[15]をかけ、野中の水[16]を汲み、秋萩の下葉[17]をながめ、暁の鴫の羽掻き[18]を数へ、あるは、呉竹の憂き節[19]を人にいひ、吉野河[20]をひきて世の中を恨みきつるに、今は富士の山も煙[21]立たずなり、長柄の橋[22]もつくるなりと聞く人は、歌にのみぞ心を慰めける。 (SNKBZ 11, 22-4)

> At present the world is painted in love; from the heart of man has blossomed only empty songs, and vain words have come forth [from that], so masters of colorful debauchery are buried like a bog oak[1]; the tip of their pampas-grass brushes[2] are not something that should extend into public places [before the Emperor]. When we think of such a beginning [to *uta*], it must not be like this. Generations of the emperors of old summoned their attendants for the mornings of spring blossoms and the nights of autumn moons and had them present *uta* about such things. At times, to accompany the blossoms' many meanings was to be lost in an uncertain wilderness; at times, to long for the moon was to peer into the dark lands of the heart fumbling without a guide; [the emperors] must have known wisdom from foolishness. Not only that, also as if like the pebbles [accumulate into a boulder, they celebrate their lord's achievement];[1] [the regular people] wish to serve their lords like those [who dwell in the shadow] of Mount Tsukuba[3]; happiness exceeds oneself[4] [such that a Chinese brocade cannot fully enrobe one's joy],[2] and there one's heart has ample comforts; loving someone is likened to the [passionately burning] smoke of Mount Fuji[5]; missing a friend is likened to the sound of the pine cricket[6]; one thinks [of a long life with close friends] like the twin pines of Takasago and Suminoe[7]; one recalls [the vigorous strength of] the distant past of Mount Man[8]; one even bemoans the fleeting moment of the Maiden Flower[9] [which whose full bloom could not last]; and [in these poignant instances] one recited a song and found comfort. Further, seeing the blossoms scatter in the spring morning or hearing the leaves fall in the autumn evening; and still, lamenting the snow[10] [upon one's head] and waves [creasing one's face] that one sees in the reflection of the mirror[10] as the years pass, the dew [lying] upon the grass[11], glimpsing the bubbles on the water[12] that surprise oneself; and still, yesterday one relished one's prime[13], and lost time, and pitied the world[14], and those who were intimate became distant; and still, the waves surmount [the Tip of] Mount Pine[15] [for one's fickle heart], one draws the waters of the [Pure Water] Fields[16], and gazes at the lower leaves of the autumn bush clover[17], and tallies [the strokes] as the dawn snipe brushes its plumage; and still, like one who speaks of the bobbing, dark bamboo's knots[19] [of critical words],

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[1] さざれ石にたとへ is a reference to KKS 343: わが君は千代に八千代に細れ石の 巌 と成りて苔のむすまで. That my lord's lifetime extends a thousand years or eight thousand years, like the pebbles accumulate into great boulders, even until the moss grows upon it. SNKBZ 11, 148.

[2] The implication of the Chinese brocade, in brackets, derives from KKS 865; see below.

like coming to resent the world drawn down through the dandy Yoshino River[20], and, at present, people who heard that no smoke rises from Mount Fuji[21] or [who heard] that the Nagara Bridge[22] has given out have only *uta* to comfort their [aggrieved] hearts.

1. 埋れ木

KKS 650: 名取河瀬々の埋れ木あらはればいかにせむとかあひ見そめけむ[3]

If the bog oak of the Name-Taking River[4] rapids were to be uncovered, how could we begin meeting one another?

2. 花薄穂に

KKS 242: 今よりは植ゑてだに見じ花すすき穂にいづる秋はわびしかりけり[5]

At least growing from now I might not see it—the autumn when the ears of pampas grass were beckoning was so miserable

KKS 547: 秋の田の穂にこそ人を恋ひざらめなどか心に忘れしもせむ[6]

Unlike the [protruding] ears [of grain] in the autumn fields, I must not [so obviously reveal] my love for another; my heart might forget just [what it is to love]

3. 筑波山

KKS 966: 筑波嶺の木のもとごとに立ちぞ寄る春のみ山の蔭を恋ひつつ[7]

I dare to approach the foot of the trees upon Mount Tsukuba,[8] as I adore the protective lee of the princely mountain only in the spring[9]

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[3] SNKBZ 11, 255.

[44] The Natori River (*Natori-gawa*, 名取河) is located in modern-day Miyagi Prefecture, and the river is often associated in the Heian period with Michinoku Province. The name, *Natori*, means "name-taking" and refers to "exposing oneself to criticism." Thus, the speaker is worried that a romantic affair would be ended immediately once people discovered who was involved.

[5] SNKBZ 11, 112.

[6] SNKBZ 11, 219.

[7] SNKBZ 11, 365.

[8] Mount Tsukuba (*Tsukuba-yama*, 筑波山) is located in modern-day Ibaraki Prefecture. It was famous for its springtime mountain vistas.

[9] Within the phrase *haru nomi yama* (春のみ山) lies *haru no miya* (春の宮). This is relevant to the poem's interpretation (and translation) given its foreword recorded in the *Kokinshū*: "When he was in service as a guard of the Crown Prince's Palace, it was said that he did not attend his work, so he composed [this poem] on the occasion of his release from service" (親王の宮の帯刀に侍りけるを、宮仕へつかうまつらずとて、解けて侍りける時

KKS 1095: 筑波嶺(つくばね)のこのもかのもに蔭(かげ)はあれど君がみかげにますかげはなし[10]

Upon Mount Tsukuba, even though there is shade [cast] here and there, there is no shadow that is greater than yours

KKS 1096: 筑波嶺の峰のもみぢ葉(ば)落ち積り知るも知らぬもなべてかなしも[11]

On the peaks of Mount Tsukuba, the scarlet leaves scatter and pile up—those whom I know and do not know [like (not) knowing which leaf fell from which tree] are equally dear

4. よろこび身に過ぎ

KKS 865: うれしきを何につつまむ唐衣(からころもたもと) 袂 ゆたかに裁(た)てといはましを[12]

