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Elements of "possibly Chinese" origin in selected poems by Princess Shikishi (1149-1201)

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

- 5 人と天地・陰陽・五行の関わりについては、方立天『中国古代哲学 上・下』(『方立天文集』第5・6巻・中国人民大学出版社・2006年・北京)、康中乾『中国古代哲学史稿』(中国社会科学出版社・2009年・北京)参照。
- 6 「物」が「人心」を動かすという考え方は、西晋以来、鍾嶸前後の文章家たちにひろく共有されたものでもあり、この中国古代詩文における伝統表現の詳細については、李健『魏晋南北朝的感物美学』(中国社会科学出版社・2007年・北京)の専著がある。
- 7 『神道大系 論説編19 北畠親房下』(神道大系編纂会・1992年・pp.280-286)
- 8 新典社・1975年・第5巻pp.10-11・pp.188-189
- 9 『富士谷御杖集』(第3巻・思文閣・1989年・pp.45-46)
- 10 徳原茂実「古今集仮名序の『ことわざ』について」(『武庫川女子大学言語文化研究所年報』12・2001年)は、現行の諸注はおおよそ「『ことわざ』とは人間が生きている限り遭遇せざるをえない事件やなさざるをえない行為であるという認識の中に収まる」という。近現代の諸注はいずれも「こと+わざ」+「しげき」と分解するが、「ことわざしげきもの」(=「不能無為、思慮易遷、哀楽相変」として一連、一体のものとして捉えるべきものであろう。
- 11 折口信夫「古今和歌集かな序」(『全集ノート編12』・中央公論社・1978年)
- 12 築島裕『平安時代の漢文訓読語につきての研究』(東大出版会・1963年・p.149)
- 13 垣内景子『「心」と「理」をめぐる朱熹思想構造の研究』(汲古書院・2005年・p.37)は、朱熹の定論における「心は性情を統ぶ」の意味は、理気・天理人欲・是非・善悪・聖凡などの二項対立(聖人と非聖人の二元論)を掲げ、その両者を同時に見据え「工夫(学び)」しつづける主体としての「心」の働きの枢要性を位置づけたものとする。

English Summary of the Article

Hideo Watanabe

EARLY MODERN AND PRE-MODERN INTERPRETATIONS
OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE
INTRODUCTION TO KOKINSHŪ AND THE WAKA POETRY
DEVELOPMENT THEORY

In the interpretations of classical Japanese poetry there are explicit differences in approach between the early modern times and those previous. For there does exist a large discrepancy between the then, contemporary, and the now, modern values, a discrepancy that takes origin in different ways of thinking, different ideological stances. The effects of all those differences and divergences are often unclear and sometimes even misguided interpretations. The purpose of this article is to present some of the widely known and therefore undoubtedly accepted contemporary Japanese poetry theories and compare them with the explanations and interpretations originated in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The main source of the analysis is the first imperial anthology of poetry, *Kokinwakashū* (Collection of Poems of Ancient and Modern Times, 905), and in particular the two poetry treatises – *Kanajo* (Introduction) written in Japanese and *Manajo* (Introduction) written in Chinese.

Key-words: *waka*, *Kokinwakashū*, *Kanajo*, *Manajo*, *Ki no Tsurayuki*, *kindai*, *genkindai*, *kata*

ELEMENTS OF “POSSIBLY CHINESE” ORIGIN IN SELECTED POEMS BY PRINCESS SHIKISHI (1149–1201)

Introduction

The idea of looking at poems by Princess Shikishi 式子内親王 (1149–1201) from the perspective of “Chinese”¹ intertext and appropriation of Chinese poetic images originated in both this author’s research about this late-Heian 平安 (11th c.) female poet and a class in ancient Chinese poetry she had a chance to take at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in fall 2011. The class was given by Professor David McCraw, to whom, as a student of Japanese literature, this author is indebted for sharing his deep knowledge about Chinese poetry².

Princess Shikishi’s poetry has been given much scholarly attention in Japan and also some in Western academia – there is an English translation of all her currently known poems by Satō Hiroaki 佐藤紘彰. Annotated editions of all her poems and numerous publications also deal with the subject of allusions and references to earlier poems in her poetry. Thanks to such research, it has become clear that the number of allusions to poetry from *sandaishū* 三代集³, and especially *Kokin*

¹ Even though this author occasionally uses the word “Chinese” to describe poetry from the Asian mainland from now on in this article, she will make a distinction between the ancient and modern meaning of “Chinese”. By using “Chinese”, this author does not mean poetry “originating in the modern Chinese nation”, but the poetry that originated on the Asian mainland and is currently often referred to as “Chinese poetry” due to the current geographical location of the People’s Republic of China.

² Moreover, this author would like to thank the Japan Foundation Japanese Studies Fellowship program and the National Institute of Japanese Literature in Tokyo for their sponsorship and access to resources during the process of writing. Special thanks are directed to Mr. Thomas Daugherty from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for comments and suggestions that have greatly improved this article.

³ The term *sandaishū* refers to the first three *chokusenshū* 勅撰集 (imperial collection of Japanese poetry): *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集 (KKS, Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times, ordered in 905), *Gosen Wakashū* 後撰和歌集 (GSS, Later Collection of Japanese Poetry, 951) and *Shūi Wakashū* 拾遺和歌集 (SIS, Collection of Gleanings, 1005–1007). See Ariyoshi 1982:274.

Wakashū 古今和歌集⁴, in Princess Shikishi's poetry is much more significant than allusions to yet older Japanese poems, e.g. from *Man'yōshū* 万葉集^{5,6}. However, since she alluded to such a variety of earlier poems in her own work, it would be equally interesting to look at her poetry from a yet different angle; to examine whether Princess Shikishi might have read some mainland poetry and, intentionally or not (and consciously or not), incorporated some "possibly Chinese" elements into her own *waka* 和歌. One could also look at this topic from the perspective of the *wakan* 和漢 discourse, briefly discussed further on in this article, which had been at that time around for long enough to make it natural to use some images of mainland origin in *waka*. This author believes that mainland culture appropriated by the Japanese did create an intriguing cultural mix filtered through Japanese eyes and also Japanized many mainland poetic images.

The subject of Chinese intertext in Princess Shikishi's poetry is not entirely new in the field of *waka* studies in Japan, since a few Japanese scholars, e.g. Nishiki Hitoshi 錦仁, Oda Gō 小田剛, Yoshizaki Keiko 吉崎桂子 and Akahane Shuku 赤羽淑 have published the results of their research⁷. However, they all focus mostly on the allusions to the Tang dynasty 唐朝 (618–907) poetics, occasionally "filtered" through Japanese literature, e.g. the famous Heian Period tale by Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 – *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語⁸, *Wakan Rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集⁹, and sometimes refer to *Hakushi Monjū* 白氏文集¹⁰ by the most widely known Tang poet in medieval Japan, Bo Juyi 白居易¹¹. Thus, even though some previous scholarship

⁴ *Kokin Wakashū* is the first *chokusenshū*. It was commissioned by Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (r. 897–930), and compiled by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (872?–945), Ki no Tomonori 紀友則 (ca. 900), Ōshikochi Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (ca. 900) and Mibu Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (ca. 910). It consists of 20 books and contains 1,111 poems. See Ariyoshi 1982:209–211.

⁵ *Man'yōshū* (MYS, Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, ca. 759–785) is the first private collection of Japanese poetry. It contains many different types and forms of Japanese poems, compiled probably by Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (717?–785). See Ariyoshi 1982:598–600.

⁶ Hirai 2005:185.

⁷ Nishiki 1992:149–165, Oda 1988:37–41, Oda 1995a:341–362, Yoshizaki 2001:122–112, Akahane 1981: 37–50.

⁸ *Genji Monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, ca. 1008) is a tale that has been called the first great novel in world literature. It has an essentially simple plot, describing the life and loves of an erstwhile prince known, from his family name, as "the shining Genji". See *Nipponica* 2012.

⁹ *Wakan Rōeishū* (Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Singing, ca. 1013–1018) is a collection compiled by Fujiwara Kintō 藤原公任 (966–1041). It consists of about 800 poems, which are parts of Chinese poems written by the Chinese (mostly the Tang poetry 唐詩), *kanshi* 漢詩 – Chinese poetry composed by the Japanese, and *waka*. See Ariyoshi 1982:715.

¹⁰ *Hakushi Monjū* (Collection of Poems by Bo Juyi, 824) is a collection of poems by the Tang poet named Bo Juyi (cf. note 11). It contains ca. 3,000 poems and was very popular in the Heian Period (8–12th c.). Appropriation of the Tang poetry, and especially of Bo Juyi is notable in *Genji Monogatari* by Murasaki Shikibu and *Makura no Sōshi* 枕草子 (The Pillow Book, ca. 1001) by Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (ca.966-ca.1025). See *Nipponica* 2012.

¹¹ Bo Juyi (Jap. Hakurakuten 白樂天, 772–846) was a poet of the Tang dynasty who worked as a government official, governor in various provinces, and was exiled. Many of his poems deal

on the subject exists, it does not cover all significant and intriguing aspects of it, e.g. appropriation of earlier than Tang poetry – images possibly domesticated as “traditionally Japanese”, and the later Song dynasty 宋朝 (960–1279) poetry. Moreover, the subject has not been researched by a non-Japanese scholar yet, so this is a chance for a new and hopefully broader interpretation.

Thus, this author attempts to track down some elements of “possibly Chinese” origin in the poems of Princess Shikishi, who seems to be a good object of such analysis, since she was a highborn aristocrat who had access to the best poetic education available at that time. Moreover, she was acquainted with Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成¹² and Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家¹³, poets of the Mikohidari house 御子左家 who were the two most respected and innovative *waka* poets of their era, possibly also incorporating some early Japanese and foreign poetics into their poems. There too is a strong implication that Princess Shikishi was in fact Shunzei’s disciple in *waka*¹⁴. Her poems are believed to be innovative for her era, thus, it would be desirable to find the sources of Chinese intertext in her poems, especially since the Kujō 九条 house’s members, who were patrons to the Mikohidari poetic house, apparently possessed extensive knowledge about Chinese literature¹⁵. That was perhaps the channel through which the Mikohidari house was able to access Chinese poetry, since it is known that Shunzei highly valued mainland poetics, too. In fact, during *Chūgūnosuke Shigeie Utaawase* 中宮亮重家歌合 (The Assistant Master of the Empress Shigeie’s Poetry Match, 1166) Shunzei praised traditional Japanese poetics of the MYS, and Bo Juyi’s *Hakushi Monjū*. It is also believed that after this poetry contest there was another wave of interest in Chinese poetry and *Wakan Rōeishū* among Japanese aristocrats and poets¹⁶.

with subjects related to the politics of the court and Bo’s direct experiences. He was famous in Japan already during his lifetime and it was believed that his poems were widely appropriated in the literature of the Heian Period. See Shimura 2011:309–310.

