

**RE-CYCLING HER WORDS:  
THE TRANSMISSION OF NARRATIVE THROUGH POETRY  
IN THE RECEPTION OF *KENREIMON'IN UKYŌ NO DAIBU SHŪ*  
WITHIN THE IMPERIAL WAKA ANTHOLOGIES**

by

Kim Mc Nelly

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## Abstract

This thesis explores the transmission of narratives and cultural memory through medieval Japanese poetic reception by examining how selections from one aristocratic woman's memoir are borrowed, omitted, or altered in the cross-genrefication from poetic memoir to poetic anthology. I examine the medieval reception and re-presentation of *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* (The Poetic Memoir of Lady Daibu, ca. 1220) within the latter thirteen of twenty-one Japanese imperial poetry anthologies of waka (*jūsandaishū*), compiled from 1234 to 1439. I focus on her reception within *Gyokuyō wakashū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves, ca.1312), and *Fūga wakashū* (Collection of Elegance, ca.1346), as these two anthologies include ten and six of her poems, respectively, which is more than any of the other anthologies. Their selection of so many of her poems indicates a statistically significant interest in rehabilitating her as a poet.

Lady Daibu (ca. 1155-1232) grounds many of the poems in her memoir within a context of love, civil war, and loss through a chronological prose narrative that describes the circumstances of the poems' composition. I argue that the anthologies transmit narratives about her through their selection of poems, contextualizing headnotes, integration of voices, and structural choices in terms of where her poems are placed within the anthology. While the narratives created in this manner have some connection to Lady Daibu's self-portrayal within her memoir, such as her romantic relationship with Taira no Sukemori (ca. 1161-1185), connection to the Heike clan, and intimacy with the imperial family, they frequently differ from her own story and each other. In other words, the historical narratives within the anthologies create competing cultural histories about Lady Daibu, the time in which she lived, and the focal point of much of her attention—Sukemori and the Heike clan, who lost the Genpei War (1180-1185).

Through this, I focus on the gendered roles female poets occupy within the imperial anthologies in relation to love and lamentation. As all of the anthologies were compiled by men, this thesis also considers how women's self-writings were reframed in a gendered discourse of men compiling canonical works.

## **Preface**

This thesis is an original, unpublished and independent work by the author, K. Mc Nelly.

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>Preface</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Major Questions and Themes .....	1
1.2 Introduction to Texts and Previous Scholarship .....	3
1.2.1 Lady Daibu’s Memoir .....	3
1.2.2 The (Final Thirteen) Imperial Anthologies ( <i>jūsandaishū</i> ).....	14
<b>Chapter 2: Lady Daibu’s Poems in <i>Shinchokusen wakashū</i></b> .....	<b>21</b>
2.1 Introducing the <i>Shinchokusen wakashū</i> .....	21
2.2 Lady Daibu’s Connection with Teika and Shunzei .....	23
2.3 Poetic Decontextualization from the Heike Clan to Harmonize the Realm .....	25
<b>Chapter 3: Lady Daibu’s Poems in <i>Gyokuyō wakashū</i></b> .....	<b>34</b>
3.1 Introduction to the Text .....	34
3.2 Lady Daibu as Poetic Everywoman in <i>Gyokuyōshū</i> Love Poems .....	38
3.3 Lady Daibu as Public Mourner in <i>Gyokuyōshū</i> Lament Poems .....	51
3.3.1 The <i>Genji</i> and Grief Connection.....	60
<b>Chapter 4: Lady Daibu’s Poems in <i>Fūga wakashū</i></b> .....	<b>66</b>
4.1 Introduction to the Text .....	66
4.2 Lady Daibu as Social Poet in <i>Fūgashū</i> .....	68

4.3	Lady Daibu's Poetic Reputation .....	76
4.4	Lady Daibu's Poetry and Kyōgoku Aesthetics .....	80
4.5	Taira no Sukemori's Poetry as a Comparative Case Study .....	85
4.6	Summary of Lady Daibu's Representation in Kyōgoku Anthologies .....	88
<b>Chapter 5: Lady Daibu's Poems in Later Imperial Anthologies.....</b>		<b>91</b>
5.1	Lady Daibu in <i>ShinSenzai wakashū</i> and <i>ShinShūi wakashū</i> .....	91
5.2	Lady Daibu in the <i>ShinGoShūi wakashū</i> .....	98
5.3	Lady Daibu in the <i>ShinShokuKokin wakashū</i> .....	100
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusion.....</b>		<b>106</b>
<b>References.....</b>		<b>115</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>		<b>120</b>
Appendix A : Distribution of Lady Daibu's Poems in Imperial Anthologies .....		120
A.1	Categorization of Lady Daibu's Poems in Imperial Anthologies.....	121
Appendix B Timeline.....		122
Appendix C Persons Appearing in Lady Daibu's Memoir.....		126
Appendix D Genealogies .....		131
D.1	Lady Daibu Genealogy .....	131
D.2	Heike Genealogy.....	132
D.3	Imperial Lineage .....	133
Appendix E Medieval Reception of Lady Daibu Outside of the Imperial Anthologies .....		134
E.1	Poetic Reception .....	134
E.2	Non-poetic Reception .....	140
Appendix F Highly-ranked Poets in <i>Gyokuyōshū</i> and <i>Fūgashū</i> .....		142

F.1	Poets with 15+ Poems in <i>Gyokuyōshū</i> and <i>Fūgashū</i> , Combined .....	142
F.2	Poets with 4+ Poems in <i>Gyokuyōshū</i> .....	145

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Major Questions and Themes

This thesis explores the transmission of narratives and cultural memory through medieval Japanese poetic reception by examining how selections from one aristocratic woman's memoir are borrowed, omitted, or altered in the cross-genrefication from poetic memoir to poetic anthology. I will examine the medieval reception and re-presentation of *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū* (The Poetic Memoir of Lady Daibu, ca. 1220) within the latter thirteen of twenty-one Japanese imperial poetry anthologies of waka (*jūsandaishū*), compiled 1234-1439. I particularly focus on her reception within *Gyokuyō wakashū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves, ca.1312; hereafter *Gyokuyōshū*), and *Fūga wakashū* (Collection of Elegance, ca.1346; hereafter *Fūgashū*), as these two anthologies include ten and six of her poems, respectively, which is more than any of the other anthologies (Appendix A). Lady Daibu (ca. 1155-1232) grounds many of the poems in her memoir within a context of love, civil war, and loss through a chronological prose narrative that describes the circumstances of the poems' composition. I investigate the ways that the personal and political circumstances in which Lady Daibu portrays herself are transmitted or altered in the anthologies through the framing of her poems with prose headnotes and the positioning of the poems, both at macro (within the structure of the whole anthology) and micro (in the resonant meanings emerging from placement alongside others' poems) levels.

I emphasize Lady Daibu's experience of the Genpei War (1180-1185), during which the Heike, or Taira, clan was overthrown from their position of control at court by the Minamoto clan. Although not a member of the Heike clan, Lady Daibu was connected to them, particularly through a secret romance with Taira no Sukemori (ca. 1161-1185), who was killed in the last

major battle.<sup>1</sup> How is her position toward and experience of the war received in the anthologies, which attempted to harmonize past and present voices? I also focus on the gendered roles female poets occupy within the imperial anthologies in relation to love and lamentation. While it is impossible to determine the exact reason for each contextual alteration from her memoir in the imperial anthologies, I show how such revisions create layers of meaning in their attempts to reconcile Lady Daibu's narrative with the poetic conventions and structural order of the imperial anthologies. While the anthologies appropriate both Lady Daibu's poetry and self-narrative, the anthologizers cannot include her whole story. In order to fit her poems into the anthology's structure, which separates poems by topic, the anthologizers had to decide where to place a poem and then adapt the associated prose headnote as they saw fit. As a result, narratives about Lady Daibu and the stories told through her voice are not sequential but spliced throughout the anthology. This thesis will reconstruct these fragments of narrative in order to emphasize points of friction in the rewriting process where the competing cultural histories—which form narratives about the past, here specifically concerning discourses about the Heike clan—within Lady Daibu's memoir and the imperial anthologies conflict.

Inclusion in the imperial poetry anthologies was the only guaranteed path to canonization for any writer of Lady Daibu's time period. As all of the anthologies were compiled by men, this thesis also considers how women's self-writings were reframed in a gendered discourse of men compiling canonical works. The scale of this study is not sufficiently broad to make any definitive arguments about the gendered reception/canonization of women's writing or the roles

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<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to determine how "secret" their relationship was, but Lady Daibu portrays herself as hiding their meetings, her grief at his death, ritual activities she performs for his soul, and attendance of funerary rites on the anniversary of his death.

women played within discourses of love or lamentation, but I suggest ways in which these issues relate to the more central concerns of this study.

## 1.2 Introduction to Texts and Previous Scholarship

### 1.2.1 Lady Daibu's Memoir

There are few extant medieval texts that mention Lady Daibu, and none are as comprehensive as her memoir, *Ken'reimon-in Ukyō no Daibu shū*, or *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu* (ca. 1220).<sup>2</sup> In this text, Lady Daibu, who served Empress Tokushi (1155-1213), describes roughly fifty years of her life, including a youthful romance with Taira no Sukemori, the grandson of the powerful politician and warrior Taira no Kiyomori. The work features her experience of the Genpei War (1180-1185), during which the Taira were overthrown from their position of control at court by the Minamoto clan. The war ended with an epic naval battle at Dan no Ura. Lady Daibu's mistress, Empress Tokushi, was present at the battle and attempted to

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<sup>2</sup> She is also briefly mentioned in some accounts by her contemporaries, although there has been no definitive study of references to her in other works. Examples include an accredited poem in the personal poetry collection of the priest Jien (1155-1225), the *Shūgyokushū* (A Gleaning of Treasures, 1346), which was compiled posthumously. Jien was an acquaintance of her brother, the priest Son'en (dates unknown), and some of her poems appear in the personal poetry collection of Fujiwara no Takanobu (1142-1205), one of her lovers. See Appendix E for a list of her poems as they were received in these and other Japanese medieval texts. Phillip Tudor Harries, *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 18, 24-25. I use Kubota Jun's annotation as my primary source and supplement with Itoga Kimie's annotation in places. Both use the early fourteenth century Kyushu University variant (Kyūshū daigaku fuzoku toshokan shozō Hosokawa bunko bon) as their base text. This is recognized as the oldest and most authoritative extant textual variant, with a colophon placing it as possibly only four copies removed from Lady Daibu's copy and in a direct line with copy made by Shichijōin Dainagon (dates unknown), one of Lady Daibu's long-standing, personal friends. Shichijōin Dainagon appears in Lady Daibu's memoir during recollections of her early days at court. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 86-87, 297, 301. Both Kubota and Itoga supplement with others variants. Kubota includes and numbers two poems not found in the Kyushu University text—#72 and 344— from the variant Showa Art Museum text (Shōwa bijutsukan bon), so the numbering of his poems does not match Itoga or Harries, from whom I draw translations. Itoga includes these poems but does not number them, and Harries does not translate them. My numbering of the poems in Lady Daibu's memoir follows Itoga and Harries. Kubota Jun, *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū, Towazugatari*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 47 (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1999). Itoga Kimie, ed., *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū*, Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979).

drown herself alongside her mother, Taira no Tokiko (1126-1185) and young son, Emperor Antoku (1177-1185, r.1180-1185). Empress Tokushi was unsuccessful, but her mother and son perished. Lady Daibu was not at this battle, but her Heike lover, Sukemori, was killed during it. After the war, her mistress retired to a life as the nun Kenreimon'in in Ōhara, a temple hamlet north of Kyoto, but Lady Daibu returned to court, where she secretly grieved for Sukemori.

I argue that while scholars have seen the medieval reception of Lady Daibu's memoir as primarily limited to the transmission of its poetry within imperial poetry anthologies, some editors of the imperial anthologies maintain the lengthy prose headnotes which accompany her poetry within *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, thus contributing to the memorialization of her story while also adding layers to the image found in her memoir. In short, the reception of her self-writing perpetuates and (re)creates narratives about her. I will compare the narrative contextualization of the poems within Lady Daibu's memoir with their recontextualization in the imperial anthologies through prose headnotes and interaction with the voices of neighboring poems. This re-sequencing of poetry from Lady Daibu's memoir to the new framework of being one of many voices in a poetic cycle is the basis for the title of this thesis. My argument shows how this recontextualization resulted in alterations to the meaning of the poem, the Lady Daibu's voice and, subsequently, how her self-narrative is retold within the respective anthologies.

While I am considering *Ukyō no Daibu shū* an autobiographical memoir, its genre is a subject of much scholarly debate. There is an overall even balance of poetry and prose, which sets the text outside of modern genre classifications. The text is also structurally fragmented; Phillip Tudor Harries describes six different sections within Lady Daibu's memoir.<sup>3</sup> While some

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<sup>3</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 54-55.

of the sections correlate to different, chronologically-arranged time periods within Lady Daibu's life, others appear as sequences of poetry with little prose or narrative contextualization (Appendix A). In other words, some sections of the poetic memoir are more contextualized—the poems firmly couched in the memoir's narrative—while other, interspersed sections are presented as poetic exercises on set topics with no narrative and little explanation as to the circumstances of the poems' production. We will return to these sections in a later analysis of Appendix A, which shows a tendency for imperially-anthologized poems to be drawn from heavily contextualized sections of the memoir. We must first address how this internal fragmentation inevitably leads to questions of genre classification and authorship. Is this work, as its Japanese title suggests, a personal poetry collection (*[shika]shū*),<sup>4</sup> or is it a memoir (*nikki*)?

The question of genre for *Ken'reimon-in Ukyō no Daibu shū* is sufficiently complex to merit its own study, but it must be briefly mentioned here. Poetry collections were ostensibly written to highlight poems for possible inclusion in later imperial anthologies, including brief prose headnotes that provide context or a topic. Memoirs, in contrast, were written for a myriad of reasons, and while they included poetry and were typically based in part on formerly exchanged poems, their literary focus centered on prose contexts or the interplay between prose and poetry. Did Lady Daibu intend for her work to be primarily a collection of poetry, then, or a narrative which told the story of her love and loss? The answer to this question could affect how others read her story and, as a result, how it was re-told, which parts would be emphasized and which discarded.

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<sup>4</sup> It is uncertain who gave the work its title, as the earliest colophon to include this title is dated 1260, presumably after the author's death. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 297.

Lady Daibu herself addresses this issue in an introduction to her work:

A personal poetry collection is something written by a poet for posterity. This, however, is far from being that sort of thing. I have merely recorded, just as I happened to remember them, my immediate feelings at those times when something moving, sad, or somehow unforgettable occurred; and I intend these memoirs for my eyes alone.<sup>5</sup>

我ならで	If not myself,
たれ 誰かあはれと	Who, then, will be moved by pity,
みづぐき 水茎の	As they gaze upon my words,
跡もし末の	Should they be handed down
世に残ると <sup>6</sup>	To later days? <sup>7</sup>

The denial of her work as a personal poetry collection and the statement that the work is for “my eyes alone” are tempting to take at face-value but may only be modesty. Her description of the writing process points to an emphasis on narrative with a focus on that which is moving to her, but this could similarly be part of the necessary humility in putting forth one’s own work.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 77. The Japanese text reads: 家の集などいひて、歌よむ人こそ書きとどむることなれ、これは、ゆめゆめさにはあらず。ただ、あはれにも、悲しくも、何となく忘れがたく覚ゆることども、その折々、ふと心に覚えしを、思ひ出でらるるままに、わが目ひとつに見むとて書き置くなり。 Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 15.

<sup>7</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 77.

<sup>8</sup> Memoirists during the Heian period (794-1185) frequently adopted a pose that their work was not composed formally but rather casually, lacking structural organization and intended for the author’s eyes alone. Harries describes another example in *The Personal Poetry Collection of the Priest Anpō* (ca. 960). Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 35. In an analysis of *Sanuki no suke nikki* (ca. 1109-1110), Edith Sarra argues that the informality of the author/internal narrator’s stance towards her own text—writing things as they occurred to her, from the depths of her grief—was in part a conscious effort to de-politicize the memoir and make it less controversial. Sarra posits that the *Sanuki no suke nikki* author uses this frame to suggest that she couldn’t help but write what she did, regardless of the unintentional implications of the work. Edith Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity: Literary Inventions of Gender in Japanese Court Women’s Memoirs* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 179, 192-193.

The poem immediately following the prose preface assumes the possibility of the text's transmission and rhetorically challenges future readers to empathize with her narrative.

This issue of the text's genre has attracted much debate within secondary scholarship. Harries devotes considerable space to this problem in the introduction to his translation, listing names of scholars who place the work on either side of the genre divide.<sup>9</sup> Harries also conducted a literature review which compares *Ken'reimon-in Ukyō no Daibu shū* to other texts with similar genre ambiguities—uncertain balances of poetry and prose, or falling between the modern definitions of personal poetry collections and memoirs—alongside the textual standards by which they were measured, which were written in roughly the same time period.<sup>10</sup> Despite such extensive research, there are no clear answers. One can only conclude, as Harris does, that given the hybrid nature of such problematical works, genre distinctions are arbitrary at best. I use the word “memoir” to emphasize the rich self-narrative within Lady Daibu's text while recognizing, as Tomi Suzuki has argued, that female writers from this time period were valued by their peers for their poetic, not narrative, talents.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Tamai Kōsuke and Shimada Taizō have positioned it as a memoir, but Kuwabara Hiroshi names it a personal poetry collection. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 29.

<sup>10</sup> Including the *Kagerō nikki* (ca. 974) by Michitsuna's Mother, *Izumi Shikibu nikki* (ca. 1004), *Ben no Naishi nikki* (1252), Abutsu-ni's *Izayoi nikki* (ca. 1280), Fujiwara Shunzei's *Chōshūeisō*, *Kujō daijin shū*, the “house collection” (*ie no shū*) of Fujiwara Morosuke (908-960), *Ise shū* by Lady Ise (ca. 875-9), *Ichijō sesshō gyoshū* by Fujiwara Koretada (924-972), *Zōki hōshi shū* (aka *Ionushi*) by priest Zōki (late tenth or early eleventh century), *Saishu Sukechikakyō shū* by Ōnakatomi no Sukechika (954-1038), *Zenrin-oyō shū* by Fujiwara Suketada (mid to late twelfth century), *Rokujō suri no daibu no shū* by Fujiwara Akisue (1055-1123), *Yasunori no Musume shū* (ca. 993), *Tonomo shū* by Lady Tonomo (ca. tenth or eleventh century), *Jōjin Ajari no Haha shū* (1067-1073), *Shijō no Miya Shimotsuke shū* by Lady Shimotsuke (fl. 1060), and *Takafusa shū* by Fujiwara Takafusa (1148-1209). Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 38-47.

<sup>11</sup> Tomi Suzuki, “Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature,” in Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, ed. *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 73.

Regardless of the scholarly categorization of the work, Lady Daibu's narratorial construction is of concern to a study about that narrative. She appears to write in the first-person voice, but as the protagonist is herself, we must call into question the authenticity of her self-portrayal. Women's memoirs may have been compiled long after the events they describe, pieced together from scraps of exchanged poems. Even if Lady Daibu had attempted to write with objectivity—which the theme of personal loss all but obliterates—how accurate are her recollections? Although her self-history may be biased from a subjective perspective and inaccurate from faulty memory, we can only take her self-portrayal as the “truth,” as later generations would have read it.<sup>12</sup> There are no other extant records of Lady Daibu's life as comprehensive as her memoir, and no indications that the compilers of the imperial anthologies had other sources about her life aside from her memoir, either.<sup>13</sup> Regardless of the fiction inherent in self-writing, Lady Daibu's memoir is an autobiographical snapshot of how she saw her life. As Edith Sarra has written, an aristocratic Japanese woman's writing of a memoir is “often associated with a woman's desire for some means of controlling, if not the uncontrollable course of her own destiny, then at least the *terms* by which her fate and her person will be

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<sup>12</sup> In an analysis on the epistolary narration style in *Tōnomine Shōshō monogatari* (The Tale of the Lesser Captain of Tōnomine, ca. 962), which is framed as a set of letters written in the aftermath of the Buddhist renunciation of Fujiwara no Takamitsu (b. ca. 939), Aileen Gatten discusses the apparent lack of separation in the Heian and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods between historical fiction and fictional biography. In effect, any narrative written in the vernacular script concerning one or more historic persons was considered factual. Aileen Gatten, “Fact, Fiction, and Heian Literary Prose: Epistolary Narration in *Tōnomine Shōshō Monogatari*,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, No. 2 (Summer, 1998): 190-191. Joshua Mostow translates *Tōnomine Shōshō monogatari*, also known as *Takamitsu nikki* (The Takamitsu Journal), in Joshua Mostow, *At the House of Gathered Leaves: Shorter Biographical and Autobiographical Narratives from Japanese Court Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 46-101.