In what shall I wrap such happiness—a Chinese robe; I say, it would be best to have the sleeves cut with extra room

5. 富士の煙

KKS 534: 人知れぬ思ひをつねに駿河(するが)なる富士(ふじ)の山こそわが身なりけれ[13]

I often feel this burning longing, unbeknownst by my love—it is me whose self [smokes with passion like] the mount Fuji in Suruga

KKS 1028: 富士の嶺(ね)のならぬ思ひに燃えば燃え神だに消たぬ空し煙を[14]

These longings that burn in vain at the peak of Mount Fuji, if you will burn then burn! [Burn away the longing of] this empty smoke that even the gods cannot extinguish

6. 松虫の音

KKS 200: 君しのぶ草にやつるる故里(ふるさと)は松虫の音(ね)ぞ悲しかりける[15]

In our old home where I miss you as the remembrance grasses fade, the pining cricket's sounds are so sad

KKS 201: 秋の野に道も迷(まど)ひぬ松虫の声する方(かた)に宿(やど)やからまし[16]

によめる). SNKBZ 11, 364. There is speculation among scholars that this poem was sent as a request for the poet (Miyaji no Kiyoki, 宮道潔興; dates unknown) to regain his lost job as one of the Crown Prince's Palace guards.

[10] SNKBZ 11, 415.
[11] SNKBZ 11, 415.
[12] SNKBZ 11, 329.
[13] SNKBZ 11, 215.
[14] SNKBZ 11, 393.
[15] SNKBZ 11, 99.
[16] SNKBZ 11, 99.

I have lost my way and the light of day in the autumn fields. Perhaps I shall borrow lodging where the pining cricket chirps [for me]

KKS 202: 秋の野に人まつ虫の声すなり我かとゆきていざとぶらはむ[17]

In the autumn fields, it must be the pining cricket chirping in wait of someone: "For me?" And going, well, I must pay it a visit!

KKS 203: もみぢ葉(ば)の散りてつもれるわがやどにたれをまつ虫ここら鳴くらむ[18]

At my lodging where the autumn leaves are scattered and piled up, for whom does the pining cricket wait here that it cries out so?

7. 高砂・住の江の松

KKS 905: 我(われ)見ても久(ひさ)しくなりぬ住(すみ)の江(え)の岸の姫松(ひめまつ)いく世経(へ)ぬらむ[19]

It has been so long since I last viewed them—the Waiting Lady Pines of the Suminoe[20] banks; how many years have passed [while] the ladies pined [for me]?

KKS 906: 住吉(すみよし)の岸の姫松人(ひと)ならばいく世か経(へ)しと言はましものを[21]

If the Waiting Lady Pines of the Sumiyoshi[22] banks were people, exactly how many years would they say have passed [in pining]?

KKS 908: かくしつつ世をや尽(つく)さむ高砂(たかさご)の尾上(おのへ)に立てる松ならなくに[23]

Is it in this way that I shall pass from the world? As I am not the [evergreen] pines standing upon the summits of Takasago[24]

KKS 909: 誰(たれ)をかも知る人にせむ高砂(たかさご)の松も昔の友ならなくに[25]

Who is it that takes me for an acquaintance? As I have not the friends of old like the pines of Takasago

8. 男山の昔

KKS 889: 今こそあれ我(われ)も昔は男山(をとこやま)さかゆく時もありこしものを[26]

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[17] SNKBZ 11, 99.
[18] SNKBZ 11, 100.
[19] SNKBZ 11, 343.
[20] In Osaka, on the bay to the south of city. The Great Shrine of Sumiyoshi (*Sumiyoshi Taisha*, 住吉大社) is here. Suminoe was famous for the pine trees along its coast.
[21] SNKBZ 11, 343.
[22] Referring to the Great Shrine of Sumiyoshi. See Appendix A, note 22 (KKS 905).
[23] SNKBZ 11, 343.
[24] Takasago is located in modern-day Hyogo Prefecture and is associated with mountains, mountain peaks, and pine trees.
[25] SNKBZ 11, 344.
[26] SNKBZ 11, 338.

Now such as it is—I also had a time long ago when I came to flourish, summiting Mount Man

9. 女郎花のひととき

KKS 1016: 秋の野になまめき立てる女郎花(をみなへし)あなかしがまし花も一時(ひととき)[27]

Comely maiden flowers rising [to compete with one another] in the autumn fields, oh how vexing they are! Blossoms are but a fleeting moment

10. 鏡の影に見ゆる雪

KKS 460: うばたまのわが黒髪(くろかみ)やかはるらむ鏡の影に降れる白雪(しらゆき)[28]

My raven-black hair must have changed [like the flowing] Kamiya River—in the reflection of my mirror falls the white snow

11. 草の露

KKS 860: 露(つゆ)をなどあだなるものと思ひけむわが身も草に置かぬばかりを[29]

Why had I thought the dew such a fleeting thing? Not even I remain lying upon the grass

12. 水の泡

KKS 827: 浮(う)きながら消(け)ぬる泡(あわ)ともなりななむ流れてとだに頼まれぬ身は[30]

I should like to be also the bubbles of sadness that float up and disappear—at least then I could be relied upon to flow [as a river of tears]

13. 昨日は栄りおごりて

KKS 888: いにしへの倭文(しづ)の苧環(をだまき)いやしきもよきもさかりはありしものなり[31]

[Like] the humble hemp spools for the [variegated][32] weaves of old, it has been that periods [of life] have flourished with lowliness and greatness alike

[27] SNKBZ 11, 390.
[28] SNKBZ 11, 193.
[29] SNKBZ 11, 326.
[30] SNKBZ 11, 312.
[31] SNKBZ 11, 337.

[32] The woven patterns of *shidzu* (倭文) usually refer to thin striping of variegated widths (*shima*, 縞) or to other inconsistent patterns of hemp or flax, which were often dyed red or blue/green.