¹² Fujiwara Shunzei (or Toshinari, 1114–1204) was a poet, critic, and arbiter of *waka*. Compiler of the seventh of the imperial anthologies of classical Japanese poetry, *Senzai Wakashū* 千載和歌集 (SZS, Collection of Thousand Years, 1183). Father of Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), with whom he managed to establish the most powerful family of poets and scholars of *waka* – the Mikohidari. See Ariyoshi 1982:312–313.

¹³ Fujiwara Teika (or Sadaie, 1162–1241) was a *waka* poet, critic, editor, and scholar. He was one of six compilers of the eighth imperial collection, *Shinkokin Wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (SKKS, New Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times, 1205), and sole compiler of the ninth, *Shinchokusen Wakashū* 新勅撰和歌集 (SCSS, New Imperial Collection, 1235). See Ariyoshi 1982:459–461.

¹⁴ It is also widely known that Shunzei’s poetic treatise entitled *Korai Fūteishō* 古来風体抄 (Poetic Styles of Past and Present, 1197) was dedicated to Princess Shikishi. It is believed that Mikohidari house poets’ close relationship with Princess Shikishi was motivated among other things by their relatively low social status. By associating with the members of the Imperial family, the Mikohidari house members could upgrade their position at court. See Murai 1993:24–31.

¹⁵ Oda 1995a:341.

¹⁶ Yoshizaki 2001:122.

The question arises as to what types of Chinese intertext are found in Princess Shikishi's poems, and what the channels of such intertext were. Another important issue is the presence and significance of the *wakan* discourse in her poems. In order to address those questions, Princess Shikishi's biography and some information about her poetry are presented briefly, along with issues related to the *wakan* discourse, which are considered significant for this article, and discussed. Finally, this author translates and analyzes four poetic examples by Princess Shikishi in an attempt to find some "possibly Chinese" intertext outside the Tang poetics.

I. Princess Shikishi and her poetry

Princess Shikishi was the third daughter of Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河¹⁷, so by birth she was a *naishinnō* 内親王 (princess of blood). It is debatable when exactly she was born, but most scholars claim ca. 1150, whereas Murai Shunji 村井俊司 argues precisely for 1149¹⁸. At the age of nine or ten, Princess Shikishi was appointed to serve as a *sai'in* 齋院 (high priestess)¹⁹ at the *Kamo Jinja* 賀茂神社²⁰ in Kyoto and remained so for ten years until 1169 when she resigned, likely due to an illness. Probably during the 1190's she took vows and became a Buddhist nun with the acquired name Shōnyohō 承如法²¹. Not much is known about her life after she retired from the *sai'in* post but it has been confirmed in both the *Meigetsuki* 明月記²² by Fujiwara Teika and the *Minamoto Ienaga Nikki* 源家長日記²³ by Minamoto Ienaga²⁴ that she

¹⁷ Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192) was the 77th emperor of Japan, who ruled 1155–1158. He was deeply interested in *waka*, and as a retired emperor ordered Fujiwara Shunzei to compile *Senzai Wakashū*. See Ariyoshi 1982:219.

¹⁸ His theory seems correct, since in 1150 another child was born to Emperor Go-Shirakawa, namely Princess Shikishi's younger brother from the same mother – Prince Shukaku 守覚法親王 (1150–1202). See Murai 2000:824.

¹⁹ *Sai'in* was a female relative to the Emperor, often a princess of blood, who served as a high priestess at the Kamo Shrines in Kyoto.

²⁰ *Kamo Jinja* (Kamo Shrines) are two independent but closely associated Shinto shrines in Kyoto – *Kamigamo Jinja* 上賀茂神社 and *Shimogamo Jinja* 下賀茂神社. According to the tradition of the Kamo Shrines, they were built at their present locations in 678, although their origins are said to go back to the reign of the legendary first Emperor of Japan – Jimmu 神武.

²¹ Sato 1993:5.

²² *Meigetsuki* (Diary of the Bright Moon, 1180–1235) is a diary by Fujiwara Teika written in classical Chinese. It covers many years of Teika's life and it is highly valued as a source for information about the court society of that period and as a historical source. See Ariyoshi 1982:633.

²³ *Minamoto Ienaga Nikki* (Diary of Minamoto Ienaga, 1211–1221) is a diary by Minamoto Ienaga. It is considered to be one of the best sources of information on the SKKS compilation. See Ariyoshi 1982:26.

²⁴ Minamoto no Ienaga (ca. 1173–1234) was a courtier whom Retired Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239) appointed as a *kaikō* 開闢 (recording secretary) in the *Wakadokoro* 和歌所 (Bureau of Poetry). See Ariyoshi 1982:26.

changed places of residence numerous times, lived in seclusion and eventually died at the beginning of 1201²⁵.

The corpus of Princess Shikishi’s poetry is unfortunately not as extensive as Teika’s – ca. 4,600 poems²⁶, or even Shunzei’s – ca. 2,600 poems²⁷; only about 400 of Princess Shikishi’s poems have survived to date. Japanese scholars have been giving different numbers of her existing poems, e.g. Yamasaki Keiko 山崎桂子 – 400²⁸, Okuno Yōko 奥野陽子 – 400²⁹, Oda Gō – 407³⁰, and Nishiki Hitoshi – 416³¹. Kunishima Akie 國島明恵 estimated that Princess Shikishi probably composed about 2,600 poems during her lifetime³².

The majority of her poems are composed in three *hyakushu* 百首 sequences consisting of a hundred pieces of *tanka* 短歌 (short poem), a form adopted during the reign of Emperor Horikawa 堀河³³. Satō Hiroaki claims that the rest of Shikishi’s poems were taken from similar sequences, which have been lost³⁴. The dates of creation of those three *hyakushu* sequences, commonly called the A sequence, the B sequence, and the C sequence, remain an object of argument. Kunishima claims that the A sequence was composed about 1169; that is, just after Princess Shikishi retired from the *sai’in* post, as one of her poems from this sequence included in *Shinkokin Wakashū* 新古今和歌集³⁵, is signed as *Zensai’in no Gohyakushu* 前齋院御百首 (Hundred-poem Sequence by the Former High Priestess of the Kamo Shrines)³⁶. Other scholars argue for a much later date of about 1194 but Yamasaki, on the other hand, claims that this sequence was composed in 1188³⁷. She emphasizes that none of the poems from the A sequence are included in the *Senzai Wakashū*

²⁵ Imamura 1995:81–83.

²⁶ Kubota 1985.

²⁷ Matsuno 2007.

²⁸ Yamasaki 1978:11.

²⁹ Okuno 2001:3–9.

³⁰ Oda 1995b:3.

³¹ Nishiki 2001:124.

³² Yasuda 1975:253.

³³ Emperor Horikawa (1079–1107) was the 73rd emperor of Japan according to the traditional order of succession; reigned 1086–1107. He was deeply interested in *waka*. His *Horikawa Hyakushu* 堀河百首 (One Hundred Poems for Emperor Horikawa, 1105–1106) is considered to be one of the most important poetic events of the era. See Ariyoshi 1982:577.

³⁴ Satō 1993:16.

³⁵ *Shinkokin Wakashū* (cf. note 13) is the eighth imperial anthology of classical Japanese poetry. It was ordered in 1201 by Retired Emperor Go-Toba and completed in 1205 but underwent numerous revisions. It was compiled by Fujiwara Teika, Fujiwara Ari’ie 藤原有家 (1155–1216), Fujiwara Ietaka 藤原家隆 (1158–1237), priest Jakuren 寂蓮 (?–1202), Minamoto Michitomo 源通具 (1171–1237), and Asukai Masatsune 飛鳥井雅経 (1170–1221). It consists of 20 books and contains 1,981 poems. See Ariyoshi 1982:346–348.

³⁶ Yamasaki 1978:11–12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

千載和歌集³⁸ compiled by Fujiwara Shunzei³⁹. Taking into account Shikishi's close relationship to Shunzei and significant position he already possessed in the poetic world at that time, it is unlikely that the A sequence had not attracted his attention, especially since **nine of her later poems are included in this imperial collection**⁴⁰. The B sequence is usually believed to have been created about 1187–1194⁴¹, although Yamasaki is convinced that it was rather 1194⁴², whereas the C sequence was composed in 1200 at the order of Retired Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽^{43,44}. In the entry from the 5th day of the 9th month of the 2nd year of the Shōji era (1200) of *Meigetsuki*, Fujiwara Teika describes this *hyakushu* sequence by Princess Shikishi as follows: 皆以神妙 (all of the pieces are divine)⁴⁵, which indicates that he had a lot of respect and admiration for her poetic ability. This last sequence is especially significant due to the fact that seventy *tanka* were selected for inclusion in the imperial anthologies, with SKKS containing twenty-five of them.

Yamasaki divides Shikishi's poetry into four sequences⁴⁶, the fourth of which he calls the D sequence and describes it as 雖入勅撰不見家集歌 (Poems Not Found in the Personal Collections Though Selected for Imperial Anthologies)⁴⁷. Some Japanese scholars followed Yamasaki's division of Shikishi's poetry into four sequences but the most frequent practice is the acknowledgement of 300 pieces as three *hyakushu* sequences, and other poems included in various poetic collections.

Despite the limited size of her current poetic corpus, Princess Shikishi happens to be the one who, among a handful of well-respected women poets of her age⁴⁸,

³⁸ *Senzai Wakashū* (cf. note 12) is the seventh imperial anthology of Japanese poetry compiled by Fujiwara Shunzei at the order of Emperor Go-Shirakawa. It has been emphasized that many private poetic collections were sources for this imperial collection, and that poetry of contemporary poets was given special attention. See Ariyoshi 1982:377–378.

³⁹ Yamasaki 1978:12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

⁴¹ Satō 1993:17.

⁴² Yamasaki 1978:11.

⁴³ Go-Toba (1180–1239) was the 82nd emperor of Japan according to the traditional order of succession, reigned 1183–1198. Go-Toba composed *waka* himself and in 1201, already as a retired emperor, became the host of many poetic events and eventually ordered the SKKS compilation, which is considered to be his biggest contribution to Japanese literature. He is believed to have maintained a good balance between the two rivaling poetic schools of the era – Rokujō 六条 and Mikohidari. See Ariyoshi 1982:227–228.