<sup>13</sup> Many of the headnotes in the anthologies which will be examined later on are nearly identical, word-for-word, to the prose contexts in Lady Daibu's memoir.

remembered by others.”<sup>14</sup> This thesis will examine if and in what ways her narrative is redefined within the imperial anthologies, what was maintained and what deviated from her self-portrayal through exclusion and/or re-contextualization.

The approach of my project differs significantly from the majority of modern Japanese literary scholarship on Lady Daibu’s memoir, which focuses on the text’s structural fragmentation and argues for its categorization into the genre of poetry collection or memoir. Their critical approach stems from a desire to understand the author’s intent in writing the work and evaluate both the success of her intentions and the quality of the work in comparison to others of its genre. The structural fragmentation has also led to much debate over the dating and compilation of the text.<sup>15</sup>

Other scholarship mirrors this concern for genre through comparison and interrelation with other texts. Literary historians in particular have compared the depictions of men and women appearing in *Heike monogatari* (The Tale of the Heike, mid-fourteenth century) with the same persons in Lady Daibu’s memoir.<sup>16</sup> Lady Daibu herself appears in the tale, composing a poem, although as will be discussed later, she is presented as an anonymous female attendant. These two texts are most frequently presented as a binary, with *Heike monogatari* portraying a

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<sup>14</sup> Edith Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity*, 22.

<sup>15</sup> These arguments question if segments of the text were written at different points in Lady Daibu’s life, and if so, when. Satō Tsuneo offers the most persuasive evidence in the form of a phrasing and stylistics comparison with the eighth imperial anthology, *ShinKokinshū* (New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, 1205), which shows that even the earlier sections of Lady Daibu’s memoir reflect post-*ShinKokinshū* phrasing, indicating revisions after this date. Satō Tsuneo, “*Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu shū* no seiritsu: *ShinKokinshū* kara no eikyōka wo kiten toshite,” *Gengo to bungei* 87 (March 1979): 58-80.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Suzuki Norio, “*Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu shū to Heike monogatari*,” in *Joryū Nikki Bungaku Kōza dairoku maki, Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu shū, Utatane, Takemuki ga ki*, ed. Takuji Imai et al. (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1990): 79-99.

“masculine” perspective on war—with battles, bloodlust, and detailed descriptions of armor—and Lady Daibu’s memoir presenting a “feminine” perspective on war—pining in the capital while waiting for news of her lover. Despite this gendered division of texts, Sakurai Yōko has argued that Lady Daibu’s memoir may have served as source material for *Heike monogatari*, although the large number of textual variants of and links to performance history in the latter make this a problematic approach worthy of further research.<sup>17</sup>

There is also a body of scholarly work linking Lady Daibu’s memoir to *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, ca. 1008) by Murasaki Shikibu (ca. 973-after 1013). While this study will only touch upon this literary connection, we can assume Lady Daibu’s familiarity with the *Genji* and its influence on her narrative construction. This was the case for other female self-writers, who frequently drew comparisons between their own circumstances and those in the story, seeing themselves or writing themselves into the models presented in the tale.<sup>18</sup> While scholars do not disagree about the influence this text has on Lady Daibu’s memoir, Kubo Takako argues that Lady Daibu’s interpretations of *Genji monogatari* come not from the text itself but primarily via the filter of *Genji shaku* (Genji Explicated, before 1160), the earliest extant commentary on *Genji monogatari* and written by Lady Daibu’s father, Fujiwara no Koreyuki (1123-1175).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Sakurai Yōko, “*Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu shū kara Heike monogatari e,*” *Chūsei bungaku* 55 (2010): 98-107. For a quick reference guide for the main *Heike monogatari* variants, including separations between “read texts” (*yomihon*) and “recited texts,” (*kataribon*) see Burton Watson, *The Tales of the Heike*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 195-197.

<sup>18</sup> Joshua Mostow argues for and gives numerous examples of this process in Joshua S. Mostow, “On Becoming Ukifune: Autobiographical Heroines in Heian and Kamakura Literature,” in *Crossing the Bridge: Comparative Essays on Medieval European and Heian Japanese Women Writers*, edited by Barbara Stevenson and Cynthia Ho (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 45-60. Edith Sarra’s *Fictions of Femininity* also focuses on this.

<sup>19</sup> Kubo Takako. “*Kenreimon’in ukyō no Daibu shū no Genji shaku, Genji monogatari: hyōgen no kitei no aru mono,*” *Jissen kokubungaku* 80 (October 2011): 125-143.

Even if this is not the case, having access to a commentary would have given Lady Daibu a literary advantage over her peers, as her father's notes could have helped her in writing poetry with allusions to the text or otherwise influenced by its poetic standards. Yokomizo Hiroshi argues for Lady Daibu's deeper engagement with the primary text through the authorship of *Yamaji no tsuyu* (Dew on the Mountain Path, date unknown),<sup>20</sup> which continues the story of *Genji monogatari* with another meeting between Kaoru and Ukifune. The authorship of this work is uncertain, however, and it is possible that her father wrote it.<sup>21</sup>

There are three Japanese articles which speak directly to the main concern of this study: how Lady Daibu's poetry was received within the imperial anthologies. As I will show, all three are quite limited in scope, and none focus on the larger implications of an altered representation of Lady Daibu's narrative. The literary scholar Nakahara Mari's article is closest to my own work in examining the textual differences between the presentation of poems in Lady Daibu's memoir and the imperial anthologies. She narrows her source material to Lady Daibu's two poems included in *Shinchokusen wakashū* (New Imperial Collection, ca. 1234) and selections of poems from the two anthologies compiled by members of the Kyōgoku poetic school, *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*.<sup>22</sup> She gives special attention to imagery within the poems and has a lengthy discussion about *Gyokuyōshū* #2159, a poem praising the beauty of the stars, which is situated next to a poem on the same topic by Kyōgoku supporter and retired empress

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<sup>20</sup> Kubo argues from close reading and a comparison of textual similarities that the work was composed between 1200 and 1205.

<sup>21</sup> Shigeyoshi Hon'iden, a literary scholar pivotal in generating academic interest in Lady Daibu's memoir in the early twentieth century, also argues for her authorship of *Yamaji no tsuyu*. Shigeyoshi Hon'iden, *Genji monogatari yamaji no tsuyu* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1970).

<sup>22</sup> Nakahara Mari. "Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū kenkyū: chokusenwakashū ga motomeru mono," *Hiroshima jogakuin daigaku kokugo kokubungaku shi* 33 (2003): 29-42.

Eifukumon'in (1271-1342).<sup>23</sup> I will use this argument in my discussion of the poem in the chapter on her reception within *Gyokuyōshū*. Toya Seizō takes a more comparative literary approach, examining the influence of particular phrasings in some of Lady Daibu's poems that are included in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* by the Kyōgoku poets.<sup>24</sup> Finally, I expand on work by literary scholar Kobayashi Mamoru, who has examined the fourth book of miscellaneous poetry within *Gyokuōshū*, within which two of Lady Daibu's poems appear, and its emphasis on the mourning of the Heike clan.<sup>25</sup> Despite this wealth of Japanese scholarship, Lady Daibu's poetic memoir has been largely ignored within English scholarship. A partial translation was published in 1976 and a full translation with introduction in 1980 by Phillip Harries.<sup>26</sup> There are no other serious academic treatments of the work in English.

While English scholarship specific to Lady Daibu is scarce, I do draw upon methodologies developed in English-language scholarship on the reception of premodern Japanese women's writing. Heian Period (794-1185) women such as Murasaki Shikibu, Sei Shōnagon, Akazome Emon (956-1041), and Izumi Shikibu (b. ca. 976) wrote some of the most famous and influential premodern Japanese literary texts, which exist today as part of the modern canon. In his study of the textual reinvention of Izumi Shikibu, R. Keller Kimbrough has shown how texts taking Izumi Shikibu as their subject did not simply progress in a linear fashion from

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<sup>23</sup> Nakahara, "Chokusenwakashū ga motomeru mono," 33-37.

<sup>24</sup> Toya Seizō, "Gyokuyōshū, Fūgashū ni nisshū no Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu no waka wo megutte," *Nagano kōgyō kōtō senmon gakkō kiyō* 25 (1991): 1-7.

<sup>25</sup> Kobayashi Mamoru, "Gyokuyōwakashū no aishōka: zōka yon no Heike kanren no uta wo chūshin ni," *Meiji daigaku bungei kenkyū* 75(1996): 129-148.

<sup>26</sup> The previously mentioned full translation by Harries, and James Wagner, "The Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu Shū, Introduction and Partial Translation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 31, no. 1 (1976): 1-27.

their creation to present day, portraying her in the same manner. He tracks the undulations of Izumi Shikibu's narrative within fictional medieval literary texts. There are "many fictional and pseudo-biographical texts from the Japanese medieval age... that take as their subject the imagined lives, deaths, and afterlives of [the above listed female writers and poets] and other Heian literary figures."<sup>27</sup> Kimbrough focuses more on the groups and institutions who appropriated Izumi Shikibu for their own purposes than on how her narrative/image has been transmitted and altered by them in prose texts and performance.

I seek to borrow a framework of reception similar to Kimbrough's, with an attention to why the anthologizers may have received her work in the ways that they did. I choose the imperial anthologies as the vehicle for transmission of Lady Daibu's narrative because her memoir has little medieval reception outside of the imperial poetry anthologies (see Appendix E for a list of references to her in other works). In focusing on imperial anthologies, I show how narrative can be transmitted in a primarily poetic context.

I draw on the above approach to literary reception as well as from the literary theorists John Frow and Anne Freadman, who argue that when material is imbedded in another genre—here, selections from a memoir/self-writing placed within a poetic anthology—it retains elements of its original genre.<sup>28</sup> Anne Freadman uses the concept of the ceremonial, which "frames a time and space, setting it apart from others, and marking its specificity."<sup>29</sup> She argues that "[s]ome

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<sup>27</sup> R. Keller Kimbrough, *Preachers, Poets, Women, and the Way: Izumi Shikibu and the Buddhist Literature of Medieval Japan*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies No. 62 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2008): 1.

<sup>28</sup> John Frow, *Genre* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 16-17, 41-48; Anne Freadman, "Untitled: (On Genre)," *Cultural Studies* 2, No. 1 (1988): 89.

<sup>29</sup> Freadman, "Untitled: (On Genre)," 88.

genres... subsist in different ceremonials from the ones in which they conventionally arose. In such cases, they take with them the signs of the lost ceremony, connoting that ceremony and the social relations it governs.”<sup>30</sup> Frow gives an example of this as a documentary containing part of a home movie; despite the change of ceremonial positioning, the home video “will carry with it some of the force of its initial function.”<sup>31</sup> Given the highly political nature of some of the texts from which poetry was anthologized,<sup>32</sup> I was curious to see how Lady Daibu’s story (her interactions with and love for members of the Heike clan, who lost the Genpei War) or the circumstances of its composition (from her position serving Emperor GoToba in the new court that replaced the Heike) would “translate” into imperial anthologies.

### 1.2.2 The (Final Thirteen) Imperial Anthologies (*jūsandaishū*)

Twenty-three of Lady Daibu’s poems appear in seven of the twenty-one imperial anthologies, which were compiled between 905 and 1439.<sup>33</sup> Having even one poem chosen was an honor that all poets strove for, as it was the best reliable method for ensuring that one’s work would survive beyond death. It was the closest one could get to canonization. Structurally, the poems are categorized into books of poems on certain topics, such as the seasons, love, travel,

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<sup>30</sup> Freadman, “Untitled: (On Genre),” 89.

<sup>31</sup> Frow, *Genre*, 17.

<sup>32</sup> Joshua Mostow has argued for the political function of both *nikki* and poetry collections. Mostow, *House of Gathered Leaves*, 1-38.

<sup>33</sup> Lady Daibu’s poems appear in the *Shinchokusen wakashū* (New Imperial Collection, ca. 1234), *Gyokuyō wakashū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves, ca. 1314), *Fūga wakashū* (Collection of Elegance, ca. 1346), *ShinSenzai wakashū* (New Collection of a Thousand Years, 1359), *ShinShūi wakashū* (New Collection of Gleanings, 1364), *ShinGoshūi wakashū* (New Collection of Later Gleanings, ca. 1384), and *ShinShokukokin wakashū* (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times Continued, ca. 1439).

laments, congratulations, etc. The anthologies include not only the poems but also the name of the poet and headnotes detailing the circumstances of composition—in a note to a lover, for instance—and/or the setting and set topic upon which a poem was purposefully composed. Each of the imperial poetry anthologies in which Lady Daibu’s work appears will be introduced in their respective chapters (in chronological order), but let us first turn to a few of their shared characteristics vital to the framework of this study: the anthologies as cultural monuments to an emperor’s reign and legitimacy; the lack of female compilers; and the requirement that no poem be repeated within the set of anthologies.

All imperial poetic anthologies were commissioned by a reigning or retired emperor and intended as a cultural monument that demonstrated his authority. This linkage between poetry and power was established in the creation of the first imperial anthology, the *Kokin wakashū* (Collection of Poems from Ancient and Modern Times, 905). Gustav Heldt has shown how the roots of “harmonization” (*wa*) with a superior’s words through poetry became integrated into official court functions, such as banquets, and how the banquet rituals themselves also reflected this harmonization of the realm.<sup>34</sup> This harmonization can also be seen in the poetry of the *Kokinshū*; Heldt explains, for instance, the calibration of the natural seasons with the ritual calendar cycle, as in the opening poems of the work in a book of spring poetry.<sup>35</sup> The imperial anthologies can thus be seen as evidence of aristocratic harmonization with the emperor, i.e., a measure of the heavenly alignment and peace of his reign. By the mid-Kamakura period (1185-

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<sup>34</sup> For example, in the offering of gifts or the Emperor’s ritual consumption of food from different parts of the realm. Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan*, Cornell East Asia Series #139 (New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008): 137-138, 143-144.

<sup>35</sup> Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 169-177.

1333), when many of Lady Daibu's poems are chosen for inclusion in imperial anthologies, the imperial lineage had split into two lines. This will be discussed in more detail later, but due to these circumstances emperors were even more aware of the sense of imperial legitimacy gained by the completion of such a collection.

How, then, is Lady Daibu's voice harmonized with others within these collections? What role does she play in the poetic construction of the realm? Heldt rejects gender as a basis for determining poetic voice within *Kokinshū*, as poems could be repositioned from a romantic exchange between lovers to longing for one's patron, and argues instead for class differences as the standard of social positioning.<sup>36</sup> While not disputing his argument within the context of the *Kokinshū* and banquet culture, or the possible readings of decontextualized poems, I argue that in almost all cases, the contextualization of Lady Daibu's poems through the headnotes included in the imperial anthologies does not allow for a non-gendered reading. Heldt admits that the "[n]ames of authors and topic headings are integral features of the anthology, as important in the reading of a poem as the poem itself," and cites an example in the *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book, 1002) in which Emperor Murakami (926-967, r.946-967) asks one of his consorts to recite many poems from the *Kokinshū*, given the author and topic.<sup>37</sup>

The second shared characteristic of imperial anthologies I wish to emphasize is that none of the poets commissioned to compile any of the anthologies were female. In other words, men had control of the only guaranteed form of poetic canonization in the Heian and medieval

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 144-145.

periods.<sup>38</sup> The framing of the narrative associated with Lady Daibu's poems as it is passed through these anthologies, then, is also crafted through a gendered lens. Women are not completely silent about their dissatisfaction with this gendered selection process. The *Mumyōzōshi* (The Nameless Book, ca. 1200), a fictional tale involving a lengthy conversation about literature, poetry, and religion among three or four aristocratic women, calls attention to this issue. Authorship is uncertain but presumed to be Shunzei's Daughter (1171-1252), the granddaughter of the famous poet Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204).<sup>39</sup> In the text, the women exhibit their poetic knowledge by criticizing past anthologies, imperially-commissioned and non-imperially commissioned alike. The imperially-commissioned poetry anthologies are valued higher, however: "I am inclined to think that anthologies not compiled by imperial command tend to have a rather silent content—perhaps it's just because I don't like them."<sup>40</sup> The women also express longing to compile an anthology:

If only I were given the chance to be like the Lay Priest of the Third Rank [Fujiwara no Shunzei] and to assemble an anthology! ...There is nothing more deplorable than the fate of being a woman. From olden times there have been many of us who have loved emotions and studied the arts, but no woman has ever been chosen to compile a collection of poetry. This is really a great shame.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Some women undoubtedly assisted in the compilation process, as will be mentioned later, but no women were ever commissioned as a main anthologizer by the reigning or retired emperor. And it was always an *emperor*—again, while some empresses, such as Eifukumon'in, were likely influential in the compilation process, no empress ever ordered the compilation of an anthology.

<sup>39</sup> Michele Marra, "Mumyōzōshi: Introduction and Translation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, No. 2 (Summer, 1984): 119.

<sup>40</sup> Michele Marra, "Mumyōzōshi: Part 3," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, No. 4 (Winter, 1984): 420. See also Tanaka Takako. "Medieval Literature and Women: Focusing on the *Mumyōzōshi*," trans. Christina Laffin, in *Gender and Japanese History* 2, ed. Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy, Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999): 109.

<sup>41</sup> Marra, "Mumyōzōshi: Part 3," 421.

The discussion among the women then continues to the literary accomplishments of women in other genres, such as fictional narrative, but through this contextualization of the boundaries of gendered literary production. It is poignant that the conversation must first move through a realm of literary creation unavailable to women before turning to what they have accomplished.

The last significant shared characteristic of the imperial anthologies is that no poem was to be repeated within the anthologies. With each new anthology, compilation became an increasingly difficult task as one had to consult previous anthologies to ensure poems selected for the new anthology had not already been chosen. Thus each compiler needed, at certain stages of the compilation process, an awareness of the previous received poems by any particular individual. An anthologizer would be aware, therefore, of which of Lady Daibu's poems had already been chosen by previous anthologizers—had they chosen poems heavily contextualized by narrative (within her memoir) or poems on set topics? If narrative-based, was the narrative maintained or altered? Which books within the anthology had her poems appeared in? In short, any given anthologizer would understand how Lady Daibu had already been situated in relation to the poetic canon. This is one of main reasons my study progresses chronologically, but it poses another question: knowing how an individual had been canonized in previous anthologies, did an anthologizer choose poems that conformed to that characterization? If not, did their choice reject past anthologies' contextualization of her work, or did it affirm the success of that categorization in moving beyond it? Like many of the questions framing this study, it is difficult to formulate a definitive answer, but we will move forward with these questions in mind.

How have the latter imperial anthologies been received in Japanese and English scholarship? Unfortunately the bulk of scholarly attention is placed on the first eight anthologies, or *hachidaishū*. Many of the later anthologies even lack modern annotated versions; this presents difficulties to this study as all of Lady Daibu's anthology poems appear in later collections. The exceptions to this lack of scholarship are the two anthologies compiled by poets of the Kyōgoku poetic school: the fourteenth imperial anthology, *Gyokuyōshū*, and the seventeenth imperial anthology, *Fūgashū*. The Kyōgoku school and these anthologies will be discussed in their respective chapters, but it bears noting here that these two anthologies include the most poems by Lady Daibu, ten and six respectively (see Appendix A). English scholarship generally follows these trends in Japanese scholarship, although Stefania Burk's Ph.D. dissertation "Reading between the Lines: Poetry and Politics in the Imperial Anthologies of the Late Kamakura Period (1185-1333)," focuses on five of these post-*hachidaishū* anthologies, the twelfth through sixteenth.<sup>42</sup> I draw heavily from her dissertation for my contextualization of the *Gyokuyōshū*, the Kyōgoku school, and the interrelations of poetry, politics, and power.