KKS 889: 今こそあれ我(われ)も昔は男山(をとこやま)さかゆく時もありこしものを[33]

Now such as it is—I also had a time long ago when I came to flourish, summiting Mount Man

KKS 890: 世の中にふりぬるものは津(つ)の国の長柄(ながら)の橋と我となりけり[34]

That which has grown old as the years fall upon them in this world: It was the Nagara Bridge in Tsu Province and me

KKS 891: 笹(ささ)の葉に降りつむ雪のうれを重み本(もと)くたちゆくわがさかりはも[35]

The bamboo leaves bent under the weight of the snow on their tips, and the roots withered away—just like prime [is now well in decline]

14. 世にわび

KKS 892: 大荒木(おほあらき)の森の下草(したくさ)老いぬれば駒(こま)もすさめず刈る人もなし[36]

Because the undergrowth of Great Wild Forest has grown old, the colts are unhappy[37] and there is no one to trim it

15. 松山の波

KKS 1093: 君をおきてあだし心をわが持(も)たば末(すゑ)の松山(まつやま)波も越えなむ[38]

Would that the waves surmount the Tip of Mount Pine if I were to possess an aimless heart that leaves you behind

16. 野中の水

KKS 887: いにしへの野中(のなか)の清水(しみづ)ぬるけれどもとの心を知る人ぞくむ[39]

Though the Pure Water of the Fields of old are so languid, the one who knows its heart from better times will [come to] draw water

17. 秋萩の下葉

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[33] See #8. KKS 889 (男山の昔), above.
[34] SNKBZ 11, 338.
[35] SNKBZ 11, 338.
[36] SNKBZ 11, 338.
[37] The undergrowth is too thick for the colts to easily traverse, so they cannot eat the forest's grass or leaves.
[38] SNKBZ 11, 414.
[39] SNKBZ 11, 337.

KKS 220: 秋萩の下葉色づく今よりやひとりある人の寝ねがてにする[40]

Whence from the present, tinged by [the sensuous colors of] the lower leaves of the autumn bush clover, be it so difficult to sleep alone

18. 暁の鴫の羽掻き

KKS 761: 暁の鴫の羽がき百羽がき君が来ぬ夜は我ぞかずかく[41]

The dawn snipe brushes its plumage, brushes it for a hundred strokes [and more], yet I tally more strokes for the nights that my lord does not come [for me]

19. 呉竹の憂き節

KKS 958: 世にふれば言の葉しげき呉竹の憂き節ごとに鶯ぞ鳴く[42]

When the years rain down, the cuckoo cries as the knots of bobbing, dark[43] bamboo's words of leaves flourish

20. 吉野河

KKS 828: 流れては妹背の山のなかに落つる吉野の河のよしや世の中[44]

What flows between them—the dual [peaks of] Mount Lady and Mount [Broad-]Back[45]—is the tumbling dandy Yoshino River, which is just dandy in this world

21. 富士の山も煙 (see 5. 富士の煙)

KKS 534: 人知れぬ思ひをつねに駿河なる富士の山こそわが身なりけれ[46]

I often feel this burning longing, unbeknownst by my love—it is me whose self [smokes with passion like] the mount Fuji in Suruga

KKS 1028: 富士の嶺のならぬ思ひに燃えば燃え神だに消たぬ空し煙を[47]

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[40] SNKBZ 11, 105.
[41] SNKBZ 11, 292.
[42] SNKBZ 11, 362.
[43] "Dark" is rendered here to refer both to visual and emotional darkness.
[44] SNKBZ 11, 312.
[45] The dual mountains of the poem (i.e., Mount Lady [*imo-yama*, 妹山] and Mount Broad-Back [*se-yama*, 背山]) assume gendered roles to allow the speaker to comment on how one accepts the disappointments of heterosexual (erotic) relationships. This poem is placed at the very end of Book 15: Love Poems V, so we may readily interpret a romantic/erotic component in the composition.
[46] See Excerpt 2, #5, note 9.
[47] See Excerpt 2, #5, note 10.

These passions that burn in vain at the peak of Mount Fuji, if you will burn then burn! [Burn away the longing of] this empty smoke that even the gods cannot extinguish

22. 長柄の橋

KKS 826: 逢(あ)ふことを長柄(ながら)の橋のながらへて恋(こ)ひわたる間に年ぞ経(へ)にける[48]

That which meets at the Nagara Bridge—an endless flowing;[49] it is only the years that passed in the span whence I have crossed [the bridge] to love you

KKS 898: とどめあへずむべもとしとは言はれけりしかもつれなく過ぐる齢か[50]

You do stay to meet with me—ah, that is why it has been said that "time flies;" on top of that, am I at such an age that you are so indifferent [to my affections]!

KKS 1051: 難波(なにわ)なる長柄(ながら)の橋も作るなりいまはわが身を何にたとへむ[51]

In the present where one hears that the [old] Nagara Bridge of Naniwa is [re]built, to what shall I compare my [aged] self?[52]

[48] SNKBZ 11, 311.
[49] A reference to long life.
[50] SNKBZ 11, 340.
[51] SNKBZ 11, 400.
[52] The poignancy of the poem derives from a contrast between the unwritten cultural implication that the Nagara Bridge of Naniwa instantiates the passage of years—a sympathy for which is held by the (aging) speaker—and the rumor that it has been built anew, raising doubt about the historical/experiential importance of the bridge (and speaker) to the reader/correspondent.