⁴⁴ Go-Toba ordered this *hyakushu* sequence from many poets, e.g. Fujiwara Teika, Jien 慈円 (cf. note 53), Jakuren, Kujō Yoshitsune 九条良経 (cf. note 52), Prince Shukaku (cf. note 18), etc. The event was named *Shōji Ninen In Shodo Hyakushu* 正治二年院初度百首 (Retired Emperor's First Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Second Year of the Shōji Era, 1200) and was one of the sources of poems for the SKKS compilation. See Ariyoshi 1982:321.

⁴⁵ Teika 1974:119.

⁴⁶ Yamasaki 1978:11.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁸ There were other female poets, whose poetic abilities started to be highly valued during the early 1200's, e.g. Shunzei no Musume 俊成女 (1171?–1252?), Kojijū 小侍従 (?), etc.

seemed to stand out in the evaluation of her male counterparts. Forty-nine of her poems are included in SKKS, which is the fifth greatest number of *waka* by one author in the said collection, and the greatest amount of poems by a female poet. Moreover, in the poetic treatise *Go-Toba-in Gokuden* 後鳥羽院御口伝⁴⁹, Retired Emperor Go-Toba evaluated Shikishi’s poetry in the following manner:

近き世にとりては、大炊御門前齋院・故中御門摂政・吉水大僧正、これこれ、殊勝なり。齋院はことにもみもみとあるやうに詠まれき。⁵⁰

When we come to more recent times, among the outstanding poets are the Former Imperial Virgin of Ōimikado, the late Nakanomikado Regent and the Former Archbishop Yoshimizu. The Imperial Virgin composed in a very polished and ingenious style⁵¹.

Go-Toba mentions Princess Shikishi (as the Former Imperial Virgin of Ōimikado) together with such valued poets of the era as Kujō Yoshitsune 九条良経⁵² (Nakanomikado Regent) and Jien 慈円⁵³ (Former Archbishop Yoshimizu). He also describes her poetry with the expression *momimomi* もみもみ, which is difficult to define⁵⁴, but Go-Toba used it also in regard to Teika’s poem, which would indicate a high evaluation of her style.

Princess Shikishi’s life is frequently interpreted as one full of sacrifices, seclusion and constant solitude. The question arises whether this assumption is based only on her biography, or perhaps an image created by conventional *waka* poetics⁵⁵, by

⁴⁹ *Go-Toba-in Gokuden* (Secret Teachings of Retired Emperor Gotoba, 1208–1212) is a poetic treatise by Retired Emperor Go-Toba, in which he evaluates work of many earlier and contemporary Japanese poets. See Ariyoshi 1982:225.

⁵⁰ Cf. Go-Toba-in 2006:282.

⁵¹ Cf. Brower 1972:36.

⁵² Kujō Yoshitsune (1169–1206) was a son of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207) – *sesshō* 摂政 (regent to minor emperor) and *kampaku* 関白 (regent to an adult emperor) to Emperor Go-Toba in 1186–1191. Yoshitsune served as a *sesshō* to Emperor Tsuchimikado 土御門 (1195–1231) in 1202–1206. He was also Jien’s nephew. From a young age he composed Chinese and Japanese poems, and later became the host of many important poetic events, e.g. *Ropyyakuban Utaawase* 六百番歌合 (Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds, 1192–1193). He was a patron to the Mikohidari poetic house and is the third best represented poet in SKKS. See Ariyoshi 1982:672–673.

⁵³ Jien (1155–1225) was a poet, historian and Buddhist monk, one of the SKKS compilers. Kujō Kanezane and Jien were brothers from the same mother. He was a highly valued poet of his era, and the second best represented poet in the SKKS. See Ariyoshi 1982:277–278.

⁵⁴ According to Brower: “elegant beauty conveyed by a highly wrought poetic conception and complex poetic texture-not a spontaneous or impromptu style”. See Brower 1972:57.

⁵⁵ Gotō Shōko 後藤祥子 points out that by looking at Princess Shikishi’s love poetry without taking into consideration the fact that she was a woman, and focusing on the context of the long history of love poetry already existing during her lifetime, opens up new possibilities of reading her poems from the contemporary perspective. Gotō emphasizes that Shikishi’s love poems are

Princess Shikishi as a poet herself, by people surrounding her, and by a later process of medievalization, which mythicized and legendarized the lives of many Japanese poets⁵⁶. A considerable number of her poems included in the SKKS (49) and the Retired Emperor Gotoba's evaluation of her poetry quoted above prove that in her own age Princess Shikishi was perceived mostly as a great poet, and not necessarily the lonely, "waiting woman"⁵⁷. Thus, in the analysis of Princess Shikishi's poems the author relies on an assumption that she was a semi-professional poet highly valued for her poetic abilities by her contemporaries, which means that she composed poems according to the expectations of the poetic conventions of her time while additionally applying some innovations⁵⁸, and not necessarily deriving poetic inspirations from her personal life. However, she might have (intentionally or not) participated in the process of creating her own image as a recluse through traditional poetics that have been misinterpreted into the image of the "waiting woman", which hopefully becomes clear in the analysis of her poems containing "possibly Chinese" elements.

II. Wakan as a traditional literary discourse in Japan

The so-called *wakan* discourse, literarily translatable as "Japan and China", has been known in Japan at least since the compilation of *Wakan Rōeishū* in 1013–1018. There are many Japanese academicians who have dealt with this subject matter⁵⁹ but the author would like to refer to three contemporary Western scholars representing different but important approaches to this concept: 1) Thomas LaMarre, 2) David Pollack, and 3) Ivo Smits.

often composed in a male voice, which excludes the possibility of an autobiographical setting. Gotō 1996:322–323 also claims that such practice was not anything extraordinary in that era.

⁵⁶ Based on Susan Matisoff's research on Semimaru's 蟬丸 (early Heian Period) legend, one observes that medieval era people learned about "high" aristocratic culture through "low" literature and drama. Legends about earlier poets developed with time, and while some facts about them remain true, much information is added to attract the attention of the medieval and later audiences. See Matisoff 2006:XI–XIX. The image of Princess Shikishi was also medievalized, largely due to her image in a *nō* 能 play attributed to Komparu Zenchiku 金春禅竹 (1405–1471) entitled *Teika Kazura* 定家葛. In this play, she is presented as a mad woman, who had been once in love with Fujiwara Teika, but cannot detach herself from the world and love.

⁵⁷ It has also been suggested that due to Princess Shikishi's social position as a member of the Imperial family, she was unlikely to be perceived as a woman, but rather as an Imperial persona by her contemporaries, among others Fujiwara Teika. Shikishi and Teika maintained a relatively close relationship based to a large extent on their passion for *waka* and no sign of their love affair may be found in historical sources. See Imamura 1995:76.

⁵⁸ Nishiki 1992:149 claims that in comparison to other women poets of her time, Princess Shikishi's *tanka* contains relatively many allusions to Chinese poetry.

⁵⁹ E.g. Fujikawa Masakazu 藤川正数, Tanaka Masakazu 田中雅和, Hara Ei'ichi 原栄一, Okamura Shigeru 岡村繁, Miki Masahiro 三木雅博, Yanagisawa Ryōichi 柳沢良一, etc.

LaMarre understands *wakan* as a stylistic distinction and different registers used at the court: *kana* 仮名 and *mana* 真名. He considers Chinese poetry formal (appropriate for public presentation) and Japanese poetry informal (appropriate in private situations). Moreover, he claims that due to the existence of those distinctions, Japan consciously distinguished itself from China and other “states” of that time⁶⁰. On the other hand, Pollack defines *wakan* as placing elements of both Japanese and Chinese cultures in some sort of relationship to each other. He also emphasizes that those do not have to stand in mutual opposition and claims that certain Chinese elements were intentionally incorporated in Japanese culture to serve as a foreign, glittering and impressive background, e.g. Japanese characters *kana* written on Chinese paper, or Chinese themes and tales used as a more colorful archetype against which Japanese heroes would stand out due to the contrast created by emphasizing the similarities to and differences between the two cultures⁶¹. Yet another opinion has been expressed by Smits, who points out that *wakan* had been more of a cultural interaction between Japan and China, or rather between Japan and Japanese visions of China⁶². Moreover, he emphasizes that collections like *Wakan Rōeishū* demonstrate how Japanese poets appropriated Chinese literature and how they combined both languages, creating an almost bilingual culture⁶³. Smits thinks that Kintō’s aim by compiling *Wakan Rōeishū* was to integrate Japanese and Chinese poetry to create a “harmonious whole”. However, the most convincing argument that Smits makes about *wakan* is the selectivity of the appropriation the Japanese obviously made in regard to Chinese culture. He emphasizes that Kintō was very selective about the poets and poems he included in *Wakan Rōeishū*, e.g. he completely omitted poems of Tu Fu 杜甫⁶⁴ and other famous Chinese poets of his own time. Ultimately, Bo Juyi is the best represented poet in this poetic collection⁶⁵, which, together with the significance of *Hakushi Monjū* for, among others, the Mikohidari poets⁶⁶, remains crucial for the appropriation of Chinese poetics in the medieval period.

There are many other interpretations and definitions of *wakan*; the three mentioned above, however, are probably the most significant for the area of medieval Japanese literature and the subject matter of this article. LaMarre’s idea about stylistic distinction is significant, even though he refers only to the registers. The author

⁶⁰ LaMarre 2000:26–49.

⁶¹ Pollack 1986:58–62.

⁶² Smits 2000:399.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁶⁴ Tu Fu (Jap. To Ho, 712–770) was a poet of the Tang dynasty. He was initially not very well known but eventually became famous in China and Japan. He has been frequently called the “poet-historian” by Chinese critics. See Shimura 2011:272–274.

⁶⁵ Smits 2000:402.

⁶⁶ Nagatani 1987:3–23.

of this article would go one step further and allow the existence of those stylistic distinctions in the poetics and poetic styles of Japanese poets, many of whom read mainland poetry and composed poems on Chinese subjects. Pollack's definition is important since it allows the Chinese intertext to be a background, not the core, of Japanese appropriation of mainland culture. This author's scholarly approach to the idea of *wakan* is, however, closest to the one represented by Smits, since the level of selectivity, no matter if readers are aware or not of whatever was considered "Chinese" by the Japanese in the Heian Period and medieval era, is a significant factor for the analysis of Princess Shikishi's poetry. Moreover, even though Pollack also briefly mentions it in his book, only Smits clearly emphasizes that *wakan* is not a foreign, but a local or domestic Japanese process of appropriation of Chinese or mainland culture, not a forceful influence imposed on Japan from abroad. The channels of mainland culture and literature's appropriation in Japan were thus already established by the Japanese themselves in the Heian Period.