After a brief introduction of Lady Daibu's memoir, in Chapter One I turn to reception of her poetry and narrative in *Shinchokusenshū* (New Imperial Collection, 1234), and continue chronologically in Chapter Two with her reception in *Gyokuyō wakashū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves, ca.1312), in Chapter Three with *Fūga wakashū* (Collection of Elegance, ca.1346), and in Chapter Four with the later anthologies— *ShinSenzai wakashū* (New Collection of a Thousand Years, 1359), *ShinShūi wakashū* (New Collection of Gleanings, 1364), *ShinGoShūi wakashū*

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<sup>42</sup> Stefania Burk, "Reading between the Lines: Poetry and Politics in the Imperial Anthologies of the Late Kamakura Period (1185-1333)" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001).

(New Collection of Later Gleanings, 1384), and *ShinShokuKokin wakashū* (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times Continued, 1439).

## Chapter 2: Lady Daibu's Poems in *Shinchokusen wakashū*

### 2.1 Introducing the *Shinchokusen wakashū*

Lady Daibu's poetry first appears in the ninth imperial anthology: *Shinchokusenshū* (New Imperial Collection, 1234), which was compiled by the eminent poet and scholar Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241). Teika was ordered to compile the anthology in 1232 by Emperor GoHorikawa (1212-1234, r.1221-1232), although he had known about the commission beforehand and already begun work.<sup>43</sup> The real powerhouse behind the project, however, was the regent Kujō Michiie (1193-1252), who hoped to both immortalize his clan and show loyalty to the bakufu. His plans were almost foiled when the emperor died suddenly at the age of twenty-three, on the sixth day of the eighth month of 1234, before official completion of the anthology. From the precedent of *ShokuShikashū* (Collection of Verbal Flowers Continued), an imperial anthology which had begun under the commission of Emperor Nijō (1143-1165, r.1158-1165) but was terminated before completion at his sudden death, Teika knew that he had lost his chance to present his collection and burned the *Shinchokusenshū* manuscript.<sup>44</sup> Michiie, however, was not so easily deterred. He retrieved an earlier draft of the anthology from the deceased emperor's belongings, made his own edits, and ordered Teika to incorporate his requests and finish the anthology. Teika did so, and Lady Daibu's nephew Fujiwara no

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<sup>43</sup> Ivo Smits, "The Poet and the Politician: Teika and the Compilation of the *Shinchokusenshū*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, No. 4 (1998): 440.

<sup>44</sup> Smits, "The Poet and the Politician," 452.

Yukiyoshi (dates unknown) completed writing the clean copy on the twelfth day of the third month of 1235.<sup>45</sup>

The circumstances of the anthology's commission influenced Teika's choice of poems. Ivo Smits states that the *Shinchokusenshū* was “[t]he first anthology in which the political dimensions of the compilation process are clearly visible” and “the first occasion for the bakufu to exert its influence over imperial anthologies.”<sup>46</sup> As it was produced shortly after Emperor GoToba's Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221, which attempted to overthrow the bakufu and resulted in the exile of GoToba, his son and heir Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242, r.1210-1221), and their allies, the bakufu wanted the anthology to highlight their status and those loyal to them without giving credence to those who had opposed them in the uprising. The bakufu did not need to act directly, however; Michiie's concern about their possible reaction to the anthology was sufficient to force the exclusion of any poems by GoToba, Juntoku, and some of their strong supporters, even if Michiie himself simultaneously advocated for an end to GoToba's exile.<sup>47</sup>

The politics of compilation pervade the whole anthology, including the preface. Teika emphasizes the peaceful reign of Emperor GoHorikawa, contrasting it to the turbulence of the previous decades which resulted in GoToba's rebellion; GoHorikawa “has restored order where there was disorder like that of fresh-cut reeds and has restored life to decay like that of the withered grasses of autumn.”<sup>48</sup> Teika draws on classic Chinese phrases from the *Wenxuan*

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 454.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 462.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 453, 456.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 442.

(Selections of Literature, ca. 530)—one of the earliest anthologies of Chinese literature and poetry—and comparisons to earlier golden ages of Japanese rule to strongly reinforce the old notion that “literature mirrors the state, and political and social order are reflected in poetry... the poems in [*Shinchokusenshū*] illustrate the righteousness of the reign of the ruler who commissioned it.” While this is not a new concept in the poetic anthologies, as mentioned in the introduction in conjunction with the first imperial anthology, Teika’s words are reinforced by the opening poem of Emperor GoHorikawa, the first instance in which an anthology opens with words from the imperial commissioner. Smits suggests that the opening poem in all previous anthologies was chosen not for political reasons but poetic merit.<sup>49</sup> It will come as no surprise, given the explicitly political nature of this anthology, that concerns of harmonizing the realm affect the presentation of Lady Daibu’s poems.

## 2.2 Lady Daibu’s Connection with Teika and Shunzei

Before turning to the poems, however, we must also consider whether or not Teika had access to Lady Daibu’s complete memoir. If not, any discussion of which poems were chosen (or not) for inclusion in the poetic anthologies becomes limited. Modern scholars presume that the text likely had limited circulation, at least within the author’s lifetime.<sup>50</sup> In addition, as

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<sup>49</sup> Smits also translates Teika’s preface. Smits, “The Poet and the Politician,” 443-444. Burk concurs that anthologizers increasingly paid more attention to the political status of poets rather than their poetic talent from the *Shinchokusenshū* onward, and that this particular choice to open the anthology with GoHorikawa is striking. Burk, “Reading between the Lines,” 195-196.

<sup>50</sup> This may be because the memoir favorably portrays members of the Taira clan, rivals to power of the Minamoto clan who held sway in GoToba’s court after their fall from power. Lady Daibu might not have wanted her sympathies with her former patrons and sadness at their demise so formally declared, especially given her post-war presence at court. Lady Daibu’s introduction to her work also suggests that her text was meant for herself alone, although as previously mentioned many women’s memoirs of the time contained similar statements that can be understood as gestures of humility. On the other hand, Lady Daibu may have intended her memoir as a memorial

mentioned in the introduction, the text appears structurally fragmented, with one textual lineage missing the second volume of her memoir entirely. It is possible, therefore, that at times the two volumes circulated separately, further complicating issues of access.

Despite these factors, there is strong evidence that Teika had full access to Lady Daibu's work. She had direct contact with Teika and a familial connection as well.<sup>51</sup> Many versions of Lady Daibu's memoirs, including the oldest extant version of the text,<sup>52</sup> have an epilogue which describes how Teika asked Lady Daibu in 1232 for poems that he could include in *Shinchokusenshū*. Most scholars agree that the main body of Lady Daibu's memoir must have been completed long before this exchange, between 1213 and 1219.<sup>53</sup> It is possible, then, that Lady Daibu gave Teika a complete copy of her manuscript, evidence that his descendants had the full version.

Harries further suggests that the famous poet Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204), Teika's father, may have been Lady Daibu's original patron at court. Women were frequently known not by their given names but the court title or residence of a family member or sponsor at court. Lady Daibu's appellation, "Ukyō no Daibu," is a court position that Shunzei held around the time of her entrance into Empress Tokushi's salon.<sup>54</sup> The exact year she began is uncertain,

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and literary prayer to the Heike, including her patron Empress Tokushi, who died before the completion of the memoir. This explanation parallels Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book, ca. 1005), which was completed after the death of her patron, Empress Teishi (977-1001). Haruo Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 248.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix D.1 for a genealogy.

<sup>52</sup> The Kyushu University text, described above in footnote #2.

<sup>53</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 292.

<sup>54</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 15-16.

however, and there is no other conclusive proof of this. Even if her title does not derive from him, Lady Daibu had contact with Shunzei—she exchanges poems with him on his ninetieth birthday. Shunzei fathered her half-brother, the priest Son'en, before her mother married Koreyuki (see Appendix D.1 for genealogy).<sup>55</sup> In addition to Sukemori, Lady Daibu exchanged romantic verses with another man, Fujiwara no Takanobu, who appears briefly but anonymously in her memoirs.<sup>56</sup> He was Shunzei's stepson.<sup>57</sup> Her nephew, Fujiwara no Yuki Yoshi (1179-?), was trained in the family business of Sesonji school calligraphy and copied out the final version of *Shinchokusenshū* for Teika.<sup>58</sup> In short, Lady Daibu was connected to Teika through extended familial ties which she used to her poetic advantage and took care to mention within her memoir. Tange Atsuko argues that these textual references to Shunzei—including the closing scene of the memoir, where she exchanges poems with him on his ninetieth birthday—are included to stress her poetic authority in an appeal to future anthologizers.<sup>59</sup>

### 2.3 Poetic Decontextualization from the Heike Clan to Harmonize the Realm

Perhaps in part due to these connections to Shunzei, Teika chose two of Lady Daibu's poems to appear in the *Shinchokusenshū*. The first, placed in the middle of the third of five books

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<sup>55</sup> Gary DeCoker and Alex Kerr, "Yakaku teikinshō: Secret Teachings of the Sesonji School of Calligraphy," *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, No. 3 (1994): 316.

<sup>56</sup> As Takanobu remains unnamed in her memoir—an anonymity that is also granted at times to Sukemori—his presence in her memoir as a potential lover remained unacknowledged until 1934, when some of these poetic exchanges in her memoir were discovered in Takanobu's poetry collection. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 18-20.

<sup>57</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 19.

<sup>58</sup> Ivo Smits, "The Poet and the Politician," 454.

<sup>59</sup> Tange Atsuko, "Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū saishusshi kagun no ichizuke," *Shirin* 51, edited by Osaka daigaku kodai chūsei bungaku kenkyūkai (April 2012): 7.

of love poetry, is attributed to her but completely decontextualized; the headnote reads, “Topic unknown.”

わす 忘れじの	If this were not a world
ちぎ 契りたがはぬ	That did not contradict
世なりせば	Our pledges never to forget,
たのみやせまし	Then I would trust in it,
きみ 君がひとこと <sup>60</sup>	This word of yours. <sup>61</sup>

In her memoir, this poem is written during her days at Emperor Takakura’s court and suggests that she used the rhetoric of waka to banter. It was addressed to Taira no Shigehira, Sukemori’s uncle and the fifth son of Kiyomori, in response to his suggestion that they maintain their friendship forever. In the context of her memoir, then, there are no seriously implied romantic connotations—Shigehira is neither her lover, nor are there indications that he will become one. This decontextualization in the *Shinchokusenshū* not only removes the object of her playful jesting but allows for a romantic reading.

It is tempting to think that Teika excluded a headnote for this poem—and, indeed, was forced to censor his whole selection of Lady Daibu’s poetry—because of her connection to the Heike clan. Not only is Shigemori stripped from the above poem, but also the reason why Lady Daibu was so close to him and a dominant theme of her memoir—her secret relationship with Sukemori. This would not be the first time the Heike had been censored in an imperial anthology. Teika’s father Shunzei had self-censored Heike poets in his compilation of the seventh imperial anthology, *Senzaishū* (Collection of a Thousand Years, ca. 1188), due to the

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<sup>60</sup> *Shinchokusenshū* #842. Nakagawa Hirō, ed., *Shinchokusen wakashū*, Waka bungaku taikai 6 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2005): 161. Lady Daibu # 197. Kubota Jun, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 96. Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 93.

<sup>61</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 183.

immediacy of their fall from power and defeat in 1185. In a famous example, Shunzei includes a poem from his former student, Taira no Tadanori (1144-1184), but lists it as “anonymous.” One might imagine that, given the previously mentioned emphasis within this anthology on the harmony of GoHorikawa’s reign, explicit references to war would be avoided. However, Ivo Smits argues that it is *immediate* political threats, not just war-related content, that govern Teika’s decisions of exclusion. He points out that Teika not only defiantly includes “some politically problematic poets” in *Shinchokusenshū* such as Taira no Yukimori (d. 1185), Teika’s close friend and pupil who gave him a set of poems before fleeing the capital with the Heike clan during the Genpei War, but also credits Yukimori’s name and details the circumstances of the exchange in the headnote.<sup>62</sup> Smits concludes that Teika was able to include Yukimori’s name and Heike affiliation due to the fifty years that had passed since his death and the lack of immediate political threat.<sup>63</sup>

If Lady Daibu’s connection to the Heike clan is similarly outdated and no longer a political threat, why, then, are the circumstances of her poem censored? Nakahara argues that it is because Shigemori symbolized the tragedy of the Heike clan within Lady Daibu’s memoir.<sup>64</sup> Any mention of him in a headnote would necessarily redirect the reader to focus on his death, which would be at odds with the light-hearted tone of her poem.

With the lack of a headnote, the poem can be read with only the expectations one brings to the third book of love poetry (discussed in more detail later). In removing the context found

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<sup>62</sup> The poem is *Shinchokusenshū* #1194, the second miscellaneous section and Book 17. Ivo Smits, “The Poet and the Politician,” 450-451.

<sup>63</sup> Smits, “The Poet and the Politician,” 452.

<sup>64</sup> Nakahara, “Chokusenshū ga motomeru mono,” 32.

within the memoir completely, Teika not only avoids this potentially clashing emotive response but also hides Lady Daibu's relationship with Sukemori, which may not have been general knowledge during her lifetime. It is also possible that although Teika was willing to include Taira no Yukimori's poetry because of their teacher-pupil relationship, he did not want to flood the decidedly harmonious *Shinchokusenshū* with poetry associated with war and conflict.

Lady Daibu's second poem in the *Shinchokusenshū* falls into the second of three miscellaneous books, Book 16. It includes a short headnote in the anthology:

In the time of Emperor Takakura, this was tied to some fake leaves and dispatched to someone who said they wanted to see the autumn leaves from the Wisteria Hall:

ふ かぜ 吹く風も 枝にのどけき みよなれば ち もみぢ 散らぬ紅葉の いろ 色をこそ見れ <sup>65</sup>	Such is this age That even rushing winds Are tranquil in the boughs: Gaze, then, upon the colors Of maple leaves that shall not fall. <sup>66</sup>
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While Nakamura Shin'ichirō has suggested that Teika chose this poem because its traditional nature appealed to him in his old age, the literary scholar Nakahara Mari thinks this a poor reason for someone of Teika's poetic reputation. She points to the line "even rushing winds are tranquil in the boughs," (*fuku kaze mo eda ni nodokeki* ふく風も枝にのどけき), which echoes a poem by Saionji Saneuji (1194-1269) in the first book of spring poetry.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *Shinchokusenshū* #1098, Lady Daibu #111. Nakagawa, *Shinchokusenshū*, 207; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 55; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 61.

<sup>66</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 139.

<sup>67</sup> Nakahara, "Chokusenshū ga motomeru mono," 30.

Composed in the eleventh month of the first year of Kangi [1229] at the folding screen [poetry contest] at Her Majesty's entrance into court,<sup>68</sup> on the topic of "a willow outside of a dwelling near a river and the mountains."

うちはへて	unchanging
世は春ならし	as if springtime lingers in the world
ふ <small>かせ</small> 吹く風も	even the rushing winds
えだ 枝をならさぬ	don't howl in the branches
あおやぎ <small>いと</small> 青柳の糸 <sup>69</sup>	of the strands of the willow tree <sup>70</sup>

The headnote indicates this was composed in 1229, which is important because Saneuji had served Emperor GoToba and sided with him during the Jōkyū Rebellion. He was briefly jailed afterward before being released.<sup>71</sup> However, the line that Nakahara indicates is a reference to the fifty-second volume of *Ronkō* (Critical Essays, ca. 80 C.E.), a Chinese classic text with essays on literature, philosophy, Chinese mythology, and natural science by Wang Chong (27- c. 100AD).<sup>72</sup> The line in the original text reads,

風不鳴籜	The wind doesn't cause the branches to howl, and
雨不破塊 <sup>73</sup>	the rain [falls so softly that it] doesn't break up clods of earth. <sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Fujiwara no Shunshi (1209-1233), Michiie's daughter and one of Emperor GoHorikawa's consorts. Her imperial name was Sōhekimon'in, and her son became Emperor Shijō (1231-1242, r. 1232-1242). She entered court on the sixteenth day of the eleventh month, and the contest was held on the twenty-third day of the same month. Nakagawa, *Shinchokusenshū*, 271.

<sup>69</sup> *Shinchokusenshū* #28. Nakagawa, *Shinchokusenshū*, 12.

<sup>70</sup> This is my translation.

<sup>71</sup> After the completion of *Shinchokusenshū*, Saneuji rose quickly in the ranks, eventually marrying a daughter to Emperor GoSaga (1220-1272) and becoming the grandfather of Emperors GoFukakusa (1243-1304, r.1246-1260) and Kameyama (1249-1305, r.1259-1274).

<sup>72</sup> Nakahara, "Chokusenshū ga motomeru mono," 30.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. A transliterated version reads *kazeeda o narasazu, ametsuchikure o yaburazu* 風枝を鳴らさず、雨塊を破らず

These two images metaphorically represent a tranquil and peaceful world.<sup>75</sup> Both poems reference a peaceful reign, and the headnote introducing Lady Daibu's poem in *Shinchokusenshū* specifically mentions Emperor Takakura, contextualizing this within her days at his court, serving Empress Tokushi.

This poem by Lady Daibu exemplifies Gustav Heldt's theory of harmonization within the poetic anthologies and serves Teika's goal of emphasizing peace in the aftermath of the Jokyū Rebellion, as mentioned at the start of this chapter and emphasized in his preface.<sup>76</sup> The poem also stands in stark contrast to the experiences in the latter half of Lady Daibu's memoir; she writes this poem before the Genpei War, before she knows lamentation. Tange argues that in the final section of her memoir (see Appendix A), Lady Daibu portrays herself as the only one left at court familiar with aristocratic life prior to the Genpei War in order to promote her expertise as a form of cultural currency. Tange writes how this was meant to appeal to Teika as a reason for including her in his imperial anthology.<sup>77</sup> Teika's selection of this particular poem seems to confirm the effectiveness of this stance—she has the authority to make this assertion about Emperor Takakura's court.

Of course, neither Lady Daibu's stance within her memoir as a solitary pillar of knowledge, nor this poem extolling the peacefulness of Emperor Takakura's reign, are

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<sup>74</sup> This is my translation.

<sup>75</sup> Nakahara, "Chokusenshū ga motomeru mono," 30.

<sup>76</sup> Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*.

<sup>77</sup> Tange, "Saishusshi kagun no ichizuke," 8, 10.

necessarily historically accurate. As mentioned in the introduction, I am operating from a position of viewing Lady Daibu's memoir as her contemporaries and later medieval readers would have read it—as a factual text. Even if we only concern ourselves with the representations within Lady Daibu's memoir, however, Emperor Takakura's reign was not a completely peaceful era—she composes two poems to Lady Kyōgoku (dates unknown) upon hearing that her husband Fujiwara no Narichika (1138-1178) is being exiled for his participation in the Shishigatani Incident of 1177, an attempt to overthrow Taira no Kiyomori from power. This occurred during Lady Daibu's time in Emperor Takakura's court, and although the Shishigatani Incident is not specified by name, the prose context mentions Narichika's banishment (see Appendix B for timeline).<sup>78</sup> Lady Kyōgoku was one of Shunzei's daughters; her kinship might explain Lady Daibu's impulse to write to her (see Appendix D.1 for genealogy).

Setting aside the relative peace within Emperor Takakura's reign, this poem by Lady Daibu, singing praise for Emperor Takakura, is relevant in the context of her memoir as a whole. It is the first poem included in the anthologies to point to Lady Daibu's relationship to Emperor Takakura; we will see another in the final imperial anthology, *ShinShokuKokinshū*. Scholars have used the structure of her memoir to argue that it began as a monument to Emperor Takakura's reign.<sup>79</sup> For instance, the first book begins with her entrance into the court of his Empress and ends with his death. This strongly contrasts with the second book of her memoir, which expresses longing not only for Sukemori and his clan but also the glory and refinement

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<sup>78</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 135-137.