かくてまた、心のとくる世なく嘆かるるに、なまさかしらなどする人は、「若き御ここちに」など、かくては、言ふこともあれど、人はいとつれなう、「われや悪しき」など、うらもなう罪なきさまにもてないたれば、いかがはすべきなど、よろづに思ふことのみしげきを、いかでつぶつぶと言ひ知らするものにもがなと思ひ乱るるとき、心づきなき胸うち騒ぎて、もの言はれずのみあり。
なほ書きつづけても見せむと思ひて、
思へただ　むかしもいまも　わが心　のどけからでや　果てぬべき　見そめし秋は　言の葉の　薄き色にや　うつろふと　嘆きのしたに　嘆かれき　冬は雲居(くもゐ)に別れゆく　人を惜しむと　初時雨(はつしぐれ)　曇りもあへず　降りそほち　心細くは　ありしかど　君には霜(しも)の　忘るなと　言ひおきつとか　聞きしかば　さりともと思ふほどもなく　とみにはるけき　わたりにて　白雲(しらくも)ばかり　ありしかば　心空にて　経(へ)しほどに　霧もたなびき　絶えにけり　また古里に　雁(かりがね)の　帰るつらにやと思ひつつ　経(ふ)れどかひなし　かくしつつ　わが身空(みむな)しき　蝉の羽(せみのは)の　いましも人の　薄からず　涙の川の　はやくより　かくあさましき　うらゆゑに　ながるることも　絶えねども　いかなる罪か　重からむ　ゆきもはなれず　かくてのみ　人のうき瀬に　ただよひて　つらき心は　みづの泡の　消えば消えなむと　思へども　悲しきことは　みちのくの　躑躅(つつじ)の岡の　くまつづら　くるほどをだに　待たでやは　宿世(すくせ)絶ゆべき　阿武隈(あぶくま)の　あひ見てだにと　思ひつつ　嘆く涙の　衣手(ころもで)に　かからぬ世にも　経(ふ)べき身を　なぞやと思へど　あふはかり　かけはなれては　しかすがに　恋しかるべき　唐衣(からころも)　うちきて人の　うらもなく　なれし心を　思ひては　うき世を去れる　かひもなく　思ひ出(い)で泣き　われやせむと思ひかく思ひ　思ふまに　山と積もれる　しきたへの　枕(まくら)の塵(ちり)も　独(ひと)り寝の　数にし取らば　つきぬべし　なにか絶えぬる　たびなりと　思ふものから　風吹きて　一日(ひとひ)も見えし　雨雲(あまぐも)は　帰りし時の　なぐさめに　いま来(こ)むといひし　言(こと)の葉(は)を　さもやとまつの　みどりごの　たえずまねぶも　聞くごとに　人わろげなる　涙のみ　わが身をうみと　たたへども　みるめも寄せぬ　御津(みつ)の浦は　か

ひもあらじと　知りながら　命あらばと　頼(たの)めこし　ことばかりこそ　しらなみの　立ちも寄りこば　問はまほしけれ
と書きつけて、二階の中に置きたり。
例のほどにものしたれど、そなたにも出でずなどあれば、居わづらひて、この文ばかりを取りて帰りにけり。
さて、かれよりかくぞある。
折りそめし　ときの紅葉(もみぢ)の　さだめなく　うつろふ色は　さのみこそ　あふあきごとに　つねならめ　嘆きのしたの　この葉には　いとど言ひおく　初霜(はつしも)に　深き色にや　なりにけむ　思ふ思ひの　絶えもせず　いつしかまつの　みどりごを　ゆきては見むと　するがなる　田子(たご)の浦波(うらなみ)　立ち寄れど　富士(ふじ)の山辺(やまべ)の　煙(けぶり)には　ふすぶることの　絶えもせず　天雲(あまくも)とのみ　たなびけば　絶えぬわが身は　しらいとの　まひくるほどを　思はじと　あまたの人の　ゑにすれば　身ははしたかの　すずろにて　なつくる宿の　なければぞ　ふるすに帰る　まにまには　とひくることの　ありしかば　ひとりふすまの　床(とこ)にして　寝覚(ねざめ)の月の　真木(まき)の戸に　光残さず　漏(も)りてくる　影だに見えず　ありしより　うとむ心ぞ　つきそめし　たれか夜妻(よづま)と　明かしけむ　いかなる罪の　重きぞと　いふはこれこそ　罪ならし　いまは阿武隈(あぶくま)の　あひも見で　かからぬ人に　かかれかし　なにのいはきの　身ならねば　思ふ心も　いさめねに　浦の浜木綿(はまゆふ)　いくかさね　隔(へだ)て果てつる　唐衣(からころも)　涙の川に　そほつとも　思ひし出でば　薫物(たきもの)の　このめばかりは　乾(かわ)きなむ　かひなきことは　甲斐(かひ)の国　速見(へみ)の御牧(みまき)に　あるる馬(むま)を　いかでか人は　かけとめむと　思ふものから　たらちねの　親と知るらむ　かたかひの駒(こま)や恋ひつつ　いなかせむと　思ふばかりぞ　あはれなるべき
とか。
使ひあれば、かくものす。
なつくべき人もはなてば陸奥(みちのく)のむまやかぎりにならむとすらむ
いかが思ひけむ、たちかへり、
われが名を尾駁(をぶち)の駒(こま)のあればこぞなつくにつかぬ身とも知られめ
返し、また、
こまうげになりまさりつつなつけぬをこなはたえずぞ頼みきにける

また、返し、

白河(しらかは)の関のせけばやこまうくてあまたの日をばひきわたりつる

「明後日(あさて)ばかりは逢坂(あふさか)」とぞある。時は七月(ふみづき)五日のことなり。ながき物忌(ものいみ)にさしこもりたるほどに、かくありし返りごとには、

天(あま)の川(がは)七日(なぬか)を契る心あらば星あひばかりのかげを見よとや

ことわりにもや思ひけむ、すこし心をとめたるやうにて月ごろになりゆく。

(SNKBZ 13, 115-21)

Once again, in lamenting that there is no world in which my heart will feel at ease, even though meddlesome people said, “Your feelings are still young,” and that sort of thing, he[1] remained heartless, saying, “Have I done wrong?” and such things. When he acted like he is so innocent and without fault—what ought I to do? And with only myriad longings grown rampant [in my mind], and at times when I wondered how to tell [him] of my heart’s painful throbbing, my chest was in an unsensible uproar of only things that I couldn’t say.