III. Tracking the "Chinese": an analysis of selected poems by Princess Shikishi

The process of searching "possibly Chinese" elements in the poetry of Princess Shikishi is not an easy task. The reason is that by the second half of the 12th c. a lot of the Chinese or mainland culture had been already appropriated in Japan, and by that time probably believed to be either Japanese, or domesticated Chinese. However, the analysis presented in this article and its results demonstrate that both domesticated Chinese elements and intentional allusions to Chinese poetry may be found in Princess Shikishi's poems.

This author believes that studying "around and about" *waka*, which indicates the necessity of taking into account as much secondary information (circumstances of poems' composition, poetic style characteristics for a given poet, poetic styles fashionable during the time of composition, the existence of the given era's poetic discourse, etc.) as possible, is equally important as the analysis of the poems. This is in fact related to the concept of intertextuality. Julia Kristeva, for whom intertextuality is a key concept, claims: "a text cannot exist as a hermetic or self-sufficient whole, and so does not function as a closed system"⁶⁷, since writers are first of all readers of other texts that influence them during their activity of writing. Thus, texts written and read by authors are all politically and emotionally charged, which influences everybody's perception of them. Both Kristeva and Mikhail Bakhtin, who also wrote extensively about intertextuality, argue that due to the reasons described above even discursive practices themselves are intertextual, since they influence

⁶⁷ Cf. Worton and Still 1990:1.

the texts too. Based on such definition of intertextuality one may conclude that authors and readers should accept and recognize the inevitable intertextuality of their activities of writing, reading and participating in the discourse. This is the academic approach to the concept of intertextuality and studying Japanese poetry that the author follows in this article.

3.1. 詠むれば衣手すずし久方のあまの河原の秋の夕ぐれ⁶⁸

<i>nagamureba</i>	When I utter poems gazing [out]
<i>koromode suzusi</i>	My sleeves are chilly.
<i>fisakata no</i>	An autumn evening
<i>ama no kafara no</i>	Of the Heavenly River
<i>aki no yufugure</i> ⁶⁹	In the eternal and strong sky (the A sequence, autumn no. 38) ⁷⁰ .

It is perhaps surprising that an image of the Heavenly River, common in Japanese poetry from even before the compilation of MYS, where it is found in numerous poems, is analyzed as “possibly Chinese”. In fact, three major annotators of Princess Shikishi’s poems – Nishiki, Okuno and Oda – do not analyze this poem from the perspective of Chinese intertext, and they all give numerous poetic examples by poets who were Shikishi’s contemporaries, e.g. one of the compilers of SKKS, Jakuren 寂蓮 (?–1202), or the third shogun of the Kamakura shogunate, Minamoto Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192–119), whose poetry teacher was Fujiwara Teika. But in many cases, one is unable to prove whose poem was composed first. Moreover, even though Nishiki gives as a reference a MYS poem – X: 2319:

暮去者衣袖寒之高松之山木每雪曾零有
ゆふさればころもでさむしたかまつのやまのきごとにゆきそふりたる⁷¹

<i>yufu sareba</i>	When evening arrives
<i>koromode samusi</i>	My sleeves are cold.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

⁶⁹ This author decided not to transcribe but to transliterate the poems based on a system of Heian Japanese codified by John R. Bentley. This transliteration exposes consonant repetitions that the Hepburn system obscures, and thus reveals the phonological features of Classical Japanese. This system is not applied to Japanese names and titles of poetry collections, since their transcriptions in the Hepburn system are widely acknowledged in academia. All translations of poems from Classical Japanese and Classical Chinese are the author’s (done with the great help of Professor Alexander Vovin from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa), unless it is indicated otherwise.

⁷⁰ The poem was also included in SKKS as no. 321.

⁷¹ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

takamatu no yama
no kigoto ni
yuki zo furitaru

At Mt. Takamatsu
 Upon all of the trees
 The snow falls.

it is by all means not an obvious allusion, since there are numerous poems in MYS, especially in Book X, that contain similar vocabulary.

Oda follows Nishiki's references but Okuno claims Princess Shikishi might refer to another MYS poem – X: 2093, which is probable, since the river-crosser is female and it is the man who waits for his beloved⁷²:

妹尔相時片待跡久方乃天之漢原尔月叙経来
 いもにあふときかたまつとひさかたのあまのかはらにつきぞへにける⁷³

imo ni afu
toki katamatu to
fisakata no
ama no kafara ni
tuki zo fenikeru

When I wait yearningly
 To meet with my beloved,
 At the Heavenly River
 Of the eternal and strong sky
 The moon wanes down.

Whichever reference is correct, just the fact that the time of the appropriation was early enough to have been present already in the orally transmitted songs in Japan and then recorded in MYS poetry does not exclude the possibility of Chinese intertext's existence. Actually, not only the image of the Heavenly River, but the whole ancient mainland legend about the Weaver and Cow-Herder became appropriated in the Japanese Isles. The Heavenly River and the Tanabata Festival, currently celebrated on July 7th, are in Japanese poetry the only toponyms symbolizing an old mainland legend. Even though it cannot be considered to be a direct intertext, the image of crossing the river in ancient Chinese poetry may be found already in poems of the *Shi Jing* 詩經⁷⁴, e.g. the first poem in this collection, the *Guan Sui* 關雎 (Go Fish Hawk):

關關雎鳩在河之洲

Guan guan go the fish hawks on the river bank

⁷² In Western Old Japanese *imo* means 'beloved' and refers to a woman. One also observes that *tuki* (moon) surprisingly symbolizes a woman in this MYS poem. Only later in Japanese poetry the moon started to be associated with the symbolism of a man visiting a woman.

⁷³ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

⁷⁴ *Shi Jing* (Jap. *Shikyō*, The Book of Songs, before 6th c. BC) is the oldest existing collection of Chinese poetry. It comprises 305 anonymous poems and songs dating from the 10th to the 7th century BC. There exist many different manuscripts of this collection. See *Nipponica* 2012.

窈窕淑女君子好逑^{75,76} An elegant, virtuous lady is a good match for our lord (...),

and also in no. 9, the *Han Guang* 漢廣 (Breadth of the Han River), where a young woman crossing the river symbolizes marriage,

漢之廣矣不可泳思 (...) the breadth of the Han River cannot be swam through.

江之永矣不可方思⁷⁷ The length of the Jiang River cannot be measured (...).

Such symbolism of the Heavenly River in Japan was partially preserved only in the legend of the Weaver and Cow-Herder, where it is the woman, not the man, who crosses the river and is thus an active element.

In this poem by Princess Shikishi one surprisingly finds both the image of the Heavenly River, traditionally symbolizing a young woman crossing the river in order to get married, and an image of the “waiting woman”. In fact the verb *nagamu*, here a *kakekotoba* 掛詞 (pivot word) and a pun on ‘to say poems’ and ‘to gaze out’, suggests that the speaker of the poem is a lonely woman gazing out at something from the window or veranda of her house. Her solitude is also emphasized by the image of cold sleeves⁷⁸. In fact, a lonely woman constantly awaiting her husband is also an archetype appropriated from Chinese poetry. Already in the war poems of the *Shi Jing*, e.g. in no. 31, the *Ji Gu* 擊鼓 (Beating of the Drums), written from the perspective of soldiers, one finds an image of wives waiting for their husbands at home:

死生契闊與子成說 (...) even if separated, for life or death to our wives
執子之手與子偕老⁷⁹ we pledged to hold their hands and grow old together (...).

⁷⁵ Cf. *Shi Jing* 1998.

⁷⁶ This author decided not to romanize poems in Classical Chinese since the language and readings of Chinese characters have been changing over time. Thus, romanization of Chinese poems in Mandarin, which are utilized as only supportive evidence of various layers of intertext, would not contribute anything to the subject of this article.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Shi Jing* 1998.

⁷⁸ Sleeves are frequently used in Japanese poetry as an erotic image. Wide sleeves of aristocratic garments were used by aristocrats as pillows; in Japanese poetry sleeping on each other’s sleeves is a symbol of an intimate situation or even sexual intercourse. Here cold sleeves symbolize loneliness, since there is nobody to warm them up.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Shi Jing* 1998.

It is unclear who, if anybody, crosses the river in Shikishi's poem. Taking into consideration the perspective of the "waiting woman", one could conclude that the Chinese image of a young lady crossing the river is reversed, since it is the woman who awaits her husband at home. On the other hand, by gazing out of her house and looking at the Heavenly River, the woman "travels across the sky" in order to become spiritually unified with her husband, so she is not only the "waiting woman", but also the lady crossing the Heavenly River. If one goes further on with an interpretation of this poem as a spiritual journey, one should also take into consideration the *Chu Ci* 楚辭⁸⁰ poems from the south, where one finds a number of songs about spiritual journeys and quests for immortality, which immediately bring to mind Daoism⁸¹ and its emphasis on self-cultivation and personal development.

Colors are another interesting feature of this poem. The red sky does not necessarily surprise as an autumn image in *waka*, since *aki no yufugure* is traditionally always red and autumn is usually considered to be a season of loneliness and waiting. The red color in the sky could thus symbolize the obviousness and visibility of the woman's love feelings, or even sexual desire. In fact, one also finds the red color as a symbol of marriage and desire already in the *Shi Jing*, e.g. in poem no. 10, the *Ru Fen* 汝墳 (Banks of the Ru River):

魴魚鱗尾王室如燬	(...) the bream reddens its tail, the Royal Hall is as if blazing.
雖則如燬父母孔邇 ⁸²	Even if it is as if blazing, your parents are near.

This fits perfectly with the image of a lady who feels deep sexual desire and tries to cross the river in order to become married. In any case, while it is doubtful that this poem by Princess Shikishi directly alludes to spiritual journeys similar to the quests for immortality present in the Chu poetry, the themes of the "waiting woman" and lady crossing the river are undeniable old mainland images and themes. This poem is thus an example of relatively early mainland images appropriated and re-interpreted in *waka*.