<sup>79</sup> For instance, Kusakabe Ryōen argues that the first and second halves of the memoir were written for different purposes, with the first intended to glorify Emperor Takakura's reign. Kusakabe Ryōen, *Sensonji Koreyuki no musume Ukyo no Daibu kashū*, Kasama sensho series #88 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1978).

they brought to the court. While some scholars see this as a rupture in the cohesion of the work,<sup>80</sup> others have viewed the two halves of the text as bound together around this binary of greatness/lack of greatness, with the latter half of the memoir also serving to show the excellence of Emperor Takakura's reign.<sup>81</sup>

While Teika completely decontextualizes the romantic *Shinchokusenshū* #842, the contextualization of the political *Shinchokusenshū* #1098 shows a glimpse into Lady Daibu's early life at court. He specifically chose a poem which does not color Emperor Takakura's reign by later events, which might seem critical to the current administration. He does not embrace Lady Daibu's connection to the Heike, but as he includes his previously-mentioned friend Taira no Yukimori, this does not seem to be because he is wary to include such material. Teika may have wanted to minimize the amount of tumultuous content, however, given his concerns of stressing peace within this anthology. In choosing this poem, Teika not only aligns with his overall goals but also takes cues from the memoir itself, which purports that its writer has expert knowledge about the pre-Genpei War court.

Lady Daibu may only have two poems included in the *Shinchokusenshū*, but they are her first reception in the imperial anthologies which later compilers would be aware of and look back upon. The fact that Teika, the most famous poet of his generation, selected her poetry would have reverberations in later anthologies. In the next chapter we will see how Teika's hand

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<sup>80</sup> Kusakabe, who was mentioned above, is one example. Others have seen the first half as meant to be shown to others with the second half of the memoir retained as a private memoir. Tani Tomoko takes this stance. Shimoasa Chiho, "Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū no jo, batsu to daimei: 'waga me hitotsu ni' to 'sono yo no mama ni,'" *Daigakuin kyō*, Nisho Gakusha University 19 (2005): 93.

<sup>81</sup> Shimoasa adopts this stance of the text as written as a monument to Emperor Takakura's reign in "Jo, batsu to daimei," 92. This reasoning of the impetus behind the text's production is in line with Mostow's analyses of the politically motivated memoirs and poetry collections of the mid-Heian period, which were mentioned in the introduction. Mostow, *House of Gathered Leaves*, 1-38.

influenced her later reception and how the anthologizers recreated Lady Daibu's image as grounded in a Heike-centered narrative.

## Chapter 3: Lady Daibu's Poems in *Gyokuyō wakashū*

### 3.1 Introduction to the Text

Since Teika was a highly influential poet, one might think that his recognition of Lady Daibu's poetry in *Shinchokusenshū* would secure her future in later anthologies. Teika's descendants dominated compilation of the subsequent imperial anthologies, but her poems did not appear in another for seventy-eight years, missing inclusion in four anthologies, the tenth through thirteenth: *ShokuGosen wakashū* (Later Collection Continued, 1251), *ShokuKokin wakashū* (Collection of Ancient and Modern Times Continued, 1265), *ShokuShūi wakashū* (Collection of Gleanings Continued, ca. 1278), and *ShinGosen wakashū* (New Later Collection, 1303). This might suggest that the anthologizers of these collections did not recognize her poetry as worthy of selection, or that they did not have access to her memoir.

Lady Daibu's poetry reappears in the fourteenth imperial anthology, *Gyokuyō wakashū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves, ca.1312; hereafter *Gyokuyōshū*), compiled by Teika's great-grandson Fujiwara no Tamekane, or Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254-1332). He is the only official compiler but had many assistants, and it is suspected that his sister Fujiwara no Tameko (dates unknown) had significant input into the collection.<sup>82</sup>

Why is Lady Daibu's poetry not included in four anthologies but reappears in the *Gyokuyōshū* in abundance, with ten poems? (Appendix A) The division of Teika's descendants

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<sup>82</sup> Tameko received direct poetic training by Tameie alongside Tamekane, and Tameie consulted her on poetic matters. She also served Emperor Fushimi (1265-1317, r. 1287-1298), a patron of the Kyōgoku poetic school. Naturally, Tamekane, Tameko, and Emperor Fushimi all rank highly in the number of poems included in the *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* (Appendix E.1 and E.2). Robert Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane: Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 1989: p.22-23, 43-44. I use Iwasa's annotation of *Gyokuyōshū*. Iwasa Miyoko, *Gyokuyō wakashū zenchūshaku* 1-4 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin), 1996.

into different poetic schools may point to one possible explanation. Teika's son, Fujiwara no Tameie (1198-1275), carried on his father's poetic legacy and similarly had a hand in two imperial poetic anthologies, the *ShokuGosen wakashū* and the *ShokuKokin wakashū*.<sup>83</sup> After Tameie's death, his descendants formed three hereditary poetic factions. The heads of the schools during the compilation of the *Gyokuyōshū* are as follows: Fujiwara no Tameyo (1250-1338) in the Nijō poetic line; Kyōgoku Tamenori (1227-1279), Tamekane's father, in the Kyōgoku line; and Fujiwara no Tamesuke (1263-1328) in the Reizei line.<sup>84</sup> These poetic schools were divided not only along familial and literary lines but also poetically and economically supported by antagonistic political factions. The Nijō were allied with the Junior, or Daikakuji, imperial line headed by Emperor Kameyama (1249-1305, r.1259-1274), and the Kyōgoku with the Senior, or Jimyō'in, imperial line headed by Emperor GoFukakusa (1243-1304, r.1246-1260). The imperial line had split following a dispute in succession after the death of Emperor GoSaga (1220-1272, r.1242-1246), the father of the two emperors listed above. Burk's dissertation both explains and shows the complexity of these relationships between the imperial and poetic lines.

By the mid-fourteenth century, when the *Gyokuyōshū* was compiled, the Nijō school been the dominant faction for decades. The literary scholar Kobayashi Mamoru notes that the Nijō poets did not include any lamentation poetry relating to the Heike in their four imperial anthologies after Teika's *Shinchokusenshū*.<sup>85</sup> This would partially explain their aversion to Lady Daibu's poetry, which is heavily contextualized within her memoir as relating to the Heike clan,

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<sup>83</sup> Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 226.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. The Reizei line was never chosen to compile an anthology and thus will not feature in this study.

<sup>85</sup> Kobayashi Mamoru, "*Gyokuyō wakashū* no aishōka," 141.

through her relationship with Sukemori and contacts at court. Her poetry had been included in the earlier *Shinchokusenshū* anthology only after being decontextualized from the Heike social sphere with a refocusing on her connection and loyalty to the imperial line. The Nijō poets could have treated her poetry similarly; that they did not suggests that they did not have access to her memoir until after the Kyōgoku poets had rehabilitated her as a poet worthy of selection.

In addition to the schisms among Teika's descendants, another factor influencing Lady Daibu's inclusion in *Gyokuyōshū* is a general trend within the text—*Gyokuyōshū* seems to revitalize both female poets and poets from the far past, dating back to the *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, after 759).<sup>86</sup> The previous two anthologies had limited their chronological range to more recent poets. This anthology gave the Kyōgoku line their first opportunity for compilation and thus included poets from the furthest reaches of waka history to show how their poetic style is supported by poetry throughout the ages.<sup>87</sup> The representation of female poets, both past and contemporary, may reflect the participation of female poets within Kyōgoku poetic events, particularly Tamekane's sister Tameko, who ranks fourth-highest for the number of poems included in *Gyokuyōshū*; Eifukumon'in (1271-1342), who was the consort of the commissioning Retired Emperor Fushimi (1265-1317, r.1287-1298), and ranks eighth-highest; and Izumi Shikibu, a Heian poet who ranks tenth.<sup>88</sup> No female poet had ranked in the

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<sup>86</sup> While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the general representation of female poets within imperial anthologies, there are forty-six women who have four or more poems in the *Gyokuyōshū*, and of those thirty are past poets. See Appendix E.2.

<sup>87</sup> Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 184-185.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-181. Also see Appendix E.1 and E.2.

top ten poets for number of poems included within an imperial anthology since Teika's *Shinchokusenshū*.<sup>89</sup>

The Kyōgoku poets' efforts to revitalize Lady Daibu in particular are evident from how many of her poems they chose to include in their anthologies—*Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* contain significantly more poems by Lady Daibu than any of the other imperial anthologies (Appendix A). Indeed, she ranks quite highly in the overall poem-count, in the top fifty poets in *Gyokuyōshū* (out of 2801 poets), and in the top forty-eight poets in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* combined (Appendix F.1 and F.2). If we narrow the focus to the representation of long-dead female poets, the value placed on her work is even more apparent—Lady Daibu is in the top five past female poets in *Gyokuyōshū* and in the top four for *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* combined.

As previously mentioned, based on Teika's direct correspondence and familial connection with Lady Daibu, it is likely that he had access to her complete memoir. The only poems from Lady Daibu's memoir that appear in the Kyōgoku anthologies (*Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, to be discussed in the next chapter), however, are found in either the memoir sections concerning her early days at court (including her budding romance with Sukemori) or the sections that describe the end of the Genpei War, the deaths of Sukemori and other members of his family, and her resulting grief (Appendix A). Unlike Teika, who decontextualized this link to Lady Daibu's poem in the *Shinchokusenshū*, the Kyōgoku poets appear interested in poems by Lady Daibu that emphasize both her secret romance and post-Genpei War grief.

Why did the Kyōgoku poets choose not to include any of her poetry on set topics, or any of the series of fifty-one Tanabata-themed poems? While one could conclude that the Kyōgoku

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 181.

poets were more interested in reconstructing Lady Daibu's story than recognizing her poems per se, issues of transmission arise. Did the Kyōgoku poets have access to her complete diary? Harries suggests that Lady Daibu may have only given Teika "a short excerpt from her work, retaining the whole for herself and her closest friends."<sup>90</sup> If this were the case, why would she give Teika only the more contextualized, intimate sections? It seems likely that if Lady Daibu granted Teika access to the sections of her memoir that detail her secret love-life and intense personal grief, she would also have given him the sections meant to highlight her public poetry on set topics. A more logical explanation would be to assume that Lady Daibu gave him the whole memoir, which his Kyōgoku descendants later accessed.

This chapter will primarily address the portrayal of Lady Daibu in the *Gyokuyōshū* as a poetic everywoman in her love poetry and public lamenter of the Heike clan in her elegiac poetry. It will also examine the inherent discrepancies between poetic convention and maintaining a self-narrative within the imperial anthologies and how the anthologizers chose to respond to these.

### 3.2 Lady Daibu as Poetic Everywoman in *Gyokuyōshū* Love Poems

The *Gyokuyōshū* was compiled in 1313, at least 50 years after Lady Daibu's death. How did Kyōgoku no Tamekane and his compilation assistants reframe the poems that tell of Lady Daibu's budding romance and subsequent lost love? Three of her poems appear in the volumes of love poetry, one in each of Books Three through Five.<sup>91</sup> Another poem attributed to Sukemori

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<sup>90</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 301.

<sup>91</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* #1549, 1660, and 1759.

quotes one of her poems in its headnote and forms a response.<sup>92</sup> The presentation of Lady Daibu's poems within the *Gyokuyōshū* love poetry sequence suggests a rewriting of her story in two respects: a focus on her connections with others and an altered ending to her love story. The *Gyokuyōshū* compilers made a conscientious effort to include Lady Daibu's poems in sequence with other people and poems of her age. Although Lady Daibu does exchange many poems in the first half of her memoir (see Appendix C), *Gyokuyōshū* only includes those with Heike men, specifically her lover Sukemori and his uncle Taira no Shigehira (1158-1185). These men were among those killed in the Genpei War and for whom she grieved so desperately in the latter half of her memoir. The presentation of her poems in exchanges with them, immortalized for all time in the imperial anthology, present a form of elegiac coda to Lady Daibu's memoir. Although Lady Daibu and her correspondents are all long dead, the imperial anthologies offer a meeting ground which not only reunites them but also allows their poetic conversations to be re-enacted in new dialogues.

This approach is evident from Lady Daibu's first poem in the *Gyokuyōshū*, which appears in the third book of love poetry. The poem is a response to Sukemori's uncle Shigehira, who chides her for being formal and distant with him. Lady Daibu's playful response, *Gyokuyōshū* #1549, treats his words as a romantic invitation and includes a headnote not only detailing her relationship with Sukemori but also Shigehira's words to her:

When she was writing love letters to the former Middle Captain of  
the Right<sup>93</sup> Sukemori, the former Middle Captain of the Left<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* #1566.

<sup>93</sup> His title in the original is *Ukon no chūjō* 右近中将.

<sup>94</sup> His title in the original is *Sakon no chūjō* 左近中将.

Shigehira said, “Why do you forsake the ties that bind me to him [and through him, to you]? Think of us as the same,” so in reply:

ぬれそめし	When already I have made
袖だにあるを	My sleeves so drenched,
おなじのゝ	Why should I walk, as I have before,
露をばさのみ	Amongst the dew drops
いかゞわくべき <sup>95</sup>	Of that selfsame field? <sup>96</sup>

In short, Lady Daibu enters the anthology bound to Sukemori and in dialogue with him. The poems preceding Lady Daibu’s first poem in *Gyokuyōshū*, #1547-1548, are also a paired poetic exchange. Not all of the love poems in book three are paired; many are listed either as composed on a set topic, as public poetry, or completely decontextualized with no topic listed. Out of the 122 poems in the third book of love, there are only six exchanges. Thus both sides of a historical poetic exchange can only be gleaned in ten percent of the love poems in this book. This low number may reflect the increasing reliance on poetry contests and set topics (*dai*) for the creation of poetry for inclusion in the imperial anthologies, but the exchanges themselves are not unusual given the context of the Third Book of love in an imperial anthology.

The conventional arc of classical Japanese love poetry, which was established in the literary tradition with the first imperial anthology, *Kokin wakashū* (Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times, 905), is structured on the natural cycle in a “pattern of blossoming, flourishing, and decline.”<sup>97</sup> These phases, representing an “ideology of love” premised on an inevitable break-up at the end of a romance, progress through five books of

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<sup>95</sup> Miyoko Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 2, 348-349.

<sup>96</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 183.

<sup>97</sup> Janet Walker, “Conventions of Love Poetry in Japan and the West,” *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 14, No. 1 (April 1979): 34.

poetry in the imperial anthologies.<sup>98</sup> The first book of love, or the beginning of the relationship, is dominated by male voices. They catch a glimpse of a lady or simply hear about her beauty and long to meet her. The relationship reaches its height in the second book of love, though signs of its decline also begin to emerge. The third book presents a regular liaison. The relationship quickly declines, however, and the women's voices proportionally increase with their displeasure at being neglected (Book Four). The "end" of a relationship may vary but is predominantly represented by the bitter voice of the abandoned woman (Book Five).<sup>99</sup>

The scholar Janet Walker examines the influence of this conventional poetic arc upon representations of romance in literature based on a historical romance. She analyzes the tension in the *Izumi Shikibu nikki* (The Diary of Izumi Shikibu, after 1004) between "the poetic view of a love affair—an idealized view of love influenced by the poetic anthology" and "the demands of a realistic narrative or... the author's sense of loyalty to the facts of the affair as she knew them."<sup>100</sup> This is the reverse form of reception of what I am examining here, of how poetic conventions affected narrative creation, rather than how narratives are received within poetic anthologies under the rules of those conventions. I use this example because one of the points I would like to make is similar. While the poetic convention established a literary norm for the progression of a romance, there are still points of tension between the conventional arc and

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Walker, "Conventions of Love Poetry," 34. In a review of Harries' translation of Lady Daibu's memoir, Richard Bowring discusses how the waka poetic tradition left little room for variation from this theme, and how these literary conventions affected how actual relationships proceeded. The arc of love poetry was well established by Lady Daibu's time. Richard Bowring, "Review of *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu*," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7, No. 2 (1981): 449. Brower and Miner also summarize the general arc of courtly love poetry. Robert Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 391-392.

<sup>100</sup> Janet Walker, "Poetic Ideal and Fictional Reality in the *Izumi Shikibu nikki*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37, No. 1 (June 1977): 136.

individual narratives. Walker argues that the *Izumi Shikibu nikki* violates the standard love arc within poetic conventions by placing marriage as “the true end of the *Diary*’s depiction of the development of a love affair,” instead of an abandoned and embittered woman.<sup>101</sup>

The love story within Lady Daibu’s memoir also does not follow the standard romantic arc of poetic convention. Before returning to the reception of Lady Daibu’s love poems in the *Gyokuyōshū*, let us turn briefly to Lady Daibu’s self-portrayal of her romance with Sukemori and the obvious discrepancies between it and the poetic arc. While such an examination is worthy of its own study, a brief glance will point to elements of her self-narrative which would present obvious difficulties for the anthologizers to adapt.

Lady Daibu is initially resistant to falling in love: “...after seeing and hearing of other people’s unhappy affairs I felt I ought not to let anything of that sort happen to me. Destiny, however, is not to be avoided, and in spite of my resolve, I also came to know love’s miseries.”<sup>102</sup> With this summary, Lady Daibu’s self-narrative skips the beginning of the love affair and jumps to poetry and a point in the narrative arc typical of the third and fourth book of love poetry, with exchanges between the lovers but also many of her complaints of neglect. Her relations with Sukemori do not break off entirely, however, even when she leaves court to care for her ailing mother in 1178 (see Appendix B for timeline). He continues to visit her until 1183, just before his clan is forced to leave the capital by warriors of the opposing forces. During their last meeting recorded in the memoir, Sukemori asks her to pray for him, saying:

...there can be no doubt that I, too, shall number among the dead... I am resolved in my heart not to think of myself as the

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<sup>101</sup> Walker, “Poetic Ideal and Fictional Reality,” 178.

<sup>102</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 111.

person I once was. For if I once begin to feel emotion... or to yearn for a particular person, there would never be an end to it... I have renounced all attachments to this world. I have made up my mind not to send you even the briefest of messages from whatever distant shore I find myself upon. *Don't think, however, that my love for you is weak merely because I send no word.* In all that concerns this world I have come to think of myself as one already dead.<sup>103</sup>

Leaving aside, for now, the implications of a warrior going into battle as one already-dead,<sup>104</sup> we see Sukemori's words (emphasis added) directly contradict poetic convention—if a (male) lover truly cared for a woman, then he would visit and/or write to her. The woman also shows her affection by writing. In war, however, messengers could not travel as freely as in the capital—his captured messenger could prove a security risk for the location of the troops—and not knowing where his troops may travel, there is no realistic way for her to send a message to him. This circumstance throws their relationship outside of the standard conventions of romance, both poetically (in their inability to write to each other despite deep feelings of love) and socially (in their enforced physical separation despite an established relationship).

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<sup>103</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 191.

<sup>104</sup> This idea of “living while dead” is further reinforced by one of Sukemori's poems anthologized within *Gyokuyōshū*, #2344, with an intense focus on the matter of existence (*aru*, in bold):

After he had left the capitol, he heard from a woman [he loved] who had written to him about the former Middle Captain of the Right Koremori passing on and wrote this in response as an expression of how his grief had become even more intense:

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

This poem appears in Lady Daibu's memoir (#221) as part of a response to poems that Lady Daibu had sent to him about the death of his brothers. It is Sukemori's last poem in her memoir before she hears of his death. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 340; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 109; Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 205; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 111.

While Lady Daibu is only able to exchange poems with Sukemori once after he leaves the capital before his death in 1185, she writes many poems concerning her feelings of love and worry for him. One example is *Gyokuyōshū* #2498:

In autumn of the second year of Jūei [1183], she gazed out and mused on the sadness of the scene—a night lit by moonlight, the sound of the wind, the patterns of the clouds—and fearing for those outside of the capital, composed this:

いづくにて	In what far place,
いかなることを	With thoughts of what sad things,
思ひつつ	Will he be gazing
こよひ 今宵の月に	At the moon this night
そでしほ 袖絞るらむ <sup>105</sup>	And wringing out his tear-drenched sleeves? <sup>106</sup>

The dating of this poem in the *Gyokuyōshū* headnote indicates it was written shortly after the Heike fled the capital from invading Minamoto troops (see Appendix B for timeline), which is corroborated with its placement in Lady Daibu's memoir. The intensity of this connection between Lady Daibu and Sukemori is more reminiscent of the earlier stages of love, such as in the second and third books of love poetry, a degree of passion not yet expressed within their relationship as depicted in the memoir because of the way in which the narrative is summarized at the beginning of their relationship, as discussed above. We get, then, something of a reverse love arc, with her feelings of fondness for him shown more strongly at the end of their romantic narrative. One could say that their romance ends with his death in 1185, but in fact her feelings

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<sup>105</sup> Lady Daibu #205. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3: 449; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 99-100. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 102.