And yet I longed to write out [my feelings] and show them to him,

“Just thinking of it, long ago as well as now,
must my heart know no peace?
In the autumn of our first encounters,
were not the shades of your leaves of words
too faint on their withered tree[2]
that they cast shadows of anguish in my heart?
In winter, when he whom I think of so dearly[3]
had departed for the clouds beyond reach,
I, drenched by [the clouds’] cold rains, was so unsure;
but even having happened thus,
because I heard he’d said to my lord[4] upon whom the frost rests,
‘Do not forget her,’ I thought it would be so.
Soon, we became distant and estranged,
and with he having already left,
as I felt myself [drifting] among the white clouds,
my heart empty, whiling away the time,
mist stretched [between us] and cut us off [from each other].
Still, I longed for the skeins of wild geese[5] returning to their old home;

[1] Kaneie.

[2] A pun on *nagekareki* (嘆かれき), which could be translated as the verb phrase “was lamented” and the noun phrase “dead/withered tree” (嘆かれ木). The pun is clearly meant to evoke the dying trees of autumn.

[3] The heroine’s father.

[4] Kaneie.

[5] Reference to Kaneie.

although time passed, no eggs were laid.[6]
Things continued in this way, and I became hollow
[like] the discarded shell of the cicada;
the thinness of its wings [like your affection for me had always been].
Although a river of tears flowing from early on
into this wretched bay of my heart doesn't end,
what sin [from a former life] was it that must have been so grievous
that we cannot be separated?
Only thus, we tremble about in the bubbling rapids of this unhappy life;
even though I hope my distressed heart
might disappear among the watery froth,
the truly sad thing is,
can I not wait for the time when the bear-vine[7]
comes back again from the azalea hills of Michinoku?[8]
While I hope at least to see again the one in Abukuma[9]—
the one[10] with whom my ties from a previous life should have been cut—
this body of mine must pass through even a world
in which lamenting tears don't fall upon my sleeves;[11]
I weigh in,[12] 'Why not?'
Being so separated, however,
if I were to wish to meet with you again,
of course I would think fondly of you,
like the unlined, threadbare heart
of one who has grown accustomed to coming to wear a Chinese robe.
It is no use to turn from the hateful world,
for my memories well up, 'Must it be me?'
I wonder as I fall in love [again], and as I think of this,
the dust of our laid-out bedclothes piles up—
if you were to count it,
[the dust] must surely match the number of nights I've slept alone.
Alas, I think you are on a journey that stopped at times,
and from thence the wind wanders;[13]

---

[6] A pun on *kahi nashi* (かひなし) in which *kahi* can refer to "goose eggs" or to "avail, effect."

[7] The heroine's father.

[8] A reference to the heroine's father, who is posted in Michinoku. The "azalea hills" and "bear-vine" are pillow words (*makura-kotoba*, 枕詞) for that region. "Bear-vine" is actually called "pigeon vine" in English, but "bear-vine" preserves the animal motif as it is found in Japanese and creates a phonice connection to Abukuma, which contains the phoneme for "bear," (*kuma*, くま).

[9] An area poetically associated with Michinoku, found far to the north of the Heian capital in the modern Tōhoku region, especially in reference to Fukushima Prefecture.

[10] The heroine's father

[11] "…even a world in which lamenting tears don't fall upon my sleeves" (嘆く涙の衣手にかからぬ世にも) is a reference to becoming a nun.

[12] A pun on *ahu-hakari* (あふはかり), which can mean "to measure by sight" as well as "[measuring] scales."

[13] A reference to Kaneie's infidelity with the Machi Alley woman.

even upon seeing you that day,[14]
when the heavenly clouds[15] left,
you'd comfortingly said such words, "I'll come soon."
It is these words that our expectant pine[16] ceaselessly imitates,
and hearing this, only pathetic
tears fill up this body of mine unto a sad sea,[17] though
I know there is no seaweed to draw your eyes[18] to Mitsu Bay—
its shells must not have any effect[19] either—
but you'd said, 'As long as I'm alive…'
and so I've come to rely on you.
If the white waves would come by, I would like to ask them."

I wrote that out and placed it on the two-tiered shelf.

Although he came to visit as before, because I did not go out to meet him, it was troublesome for him to linger; he took only that letter and returned home.

Then, from him there was this!

"The autumn leaves of the time when we began [our relationship],
reflecting inconsistent colors,
it is so usual for one to grow weary of seeing each other.[20]
Under the tree of lamentations,[21]
the words 'As for this child…'[22] were spoken;
is it not with the first frost that their colors[23] deepen?
My yearning, my burning thoughts[24] do not cease.

---

[14] The day when he met romantically with the Machi Alley woman.

[15] Kaneie.

[16] A pun on *matsu* (まつ), meaning "to wait" (待つ) as well as "pine tree" (松) A reference to Michitsuna.

[17] A pun on *umi* (うみ), meaning "sea, ocean" (湖) as well as "sad, wretched" (憂み).

[18] A pun on *mirume* (みるめ), meaning "seaweed" (海藻) as well as "seeing eyes" (見る目).

[19] A pun on *kahi* (かひ), meaning "shell" (貝) as well as "effect" (効). Sonja Arntzen notes that the first meaning of *kahi* also implies "meeting," like the way the two halves of a shell meet. Michitsuna no Haha. *The Kagerō Diary*, trans. Sonja Arntzen (University of Michigan, 1997), 92.

[20] "it is so usual for one to grow weary of seeing each other" is written to contrast Kaneie's actual feelings of devotion—that he would *not* grow weary.

[21] A pun on the *ki* of *nageki* (なげき), referring to both the whole word "lament" (嘆き) as well as the word-part "tree" (なげ木).

[22] "this child" is a pun on *ko no ha* (この葉), meaning "leaves of a tree" (木の葉) as well as "leaves of the child" (子の葉). The pun preserves the autumnal tree motif. The "child" refers to Michitsuna no Haha, spoken from the position of her father.

[23] A reference to both the leaves of autumn when the relationship started as well as the leaves of the child/tree.

[24] "burning thoughts" is a pun on *omohi* (おもひ), referring to the whole word "thoughts" (思ひ) as well as the word-part "fire" (おも火).