If this author were to point out channels through which Princess Shikishi appropriates Chinese images in this poem, the references different from those indicated

⁸⁰ *Chu Ci* (Jap. *Soji*, Songs of Chu, ca. 340–270 BC) is a collection of poems traditionally attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (339 BC–278 BC) and Song Yu 宋玉 (3rd c. BC) from the Warring States Period (ca. 476 BC–221 BC). The traditional version of the *Chu Ci* contains seventeen major sections. See *Nipponica* 2012.

⁸¹ Daoism or Taoism is an indigenous religio-philosophical tradition originated on the Asian mainland that emphasizes living in harmony with the Dao 道. The term Dao means 'way', 'path' or 'principle' and indicated something that is both the source and the driving force behind all existence.

⁸² Cf. *Shi Jing* 1998.

by Japanese scholars would be suggested. This poem contains similar vocabulary to two poems by Yūshi Naishinnō-ke no Kii 祐子内親王家紀伊⁸³ from the *Horikawa Hyakushu* 堀河百首, nos. 536 and 799:

秋のたつしるしなるべし衣手に涼しきけしきことになりゆく⁸⁴

<i>aki no tatu</i>	It is clear that
<i>sirusi naru besi</i>	The autumn rises.
<i>koromode mo</i>	Even the sleeves
<i>suzusiki kesiki</i>	Are chilly and the view
<i>koto ni nariyuku</i>	Will become unusual.

久かたの月をはるかにながむればやそ島めぐりみる心ちする⁸⁵

<i>fisakata no</i>	When from a great distance
<i>tuki wo faruka ni</i>	I gaze at the moon
<i>nagamureba</i>	Eternal and strong,
<i>yaso sima meguri</i>	I have a feeling that I go around
<i>miru kokoti suru</i>	And see numerous isles.

This author believes that Princess Shikishi must have read the *Horikawa Hyakushu*, which was a frequent reference for the early medieval poets, e.g. Fujiwara Shunzei, and perhaps she played off poems by Yūshi Naishinnō-ke no Kii combining images from both of them. The reference to no. 799 is especially eye-catching since not only are the first and third lines similar, but also the second part of the poem supports the idea of a spiritual journey. If one allows this interpretation and takes into account the presence of images of the Heavenly River in the MYS, it is more probable that Shikishi appropriated “possibly Chinese” poetic imagery and vocabulary directly through the poems by Japanese poets rather than through Chinese poems, although one also observes many layers of “possibly Chinese” intertext in this poem by Princess Shikishi⁸⁶.

⁸³ Yūshi Naishinnō-ke no Kii was a court lady and poet of the late Heian Period. She served the daughter of Emperor Go-Suzaku 後朱雀 (1009–1045), Princess Yūshi 祐子内親王 (1038–1105), who was a host to many poetry contests and had her own poetic salon. Also, she participated in many poetic events of her era and was invited to compose a sequence for the famous *Horikawa Hyakushu*. See Ariyoshi 1982: 663.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ It is worth mentioning that besides images appropriated from early Chinese poetry, there is an interesting mixture of traditional Japanese poetics and new poetic techniques of the SKKS era. *Fisakata no* is a *makura kotoba* 枕詞 (fixed epithet that modifies the following noun) found already in MYS, but the last line *aki no yufugure* seems to be a typical SKKS expression. There is

3.2. 色つぼむ梅の木の中の夕月夜春の光をみせそむるかな⁸⁷

<i>iro tubomu</i>	In between
<i>mume no ko no ma no</i>	The plum trees sprouting in color
<i>yufudukuyo</i>	It is the evening moon
<i>faru no fikari wo</i>	That hues revealing
<i>misesomuru kana</i>	The light of spring
	(the A sequence, spring no. 3).

This is another poem by Princess Shikishi in which one observes an appropriation of early Chinese poetry images, namely the plum blossoms and moonlight⁸⁸. Similarly to the previous poem, the annotators of Shikishi's poems do not analyze it from the point of view of Chinese intertext. Nishiki, Okuno and Oda all point out a few references from imperial anthologies, but it is a poem from SZS, no. 24 by Fujiwara Shunzei that might have been a channel through which Princess Shikishi appropriated the imagery:

はるの夜はのきばのむめをもる月のひかりもかをる心ちこそすれ⁸⁹

<i>faru no yo fa</i>	During the spring night
<i>nokiba no mume wo</i>	I have a feeling that
<i>moru tuki no</i>	The moonlight seeping through
<i>fikari mo kaforu</i>	The plum blossoms at the eaves
<i>kokoti koso sure</i>	Is also fragrant.

The poem appears in SZS without any preface, so it is difficult to determine which poem, Shunzei's or Shikishi's, was composed first, and which could have been an inspiration for the other one. However, since Shunzei's poem appears in a collection entitled *Hōen no korohoi* 保延のころほひ (In the time of Hōen era, 1185–1190) created in preparation for the compilation of SZS, this author assumes that it must have been a *tanka* composed early enough for Princess Shikishi to read it and, as Shunzei's disciple, to become inspired by it.

also a *taigendome* 体現止 (substantive in the last line of the poem), a poetic technique characteristic for the SKKS poetics. Moreover, one finds the *x-no-y-no-z* pattern in *ama no kafara no aki no yufgure*, which is another poetic device characteristic for the SKKS style. Thus Princess Shikishi combined “the old and the new” in this poem, which – according to Fujiwara Shunzei and Fujiwara Teika's ideal *kotoba furuku, kokoro atarasi* 言葉古く心新 (‘old words, new heart’), should be the trademark of the new poetic style.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

⁸⁸ The brilliance of white moonlight was particularly appreciated by the Six Dynasties 六朝 Period (220- 589) poets.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

Simultaneously, one should not forget that plum blossoms are a mainland poetic image found already in *Shi Jing*, e.g. poem no. 20, the *Biao You Mei* 標有梅 (Falling Plums), where images of plum blossoms and ripe fruits accompany the image of a beautiful young woman⁹⁰:

標有梅其實七分 求我庶士迨其吉兮 ⁹¹	Plums are falling, the seventh of the fruits [are left]. To numerous gentlemen seeking me, this is a lucky time (...)
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In *waka* plum blossoms appear in MYS, KKS and later imperial anthologies as a symbol of early spring, since plum trees bloom earlier than cherry trees, but it is a commonly known appropriation from the mainland poetics.

In this poem by Princess Shikishi, *mume* (plum) surely symbolizes the beginning of the spring season. However, even though this is a spring poem and there is no direct implication of any love theme and the speaker is not revealed directly, one may assume that the presented viewpoint is possibly of a woman standing under the plum tree and waiting for a man to admire her beauty and approach her. In fact, such reading would fit with the image from the *Biao You Mei*. A *makura kotoba* 枕詞 (fixed epithet) *yufudukuyo* (evening moon)⁹², in this poem modifying *faru no fikari* (light of spring), appears in spring and autumn poems in MYS, KKS, etc. and it often accompanies the theme of love and longing. Thus, if one takes into consideration the amorous implications of this image, through the symbolism of the ‘light of spring,’ the evening moon could be revealing love or the beginning of a new relationship of a young beautiful woman additionally symbolized by the plum tree buds. If one allows this interpretation, the poem sounds surprisingly similar to one of the *Ziye* 子夜 poems⁹³, namely the *Ye Chang Bu De Mian* 夜長不得眠 (I Cannot Sleep During the Long Night), where a lady probably lies in darkness in her bed but she becomes exposed by the bright moon’s light falling on her:

夜長不得眠 明月何灼灼 想聞散喚聲	I cannot sleep during the long night The bright moonlight is brilliant. I believe I heard a calling voice
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⁹⁰ In Chinese paintings young women are often portrayed as standing under the blooming plum trees, since it was supposed to emphasize their beauty and purity. In fact, ripe plums falling from the tree symbolize sexual maturity and readiness of the “waiting woman” for marriage. This image probably originates from the *Shi Jing* poetics.

⁹¹ Cf. *Shi Jing* 1998.

⁹² *Yufudukuyo* is the evening moon, or specifically the waxing moon between first appearance and first quarter moon; it lingers in the twilight sky up to the 10th day of the lunar month.

⁹³ *Ziye* poetry is very difficult to identify. It is not confirmed where it originated but it is some type of lyric poetry probably of the Kingdom of Wu 吳國 (around today’s Nanjing 南京) from ca. 4–5th c. *Ziye* poetry was imitated by 6th c. court Chinese poets.

虚應空中諾⁹⁴

The emptiness responded the air with a consent.

The moonlight thus clearly reveals woman's desire. In fact, in this *Ziye* poem, the bright moon is a symbol of woman's yearning. The exposure to the moonlight is similar in a *tanka* by Princess Shikishi, where one additionally finds plum blossoms symbolizing the lady's readiness for love, marriage and sex⁹⁵.

It is fair to conclude that this poem should be read more as a poetic hint to something rather than literarily, similar to the *Ziye* poem quoted above. In reality it is impossible that the moonlight seeps through the early spring plum buds when the surroundings are covered in darkness. Moonlight would not reveal any actual colors of plums, or other flowers, so whatever the speaker describes in this poem is rather not the color of plum blossoms, but the color of love or desire. Thus, originally Chinese natural images became appropriated in *waka*, which creates a deeper kind of intertext that covers not only a few references to earlier poems, e.g. Shunzei's *tanka* that might have been the inspiration for Princess Shikishi, but also ages and layers of various images usage in both Chinese and Japanese poetry. As a result, the awareness of the Chinese intertext allows a transformation of this spring poem into a love poem⁹⁶.

3.3. さかづきに春の涙をそそきけりむかしににたる旅のまとみに⁹⁷

<p><i>sakaduki ni</i> <i>faru no namida wo</i> <i>sosokikeri</i> <i>mukasi ni nitaru</i> <i>tabi no madowi ni</i></p>	<p>Into my sake-cup I have poured The tears of spring. Going astray from the journey Resembling the past (the A sequence, miscellaneous no. 90).</p>
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This is a poem in which even the annotators of Princess Shikishi's poems find Chinese intertext. Nikishi, Okuno and Oda all give three earlier possible references: 1) a part of Bo Juyi's poem from the *Hakushi Monjū* vol. 17, no. 1107, composed when a friend came to visit the poet in exile:

⁹⁴ Hasegawa 2005:96.

⁹⁵ The pink, or sometimes red color of the plum blossoms and its symbolism explained earlier in this article enforces this interpretation.