<sup>106</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 193.

only intensify further after this, and the rest of the memoir is spent longing for him. The depth of her longing to reunite with him can be seen in *Gyokuyōshū* #2416:

After the former Middle Captain of the Right Sukemori passed away, when she was passing by the shore [of Lake Biwa] at Shiga, the wind whipped up, and even though she could see waves rising, she thought, “Even in a place like this, if only [he lived], how happy I would be!” and composed this:

恋ひしのぶ	If only the Sea of Ōmi
人に <sup>あふみ</sup> 近江の	Were, like its name, a sea of meeting
<sup>うみ</sup> 海ならば	With the one for whom I yearn,
荒き波にも	Then would I gladly mingle
たちまじらまし <sup>107</sup>	Even with these raging waves. <sup>108</sup>

Even after Sukemori’s death, she wants only to reunite with him. The narrative never turns to the late-stage of love typical of Book Five, as Lady Daibu never expresses the bitterness of the abandoned woman after Sukemori’s (figurative and literal) death. There is instead a mingling of her intense love with grief, to which we will return later.

In addition to this friction between the poetic conventions of the anthologies and the wartime romance in Lady Daibu’s memoir, the framing of the headnote changes in the new genre. Her memoir is read in the first-person voice, but the headnotes in the anthologies are usually read in third-person voice. While the poem itself remains her first-person “voice,” and many of the headnotes closely resemble prose in her memoir, the narrative is clearly repackaged. In selecting

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<sup>107</sup> Lady Daibu #258. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3: 392; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 131-131. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 131.

<sup>108</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 233.

and mediating voices of the past to the reader, the anthologizers present their version of cultural history with different poets representing certain discourses of the past.

To summarize, there are concerns and areas of conflict in the memorialization of the past with poetic conventions, both internally in the self-memoir and externally in its reception in the imperial anthologies. Before examining how the anthologizers grappled with these discrepancies, I will briefly summarize the existing scholarship on the internal conflicts. In his review of Harries' translation of Lady Daibu's memoir, the literary and religious studies scholar Richard Bowring detailed how any text written in the *waka* tradition is bound to its poetic conventions, in the manner of a "straightjacket" or "blueprint."<sup>109</sup> He writes that "[n]o matter how unusual a love affair it might have been—and we have no way of knowing of course—the decision to present it through the medium of a *waka* chronicle inevitably turns it into a narrative guided by the dictates of tradition; a specific affair becomes a typical affair which proceeds in an order sanctioned by its literary forebears," and proposes that prose is the only escape away from the confines of this genre.<sup>110</sup>

Harries suggests that Lady Daibu's war experience not only permits but *requires* her to break with poetic convention—" [h]er experience was such as could not be expressed in the conventional poetry of her own age. Hers was a loss in warfare, which was beyond the experience of most courtiers of the time, to whom violent death was virtually unknown... it was an experience for which Heian aesthetics [grounded in poetic convention] had not prepared

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<sup>109</sup> Richard Bowring, "Review of *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu*," 448-449.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 448.

her.”<sup>111</sup> How, then, could imperial anthologizers include this narrative while still conforming to the conventions which structured the work they sought to create?

Lady Daibu’s exchange with Shigehira in the third book of love poetry in *Gyokuyōshū*, discussed above, is neither incongruent with her romantic self-portrayal within her memoir, nor is it unprecedented within the conventional arc of love poetry. A later exchange of poems between Lady Daibu and Sukemori in the fifth book of love is more striking. As the only exchange in the whole book of ninety-six poems, theirs is extremely unusual for a number of reasons, not least of which because, as previously mentioned, the last book of love poetry is typically predominated by female voices lamenting the end of their love affairs. Book Five marks the end of the love cycle; at this point, communication between the two parties is rare. The exchange occurs toward the beginning of the book, about thirty poems into the ninety-six poem sequence. The atypical nature of this poetic exchange suggests an intentional rewriting of their love story from how it appeared in Lady Daibu’s memoir.

Not only do these two poems speak to one another, but the initial poem—attributed to Sukemori (*Gyokuyōshū* #1758)—is written in response to a criticism from Lady Daibu. The exchange itself occurs not in isolation but as part of an ongoing dialogue. While the incidence of a man and woman exchanging love poems in the late stage of a relationship (Book Five) is unusual, the tone of this particular narrative is not. Sukemori has been appearing in Lady Daibu’s dreams—an indication that he has been thinking about her—and she remarks at how odd that is, since his visits have recently decreased, suggesting that he does not care for her at all. His poem

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<sup>111</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 74.

declares that her night-time visions are a testament of his love, and she replies with the rancor typical of Book Five, late-stage romance:

The woman [he had been romantically involved with] sent him,  
“I’ve been seeing you in my dreams all the time lately—how  
strange, since your heart is certainly not coming to visit,” so in  
reply

The former Middle Captain of the Right Sukemori

通ひける  
心のほどは  
夜をかさね  
見ゆらむ夢に  
思ひあはせよ<sup>112</sup>

My heart does visit you  
How deep its feelings are  
Judge from your own dreams  
Where I appear  
Night after night.<sup>113</sup>

In reply

Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu

げにもその  
心のほどや  
見えくらん  
夢にもつらき  
けしき成りつる<sup>114</sup>

Oh yes, indeed!  
The state of your heart  
May be perceived—  
For you look cruel  
Even in my dreams!<sup>115</sup>

If Lady Daibu’s poems within the books of love poetry are taken in isolation, the placement and tone within this exchange with Sukemori simultaneously suggest that their romantic relationship is finished and that communication continues despite animosity. This is problematic on two levels. First, as previously mentioned, communication typically ceases in the

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<sup>112</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* #1758, Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 2, 457.

<sup>113</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 161.

<sup>114</sup> Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 2, 479. The poem in Lady Daibu’s memoir is slightly different; the third line reads “mietsuramu,” not “miekuran.” Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 74. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 79.

<sup>115</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 161.

final stages of love poetry; if their relationship is at an end, then they would not be writing letters to one another. Secondly, while Lady Daibu does record low points in her relationship with Sukemori within her memoir, including the neglect and resulting bitterness typical of a romance's conclusion, her story with him did not end there. They are still romantically entangled when the Taira flee the capital, and she exchanges a set of tender poems with him while he is away at battle. In other words, their relationship had not ended before his death. The presentation of this poetic conversation within the fifth book of love, then, not only defies poetic convention in forming a dialogue between the lovers in the fifth book of love, it is also a rewriting of their story as set forth in her memoir—they never reached this ending point in their relationship.<sup>116</sup>

There is one other glaring peculiarity about this pairing of poems: it may not originally have been an exchange between Lady Daibu and Sukemori, but Lady Daibu and her second lover, Fujiwara no Takanobu.<sup>117</sup> This is not clear within the memoir, and scholars are in disagreement—indeed, modern scholars only recently learned that Lady Daibu had a second lover after discovering some of Lady Daibu's poems within Takanobu's poetry collection (see Appendix E for a list of her poems in his collection). Given the ambiguity with which she frames these exchanges, it isn't surprising that the compilers of *Gyokuyōshū* misattributed them.

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<sup>116</sup> Scholars disagree about whether or not this exchange originally occurred between Lady Daibu and Sukemori or Lady Daibu and her second lover, Fujiwara no Takanobu. Harries and Itoga follow the Takenobu interpretation, but Iwasa and Imazeki Toshiko argue for Sukemori. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 152, 161; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 74; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 79; Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 2, 360, 478-479. Imazeki Toshiko, "Kenreimon 'in Ukyō no Daibu shū ni okeru ai to shi," in *Kenreimon 'in Ukyō no Daibu shū, Utatane, Takemuki ga ki*, Joryū Nikki Bungaku kōza 6, ed. Takuji Imai et al (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1990), 59-78. Cited in Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 2, 360. Given the ambiguity with which she frames these exchanges, it isn't surprising that there is disagreement. The *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers may not have been aware of this second relationship. Regardless of the original author, however, the compilers still made a conscious decision to place this exchange within the fifth book of love.

<sup>117</sup> Harries and Itoga follow the Takenobu interpretation. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 152, 161; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 74. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 79. Iwasa disagrees, insisting that this was Sukemori's poem. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 2, 360, 478-479.

Regardless of the original author, however, the compilers still made a conscious decision to place this exchange within the fifth book of love.

I propose that this constructed ending to Lady Daibu and Sukemori's romantic relationship was intended to not only fit Lady Daibu's poetry into the standard love arc but also give the end of the couple's relationship a sense of poetic finality not present in the perceived historical reality depicted in Lady Daibu's memoir. The *Gyokuyōshū* books of love poetry rewrite their relationship along the established romantic course, ending with bitterness but with both parties still alive to write about it. Lady Daibu becomes the voice of the poetic everywoman, for the set arc of romance must end with a bitter, lonely woman. While conventional courtly romance could not take any other form, the compiler's decisions to include these two voices and to place them together in the final book of love poetry also suggest a form of spirit pacification (*chinkon*).

Herbert Plutschow, who has written a book on the overlaps between ritual and premodern Japanese literature, defines spirit pacification as a “ritual transformation” during the placation of “[e]vil spirits [that] share the same nature as unplaced deities...who may cause natural calamities and social disharmony until ritually placated.”<sup>118</sup> The destructive force of these spirits arises from ‘unnatural’ circumstances of their death, with “the most potent... unfulfilled political ambitions, the denial of inherited political rights, jealousy or grudges of any kind, death away from home (while traveling or while in exile), and improper burial or negligence of a dead body... [a]ny victim of an unjust, premature or violent death produced a potentially evil

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<sup>118</sup> Herbert E. Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (New York: Brill, 1990), 203.

spirit.”<sup>119</sup> The power the person had in life correlated to its potential destructive power, meaning that the large number of deaths of high-ranking Heike men could have serious consequences.<sup>120</sup>

We will return to the idea of spirit pacification in the discussion of Lady Daibu’s elegiac poetry, where the poetic content is more obviously connected to ritual. I argue that in *Gyokuyōshū* love poetry, Lady Daibu and Sukemori are granted a measure of closure that they never experience within Lady Daibu’s memoir. This can also be seen as spirit pacification.

### 3.3 Lady Daibu as Public Mourner in *Gyokuyōshū* Lament Poems

Lady Daibu’s seven remaining poems in the *Gyokuyōshū* fall into the five Miscellaneous Books of poetry, and most express her grief at Sukemori’s death.<sup>121</sup> These verses pose a challenge to the constructed arc of a proper classical Japanese romance. If the conventional narrative noblewoman’s love story finishes with her caustic bitterness in the last book of love, then how can Lady Daibu exhibit such intense feelings and longing at Sukemori’s death? Lady Daibu’s verses of lamentation in the Miscellaneous Books challenge the fictional artificiality of how her poems were arranged in the love poetry sections. If the arc of love poetry is based on a “myth of impermanent love,”<sup>122</sup> as we’ve seen in the above discussion, then how could a woman who ends the relationship deeply embittered go on to write such caring verses at her (former)

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 204.

<sup>120</sup> This is also why special rituals were conducted for Emperor Antoku on the Third Day of the Seventh Month of 1185, and yet the large earthquake that occurred just six days later is attributed to the actions of his restless spirit. He had died just three months earlier at the age of eight. Ibid., 220.

<sup>121</sup> While most imperial anthologies include a book of Poetry of Lamentation (*aishōka* 哀傷歌), the *Gyokuyōshū* does not.

<sup>122</sup> Walker, “Poetic Ideal and Fictional Reality,” 182.

lover's death? The books on love were almost always placed before the Miscellaneous or Lamentation Books within the structure of imperial anthologies, so within the "narrative" of the anthology, any romantic connection would have been severed long before a man's death.

Lady Daibu's lamentation poetry in particular questions the practical use of such a meta-narrative for courtly love during times of war. How does the romantic arc work for women like Lady Daibu whose romances ended tragically, not due to the inevitable progression of time, as poetic convention suggests, but the sudden death of their male lovers in war? These women do not voice bitterness at abandonment, as is the standard reaction within the ideology of courtly love. What happens, then, if the man is unable to visit because he died suddenly? The answer seems to be a conflation of love and grief poetry. We have already examined the intentional rewriting of Lady Daibu's poetry in the books of love poetry, which I argued was shaped to have a mostly conventional ending but with unconventional dialogue between the lovers. This could be read as an act of spirit pacification and/or a response to how Lady Daibu's love is intermingled with grief. Let us now turn to her elegiac poems to see how they may be affected, in turn, by the incongruences between her self-narrative and the strictures of poetic convention; what choices the anthologizers made to reconcile the differences; and what effect this has both on the reception of Lady Daibu's narrative and the transmission of cultural history through the anthology.

Three of Lady Daibu's poems fall within the Fourth Book of miscellaneous poetry. This particular section, taken as an unlabeled book of laments, includes so many poems with long headnotes lamenting the death of Heike men that it was criticized by the rival Nijō school as

“sounding like a *biwa hōshi*<sup>123</sup> recitation of *The Tale of the Heike*.”<sup>124</sup> Why do so many lamentation poems within *Gyokuyōshū* relate to the Heike? Their fall from power in the Genpei War had certainly not been forgotten by the early fourteenth century, when *Gyokuyōshū* was compiled. The famous *Tale of the Heike* did not achieve what is now considered its standard form until the late thirteenth century.<sup>125</sup> The earliest extant text of this version, the Kakuichi-bon, dates to 1371, but the story had been circulating in many partial variants prior to its full completion.<sup>126</sup> Lengthy headnotes in *Gyokuyōshū* Miscellaneous Book Four contextualized poems that had been written during the actual events, both reflecting and constructing the Heike’s story within the contemporary popular imagination.

This long section of Heike-related poetry within Book Four is highlighted by two consecutive poems by Lady Daibu which set the tone for the whole sequence.<sup>127</sup> Her first verse, composed on the anniversary of Sukemori’s death, pleads for someone to take the responsibility of praying for him after her own death:

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<sup>123</sup> *Biwa hōshi* were blind itinerant monks who were known for reciting this tale. Elizabeth Oyler notes that recitation of *The Tale of the Heike* was “legally placed in the custodianship of the blind guild” in the Tokugawa Period (1600-1868), which suggests they were heavily involved with the tale in the medieval period. Elizabeth Oyler, “Daimokutate: Ritual Placatory Performance of the Genpei War,” *Oral Tradition* 21, No. 1 (March 2006): 95.

<sup>124</sup> This appears in a pro-Nijō line poetic treatise, *Kaen rensho kotogaki* (A Comment Signed by a Circle of Fellows in the Poetic Garden, 1315). Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū*, 303. Kobayashi, “Gyokuyō wakashū no aishōka,” 129. Burk discusses other aspects of the *Kaen rensho kotogaki* and its incendiary criticism of *Gyokuyōshū*. Burk, “Reading between the Lines,” 185-199. *The Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari*, mid-thirteenth century) is a fictionalized account of the Heike’s fall from power, as discussed in the introduction.

<sup>125</sup> Haruo Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature*, 707.

<sup>126</sup> Burton Watson, *The Tales of the Heike*, 196. Watson lists the main lineages of textual variants; the Kakuichi-bon is one of the lineages of “recited texts” (*kataribon*), as opposed to “read texts” (*yomihon*). Watson, *Tales of the Heike*, 195-197. I use Watson and Shirane for information on textual variants but Helen McCullough’s translation of a passage in Chapter Five, as Watson’s partial translation does not include the relevant section.

<sup>127</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* # 2353-2354. Iwasa mentions the importance of Lady Daibu’s poetry to this section. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3: 303.

After the former Middle Captain of the Right Sukemori passed away, this poem was composed on the anniversary of his death while [its author was] undertaking secretive Buddhist rituals, all the while sadly wondering, “After I die, who will mourn or pray for him, even this much?”

いかにせん	What am I to do?
我が後の世は	For my own sake in the world to come
さても猶	I have not the least concern,
むかしの今日を	But would there were someone who could pray
とふ人もがな <sup>128</sup>	To this day that belongs to long ago! <sup>129</sup>

Within her memoir, this verse is composed as a silent cry and posed as a private, internal lamentation for one particular man. In the context of the *Gyokuyōshū*, however, it becomes a broader call to action. This section of *Gyokuyōshū* does not limit itself to the continued prayer for Sukemori alone but his whole clan. Within this context, Lady Daibu’s poem can be re-interpreted as a desperate plea for future generations to reflect on the past, specifically the Genpei war era. “Do not forget us,” she seems to say, and the very inclusion of this verse is a response from the *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers: “We have not.” The recitation of *The Tale of the Heike* by *biwa-hōshi* to which this section has been compared was in part an act of spirit pacification, a memorialization of fallen members of the Heike clan so that their resentful spirits would not exact revenge from beyond the grave through disasters such as fire or drought.<sup>130</sup> These poems in the *Gyokuyōshū* miscellaneous section can also be read as spirit pacification. They are an acknowledgement and mourning of the fall of the Heike clan.

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<sup>128</sup> Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 346; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 137. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 137.

<sup>129</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 241.

<sup>130</sup> Elizabeth Oyler notes how *The Tale of the Heike* performs the role of spirit pacification through telling the story of the Heike clan. Oyler, “Ritual Placatory Performance,” 93-94. Plutschow also discusses *The Tale of the Heike* and its ritualistic spirit pacification at length in *Chaos and Cosmos*, 220-226.

In its re-cycled *Gyokuyōshū* context, another of Lady Daibu's poems could be read as a challenge to the contemporary world to take note of the past and respond poetically. This poem, *Gyokuyōshū* #1926, is situated in the first miscellaneous book in a section of *hototogisu*, or Japanese cuckoo, poetry.<sup>131</sup> It acts as a foreshadowing prequel to the lengthy Heike lamentation section:

Composed around summer in the first year of Bunmei [1185], as the night was lightening to daybreak, rain was falling lightly, and [the author was] deeply moved at hearing the *hototogisu*'s cry.

あらずなる	Here at the end of my wretched life,
うき世のはてに	No longer as it once was,
時鳥	O <i>hototogisu</i> ,
いかでなくねの	How is it that your song
かはらざるらん <sup>132</sup>	Can remain unchanged? <sup>133</sup>

This poem echoes the fourth episode of *Ise monogatari* (The Ise Stories, ca. 905), in which the protagonist Narihira loses touch with a lover after she moves. A year later, he returns to her home, now abandoned, and writes:

月やあらぬ	Is this not the moon,
春は昔の	this spring not as in those days
春ならぬ	springtime used to be—
わが身一つは	while I alone longer on,
もとの身にして	just what I have always been. <sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> The first book of miscellaneous poetry in *Gyokuyōshū* is composed of chronologically-arranged seasonal poetry, from spring through winter. There are 237 poems altogether. Lady Daibu's poem appears in a sequence of ten *hototogisu*-themed poems, #1921-1930. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 61-67.

<sup>132</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* # 1926, and poem #266 in Lady Daibu's memoir. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 64; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 135; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 136.

<sup>133</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 239.

<sup>134</sup> Lineation adapted to standard in this thesis. Joshua Mostow and Royall Tyler, *The Ise Stories* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 22.

While this poem has many interpretations, a simple reading such as that by Katagiri Yōichi suggests that Narihira feels “[n]ow that the only woman I love is gone, it feels as though everything has changed—as though even the unchanging moon and spring have changed.”<sup>135</sup> Lady Daibu similarly wonders why the song of the *hototogisu* has not changed now that her lover is dead. In the context of the *Gyokuyōshū*, with the poetic topoi of the Japanese cuckoo, there could be two implied meanings here. The first reflects Narihira’s thought that the world should have changed to reflect her feelings. The second meaning requires a closer examination of the powers of the *hototogisu* and the specific placement of this poem within *Gyokuyōshū*.