Although I want to go see the one who pines for me—
he who is so green [in experience][25]—sometime,
even though the waves of Tago Bay in Suruga rise close,
the smoke around Mount Fuji ceaselessly smolders with jealousy.
Like the heavenly clouds stretch out [between us],
I wouldn't cut the white thread[26] that spools over itself again and again;[27]
because many people [around you] resentfully think
that I would not come for you,
I'm unsure in spite of myself,
like the chiming hawk[28] that hasn't taken to a nest,
returns to his old [perch].
As things went along, there was that time when I alighted[29] after you,
but to lie down alone upon the bedding on the floor—
the wakeful moon didn't leave a trace on that fine wooden door,
though bathed in light, I couldn't even see your shadow.
Since that happened, my heart had begun to loathe you;
who wouldn't pass the night with an evening companion[30]?
What past sin has become such a burden?
Why, speaking of it is precisely the sin, isn't it?
Seek not to meet he[31] who is now in Abukuma,
but stick with one[32] who is not so bounded!
I am so unlike the boulders and trees—
I won't censure this heart that yearns for you.
How much the bay crinum is heaped up
In separated layers like Chinese robes,

---

[25] "the one who pines for me—he who is so green [in experience]" contains two puns: one on *matsu* (まつ), meaning "to wait" (待つ) and "pine tree" (松), and one on *midorigo* (みどりご), meaning "infant" (嬰児) and "green child" (緑子).

[26] "White thread" (*shira-ito*, しらいと) is a pillow word (*makura-kotoba,* 枕詞) for *mahikuru* (まひくる) "spool over itself again and again."

[27] "Spool over itself again and again" is a pun on the word-part *kuru* (くる) in *mahikuru* (まひくる), which means "to come" (来る) as well as "to spin [thread]" (繰る).

[28] "I'm unsure in spite of myself, like the chiming hawk" is a phrase that is poetically dense. The rendered phrase is 身ははしたかのすずろにて. First, there is a pun on *hashitaka* (はしたか), which means "a grey area; unsure, uncertain" as well as "sparrow hawk" (mod. *haitaka* はいたか・鷹). Then, there is a pun on *suzuro* (すずろ), which means "to be restless or on edge; in spite of oneself," and the phoneme *suzu* (すず・鈴), which means "bell." Finally, *hashitaka* (meaning "sparrow hawk") is a pillow word (*makura-kotoba,* 枕詞) for *suzu* ("bell").

[29] A pun on *tohi* (とひ), which means "to visit" (訪ひ) and its orthographical twin *tobi* (とび), which means "to fly" (飛び).

[30] The Machi Alley woman.

[31] The heroine's father.

[32] Kaneie is suggesting that the heroine look for a different husband, especially one who would tolerate her complaints.

which even though drenched in a river of tears,
when my burning thoughts[33] burst forth,
perhaps these eyes are dried in the smoke of fragrant woods
that waft through the brazier.[34]
What is to no avail is,
in the grazing pastures of Hemi in the province of Kai,
there is a wild[35] horse[36] that one ponders how to possibly catch;
knowing only [one of] its parents,
the colt[37] and its one-sided affections might cry out loudly [for the other parent].
Just thinking about it—it must be so heart-wrenching."

And the like [he wrote].

Because there was a messenger, I wrote this.

"Because it had been let loose by the one who should love it, to the horse of Michinoku, it must be the end."

What must he have thought of that? Then this came,

"Just because my name is the Colt of Obuchi, you must think that I can't be caught were you to try [though this is not the case]."

My response, again,

"Were the colt to come hither more and more—I come to rely ceaselessly on my little rein[38] that cajoles it here."

Again, his response,

"Because I am paused at the Border of Shirakawa, many are the days that I have come pulling this colt

I'll be at [the] Ōsaka [Border] the day after tomorrow," he wrote.

---

[33] "burning thoughts" is a pun on *omohi* (おもひ), referring to the whole word "thoughts" (思ひ) as well as the word-part "fire" (おも火).

[34] A pun on *takimono no ko no me* (薫物のこの目), which refers to "the holes/eyes of a brazier or censor [used for burning incense]" (籠の目) and *kono me*, meaning "these eyes" (この目).

[35] A pun on *aru* (ある), meaning "a certain one" (或る), "wild, uncontrollable" (荒る), and "distanced, separated" (離る).

[36] The heroine.

[37] Their son, Michitsuna.

[38] A pun on *konaha* (小縄) to mean "reins," an *engo* of *koma* (colt, 駒), as well as *konata* (here, 此方). There is a secondary pun on the phoneme *ko*, "child" (子).

The date was the Fifth day of the Seventh Month. Because he was about to enter a long period of abstinence, I sent this as a response:

"If you had the heart to swear upon the Heavenly River on the Seventh Day, gaze upon the light of the stars' meeting!"[39]

He must have come to some sort of decision [because] he started to show more concern for me, and thus some months passed.

[39] A reference to the Tanabata festival, also known as the Star festival, during which the Weaver Star and the Herd-boy Star are said to meet on a bridge across the Milky Way galaxy. The festival, which takes place on the seventh day of the Seventh month, is the only day of the year when these two stars meet. It is a story often used to refer to star-crossed lovers.

APPENDIX C: Annotationed Translation of Kaneie's *Waka* Exchanges with Imperial Prince Nori-akira (*Kagerō nikki* Book 1)

The First Correspondence

めざましと思ひしところは、いまは天下(てんげ)のわざをし騒ぐと聞けば、心やすし。むかしよりのことをばいかがはせむ、たへがたくとも、わが宿世(すくせ)のおこたりにこそあめれなど、心をちぢに思ひなしつつあり経(ふ)るほどに、少納言の年経(へ)て、四(よ)つの品(しな)になりぬれば、殿上(てんじやう)もおりて、司召(つかさめし)に、いとねぢけたるものの大輔(たいふ)などいはれぬれば、世の中をいとうとましげにて、ここかしこ通ふよりほかのありきなどもなければ、いとのどかにて二三日などあり。