⁹⁶ It is worth mentioning that the style of this poem is also a mixture of the "old and new poetics". It contains the *x-no-y-no-z* pattern: *mume no ko no ma*, characteristic for the SKKS style, but it ends with the emphatic particle *kana* which resounds more the *sandaishū* style. Moreover, *yufudukuyo* can be found already in MYS and in this case represents older poetics.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

往事渺茫都似夢 (….) past events are distant and vague, all of them
 舊遊零落半歸泉 Old haunts withered and fallen partially return to
 醉悲灑淚春杯裏 Drunken and sad I shed tears into the spring cup,
 吟苦支頤曉燭前⁹⁸ I utter poems in pain supporting my chin in front
 of a lamp at dawn (...);

- 2) a short excerpt from the *Suma* 須磨 chapter⁹⁹ of *Genji Monogatari* where Genji’s friend, Tō no Chūjō 頭中將, visits him in exile at the Suma shore and where one finds a line from the same Bo Juyi’s poem:

夜もすがらまどろまず、文作りあかしたまふ。さ言ひながらも、ものの聞こえを
 つつみて、急ぎ帰りたまふ。いとなかなかなり。御かはらけまゐりて、「酔ひの悲し
 び涙そそく春の盃のうち」ともろ声に誦じたまふ。御供の人も涙をながす。おのが
 じしはつかなる別れ惜しむべかめり。¹⁰⁰

(…) They spent the night not sleeping but making Chinese poems. Still, the Captain was sensitive to rumor after all, and he made haste to leave, which only added to Genji’s pain. Wine cup in hand, they sang together, “Tears of drunken sorrow fill the wine cup of spring.” Their companions wept. Each seemed saddened by so brief a reunion¹⁰¹.

- 3) a poem by Fujiwara Teika included as no. 1627 in the *Shūigusō* 拾遺愚草¹⁰², which also refers to the same Bo’s poem:

もろともにめぐりあひける旅枕涙ぞそそく春の碗¹⁰³

<i>morotomo ni</i>	Together we
<i>meguri afikeru</i>	Met again
<i>tabimakura</i>	At the travel pillow
<i>namida zo sosoku</i>	And we shed tears
<i>faru no sakaduki</i>	Into the spring cup.

⁹⁸ Cf. Okamura 1990:124.

⁹⁹ *Suma* is one of the chapters of *Genji Monogatari*, in which the appropriation of Chinese images and poetics, especially of Bo Juyi, is significant.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Murasaki Shikibu 2000.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Murasaki Shikibu 2001:251.

¹⁰² *Shūigusō* (Foolish Verses of the Court Chamberlain, 1216) is a private poetry collection created by Fujiwara Teika himself. See Ariyoshi 1982:301–302.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

Bo's poem was definitely the source of inspiration for Shikishi's *tanka*, since one finds similar vocabulary – *sakaduki* (wine cup), *namida* (tears), *faru* (spring), *mukasi* (past), etc. The question arises as to what the channel of appropriation for Princess Shikishi was. Yamasaki points out that first two lines from this Bo Juyi's poem are also included in a poem from *Wakan Rōeishū* no. 743, and it is believed that this piece was well known during the Heian Period and early medieval era¹⁰⁴. However, since the *Wakan Rōeishū* contains only the first two lines of this poem, it should be excluded as a direct channel of appropriation. Moreover, as pointed out by Yamasaki, Teika's poem mentioned above was in fact composed in 1196, much later than the *tanka* by Princess Shikishi¹⁰⁵, and might have in fact emulated Shikishi's poem. Based on the above, from among three references provided by Japanese scholars, the most probable is the *Suma* chapter from *Genji Monogatari*, a Heian Period tale highly valued as a source of poetics for the Mikohidari poets¹⁰⁶, with whom Princess Shikishi was in close relationship. In addition, Oda points out that the usage of the verb *sosoku* ('to pour', 'to shed') in Shikishi's A sequence echoes Shunzei's utilization of this word, generally considered to be of "possibly Chinese" origin in *waka*¹⁰⁷. This would imply that at least during the relatively early stage of practicing the art of *waka* under Shunzei's guidance, Princess Shikishi followed his instructions and possibly emulated his style also in regard to the appropriation of Chinese intertext.

Simultaneously, no matter what the channel of appropriation was, one should not forget that Bo Juyi was not the first Chinese poet who composed poems about sadness and intoxication. In fact, this *tanka* by Princess Shikishi is reminiscent of a poem by Tao Qian 陶潛¹⁰⁸ entitled *Qing Song Zai Dong Yuan* 青松在東園 (Green Pine Stands in the Eastern Garden), where one finds an image of a wine cup and a theme of losing one's way:

青松在東園
眾草沒其姿
凝霜殄異類
卓然見高枝
連林人不覺

A green pine stands in the eastern garden,
A number of grasses sunk its beauty.
When frost destroys other kinds of plants,
It outstandingly reveals its lofty branches.
When I lead other people to the forest they are not
aware of it,

¹⁰⁴ Yamasaki 2001:121.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁰⁶ In one of his judgments for *Ropyyakuban Uta'awase* – Winter I, Round 13, Shunzei wrote: 源氏見ざる歌詠みは遺恨の事なり 'to compose poetry without knowing *Genji* is a regrettable thing'. Cf. Huey 2002:21.

¹⁰⁷ Oda 1988:37–39.

¹⁰⁸ Tao Qian (also Tao Yuanming 陶淵明, Jap. Tō Enmei, 365–427) was a poet of the Six Dynasties poetic period (ca. 220–589). He is also one of the foremost "recluse poets". See Shimura 2011:268–269.

獨樹眾乃奇

But when I am alone among many trees, I find it wonderful.

提壺挂寒柯

I lift a kettle to hang on a cold branch,

遠望時復為

Gazing afar now and then.

吾生夢幻間

Even though born within a dream,

何事緼塵羈¹⁰⁹

Why should I be bound by earthly dust?

It seems that in Princess Shikishi’s poem the wine cup is a vehicle for lamenting one’s going astray from life path and possibly re-finding it. Thus, intoxication in her *tanka* could be perceived as a virtue, just like in Tao Qian’s poem. The wine cup is thus an old image found in the mainland poetry associated not only with intoxication, but also the so-called “recluse poets” who, either exiled or reclusive by choice, tried to find their path in life.

This author is not entirely sure whether the wine cup and alcohol are a symbol of reaching enlightenment in Princess Shikishi’s *tanka*, but one definitely sees a connection to the spiritual quest and “seeking the way” in the Daoist sense, which in a Japanese poem sounds almost philosophical. If one would like to Japanize this poem with “possibly Chinese” elements and assume that its speaker is a woman, one could interpret *faru no namida* (tears of spring) as tears caused by a love affair, which would locate the poem in a love context but this author finds such an interpretation unconvincing. The Chinese intertext is so obvious and powerful, making the reader focus on the interpretation through earlier poems, implying a more spiritual than amorous theme. That being said, as emphasized by Kristeva and Bakhtin, readers are obviously allowed their own reading and interpretation¹¹⁰.

3.4. 山ふかくやがてとぢにし松の戸にただ有明の月やもりけん¹¹¹

yama fukaku

Deep in the mountains

yagate todinisi

Through the already closed

matu no to ni

Pine door

tada ariake no

Only the dawn moonlight

tuki ya moriken

Sinks through

(the A sequence, miscellaneous no. 92).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Matsueda 1991:198.

¹¹⁰ It is worth mentioning that at first sight this poem seems to contain more “old” than “new” poetics. One does not observe any of the poetic devices typical for SKKS and the poem even brings itself to the past by the word *mukasi* (past). The reference to Bo Juyi’s poem could be also understood as a reference to the past but in terms of Japanese poetics of the pre-SKKS era, it was probably considered to be quite innovative.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

This is another poem by Princess Shikishi believed by the annotators of her poems to contain allusions to Chinese poetry. In fact, the Chinese intertext in this poem has been studied quite extensively. Different scholars deal with it in various ways, but they all give as the first reference a few lines from a poem by Bo Juyi from vol. 4 of the *Hakushi Monjū* no. 161 entitled *Ling Yuang Qie* 陵園妾 (The Concubine at the Mausoleum Garden), which laments the fate of a lady who was ordered to serve in the mausoleum of a deceased Emperor¹¹²:

山宮一閉無開日	(...) once Mountain Palace closes there is no day it opens
未死此身不令出	This body, not yet dead, is not ordered to go.
松門到曉月徘徊	The dawn moonlight wanders through the pine door
柏城盡日風蕭瑟	And the wind rustles around the cypress city wall till the end of the day.
松門柏城幽閉深	The pine door of the cypress city wall closes tightly
聞蟬聽燕感光陰	To hear the cicadas and to listen to the swallows is like a change of light and darkness.
眼看菊蕊重陽淚	To look at the chrysanthemum buds causes tears of the Double Ninth Festival ¹¹³
手把梨花寒食心	And to grab a pear flower feels like the Cold Food Festival ¹¹⁴ .
把花掩淚無人見	Even if tears are shed on the flowers nobody sees it
綠蕪牆繞青苔院	The wall of green overgrown weeds is a yard of winding blue moss.
四季徒支粧粉錢	The four seasons only support the expense of the maquillage
三朝不識君王面 ¹¹⁵	The face of the king will be unknown to next three reigns.

¹¹² During the Tang dynasty this type of service was considered to be a political and social exile.

¹¹³ Double Ninth Festival or Chong Yang 重陽 (jap. Chōyō) Festival is a traditional holiday observed in China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam on the 9th day of the 9th month of the Chinese calendar. According to the *Yi Jing* 易經 (Book of Changes, dates unknown), nine is a *yang* 陽 number and since the 9th day of the 9th month has too much *yang*, it is potentially dangerous. To protect against danger, it is customary to climb a high mountain, drink chrysanthemum wine, etc.

¹¹⁴ Cold Food Festival or Hanshi 寒食 Festival is a traditional holiday in China, Korea and Vietnam. It is celebrated for three consecutive days starting on the 105th day after the 22nd solar term (winter solstice) – usually April 5th. This is a time when farmers sow seeds and water their rice paddies. Traditionally all food was to be consumed cold on that day, but it is not a common practice any more.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Okamura 1988:99–102.

Nishiki additionally provides a reference to a poem by Shikishi’s contemporary, Minamoto Mitsuyuki 源光行¹¹⁶, included in *Shinchokusen Wakashū*¹¹⁷ as no. 1093:

樂府を題にて歌よみ侍りけるに、陵園妾の心をよめる
とちはつるみ山のおくの松の戸をうらやましくもいづる月かな¹¹⁸

Composed on the subject of the ‘mourning song’ in a mood of ‘The Concubine at the Mausoleum Garden’

<i>todifaturu</i>	It is the moon
<i>miyama no oku no</i>	That rises enviably
<i>matu no to wo</i>	Over the pine door
<i>urayamasiku mo</i>	Starting to close
<i>iduru tuki kana</i>	On the back of the mountain.