The *hototogisu* was believed to have two abilities: traveling to the land of the dead and carrying messages, usually between lovers. The word is used with both connotations in Lady Daibu’s memoir.<sup>136</sup> This particular poem is, again, posed as a private lamentation within her memoir, as her previously-discussed Miscellaneous Book Four poem was. She claims to write the *hototogisu* poem one year after the Heike’s fall, around the anniversary of Sukemori’s death.<sup>137</sup> In this context, her poem asks the *hototogisu* why it brings no word from Sukemori, since he has long been in the land of the dead. This context is further clarified within her memoir by the immediately preceding poem, #265, which more directly asks the *hototogisu* for news:

As dawn broke on the twenty-third day of the fourth month [of 1186], rain was falling lightly, and in the eastern sky a *hototogisu* flew by, singing the first song of the year. It sounded fresh and charming, and was profoundly moving.

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> For example, poems # 148-149 in her memoir. Takanobu (or Sukemori) sends a poem claiming that the *hototogisu* is carrying words of his love to her. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 158-159.

<sup>137</sup> Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 135; Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 237. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 135.

明けがたに	At break of day
初音ききつる	I hear your first song of the year,
ほととぎす	O <i>hototogisu</i> .
死出の山路の	I would ask of you that path
ことをとはばや <sup>138</sup>	Through the mountains of the dead. <sup>139</sup>

Her second *hototogisu* poem (#266), which is selected for inclusion in the *Gyokuyōshū*, is thus posed in her memoir as a lamentation that the *hototogisu* does not bring news of her lost love.

While the *hototogisu* also acts as a messenger-bird in the *Gyokuyōshū* sequence, it is recast as a medium not between the land of the dead and the living but as a medium of memory between the past and the present. The poems immediately preceding and following Lady Daibu's within *Gyokuyōshū* enforce this new role by employing the *hototogisu* image in conjunction with past memories. *Gyokuyōshū* #1925 is written from the perspective of an elderly man; hearing the bird's call, he not only remembers the past but is also emotionally rekindled:

時鳥	the <i>hototogisu</i> 's
かたらふこえも	cries are also
あはれなり	full of pathos--
むかし恋しき	these old feelings of love
老のねざめに <sup>140</sup>	wakened in an old man <sup>141</sup>

*Gyokuyōshū* #1927, appearing just after Lady Daibu's poem, is also written with an elderly persona, but it beckons the *hototogisu* to come and talk together of olden days:

われもはや	I've already
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<sup>138</sup> Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 136. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 135.

<sup>139</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 239.

<sup>140</sup> By Motosuke (ca. 1217-1270), topic known. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 63.

<sup>141</sup> This is my translation.

老曾のもりの	grown old, Oiso Shrine forest
ほととぎす	<i>hototogisu</i> ...
やよやむかしの	well then, about those old times,
ことかたらなむ <sup>142</sup>	how I wish you'd talk with me. <sup>143</sup>

The *hototogisu* image in these three sequential poems self-reflexively becomes synonymous with the text—the poems in *Gyokuyōshū*—itself. The text not only conjures images of the past, it also enacts conversations, mingling long-dead poets' words with contemporary verses (as in *Gyokuyōshū* #1927). By speaking in the mutual language of poetic convention, the contemporary *Gyokuyōshū* reader sees or hears something immediately recognizable from personal experience, which ignites mutual feelings in them (as in *Gyokuyōshū* #1925). In short, the text mediates past with present, both on the page between poetic voices and between the experiences expressed on the page with the reader's own experiences. This mediation is achieved in part through the poets' and readers' shared ceremony (to return to Freedman) of the game of courtly love and the genre rules of poetic composition.

Placed within this new *hototogisu*-themed construct, Lady Daibu's poem shifts from private mourning to public lament: why are there no poems lamenting the fall of the Heike? Lady Daibu's words criticize the present for not acknowledging the past, although as discussed above, the words themselves in *Gyokuyōshū* are proof that the present still hears her distant voice from the past. This shift from private to public tone is mediated in part by an altered headnote. Although this poem is placed in her memoir around the one-year anniversary of Sukemori's death, in the *Gyokuyōshū* it is set one year earlier, in the summer of 1185, the season of the

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<sup>142</sup> By Ryokaku (dates uncertain, active 1303-1306). Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 65. Oiso here acts as a pivot-word, both specifying the location of a place famous for *hototogisu* and specifying the speaker's persona as an old priest.

<sup>143</sup> This is my translation.

Heike's defeat at Dan no Ura.<sup>144</sup> As previously mentioned, the Heike's story circulated widely during the time of the *Gyokuyōshū* compilation; contemporary readers would have recognized the year and immediately thought of the Heike. Through recontextualization of the headnote and *hototogisu* imagery connotations, Lady Daibu's personal grief is repositioned as that of a public mourner for all of the Heike (men) who died. In doing so, the *Gyokuyōshū* highlights the gendered lamentation of a woman's voice memorializing men.

At the same time, contemporary readers the *Gyokuyōshū* familiar with Lady Daibu's memoir and original narrative (the second half of which is utterly consumed by her grief for Sukemori) would recall her connection to him upon seeing their names, hers as the author and his in the headnote. In reading *Gyokuyōshū*, they would be able to see both the original content—a lamentation for one man—*alongside* the new positioning of her poems. A reader well versed in poetic history could note this dissimilarity to Lady Daibu's portrayal. While they could then enjoy both readings, this layering would make the receiver even more aware of the anthology's cross-temporal dialogue, which reinforces the anthology's scope and anthologizer's skill in bringing such disparate voices into communion with the present. As Frow notes, "...even the simplest of genres... has the capacity to cite other genres...or to incorporate them, or to reflect upon its own structure. If setting and genre are metacommunicative frames in relation to texts, texts in turn are always potentially metacommunications about their frames."<sup>145</sup> In other words, this partial retelling of Lady Daibu's narrative not only makes her words more widely

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<sup>144</sup> Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 64.

<sup>145</sup> Emphasis removed. Frow, *Genre*, 17.

representative of the silenced voices of her era—all of the Heike men—but also reinforces how the *Gyokuyōshū* imperial anthology, as a *hototogisu*, is doing its job very well.

### 3.3.1 The *Genji* and Grief Connection

Let us return briefly to two ideas discussed at the beginning of this chapter—the use of poetic convention and the intermingling of love and grief. What are the poetic conventions of the miscellaneous sections or of elegiac poetry, and how are these transmitted in Lady Daibu’s memoir and her reception in *Gyokuyōshū*? While there is not space for an exhaustive analysis, I will show how Lady Daibu drew upon poetic precedent from *Genji monogatari* to show her intermingled feelings of love and grief, and how these poems were anthologized within *Gyokuyōshū*.

One example of this style of poetry is placed in the Fourth Book of love, *Gyokuyōshū*

#1660:

When she had something on her mind, the light of the evening sun was fading on the tree tops, and this filled her with melancholy as the sky quickly darkened.

夕日うつる	Caught in the last rays
梢の色 <sup>146</sup> の	Of the setting sun, the treetops
しぐるるに	Darken in the chilling rain:
心もやがて	So too my heart is dimmed
かき暗すかな <sup>147</sup>	And clouded over in its misery. <sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> This phrase, “the color of the treetops (*kozue no iro* 消の色), appears elsewhere in *Gyokuyōshū* twice, and the first line, “caught in the last rays of the setting sun” (*yūhi utsuru* 夕日うつる), appears in *Fūgashū* two other times. They are favored expressions of Kyōgoku poets. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 40.

<sup>147</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* # 1660, and poem #61 in Lady Daibu’s memoir. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 2, 421; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 34; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 40.

<sup>148</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 113.

Tani Tomoko argues that this poem echoes Genji's poem about Fujitsubo's death:<sup>149</sup>

The setting sun shone bright, each bough at the mountains' rim  
stood out sharply, and gray wisps of cloud trailed across the sky.  
He who no longer had eyes for anything was still deeply moved.

入目さす	Those thin wisps of cloud
みねにたなびく	trailing there over mountains
薄雲は	caught in sunset light
もの思ふ袖に	seem to wish to match their hue
いろやまがへる <sup>150</sup>	to the sleeves of the bereaved. <sup>151</sup>

Fujitsubo had been Genji's primary love interest since his childhood, although her position as Empress<sup>152</sup> meant that they were unable to solidify a romantic relationship. This relationship can therefore serve as a precedent for potential lovers who are unable to meet or complete the cycle of romantic engagement. In the introduction, I mentioned how female aristocrats at court in Lady Daibu's age would be very familiar with the *Genji* as it would be a key part of their education, particularly in relation to training in poetic conventions. Lady Daibu would likely be even more familiar with the work due to her father's commentary on it. Although the words in these two poems differ, the shared imagery is clear.<sup>153</sup> This imagistic

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<sup>149</sup> Tani Tomoko and Ishikawa Yasumi, *Shikishi Naishinnō shū, Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū, Toshinari kyō no Musume shū, Tsuyakotoba*. Ed. Kubota Jun. Waka bungaku taikai 23 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2001), 261.

<sup>150</sup> Tani et al., *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 261.

<sup>151</sup> Royall Tyler, *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 354-355. Lineation altered to fit style used throughout this thesis.

<sup>152</sup> Her title was *Kōgō* 皇后.

<sup>153</sup> Tani further proposes that Lady Daibu's borrowing from the *Genji* in terms of elegiac style may not have been an individual characteristic but rather part of the larger literary world she emerged from and contributed to, the Heike cultural sphere (*Heike bunka ken*). Tani et al., *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 261.

allusion to Genji's poem of grief, mingled with his lingering love, would be transmitted in the *Gyokuyōshū*.

The poem above, chosen for inclusion in *Gyokuyōshū* as #1660, was originally placed in a significant location within Lady Daibu's memoir: it is the first poem to appear in her memoir after she falls in love with Sukemori. We are thus meant to take it as an expression of her dissatisfaction with Sukemori—the infrequency of his visits or messages. Tani suggests that given the above reference to Genji's lament for Fujitsubo, however, Lady Daibu may have written this poem after Sukemori's death while thinking back on their early days together.<sup>154</sup> If so, her placement of the poem within the memoir directly after their meeting is a form of foreshadowing. This image of death thus bleeds into the poem both within the context of Lady Daibu's memoir and the *Gyokuyōshū*, despite its situation within both texts as a love poem.

There is a sanctioning of this kind of blending of poetic topoi within the imperial anthology's miscellaneous sections of poetry, as in Lady Daibu's elegiac poems discussed above which blend *hototogisu*, a spring image, with love and loss.<sup>155</sup> The intermingling of seasonal with elegiac poetry is grounded in the *Genji*, in which Genji expresses his mourning of Murasaki

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>155</sup> We also see the mixing of spring and love in Lady Daibu's poem *Gyokuyōshū* #1842, found in the first book of miscellaneous poetry in a section of spring and *uguisu*, or warbler, imagery, with a headnote of "On hearing the bush warbler's call when thinking about something painful":

おも 物思へば	In the turmoil of my thoughts
心の春も	My heart knows none
知らぬ身に	Of the peace of spring:
なに 何うぐひすの	Why has the warbler come?
き 告げに来つらむ <sup>155</sup>	What words can he have for me? <sup>155</sup>

*Gyokuyōshū* # 1842, and poem #67 in Lady Daibu's memoir. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 14; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 36; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 42; Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 115.

in the “Maboroshi” chapter throughout the seasons: “the past emerges in the context of passing time, of the seasons and annual observances (*nenjū gyōji*) that return to remind the writer of what he or she no longer possesses.”<sup>156</sup> There are numerous examples of this in the latter half of Lady Daibu’s memoir, but no specific examples are chosen for inclusion in the *Gyokuyōshū*. Rather, a poem is chosen that demonstrates how Lady Daibu’s grief is so extreme that she scarcely needs a seasonal reminder to remember how Sukemori is not present to enjoy it with her, in *Gyokuyōshū* #2354:

Around the same time [as *Gyokuyōshū* #2353],<sup>157</sup> someone was talking about some such unrelated thing, and memories were stirred in me. I couldn’t hold back the tears, and they overflowed.

憂きことの	At every moment
いつも添ふ身は	Sorrows cling to me,
なに	
何としも	And even when
思ひあへでも	I can find no cause for them,
涙落ちけり <sup>158</sup>	Still the teardrops fall. <sup>159</sup>

Here and elsewhere we see Lady Daibu looking to the examples of poetic convention within *Genji* for the expression of her grief, as typical of aristocratic women of her age. As Laffin notes, “[l]ate Heian and Kamakura period court women sought out the *Genji* as a source for poetic knowledge, as a representation of past court life, and as a literary model that could be

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<sup>156</sup> Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of “The Tale of Genji”* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 130.

<sup>157</sup> This poem is discussed above as setting the tone for the Miscellaneous Book Four sequence of poems.

<sup>158</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* # 2354, and poem #261 in Lady Daibu’s memoir. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 346-347; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 133; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 133.

<sup>159</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 235.

both molded and emulated through the production of new memoirs and tales.”<sup>160</sup> In this instance, however, Lady Daibu seems to find the conventions and examples set forth by *Genji* too limited to encompass the extent of her feelings. We can see this as another example of the conflict between her historical narrative and the conventionally acceptable ways in which she could express it. The *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers legitimize the convention-breaking intensity of her emotions by anthologizing these poems.

There is also evidence that Lady Daibu turns to the *Genji* for more practical matters, such as how to move on from her grief. After the initial period of mourning, she takes out letters that Sukemori had written to her and writes things on the back of them, such as magical incantations (*darani*),<sup>161</sup> to aid his path in the afterlife. Seeing his handwriting, however, stirs her feelings of grief even more, and she finds herself recalling “that scene from *The Tale of Genji* where the Prince says: ‘It does no good to look at them.’”<sup>162</sup> She here refers to the “Maboroshi” chapter of *Genji*, where Genji becomes tearful upon reading the deceased Murasaki’s old poems and burns them.<sup>163</sup> After remembering this scene, Lady Daibu follows his example and disposes of her letters from Sukemori.

The *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers not only revitalized Lady Daibu’s poetry within the imperial anthologies but also her narrative. They seemed to enact a form of spirit pacification in

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<sup>160</sup> Christina Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2013), 60.

<sup>161</sup> *Darani* 陀羅尼, or Sanskrit dhāraṇī, were strings of classical Chinese characters representing transliterated Sanskrit from Indian Buddhist texts. They had no semantic meaning but were considered powerful and sacred. *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “陀羅尼,” by Griffith Foulk, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>.

<sup>162</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 211

<sup>163</sup> Tyler, *Genji*, 777.

representing her as a poetic everywoman in the love section but broke poetic convention to allow her final words of farewell with Sukemori in the last stage of a conventional romance (Book Five of love poetry), and portraying her in the volumes of miscellaneous poetry as a mourner of the whole Heike clan. The anthologizers also chose poems that drew on *Genji* precedent and purposefully blended these love and grief images, which is reflective of how Lady Daibu portrays herself in the second half of her memoir: trapped in a cycle of remembrance by the intense grief of a lover whose romantic story hadn't ended. These portrayals in the *Gyokuyōshū* draw from the contextualization of the poems in Lady Daibu's memoir but also offer a response to it.

This treatment of Lady Daibu's poetry and interconnected story is quite different from the narrative that develops in *Shinchokusenshū*, which decontextualizes her relationship to the Heike clan and emphasizes her close connection and loyalty to Emperor Takakura. As we progress onward to the next imperial anthology, let us consider if and how the narrative evoked in the imperial anthologies builds with each anthology, or if they reject the previous narratives. For instance, are the *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers denying Lady Daibu's intimacy with and loyalty to her patron-Empress and Emperor, a strong image set forth in *Shinchokusenshū*? Do the anthologies interact with or react to previous representations? Do they create competing cultural histories about the past?

## Chapter 4: Lady Daibu's Poems in *Fūga wakashū*

### 4.1 Introduction to the Text

After its appearance in the *Gyokuyōshū*, Lady Daibu's poetry is not included in another imperial anthology for thirty-four years, skipping the fifteenth and sixteenth anthologies compiled by the Nijō school: *ShokuSenzai wakashū* (Collection of a Thousand Years Continued, 1320) and *ShokuGoShūi wakashū* (Later Collection of Gleanings Continued, 1326). Despite this, she does earn some recognition by non-Kyōgoku poets. Nine of her poems are included in the *Fuboku wakashō* (Selections of Japanese Poems, ca. 1310), a poetry collection assembled by topic and compiled by Fujiwara no Nagakiyo (dates unknown), who was a pupil of the founder of the Reizei school, Reizei Tamesuke (1263-1328).<sup>164</sup> It was reputedly created in response to the decision that Tamekane would be the compiler for the *Gyokuyōshū*; the collection similarly draws from poetic source material dating back to the *Man'yōshū* that had not yet been included in an imperial anthology. The collection includes poems from approximately nine hundred and seventy poets composed on six hundred different topics.<sup>165</sup> Notably, however, all nine of Lady Daibu's poems chosen for inclusion in this collection are situated within her memoir as

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<sup>164</sup> No Nijō anthologizers would select her poems for inclusion in an imperial anthology until after *Fūgashū*. The Reizei and Kyōgoku poetic styles have been considered similar and even combined as “the Kyōgoku-Reizei style.” Steven Carter stresses that although the Reizei sometimes operated within the bounds of the Kyōgoku style, they believed, as Tamehide (d. 1372) said, that “to adhere to only one style constricts the Way [of poetry].” The school thus focuses more on their attitude toward verse than any particular style. Steven Carter, *Householders: The Reizei Family in Japanese History* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2007), 120-121.

<sup>165</sup> *Nippon daihyakkasensho*, Fukuda Hideichi, “*Fuboku wakashū*,” accessed via Japan Knowledge February 10, 2015, <http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?kw=%E5%A4%AB%E6%9C%A8%E6%8A%84&lid=1001000202665>.

composed on set topics (Appendix E.1). None of her personal narrative is transmitted through them. This, along with the general brevity of headnotes within *Fuboku wakashō*, suggests that the Reizei were not interested in presenting outside narratives in this poetry collection. Rather, they valued Lady Daibu's poetry for itself.

Her poetry is again recognized within the seventeenth imperial anthology, *Fūgashū*.<sup>166</sup> Retired Emperor Kōgon (1313-1364, r. 1331-1333) of the Senior Jimyō'in imperial line both commissioned and compiled the anthology, although he was aided by Retired Emperor Hanazono (1297-1348, r. 1308-1318) and others.<sup>167</sup> Scholars debate the extent to which Kōgon and Hanazono collaborated during the early stages of the anthology's compilation, but Hanazono's ill health and death prior to full completion suggest that Kōgon was responsible for all of the final decisions.<sup>168</sup> The *Fūgashū* is usually paired with the *Gyokuyōshū*, together described as "the two Kyōgoku [imperial] anthologies,"<sup>169</sup> and the final products arguably reflect Kyōgoku aesthetics. The ties between the Kyōgoku school and the Senior Jimyō'in imperial line, described above in relation to production of the *Gyokuyōshū*, remained strong, so it is not a surprise that one of Kōgon's assistants was Tōin Kinkata (1291-1360), the adopted son of Tamekane who later changed his name to Kyōgoku Tadakane. Kōgon also invited compilation assistants as representatives from the other poetic schools, however, including the head of the Nijō house Nijō Tamesada (1293-1360), his follower Fujiwara no Tamemoto (dates unknown),

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<sup>166</sup> My base text is Iwasa Miyoko, *Fūgawakashū zenchūshaku* 1-3 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2002-2004).

<sup>167</sup> Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 221.

<sup>168</sup> Michael Scott Kleinkopf, "An Introduction to the *Fūgawakashū*: Politics, Poetry, and Production, with a Translation of the First Book of Spring Poems" (PhD Diss., University of Colorado, 2005), 51-52.