さて、かの心もゆかぬ官(つかさ)の宮よりかくのたまへり。

みだれ糸のつかさひとつになりてしもくることのなど絶えにたるらむ

御返り、

絶ゆといへばいとぞかなしき君によりおなじつかさにくるかひもなく

また、たちかへり、

夏引のいとことわりやふためみめよりありくまにほどのふるかも

御返り、

七ばかりありもこそすれ夏引のいとまやはなきひとめふために

また、宮より、

「きみとわれなほしら糸のいかにして憂きふしなくて絶えむとぞ思ふふためみめはげに少なくしてけり。忌あれば、とめつ」とのたまへる御返り、

世をふとも契りおきてし仲よりはいとどゆゆしきことも見ゆらむ

と聞こえらる。(SNKBZ 13, 121-3)

When I heard that they at that most shocking place [in the Machi Alley] were now clamoring with all manner of ways [to regain Kaneie's attention], I was relieved. Whatever our relationship from long ago was, even though it was hard to bear, as [time] passed when I often imagined, "It is the excess of negligence in my past lives or something," so too did [Kaneie's] year(s) as Shōnagon pass, and when he reached the Fourth Rank, he was permitted at Court among the summoned administration, and because it was said that he was some sort of very twisted Steward [*taifu*], and seemingly finding the world so loathsome, since he wasn't commuting here and there or walking about anywhere, [we] had two or three very peaceful days [together].

And so, from that reluctant Imperial Prince [*miya*] of that office, this came.

The tangled lengths of the officials' threads that have become one[1]—have you come to cease your winding ways[2]?

In response:

To speak of officious ceasing,[3] there is no point in winding my way to the same office as my disheartened lord.

Again, a response:

What reasoning from the summer-spun yarn, which continues its warp[4] through two or three skeins[5] without attending to work!

In response:

Nay, it hesitates to reckon[6] seven skeins, though the summer-spun yarn has leisure time for but one or two.

Again, from the prince:

"You and I—indeed the white thread[7] must wonder how to cut it out without bitter difficulty

Two or three wives is truly too few! As it is a ritual taboo, I have stopped [speaking of wives] here."

In response to the lord's words:

Even as it goes in the world, one must be able to see the increasingly inauspicious threads that twist through the warp of the pact we swore.

I was able to hear all this [from Kaneie].

---

[1] There is a pun on *tsuka* (つか) "bundle of threads" (*ito no tsuka*, 糸の束) and "official, administrator" (*tsukasa*,官).

[2] The pun on *kuru* to mean both "come" (来る) and "wind around" (繰る) makes this poem an interesting example of elegantly professional remonstration.

[3] Some scholars argue that the phrase *tayu* (cease, 絶ゆ) also refers to the bureaucratic position of *tayu* (大輔).

[4] "Continues its warp" renders the pun on *furu* (ふる), which can mean "to pass [through time]" (経る) and "the warp thread [the vertical thread in woven cloth]" (綜る).

[5] The phrase *futame mime* (ふためみめ) can at once count skeins of thread/yarn (二目三目) or wives/intimates (二妻三妻).

[6] Here, the phrase for "around, about," *bakari* (ばかり), would be orthographically identical to *hakari* (はかり), a standard weight measure for thread and cloth (斤).

[7] "White thread" (*shira-ito*, しら糸) is a pillow word corresponding with "to cut, cease" (*tayu* conjugated as *taemu* in the poem, 絶えむ).

The Second Correspondence

そのころ五月二十余日ばかりより、四十五日の忌たがへむとて、あがたありきのところに渡りたるに、宮ただ垣を隔つるところに渡りたまひてあるに、六月ばかりかけて、雨いたう降りたるに、誰も降りこめられたるなるべし、こなたには、あやしきところなれば、漏り濡るる騒ぎをするに、かくのたまへるぞ、いとどものぐるほしき。

つれづれのながめのうちにそそくらむことのすぢこそをかしかりけれ

御返り、

いづこにもながめのそそくころなれば世にふる人はのどけからじを

また、のたまへり。「のどけからじとか。

あめのした騒ぐころしも大水に誰もこひぢに濡れざらめやは」

御返り、

世とともにかつ見る人のこひぢをもほす世あらじと思ひこそやれ

また、宮より、

しかもゐぬ君ぞ濡るらむ常にすむところにはまだこひぢだになし

「さもけしからぬ御さまかな」など言ひつつ、もろともに見る。

雨間に例の通ひどころにものしたる日、例の御文あり。

「『おはせず』と言へど、『なほ』とのみ給ふ」とて、入れたるを見れば、

「とこなつに恋しきことやなぐさむと君が垣ほにをると知らずや

さてもかひなければ、まかりぬる」とぞある。さて、二日ばかりありて、見えたれば、「これ、さてなむありし」とて見すれば、「ほど経にければ便なし」とて、ただ、「このごろは仰せ言もなきこと」と聞こえられたれば、かくのたまへる、

「水まさりうらもなぎさのころなれば千鳥の跡をふみはまどふか

とこそ見つれ、恨みたまふがわりなさ。みづからとあるはまことか」と、女手に書きたまへり。男の手にてこそ苦しけれ、

うらがくれ見ることかたき跡ならば潮干を待たむからきわざかな

また、宮、

「うらもなくふみやる跡をわたつうみの潮の干るまもなににかはせむ

とこそ思ひつれ、ことざまにもはた」とあり。(SNKBZ 13, 123-5)

Around that time, from the Twenty-something Day of the Fifth Month, in going over to the place of he who walks among the provinces[1] so as to avoid a forty-five-day taboo, in going over to that place that was separated from [the residence of] the Imperial Prince [*miya*] by only a hedge, it turned over into the Sixth Month; as rain fell intensely, everyone's [houses] must have been drenched, and over here, because it was a shabby place, in the commotion of [people] getting wet from the leaks, this was given from his highness [the Imperial Prince]—it was even more eccentric [than before].

I must be restless as the long rain and idle gaze pour in—the forms through the streaks of the downpour are so dear.

In response,

Since it is a time that's restless everywhere that gazes into the downpours, those who pass through the world and rain must not be so serene.