This *tanka* was composed after Princess Shikishi created the A sequence, so it cannot not be a channel of appropriation in this case, but it demonstrates that early medieval poets composed poems on the subject of *Ling Yuang Qie*, and it indicates a likely existence of some kind of discourse engaging Chinese poetry. Nishiki fully acknowledges Bo Juyi’s poem appropriation, but he correctly points out that the reason ‘The Concubine at the Mausoleum Garden’ became so widely appropriated in Japanese poetry at the end of the Heian Period is because it is included in *Kara Monogatari* 唐物語¹¹⁹ by Fujiwara Shigenori 藤原成範^{120,121}, a tale that not only appropriates, but also poeticizes and Japanizes many mainland tales. This tale was probably one of the main channels of Chinese literature appropriation in early medieval poetic circles and Princess Shikishi likely read it too. However, it does not

¹¹⁶ Minamoto Mitsuyuki (1163–1244) was a governor of, among others, Kawachi 河内 province and cousin of Minamoto Yorimasa 源頼政 (1106–1180). Since childhood he studied *waka* and *monogatari* 物語 (tales) under Shunzei’s guidance, and Chinese poetry under Fujiwara Takanori 藤原孝範 (1158–1233), who maintained a close relationship with the Kujō house. See Ariyoshi 1982:617.

¹¹⁷ *Shinchokusen Wakashū* (cf. note 13) is the ninth imperial collection of Japanese poetry compiled by Fujiwara Teika. See Ariyoshi 1982:356–357.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

¹¹⁹ *Kara Monogatari* (Tales of China, early Kamakura Period [1185–1333]) is a tale written by Fujiwara Shigenori 藤原成範 (1135–1187). It contains 27 tales that provided translations of the most well known stories about China derived from *Shi Ji* 史記 (Historical Records, ca. 109–91 BC), *Han Shu* 漢書 (The Book of Han, 111), *Jin Shu* 晉書 (The Book of Jin, 648), *Hakushi Monjū*, etc. See *Nipponica* 2012.

¹²⁰ Fujiwara Shigenori (1135–1187) was a late Heian aristocrat and poet with thirteen poems included in SZS. He was a son of Fujiwara Michinori 藤原通憲 (1106–1160) and a host to numerous poetic events of his era. See Ariyoshi 1982:285.

¹²¹ Nishiki 1992:153.

mean she simply copied Chinese poetry. In fact, Nishiki does not think that the poetic setting in Mitsuyuki's poem and Shikishi's poem are identical. He considers the speaker of her *tanka* not to be the solitary, pitiful and lamented lady from the *Ling Yuang Qie* but thinks that the speaker's presence in a secluded and remote place is motivated by a conscious choice. Nishiki actually believes that this poem is composed from the point of view of a Buddhist recluse¹²² and this author agrees with such an interpretation. A similar opinion was also expressed by Akahane, who pointed out that before Princess Shikishi, *matu no to* was not used frequently in *waka*. Yet, one finds this line in a poem composed by a holy man¹²³, one of the characters appearing in the *Wakamurasaki* 若紫 chapter¹²⁴ of *Genji Monogatari*. The poem occurs in the context of taking on Buddhist vows, where it emphasizes an image of Buddhist seclusion¹²⁵. Akahane also claims that in a few of Shikishi's poems where one finds *matu no to*, one should read it dualistically, i.e. from both the Buddhist recluse and the "waiting woman" perspective, since *matu* (pine tree) symbolizing seclusion is a pun on waiting (*matu* also means 'to wait'). This author believes that the presence of "reclusive poetics" in Princess Shikishi's poems is generally underestimated and replaced by the image of the "waiting woman"¹²⁶. The importance of

¹²² Ibid., 150.

¹²³ 奥山の松のとぼそをまれに開けてまだ見ぬ花の顔を見るかな

okuyama no In the deep mountains
matu no toboso wo The pine door
mare ni akete I open at last,
mada minu fana no And I see the face of a flower
kafo wo miru kana I never saw before. Cf. Murasaki Shikibu 2000.

¹²⁴ In the beginning of the *Wakamurasaki* chapter, Prince Genji suffers from a fever and he goes to visit a holy man in the mountains, from whom he expects to get help. The holy man recited the mentioned poem during his conversation with Prince Genji.

¹²⁵ Akahane 1981:40.

¹²⁶ It is not to say that Princess Shikishi did not also compose poems containing "possibly Chinese" elements from the perspective of the lonely "waiting woman". An example is an autumn poem from the B sequence:

秋の夜の静かにくらき窓の雨打歎かれてひましらむなり
aki no yo no On an autumn night
siduka ni kuraki The rain strikes the window
mado no ame Quiet and dark.
utinagekarete I grieve our separation
fima siramu nari And pale away. Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

In accordance with Akahane's approach towards the analysis of poems, also this *tanka* could be interpreted dualistically – as a reclusive and love poem. Words *fima* and *siramu* create such possibility since they are both puns having double meanings (*kakekotoba*). *Fima* thus can mean 'separation' or 'free time', while *siramu* can mean 'to weaken' or 'will/would know' (verb *siru* in a tentative final form). The reading of this poem in a theme of love is possible since it is believed to contain a reference to a Bo Juyi's lament, included in *Wakan Rōeishū* and *Hakushi Monjū*, composed in a voice of one of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang's (685–762) mistresses, who was neglected since the Emperor favored the beautiful Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–756).

the pre- and post-Tang influences on Japanese medieval poetry was brought up by both Pollack and Smits. In this particular poem by Princess Shikishi one observes the monochromaticity of all of the images, which are claimed by Pollack as reflective of not only the new poetic style of SKKS, but also of Zen Buddhism and new aesthetics of *heitan* 平淡 (plainness, simplicity), or *ping-dan* in Chinese, and were highly valued by Shunzei and Teika¹²⁷. Moreover, Pollack traces back poetic ideals characteristic of SKKS, like *sabi* 寂 (simplicity) and *yōjō* 余情 (overtone), to the post-Tang Song poetic theories. He does not imply that those Japanese poetic ideals were simply derived from the Song practices, but rather suggests that their sudden importance reflected the court poets’ awareness of the new Song aesthetic style, so clearly evident in other aspects of the Song culture, e.g. tea, calligraphy, ink-painting, etc.¹²⁸. Smits, on the other hand, points out that the Tang poets were engaged in a process of reevaluation and a new synthesis of older poets, e.g. Tao Qian¹²⁹, rather than creating their own reclusive poetics. The Tang views of all of Chinese heritage were important for the late Heian and early medieval Japanese poets, and they were probably the main channel of appropriation of Chinese culture and literature for the Japanese poets. Thus, one should not forget that Japanese poets did not appropriate only the Tang poetry, but also many layers of earlier intertext and Chinese poetry heritage that were included in the Tang poetics.

Okuno, besides providing the same Mitsuyuki’s poem as a reference, does not mention *Kara Monogatari* but quotes Shunzei’s judgment on another Mitsuyuki poem during *Kenkyū Rokunen Shōgatsu Hatsuka Minbukyō no Ie no Uta’awase* 建久六年正月二十日民部卿家歌合¹³⁰, in which he recognized the reference to Bo’s poem and praised Mitsuyuki:

松の戸に独ながめしむかしさえ思ひしらるるあり有の月¹³¹

matu no to ni
fitori nagamesi
mukasi sae
omofisiraruru
ariake no tuki

At the pine door
I gazed alone.
The one remembering
As much as the past
Is the bright morning moon.

¹²⁷ Pollack 1986:85–87.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 90.

¹²⁹ Smits 1995:6.

¹³⁰ *Kenkyū Rokunen Shōgatsu Hatsuka Minbukyō no Ie no Uta’awase* (Poetry Contest at the Residence of the Popular Affairs Ministry Chief on the Twentieth Day, Tenth Month, Sixth Year of Kenkyū, 1195) was an event held by Fujiwara Tsunefusa 藤原経房 (1143–1200). Poets were mainly from the Mikohidari and Rokujō houses. Shunzei was a judge of the event and it is believed that during this poetry contest he favored poems by the Rokujō school. The event is significant, since Shunzei expressed many of his opinions about *waka* in the judgments. See Ariyoshi 1982:179.

¹³¹ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

The poem did not win the round, but it was tied with the left poem by Kamo Shigemasa 賀茂重政 (1142–1225). Shunzei's comment about Mitsuyuki's poem states the following:

右歌、昔思ひ知らるる、といへる、是は文集の陵園妻を思へるなるべし、但、松門暁到月徘徊、とぞいへれば、松の門とぞみえたる、されど、松の戸、といはんも、ふかき難にはあらざるべし...¹³²

(...) the right poem understands the past; that is to say, this [poem] ought to bring to mind “The Concubine at the Mausoleum Garden” from the [*Hakushi Monjū*]. However, since it says “above the pine gate the moon wanders till dawn”, the “pine gate” appears, but just to say “the pine door” should not have been a great difficulty (...).

Okuno thus gives us a proof that Shunzei valued Chinese poetry and publicly acknowledged references to it, which may be significant in the case of Shikishi's poem, since she probably alluded to poems she studied under Shunzei's guidance.

Oda provides a legitimate reference to a fragment of the *Tenarai* 手習 chapter from *Genji Monogatari*, where Bishop Yogawa 横川僧都 visits Ukifune 浮舟 after she recovered from her unsuccessful suicide¹³³, in which one finds exactly the same line from the *Ling Yuang Qie* Princess Shikishi alludes to in her own *tanka*:

「御法服新しくしたまへ」とて、綾、羅、絹などいふもの、たてまつりおきたまふ。「なにがしがはべらむ限りは、仕うまつりなむ。なにか思しわづらふべき。常の世に生ひ出でて、世間の榮華に願ひまつはるる限りなむ、所狭く捨てがたく、我も人も思すべかめることなめる。かかる林の中に行ひ勤めたまはむ身は、何事かは恨めしくも恥づかしくも思すべき。このあらむ 命は、葉の薄きがごとし」と言ひ知らせて、「松門に暁到りて月徘徊す」と、法師なれど、いとよよししく恥づかしげなるさまにてのたまふことどもを、「思ふやうにも言ひ聞かせたまふかな」と聞きぬたり。¹³⁴

¹³² Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

¹³³ Ukifune is one of the heroines of *Genji Monogatari*. She is the unrecognized daughter of Prince Hachi no Miya 八宮 and lives with her mother at a distance from the royal court. Ukifune was loved by both Kaoru 薫 (son of Genji's wife – Onna San no Miya 女三宮 and Kashiwagi 柏木) and Prince Niou 匂兵 (Genji's grandson), but she had secretly been agonizing by her indecision. Eventually in order to release herself from the triangular love affair, she attempted suicide by throwing herself into the Uji River 宇治川 but was unsuccessful. Having been rescued, she became a nun and secluded herself at the western foot of Mount Hiei 比叡山. She refuses to see Kaoru again, where the entire story of *Genji* comes to an end.