<sup>169</sup> Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, 47-48. Brower and Miner also take special note of these two anthologies in *Japanese Court Poetry*.

and the son of the founder of the Reizei school, Reizei Tamehide (d. 1372).<sup>170</sup> Maintaining the appearance of a collaborative effort may have been important for Kōgon to preserve smooth relations with the bakufu, who had been displeased during compilation of the *Gyokuyōshū* because their favored Nijō school poets had not been included in the process.<sup>171</sup>

#### 4.2 Lady Daibu as Social Poet in *Fūgashū*

The portrayal of Lady Daibu as a poet with a wide homosocial network in *Fūgashū* contrasts with her intimate connections with Heike men in *Gyokuyōshū*. Out of her six poems which appear in this imperial anthology, two are exchanges with other female poets. Also, an equal number of poems are taken from before the Heike's fall as from after it (Appendix A). Of the post-Heike poems, one is written in the context of a visit to Lady Daibu's former imperial employer, Kenreimon'in. This further emphasizes her connections to contemporary women, in contrast to her relationships with Heike men as highlighted in *Gyokuyōshū*. While her remaining three poems in *Fūgashū* do concern the deaths of Heike men, this slight shift in poetry selection creates a more dynamic representation of Lady Daibu. The choice to do so was also a conscious one. The compilers of *Fūgashū* would have been intimately aware of which of Lady Daibu's poems appeared in *Gyokuyōshū* in order to not repeat any of her poems from previous anthologies, which was a convention all anthologizers tried to follow.

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<sup>170</sup> Kleinkopf, "Introduction to the *Fūgashū*," 52-53.

<sup>171</sup> Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, 60.

Lady Daibu's two poetic correspondences with contemporary female poets included in *Fūgashū* are with Lady Kojijū (ca. 1120-1200),<sup>172</sup> a respected poet from the Ki family, and with Lady Chūjō (dates unknown), a lady-in-waiting to Princess Shikishi (d. 1201),<sup>173</sup> who was herself a prolific poet. The contextualizing headnote from the exchange with Lady Kojijū emphasizes their familiarity. Lady Daibu skips a flower-viewing expedition due to a cold, and Lady Kojijū sends her a reprimand for her absence:

In the time of Emperor Takakura, many female attendants from the imperial palace (*dairi*) had been invited to go with high-ranked courtiers to view the blossoms. Since Lady Daibu had a cold at that time and did not go, [Lady Kojijū] attached this to flowering branch and sent it

Kojijū

さそはれぬ  
心のほどは  
つらけれど  
ひとり見るべき  
花の色かは<sup>174</sup>

Though it hurts me  
That your feelings should be such  
to not come with us,  
Surely the beauty of these blossoms  
Should not be viewed by us alone?<sup>175</sup>

In reply:

風をいとふ  
花のあたりは  
いかがとて  
よそながらこそ  
思ひやりつれ<sup>176</sup>

I knew it would not do  
If I approached the blossoms  
Which detest cold winds;  
But though I was not with you  
I mused upon them from afar.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> She also has four poems in *Gyokuyōshū* (Appendix E.1).

<sup>173</sup> Princess Shikishi has thirty poems in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* combined (Appendix E.2) and is also well-represented in earlier, contemporaneous anthologies. She spent the years 1159 through 1169 as the Kamo Priestess and maintained active poetic correspondences with both Shunzei and his son Teika. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 116.

<sup>174</sup> Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 44; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 37-38; Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 1, 147.

<sup>175</sup> This exchange includes poems 70-71 in Lady Daibu's anthology. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 117.

This is Lady Daibu’s first poem in the anthology, placed in the second of three books of spring poetry, and also the first exchange to appear in *Fūgashū* (#182-183). Only two other exchanges appear in the third book of spring poetry, and those are imperial exchanges. Much of the poetry in the spring books is public poetry—composed at official competitions on set topics and therefore without replies—but the scarcity of exchanged poetry serves to further highlight Lady Daibu’s connection with Lady Kojijū.

Lady Daibu’s poetic correspondence with Lady Chūjō, in contrast, is placed within the first book of miscellaneous poetry, where such exchanges are more common. In her memoir, this exchange occurs directly after the exchange with Lady Kojijū and centers on the same situation of Lady Daibu’s cold.<sup>178</sup> Hearing that Lady Daibu missed the flower-viewing excursion, Chūjō sends her blossoms from the Kamo Shrine with a poem:

(Memoir headnote)

During the time that the Ōinomikado Priestess [Princess Shikishi] was still officiating and living at the priestess’ palace, Lady Chūjō, one of her ladies-in-waiting, broke off and sent a branch of blossoms, which she said were “cherry blossoms from within the sacred fence”<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 44; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 37-38; Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 1, 148.

<sup>177</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 117.

<sup>178</sup> The placement of these two exchanges sequentially within Lady Daibu’s is not as surprising, given that (1) both of her female friends are responding to the same situation—her cold-- and (2) much of Lady Daibu’s correspondence with other contemporary poets is found in the section of her memoir describing her early years at court, when the Heike are still in power (Appendix A).

<sup>179</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 117. *Ōhi no mikado no saiin, imada hon'in ni owashimashishi koro, kano miya no chūjō no kimi no moto yori, “migaki no nai no hana,” tote, orite tabite* おほひ みかど さいいん 大炊の御門の齋院、いまだ本院におは  
ちゅうじやう きみ しまししころ、かの宮の中 将の君のもとより、みかき 「御壇の内の花」とて、お た 折りて賜びて. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 44-45.

(*Fūgashū* headnote)

While serving Princess Shikishi during her time as imperial shrine maiden, [she] broke off a branch of cherry blossoms from within the shrine precincts and sent them to Lady Daibu with this poem.<sup>180</sup>

Lady Chūjō

しめ うち  
標の内は  
身をもくたかず  
桜花  
を  
惜しむ心を  
袖にまかせて<sup>181</sup>

Within these sacred precincts  
My heart remains untroubled;  
All feelings of regret  
At the inconstancy of cherry blossoms  
I leave unto the gods.<sup>182</sup>

Lady Daibu replies:

しめ  
標のほかも  
花としいはむ  
花はみな  
神にまかせて  
散らさずもがな<sup>183</sup>

Outside the sacred precincts, too,  
Would that we might trust  
Unto the gods  
All blossoms worthy of the name,  
That they might never fall.<sup>184</sup>

While the first poem is unquestionably attributed to Lady Chūjō, Princess Shikishi's name is retained in the *Fūgashū* headnote, and it is more ambiguous who initiates the gift of blossoms—Lady Chūjō or Princess Shikishi. Lady Daibu is very specific in her memoir that the gift came “from Lady Chūjō” (*chūjō no kimi no moto yori* 中 将 の 君 の も と よ り), but

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<sup>180</sup> Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 2, 367. The headnote in *Fūgashū* reads: *Shikishi naishinō, saiin ni haberikeru koro, mikaki no hana wo orite Kenreimon 'in Ukyō no Daibu no moto ni tsukawashihaberu tote* 式子内親王、齋院に侍りけるころ、御かきの花を折りて健礼門院右京大夫のもとにつかはし侍るとて. Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 2, 367.

<sup>181</sup> Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 45; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 38-39; Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 2, 367-368.

<sup>182</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 117-119.

<sup>183</sup> Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 45; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 38-39; Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 2, 368.

<sup>184</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 119.

Nakahara argues that the lack of this specificity within *Fūgashū* almost makes it seem like Princess Shikishi is *having* Lady Chūjō write the poem.<sup>185</sup> This encourages a (mis)reading that Lady Daibu had poetic correspondence with Princess Shikishi, who is very well-received within the imperial anthologies, which reflects the level of esteem to which her poetry is held.<sup>186</sup> The anthologizers boost her image to show how she does belong in the anthology.

These poetry exchanges offer another example of how Lady Daibu's narrative was necessarily fragmented within the anthology. The above four poems occur in sequence in her memoir, relating to the same cold and the same missed excursion, but they are separated in *Fūgashū*. Lady Daibu's exchange with Lady Kojijū is placed within Book Two of Spring poetry, but her exchange with Lady Chūjō falls within Book One of Miscellaneous poetry. This is likely because Lady Chūjō's poem mixes spring and Shinto imagery.

Directly following this exchange in her memoir, Lady Daibu initiates a separate poetic exchange with Chūjō concerning Chūjō's heartache over losing the affection of Taira no Kiyotsune (d. 1183), Taira no Shigemori's third son and Sukemori's younger brother, to another court lady. This commiserating exchange between the two women is not included in the *Fūgashū* or any other imperial anthology. The absence of this poem, as well as any hint in the headnotes at the two women's shared connection to the Heike clan, underscores Lady Daibu's social and poetic connections to Lady Chūjō and other (female) poets at court. This conscious decision to show Lady Daibu in poetic conversation with two court ladies highlights her life away from Sukemori; she is more than just his lover and griever, which are the only two identities to appear in the *Gyokuyōshū*.

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<sup>185</sup> Nakahara, "Chokusenshū ga motomeru mono," 39.

<sup>186</sup> She has more poems than Lady Daibu in both the *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*. See Appendix E.1 and E.2.

The *Fūgashū* also features a poem in the Third Book of miscellaneous poetry written by Lady Daibu on a trip to see her former mistress, Kenreimon'in, in Ōhara. In her memoir, it is preceded by a lengthy description of the trip and her distress at seeing her former mistress in such a seemingly incongruent locale. The poem is contextualized within *Fūgashū* with a condensed version of these details:

During the period when Kenreimon'in was in Ōhara, when she [Lady Daibu] had gone to visit her, it felt like only a dream, and she could only think over and over

今や夢	Is this a dream?
昔や夢と	Or was that past a dream?
たどられて	I cannot tell.
いかに思へど	However I may think of it,
うつつとぞなき <sup>187</sup>	This is not reality. <sup>188</sup>

Like the poetic exchanges above, this poem reinforces the strength of Lady Daibu's homosocial relationships. It also echoes her poetry on *hototogisu* received in the *Gyokuyōshū* through demonstrating a schism between the past and present. In the *hototogisu* poems, Lady Daibu calls upon the future (from the perspective of *Gyokuyōshū*, the present day) to remember her, in the past. Here, the past (her life serving the former Empress while the Heike were in power) and the present (seeing her former mistress a countryside nun with few attendants) are so different that one of them must be a fabricated dream. Iwasa mentions that Lady Daibu's consciousness of the past and present is one of the recurring themes in her memoir, which other

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<sup>187</sup> Lady Daibu #240. The third line in Lady Daibu's memoir reads "*mayoharete.*" Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 120-121; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 121; *Fūgawakashū* #1915, Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 3, 180-181.

<sup>188</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 221.

scholars have pointed to as a uniting force between the first and second volumes of the memoir.<sup>189</sup>

While the narrative elements of the above poems show Lady Daibu as separate from Sukemori and the Heike, operating independently in a homosocial environment as a lady at court, her portrayal as public lamenter for the Heike clan that was established in *Gyokuyōshū* is also found in *Fūgashū*. Two of Lady Daibu's poems appear sequentially in the Third Miscellaneous Book and express sentiments of grief similar to the ones found in the *Gyokuyōshū* miscellaneous books. The first, *Fūgashū* #2006, is written upon hearing of the death of Taira no Koremori, Shigemori's eldest son and brother to Sukemori, by (suicidal) drowning at Kumano:

Hearing about the Middle Captain of the Left Koremori slipping  
away into death beneath the waves of Kumano, she wrote this<sup>190</sup>

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

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<sup>189</sup> Iwasa, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 138. Kubota also states this poem recalls the eighty-third episode of *Ise monogatari*, in which Narihira visits the tonsured Prince Koretaka on Mt. Hiei. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 121. The poem reads:

<i>wasurete ha</i>	Plain truth forgotten,
<i>yume ka to zo omofu</i>	surely I must be dreaming!
<i>omohiki ya</i>	Never did I think
<i>yuki fumi-wakete</i>	I would one day, to see you,
<i>kimi wo mimu to ha</i>	struggle all the way through snow.

I also see echoes of a poem in the sixty-ninth episode of *Ise monogatari*, in which the speaker is unsure of what is a dream and what is reality:

<i>kimi ya koshi</i>	Did you come to me?
<i>ware ya yukikemu</i>	Was it I who went to you?
<i>omohoezu</i>	I have no idea.
<i>yume ka utsutsu ka</i>	Did I dream it? Was it real?
<i>nete ka samete ka</i>	Was I sleeping or awake?

Lady Daibu's inability to reconcile her past memories of Empress Tokushi with her present guise of the nun Kenreimon'in gives her an assurance the *Ise* poem author does not have. *Ise* translations from Mostow and Tyler, *Ise Stories*, 149, 181.

<sup>190</sup> This *Fūgashū* headnote in reads in Japanese: *Ukon chūjō Koremori, Kumano ura ni chōsenikeru yoshi o kikite yomihaberikeru* 左近中将維盛、熊野浦にてうせにけるよしをききてよみ侍りける。Itoga, *Fūgashū* 3, 239.

かなしくも	How wretched the dismal fate
かかる憂き目を	That he has met!
み熊野の	Under the waves that wind
浦わの波に	About the bay of holy Kumano
身を沈めける <sup>191</sup>	He has laid himself forever. <sup>192</sup>

As in her memoir, this is followed in the next sequential *Fūgashū* poem by her further lamentation:

Around the same time, when the the Right Palace Guards Captain Sukemori was in the western lands,<sup>193</sup> she relied on a contact to send this poem to him

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

おなじ世と	How wretched it is
なほ思ふこそ	To think that this is still
かなしけれ	The same world as before,
あるがあるにも	A world where life itself.
あらぬこの世に <sup>194</sup>	No longer counts as life. <sup>195</sup>

The fact that these two poems are found together is worthy of note, however, as only two other poets within this 244-poem sequence have poems which appear in sequential order. Both this unusual mark of honor and her highlighted connections with female poets serve as supporting evidence in an argument to the reader that Lady Daibu is serious a poet worthy of

<sup>191</sup> Lady Daibu #215. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 108. Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 106. Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 3, 239.

<sup>192</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 201.

<sup>193</sup> This is not a euphemism for his death (and presence in Amida's western paradise), but rather a reference to his physical location (south)west of the capital, on Yashima Island of Sanuki Province (present-day Kagawa prefecture). Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 3, 240.

<sup>194</sup> Emphasis added. Lady Daibu #217. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 109. Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 107. Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 3, 239-240.

<sup>195</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 203.

consideration. That at least one of her poems is included in every imperial anthology after *Fūgashū* might be an indication of the success of this argument.<sup>196</sup>

At the same time, the *Fūgashū* compilers are slotting her into a gendered correspondence circle with their choice to only include Lady Daibu's exchanges with other female poets. They do not include her poetic exchanges with Teika or Shunzei,<sup>197</sup> although as discussed below, these connections would have mattered to them. This selective representation of poetic acquaintances does not present the full degree of her poetic reach in courtly circles. While her importance is acknowledged within *Fūgashū*, it is constrained.

### 4.3 Lady Daibu's Poetic Reputation

In selecting poems by Lady Daibu for inclusion in both *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, the Kyōgoku poets effectively rehabilitated her poetry—as previously mentioned, at least one of her poems appears in all of the imperial anthologies following *Fūgashū*. These later anthologies and her poems within them will be examined in the following chapter. Before turning to them, let us consider *why* Lady Daibu's poems were chosen by the Kyōgoku poets, as that may have had an impact on which poems were chosen and thereby influence the narrative that is retold with them. Were the Kyōgoku poets attracted to her poetic reputation, poetic aesthetics, gender, and/or the narrative appeal behind the poems?

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<sup>196</sup> It might also be an indication of increased circulation of her memoir, but these two possibilities are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

<sup>197</sup> Her exchange with Shunzei is included in the later nineteenth imperial poetry anthology, *Shinshūishū*. (Appendix A).

Lady Daibu corresponded with famous poets, but was she herself a very well-regarded poet, either within her lifetime or in the years following her death? While the answer to this question can only be tenuous at best, it appears to be no. Lady Daibu's greatest claim to poetic fame, especially within the context of what the Kyōgoku poets would have thought important, is her connection to Shunzei and Teika, forefathers of the Kyōgoku family. However, aside from one exchange of poetry with each of them at the end of her memoir—with Shunzei on his ninetieth birthday and with Teika in the epilogue, when he asks for poems to be included in the ninth imperial anthology (*Shinchokusenshū*) he was then compiling—there are no other records of Lady Daibu poetically engaging with these great poets of her age.<sup>198</sup> While even this slight engagement gives her minor credibility as a poet, it is not sufficient to mark her as one of the active or well-respected poets of her day. It is more likely that she was close to them through familial connections, as discussed in Chapter Two, than frequent contact due to her poetic prowess.

In fact, there are only two extant recorded instances of her participating in poetry contests at all, despite the prevalence for such events during her lifetime.<sup>199</sup> Harries suggests this was due to her talents as a calligrapher and musician; while she probably attended many court events, including poetry contests, she was not called on as a competitor but an assistant.<sup>200</sup> Lady Daibu

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<sup>198</sup> See Appendix C for a list of people with whom she corresponds within her memoir.

<sup>199</sup> There is a third reference to a “Lady Daibu, lady-in-waiting” participating in another poetry competition, organized in 1166 by Fujiwara Shigeie (1128-1180), but scholars disagree on whether or not this refers to the same Lady Daibu. Contention arises from disagreement about her birth-year (ca. 1151-1157) and when she entered court, but those who insist it is the same woman also concede that she likely had not yet entered court service. Of the two poetry competitions she participated in, one was organized by Retired Empress Takamatsu'in (1141-1176) in 1175, and the other was an Inari Shrine contest sometime between 1170 and 1175. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 14, 64-65.

<sup>200</sup> While adopted by her namesake shortly prior to entrance into court, her father by blood, Fujiwara no Koreyuki (ca. 1123-1175) was a renowned calligrapher and musician, and her mother Yūgiri (died ca. 1180) was descended

does claim within her memoir to ghost-write a poem for another person at a contest, and this may have happened even more frequently. This poem appears as *Fūgashū* #2185 in the Book of

Felicitations:

When the Komatsu Inner Palace Minister [Taira no Shigemori] had a chrysanthemum contest, she composed this for someone else<sup>201</sup>

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

うっ  
移し植うる  
やど  
宿のあるじも  
この花も  
ともに老いせぬ  
秋ぞか重ねむ<sup>202</sup>

May both this flower  
And the master of this house  
Where it has found new root  
See autumn after autumn  
Untouched by age.<sup>203</sup>

By retaining the contextualization that this poem was written for another and deemed worthy for submission in the contest, the *Fūgashū* anthologizers are saying that Lady Daibu's skill at poetry was competitive with others of her day. Since all extant historical and literary records, including her own memoir, indicate that her participation in such events was infrequent, the inclusion of this poem may give the impression of a higher level of activity than seems accurate. In other words, through their choice of this poem, the *Fūgashū* anthologizers are transmitting an image of Lady Daibu as more poetically active than she may have been.

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from a prestigious line of court musicians. They would have trained her while young, and it is likely that these skills are what earned her a place in serving Empress Tokushi. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 11-12, 65. Koreyuki also wrote a calligraphic treatise for Lady Daibu detailing secret teachings from his (Sesonji) school, the *Yakaku teikinshō* (ca. 1170-1175). DeCocker and Kerr, "*Yakaku teikinshō*," 316.

<sup>201</sup> "Inner Palace Minister" refers to *Naidaijin* 内大臣. In a chrysanthemum contest, two teams presented chrysanthemums, usually with attached poems, to be judged against each other in pairs.

<sup>202</sup> Lady Daibu #56. Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 3, 384; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 37; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 30-31.

<sup>203</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 109.

Aside from the few instances mentioned above, Lady Daibu's public poetic achievements in poetry contests may have been hindered by the regard for her skills in other areas. She does thrive in private poetry, however, exchanging poems with many famous poets of her age.<sup>204</sup> As described above, she is a correspondent with some of the top female poets of her day, writing directly to Lady Kōjiju and to one of Princess Shikishi's ladies-in-waiting. In her memoir, she also records exchanging poems with many other poets of her day, including Taira no Tadanori (1144-1184). Taira no Tadanori was the younger brother of Kiyomori who led the Taira military forces in the war against the Minamoto clan. He studied poetry under Shunzei.<sup>205</sup> While it is thus clear that Lady Daibu was in communication with noted poets,<sup>206</sup> and her poetry was later recognized as worthy to be included within the imperial anthologies, it is more difficult to determine her poetic reputation while she was alive. There are no extant records which praise or criticize her poetry; her name does not appear frequently outside of her memoir in contemporaneous documents, much less specifically in relation to poetry.<sup>207</sup> Aside from the two poems included in *Shinchokusenshū*, the Kyōgoku poets thus would have no particular reason to think of Lady Daibu as a famous poet whose work should be included in their anthologies.