Again, [the Prince] sends, "Must not be so serene, is it?

In the world beneath the rain where there is such commotion, is not everyone drenched on muddy lane of love[2] by the great waters?"

In reply,

Remember also that there cannot be a world—or a night[3]—in which the muddy lane of love for those who always see each other is dried out.

Again, from the Prince [*miya*],

As such, my lady who sits there must be soaked[4]—[as for me,] the place I usually visit still does not even have a muddy lane of love.

"It such an unusual situation,"[5] and such, said [Kaneie] as we looked [at the poem] together.

During a break in the rainfall, on a day when [Kaneie] was gone to the regular place he visits,[6] there was a letter [from the Prince] as before. [An attendant reported,] "Although I said, 'My lord [*dono*] is not here,' [the Prince] only replied, 'Even so,'" and when I looked at what was inside,

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[1] The residence of her father, Tomoyasu.

[2] "Muddy lane of love" acknowledges the pun on *kohidji* (こひぢ), which can refer to "mud" (泥) or "lover's alley/street of affection" (恋路).

[3] This interpretation recognizes a pun on *yo* for both "world" (世) and "night" (夜). The poetic sequence emphasizes lovers' meetings.

[4] "Soaked" in the rain but also by tears for having to wait for a lover. Imperial Prince Noriakira's poem here imagines Kaneie as the waiting female lover in a romantic poetry exchange.

[5] Kaneie excuses the Imperial Prince's eccentric poetic persona, which adopts that of the "waiting wife/female lover." This excuse, made in the presence of Michitsuna's Mother, allows him to preserve his professional and social relationship with Imperial Prince Noriakira while acknowledging to his wife that the poetic behavior is still gauche, aligning with the *Kagerō* author's assessment of him at the outset of the sequence (lines 36-7).

[6] I.e., the residence of his wife, Tokihime.

"Do you not know that I am comforted by the eternal love of the maiden pinks[7] I pick at your fence—and that you are there[8] [on the other side]?

Well, as there is nothing to be done about it, I take my leave," it said. Well, after about two days, when I was able to see [Kaneie], I showed the letter to him, saying, "This is what happened," so he said, "Since so much time has passed, there is no good reason [to reply so late];" only when I heard [that Kaneie sent a note saying], "There has been no word from you lately," his highness sent this:

"Because it's around the affectionless shore of the beach that the waters rise, did the imprints[9] of the plover's tracks get lost?

is how I see it, but it would be a mistake to be dissatisfied [that there has been "no word" from me]. Is it true that you will come yourself?" was written in the woman's hand. Though it was painfully unseemly [to respond] in the man's hand, [Kaneie sent]:

If it is the [plover's] tracks, which are difficult to see from the inlet [where I weather the rising waters], is it for the unpleasantly briny act of waiting for the tide to ebb?

Again, the Prince:

"What would become of the [plover's] tracks pressed into the sand with no beach or hidden motive for the sea god's tide to recede from?

or so I think, but even so I may have misjudged the situation," is what was there.

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[7] "Maiden pinks" (*tokonatsu*, とこなつ), a symbol of unchanging love due to a pun on *toko* (とこ) meaning "forever," refers to a flower, "pinks," which are called "maiden flower" (*nadeshiko*, なでしこ) in a poem composed by Michitsuna's Mother shortly after her marriage to Kaneie: "Because I am here picking them from the fence that I think of so fondly, the dew never collected upon the maiden flowers" (思ほえぬ垣ほにをればなでしこの花にぞ露はたまらざりける). SNKBZ 13, 95. The Prince's use of the same flower (albeit by a different name) and his deployment of similar vocabulary/puns suggests that he has seen or heard Michitsuna's Mother's courtship poem.

[8] This renders the dual meaning of *woru* (をる), "to break, pick" (折る) and "to be, exist" (居る).

[9] The impression of the plover's tacks into the beach sand is a poetic motif to represent a letter, and the conceit is sustained through the rest of the exchange. This interprets the two main meanings of *fumi* (ふみ) in poetry: "to step" (踏み) and "epistle" (文).

Denouement

かかるほどに、祓のほども過ぎぬらむ、七夕は明日ばかりと思ふ。忌も四十日ばかりになりにたり。日ごろなやましうて、咳などいたうせらるるを、もののけにやあらむ、加持もこころみむ、せばどころのわりなく暑きころなるを、例もものする山寺へ登る。十五六日になりぬれば、盆などするほどになりにけり。見れば、あやしきさまに、担ひ、いただき、さまざさにいそぎつつ集まるを、もろともに見て、あはれがりも笑ひもす。さてここちもことなることなくて、忌も過ぎぬれば、京に出でぬ。秋冬はかなう過ぎぬ。(SNKBZ 13, 125-6)

79 At this time, when the [end-of-month] ritual ablutions must have passed, I think it was
80 around when Tanabata was on the morrow. The taboo was on around its fortieth day. I
81 was feeling unwell those days, and with a cough that was getting worse, [I thought] it
82 must be a foul spirit, I thought to try incanting prayers [to the Buddha]; with the
83 unbearable heat of that cramped place,[1] I went up to the mountain temple[2] that I usually
84 go to. Because it was the Fifteenth or Sixteenth Day,[3] it was time for the Obon[4] and other
85 offerings. When I looked [at it all], people of mystical appearance carried the offerings on
86 their shoulders, each was rushing off and then convening; [seeing that made me] regard
87 us together,[5] and I felt admiration [for our situation] and also delight. Now then, I had
88 [lukewarm] feelings and nothing in particular to do, so because the taboo had ended, I left
89 for the capital.[6] Autumn and winter passed in evanescence.

[1] Tomoyasu's residence.
[2] Hannyaji Temple at Narutaki.
[3] The forty-five-day taboo (period of abstinence) is well over by now, so when Michitsuna's Mother departs from the temple, she can return to her residence on First Avenue.
[4] The annual Buddhist celebrations that honor departed souls.
[5] Michitsuna's Mother and Kaneie.
[6] From Hannyaji Temple.

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