¹³⁴ Murasaki Shikibu 2000.

“Please have a new habit made,” he said, and he gave her damask, silk gauze, and plain silk. “I shall look after you as long as I live. You need not worry. No one born into this common life and still entangled in thoughts of wordly glory can help finding renunciation nearly impossible; but why should you, pursuing your devotions here in the forest, feel either bitterness or shame? After all, this life is as tenuous as a leaf.” And he added, “The moon roams till dawn over the gate among the pines;” for although a monk, he was also a man of impressive elegance. “That is just the advice I wanted”, she told herself¹³⁵.

Moreover, Oda acknowledges Nishiki’s opinion about the influence of *Kara Monogatari* on early medieval poets, and also provides a reference to Teika’s poem from *Futami no Ura Hyakushu* 二見浦百首¹³⁶, also included in *Shūigū* as no. 200, on the subject of the *Ling Yuang Qie*. Even though it refers to a different line from Bo’s poem and could not be a direct channel of reference for Princess Shikishi, it is another proof that the *Ling Yuang Qie* was frequently referred to by the early medieval poets:

なれきにし空の光の恋しさにひとりしまるる菊のうは露¹³⁷

<i>narekinisi</i>	Into the yearning
<i>sora no fikari no</i>	For the familiar
<i>kofisisa ni</i>	Light of the sky
<i>fitori siforuru</i>	Squeezes itself -
<i>kiku no ufatsuyu</i>	The upper dew of the chrysanthemums.

Thus, the reference to Bo Juyi’s poem is more than obvious in Princess Shikishi’s poem but it was probably one of the tales – *Kara Monogatari* or *Genji Monogatari* – that became the channel of appropriation of this Bo Juyi poem for Princess Shikishi. This author does not object to Akahane’s dualistic reading of this poem as both reclusive and amorous. Akahane emphasizes that Shikishi was probably perceived by her contemporaries as a recluse¹³⁸. Thus, this author would like to emphasize that Shikishi’s poems do not have to be interpreted only from the perspective of a female voice of the “waiting woman” that supports the medievalized image of her as a lonely secluded lady. This author actually believes that her poem is composed with the voice of a recluse poet, or a hermit-monk, who is

¹³⁵ Cf. Murasaki Shikibu 2001:1103.

¹³⁶ *Futami no Ura Hyakushu* (Hundred Poem Sequence of the Futami Bay, 1186) was a poetic event organized by Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190) for a Buddhist temple Daijingu Hōraku 大神宮法楽. It is believed that this event was the start of moving towards a new poetic style for Fujiwara Teika and other poets, who participated in this event. See *Waka daijiten* 1986:869.

¹³⁷ Cf. *Shinpen kokka taikan* 2003.

¹³⁸ Akahane 1981:37.

traditionally male in both China and Japan. In fact, the image of a lonely woman becomes apparent only when one realizes the reference to the *Ling Yuang Qie*. If one allows the interpretation of her poems as having a double base of both recusive and love themes, it may turn out that, as also emphasized by Oda¹³⁹, Princess Shikishi's relatively significant appropriation of Chinese poetry and her unique poetic style were perhaps the reasons her poetry was perceived as unusual for a female poet and thus so highly valued by her male contemporaries¹⁴⁰.

Conclusions

Surprisingly, the more poems one reads by Princess Shikishi, the more frequently they turn out to contain numerous layers of "possibly Chinese" intertext. This author expects that there is still much more to unravel on this subject than has been discovered in this article, which analyzes only four poetic examples by Princess Shikishi. However, the results of this study hopefully disclose a few important features and patterns of her appropriation of mainland poetry, as well as indicate some general tendencies in the perception and appropriation of Chinese poetics in Japan during the early medieval period.

First of all, there are probably two types of appropriation of Chinese poetry notable in *waka* by Princess Shikishi: 1) indirect, represented by poems 3.1. and 3.2., which do not refer to any particular Chinese poems but play off of some "possibly Chinese" images and vocabulary and thus give the poems a foreign or mainland feel; 2) semi-direct, represented by poems 3.3. and 3.4., which refer to Chinese poems, but probably not directly. The semi-direct intertext is particularly important, since the existence of earlier Japanese poetry and tales referring to, or citing, the exact same lines of Chinese poems proves that the appropriation of mainland poetry was probably channeled through a number of Heian and medieval tales, e.g. *Genji Monogatari*, *Kara Monogatari*, etc. and Japanese poetry collections, e.g. *Wakan Rōeishū*, *Hakushi Monjū*, etc. Such channels of appropriation were established already in the Heian Period and were only reused by the early medieval poets, who alluded to and played off the same Chinese poems, thus re-establishing the Japanese canon of Chinese poetry. Simultaneously, even though the Tang poetry was a significant part of this canon, one must be aware that pre-Tang (e.g. the *Shi Jing*, *Chu Ci*, or the poetry of Tao Qian) and post-Tang Song poetry were also somehow present in Princess Shikishi's poetry and probably in poems by other early

¹³⁹ Oda 1995a:360.

¹⁴⁰ It is worth mentioning that on the surface this poem does not seem to be innovative in any way. One does not observe any of the poetic devices typical for SKKS. Theme of seclusion and the reference to a line from Bo's lament are the most distinctive features of this *tanka*, and such style of composing poetry itself might have been perceived as innovative in the pre-SKKS era.

medieval poets. Some of those layers of Chinese intertext were first established by the Tang poets and then appropriated by the Heian and early medieval Japanese poets. Thus, readers are dealing not only with direct intertext but ages and layers of all kinds of Chinese intertext, in Princess Shikishi’s case probably channeled through the Japanese rather than Chinese sources. There is no proof that she could read or write Chinese, although, considering her high social status, affiliation with Fujiwara Shunzei and about ten years spent in the Kamo Shrines where she had more than enough time to study poetry of all previous *sai’in*, some of which is in Chinese¹⁴¹, it should not be surprising if she was able to write poems in Chinese. In the case of poets like Fujiwara Shunzei and Fujiwara Teika who definitely could read and write in Chinese, it is difficult to confirm if their appropriation of Chinese poetry was made through the process of extensive reading in Chinese, or in Japanese. However, this author believes that their references and respect for the Chinese poetics were motivated by the willingness to renew *waka* after hundreds of years of poetic tradition, and by the existence of collections like *Wakan Rōeishū*, tales like *Genji Monogatari* and *Kara Monogatari*, and numerous allusions to mainland poems made by the earlier Heian poets and writers.

Another important feature of the appropriation of Chinese poetry in Princess Shikishi’s *waka* is that it was probably also channeled through Fujiwara Shunzei’s poetic guidance¹⁴². In the case of poems by Fujiwara Teika who, as Shunzei’s son, received similar or even more extensive education than Princess Shikishi in Japanese poetry, and probably in a way looked up to her as a poet, the channel of appropriation of Chinese poetry between Teika and Shikishi, if it even existed, was probably based on much more equal terms than with Shunzei¹⁴³.

The final conclusion is that elements of “possibly Chinese” origin and the whole notion of *wakan*, however defined, is undeniably present in a number of poems by Princess Shikishi, even though it is not the most significant part of intertext

¹⁴¹ This author would also not exclude the possibility of Chinese imagery appropriation in Shikishi’s poems through Chinese and Japanese poetry composed by a number of previous *sai’in* at the Kamo Shrines in Kyoto. It is well known that the first *sai’in*, Princess Uchiko 有智子内親王 (807–847), wrote poems only in Chinese. Moreover, the famous Princess Senshi 選子内親王 (964–1035), who served as a *sai’in* for 57 years, wrote *waka* herself and even had her own poetic salon consisting of professional female poets. It is also known that such poetic salons produced highly valued female poets of many eras, e.g. Yūshi Naishinnō-ke no Kii and Toshiko Naishinnō-ke no Kawachi 俊子内親王家河内 (late Heian), who each have 100 poems included in the famous *Horikawa Hyakushū*. However, since this article is based on only a few poetic examples, more extensive research of Princess Shikishi’s appropriation of Chinese poetics should be conducted to conclude if this channel of appropriation is a possibility.

¹⁴² Oda 1988:39 suggests that the presence of “Chinese vocabulary” in the A sequence by Princess Shikishi might originate in Fujiwara Shunzei’s poetry and instruction.

¹⁴³ Various Japanese scholars approach this subject differently, e.g. the well known Fujiwara Teika scholar, Yasuda Ayao (1917–1979), did not mention appropriation of Chinese poetry as a common feature of both Princess Shikishi’s and Teika’s poetry. See Yasuda 1975:246–262.

within her currently available poetic corpus. It is also worth mentioning that Princess Shikishi's appropriation of Chinese images and reference to Chinese poems does not merely copy the mainland poetics. The borrowed images are appropriated, reinterpreted and put in similar, or different context from the original poems, but they are likely more the background, not the core, of Shikishi's poems, which coincides with Pollack's definition of *wakan*. Princess Shikishi thus chose and appropriated those Chinese images through various channels of appropriation created in Japan, and it was not the Chinese culture that influenced her, which coincides with Smits's opinion about *wakan*. Moreover, the awareness of the Chinese intertext and reclusive images hopefully changes both the readers' perception of Princess Shikishi and of her poems' speakers as being only the "waiting woman". Multiple layers of intertext and the channels of its appropriation in her poems create an interesting sort of discourse with the poetic past of both Japan and China, which even though, as emphasized by LaMarre, was perceived as foreign, was significant enough for Japanese poets to study and appropriate. This is evident in the poetry of many early medieval poets, who in the pre-SKKS era clearly searched for poetic innovation and reinterpretation, and found it among the Chinese poetry of earlier eras.

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