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<sup>204</sup> See Appendix C for a list of persons who appear in Lady Daibu's memoir, with special indications of those with whom she exchanges poetry. Nearly all of her poems anthologized by the Kyōgoku poets are characterized as private poems within her memoir, either written as correspondence or to privately vent her own grief. See Appendix A.

<sup>205</sup> For more information on Tadanori, see Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 127-129.

<sup>206</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>207</sup> See Appendix E.

#### 4.4 Lady Daibu's Poetry and Kyōgoku Aesthetics

If Lady Daibu was not included in the Kyōgoku imperial anthologies because of her fame as a poet, then why include so many of her poems? They may have been selected for their compatibility with Kyōgoku aesthetics. While the Kyōgoku school sought to highlight its own poetry in the two imperial anthologies it compiled, it also hoped to legitimize its particular poetic style by finding examples from past poets which aligned with its general ideals. Examples of Kyōgoku stylistic preferences include *ji-amari*, or an excess of syllables within a poem's line; end line breaks, particularly at the 575/77 line break; and repetition of sounds.<sup>208</sup>

Of the sixteen poems by Lady Daibu which are included in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, few begin to measure up to this aesthetic and stylistic ideal. None of her poems contain a hard *ji-amari*, and only two contain repeated sounds. Of these, *Fūgashū* #2007 is particularly poignant in emphasizing the existential implications of wartime with three repeats of the verb “to be” (*aru* ある):

Around the same time [as Koremori's death], when the the Right  
Palace Guards Captain Sukemori was in the western lands, she  
relied on a contact to send this poem to him

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

おなじ世と	How wretched it is
なほ思ふこそ	To think that this is still
かなしけれ	The same world as before,
<u>あるがある</u> にも	A world where life itself

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<sup>208</sup> Although 31-syllable Japanese *waka* poetry can be written various ways, the most common is in one line. Regardless of lineation, however, the syllables within that line have standard breaks at 5/7/5/7/7. *Ji-amari* here will refer to only “hard” *ji-amari*, or excess syllables not including long vowels. Endline breaks refer to when the grammatical form of the poem has a rupture or pause at the end of one of the 5/7/5/7/7 syllable breaks. Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, 89, 105-106, 111.

Lady Daibu sends this poem to Sukemori while he is fighting away from the capital. In his response, Sukemori duplicates this repetition by using the same verb three times himself; see discussion in Chapter 3 of Sukemori and the problem of the poetic voice of (male) warriors facing impending death.

Does Lady Daibu's poetry fit in with other Kyōgoku conventions? Eleven of her poems chosen for imperial anthologization have end line breaks at the 575/77 line. Three of her poems also demonstrate psychological inquiry with little or no natural imagery, although these poems are of grief and not love.<sup>211</sup> Without considerable further study, we can only speculate whether or not these minor similarities between her poetry and that of the Kyōgoku influenced their decision to include so many of her poems in their anthologies.<sup>212</sup>

The scholar Toya Seizō makes a brief argument that these poems by Lady Daibu were chosen for their influence on the Kyōgoku literary style. He points to certain phrases she uses which are appropriated and re-used by Kyōgoku poets in acts of *honkadori*, or allusive variation. For example, the phrases “in the last rays of the setting sun” (*yūhi utsuru* 夕日うつる) and “the color of the treetops” (*kozue no iro* 梢の色), both from Lady Daibu's memoir in poem #61 and

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<sup>209</sup> Emphasis added. Lady Daibu #217. Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 3, 239; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 109; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 107.

<sup>210</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 203.

<sup>211</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* # 2353-2354, 2498; Lady Daibu # 268, 261, 205 respectively.

<sup>212</sup> Some scholars have speculated about the aesthetic similarities. Harries argues that “Lady Daibu's poetry resembles that of the Kyōgoku-Reizei poets in being flat, prosaic, unadorned, declarative, and introspective, avoiding images in love poetry, and indulging in the intense scrutiny of detail in one's own state of mind or in nature.” Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 72.

first anthologized within the imperial anthologies with *Gyokuyōshū* #1660 (discussed above), are adopted by multiple Kyōgoku school poets whose variation-poems are also anthologized in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*.<sup>213</sup>

Toya also stresses, however, that the Kyōgoku poets (a) chose poems that appear at moments of emotional climax within the narrative, and (b) included contextualizing headnotes “to the highest possible degree of detail.”<sup>214</sup> As demonstrated above in the discussion of *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* recontextualization, this is not always the case—Lady Daibu’s object of love or lamentation and the contextualization thereof is not always the same as in her memoir—but this selection of poems tied to narrative climax suggests the Kyōgoku’s underlying interest in her story.

It is also possible that little poetry from the past aligned well with the Kyōgoku style and aesthetics. It is interesting, though, that all three of Lady Daibu’s poems with a decidedly psychological focus were written after Sukemori’s death (Appendix A), and seem to indicate an uncontrollable outpouring of emotion. This honesty, or clear straightforwardness in poetry—unintentional or not—aligns with Kyōgoku poetic ideals concerning matters of the heart.

It should also be noted that imperial anthologizers did not always choose a poet’s “best” poems for anthologization; anthologizers were more concerned with using the most “appropriate” poem, as it fit into the poetic sequence.<sup>215</sup> Mediocre poems were also included in order to better

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<sup>213</sup> Toya, “*Gyokuyōshū, Fūgashū ni nisshū*,” 2-3.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>215</sup> Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, 78.

frame and show off good poems.<sup>216</sup> While it would require extensive further study in order to make any definitive statements concerning Lady Daibu’s poems—whether or not some were used as chaff to make the grains of Kyōgoku poetry shine—this does not appear to be the case. Her poems are usually surrounded by those of other mid-ranked ladies-in-waiting from various time periods, not contemporary Kyōgoku poets.

There are a few places where her poetry appears sequentially with Kyōgoku poets, such as *Gyokuyōshū* #2159, which directly precedes poems by Kyōgoku giants Eifukumon’in (1271-1342) and Tameko.<sup>217</sup> This assemblage highlights their shared gender, and Lady Daibu appears to hold her own. Her poem, in expressing a rare appreciation for the beauty of the stars despite the competing moon—a feeling which was shared by the Kyōgoku poets—need not be considered sub-par even while it sets the stage for Eifukumon’in’s poem treating the same topic.

The two poems appear in *Gyokuyōshū* as follows:

On a dark night,<sup>218</sup> the lights of the stars were twinkling, so the lightened sky was the color of cherry blossoms. Steeping in the color of that evening, her heart lightened considerably, and she thought this:

Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu

月をこそ  
ながめなれしか  
星の夜の

The moon  
I have often gazed upon,  
But the stirring beauty

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<sup>216</sup> Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, 77.

<sup>217</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 229; Iwasa 3, 207-208. As previously mentioned, Tameko is the top female poet in *Gyokuyōshū*. She served Emperor Fushimi. Eifukumon’in, Fushimi’s Empress and joint supporter of the Kyōgoku poetry school, ranks second. Their positions reverse in overall rankings for *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* combined. See Appendix E.1 and E.2.

<sup>218</sup> As in English, “dark” (*yami*) can have a range of implications, including physical darkness and mental/psychological darkness (not knowing what to do about something).

深きあわれを  
こよひ知りぬる<sup>219</sup>

Of a night of stars  
I have understood this night.<sup>220</sup>

On “night”

Eifukumon'in

くらきよの  
山まつかぜは  
さはげども  
消の空に  
星ぞのどけき<sup>221</sup>

on a dark night  
though the wind rushing through  
the mountain pine howls,  
in the sky beyond its tips—  
the stars!—quiet and calm<sup>222</sup>

Eifukumon'in may have been inspired by the image of stars in Lady Daibu's poem, which is an unconventional topic of poetic inspiration. Her memoir contextualizes it within the realm of Heian poetic aesthetics by comparing the light of the stars to that of the moon, a favored Heian topic:

...I pushed the quilt off and looked up into the sky. It was unusually clear and had turned a lighter blue, against which large stars had appeared with unusual brilliance in one unbroken expanse. The sight was extraordinarily beautiful. It looked just as if pieces of gold and silver leaf had been scattered on paper of pale indigo. I felt as though I were seeing such a sky for the first time that night. I had often before looked at *starlit skies so bright that the moon might almost have been shining*. But perhaps because of the time and place, that night made a particularly vivid impression on me, and I could only remain there sunk in thought.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Lady Daibu #251. Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 207-208; Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 127; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 127.

<sup>220</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 229

<sup>221</sup> Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 208.

<sup>222</sup> This is my translation.

<sup>223</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 227. Emphasis added. Kubota lists readings for the italicized sections: *boshizukiyo*, or *boshizukuyo* 星月夜. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 127.

By removing this comparison to the moon, the *Gyokuyōshū* headnote makes Lady Daibu's poem appear more out of character with the poetics of her age—and more in line with Kyōgoku aesthetics—than its appearance in her memoir.<sup>224</sup> While Lady Daibu's poem inspired Eifukumon'in's poem about the beauty of the stars, her narrative contextualization of the poem also inspired Tameko to write what would become *Gyokuyōshū* # 2138.<sup>225</sup>

We do not have such records of praise by Kyōgoku poets for other poems by Lady Daibu. What sets her apart within the Kyōgoku anthologies are the consistently long, contextualizing headnotes which accompany her poems. This suggests that the context—Lady Daibu's narrative—is part of what made her poetry attractive for inclusion in the anthologies.

#### 4.5 Taira no Sukemori's Poetry as a Comparative Case Study

If Lady Daibu's general story was what attracted the Kyōgoku poets to her poetry, then it follows that her lover, Sukemori, would also have a number of poems included in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*. He is, after all, the pivot around which her memoir turns, beginning with their love story and ending with his death. While Sukemori does appear, he only has three poems in

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<sup>224</sup> Nakahara discusses this poem and what the loss of moon means based on the reception of Lady Daibu's headnote. According to Nakahara, following the death of Sukemori in the memoir, this is the first poem in which Lady Daibu notes something beautiful. Nakahara, "Chokusenshū ga matomeru mono," 34-37. In her annotation of the text, Tani Tomoko notes that the strong elegiac tone of the memoir weakens after this poem. Tani Tomoko and Ishikawa Yasumi, *Shikishi Naishinnō shū, Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu shū, Toshinari kyō no Musume shū, Tsuyakotoba*, edited by Kubota Jun, *Waka bungaku taikai 23* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2001), 142. Quoted in Nakahara, "Chokusenshū ga matomeru mono," 36. On the other hand, the loss of the moon (both from the sky in her poem and in the altered headnote in *Gyokuyōshū*) may also symbolize her loss of Sukemori; we will see the death of Emperor Takakura compared to the loss of the moon in the discussion of *ShinShokuKokin wakashū* in Chapter Five. This acknowledgement of a "light" in the sky, even in the absence of the "moon"/Sukemori, reinforces the reading that this poem is the first sign of her coming to terms with Sukemori's death.

<sup>225</sup> Iwasa, *Gyokuyōshū* 3, 196, 208. Poetic appropriation of a prose passage is called *honzetsudori*. Joshua Mostow, *Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 78.

*Gyokuyōshū* and one in *Fūgashū*.<sup>226</sup> A deeper study into his poetry—style, poetic connections and activity, and recorded works—is necessary to determine why so few poems were included in comparison to Lady Daibu’s, but lack of materials may have been one reason. All three of his poems in *Gyokuyōshū* mention his relationship with Lady Daibu or appear sequentially in the anthology with one of her poems and seem to originate from her memoir.<sup>227</sup> In other words, he is written *through her voice* into the imperial anthology. This adds a layer to the positioning of his poems within the *Gyokuyōshū*—they are poems by a (male) soldier killed in battle, in words contextualized by his surviving secret (female) lover, chosen for canonization and further contextualized by a (male) poetic anthologizer. The anthologizers are canonizing not only his poetry, then, but also the framework of a woman preserving the words of a dead warrior and speaking for him.

Surprisingly, Sukemori’s *Fūgashū* poem is unrelated to Lady Daibu and their love story; although this poem appears in the second book of love poetry, it was written as a formal exercise on a set topic.<sup>228</sup> Of more particular note is the female voice in which the poem is written. It is posed on the set topic of “A promised love who didn’t come,” and the poetic narrator speaks of waiting for her lover. This is a distinctly gendered pose, as men were the actively mobile sexual

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<sup>226</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* #1566, 1758, and 2344; *Fūgashū* #1081. Only one more of his poems was anthologized in an imperial collection: *Shinchokusenshū* #167, a summer poem which is unrelated to Lady Daibu.

<sup>227</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* #1566, 1758, and 2344.

<sup>228</sup> *Fūgashū* #1081, which reads *nakanaka ni/ tamenomezariseba/ sayo koromo/ kaesushirushi wa/ miemo shinamashi* 中々にたのめざりせばさよ衣かへすするしはみえもしなまし. This particular poem may have been inserted to offset and provide contrast for Kyōgoku poetry. It follows a verse by Fujiwara no Toshikane (dates unknown), one of the lesser Kyōgoku poets, and precedes poems by leading poets Tamekane and Tameko (see Appendix E.1 and E.2). Unlike Lady Daibu’s poem mentioned earlier, which is similarly situated within a cluster of Kyōgoku poetry, commentary does not indicate anything particularly exemplary about Sukemori’s poem as it was received by Kyōgoku poets. Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 2, 120.

partners who visited their ladies' homes. In this public poem, Sukemori is cast not as Lady Daibu's lover but rather a traditional Heian female poet. This is his only poem within *Fūgashū*. He and Lady Daibu are not allowed any poetic exchanges in this anthology as they were in *Gyokuyōshū*, and none of the poems concerning their story appear in the books of love. Sukemori is, however, specifically mentioned as an object of Lady Daibu's grief in a later lamentation poem.<sup>229</sup>

While nothing definitive can be deduced about the compiler's intent from such little information, the presentation of Lady Daibu and Sukemori's love stories within *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* differ dramatically. Sukemori is all but removed from the presentation of Lady Daibu's story within *Fūgashū*, indicating that the compilers had different priorities in the presentation of her story. It is possible that the Kyōgoku poets enjoyed Lady Daibu and Sukemori's romance more from her point of view because that is how it is packaged within her memoir. While Sukemori is portrayed as playing a vital role in her life, their romantic interactions are heavily overshadowed by her later grief, which occupies the complete second volume of her memoir (Appendix A). The biggest impact he has on her is due to his absence. This could be why when her poems are re-cycled within the *Gyokuyōshū*, the Kyōgoku poets grant her not only a voice within the chorus of lamentations but also a "happier" ending with Sukemori in the books of love. This packaging of his character could also be partially responsible for his general exclusion from the imperial anthologies, especially *Fūgashū*. Once their love story is established within *Gyokuyōshū*, Lady Daibu carries the burden of his lost voice; if they are not "speaking" together in an anthology, then he must be absent.

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<sup>229</sup> *Gyokuyōshū* #2007, discussed above.

#### 4.6 Summary of Lady Daibu's Representation in Kyōgoku Anthologies

The presentation of Lady Daibu's poems within the *Gyokuyōshū* creates a sympathetic space for closure. While focusing on the two themes of her memoir—her love for Sukemori and loss of him—the re-contextualization of her poetry also expands the scope of her words to express both individual grief (for Sukemori) and public grief (for the Taira clan). The selection of Lady Daibu's poetry appearing in *Fūgashū* highlights her relationships with other female poets and strengthens her status as a poet. Highlighting her poetic talents may be an attempt in supplying a belated justification for why so many of her poems were included in *Gyokuyōshū*. *Fūgashū* also places Lady Daibu within a gendered circle of female poets. She is denied poetry exchanges with Sukemori in *Fūgashū*; all of her poems relating to him are lamentations.

While *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* are frequently lumped together as the only two Kyōgoku school imperial anthologies, the differing presentation of Lady Daibu's poetry within each shows a disjunction in their poetry selection and (re)contextualization processes. While each anthology retrieves and reuses the poems from Lady Daibu's memoir, the re-cycling of her poetry results in different characterizations of her life and relationship with the Heike clan. One of the underlying reasons for this may be the political unrest and war which occurred between the compilations of the two anthologies. Emperor GoDaigo (1288-1339) rebelled against the Hōjo family-dominated shogunate government in 1331, which resulted in his exile. He gathered forces, including warrior clans who wanted to displace the Hōjo clan, and battled his way back to power briefly from 1333-1336 before another defeat. One result of these events was an unstable, fractionalized

military and loose loyalty within and among warrior clans.<sup>230</sup> The compilation of *Fūgashū* began in 1342 and was completed in 1346 by Retired Emperor Kōgon, who was forced off the throne by GoDaigo. Both the short span of time between the uprisings and this anthology and the personal nature of the compiler's involvement affected the treatment of war-related topics.<sup>231</sup>

In the introduction to their annotation of *Fūgashū*, Iwasa Miyoko and Tsugita Kasumi write that “there are many headnotes within the text with the raw smell of war hanging over them.”<sup>232</sup> They specifically discuss the presentation of Lady Daibu as a voice representative of the Genpei War and the Heike clan.<sup>233</sup> While the *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers enacted a form of spirit pacification in their contextualization of Lady Daibu's poetry in communication with Sukemori, the wounds of war are still too fresh for the *Fūgashū* anthologizers. I believe they show her war-related poems, the sentiments of which parallel the violent upheavals of the mid-fourteenth century, as a model of a poetic response to recent loss. The anthologizers stress the immediacy of her grief in their contextualization of her poems. Lady Daibu's solitary voice is abruptly cut off from two Heike men. Koremori's death is described vividly and the loss is made to appear recent. Furthermore, her poem sent to Sukemori on the battlefield, which repeats the word “to be” three times and was discussed above in relation to Kyōgoku poetics, emphasizes the ephemerality of life during wartime.

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<sup>230</sup> Pierre François Souyri, *The World Turned Upside Down: Medieval Japanese Society*, trans. Käthe Roth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 112-120.

<sup>231</sup> While some of Lady Daibu's poems included in *Fūgashū* are lamentations, there are fewer of them than in *Gyokuyōshū*, and their headnotes clarify the poems as referring to specific men: Koremori (Sukemori's brother) and Sukemori, poems #2006-2007 respectively. Iwasa, *Fūgashū* 3, 239-240.

<sup>232</sup> Iwasa Miyoko and Tsugita Kasumi, eds., *Fūgawakashū* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1974), 5.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

More research is necessary to pursue larger questions. Are other poets historically linked to war also re-cast in *Fūgashū* as solitary voices of lamentation? Do the representations and (re)contextualizations of other female poets in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* show similar disparities to Lady Daibu's? Are others also placed in a distinctly gendered cohort? Despite the mutually-favored Kyōgoku poetic style in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, how may have the specific historical contexts of their compilations resulted in different choices of poetic presentation and reconciliation of the voices between past and present? It is my hope that the questions produced by this thesis will result in further study about the distinguishing characteristics of *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* (outside the meshed category of “Kyōgoku poetic school anthologies”) and the (re)contextualization of female poets in imperial anthologies.

## Chapter 5: Lady Daibu's Poems in Later Imperial Anthologies

The Kyōgoku poets effectively rehabilitated Lady Daibu's poetry through the inclusion of many of her poems in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*: at least one of her poems appears in every later anthology, even though after *Fūgashū* the Kyōgoku poets again lost control of the compilation process. This signifies that the Kyōgoku poets were successful in making Lady Daibu recognized as a poet worthy of canonization in the imperial anthologies. Later anthologizers, however, selected at most two of her poems for inclusion. Let us turn to those later anthologies now.

### 5.1 Lady Daibu in *ShinSenzai wakashū* and *ShinShūi wakashū*

*ShinSenzai wakashū* (New Collection of a Thousand Years, 1359) is the first imperial anthology to be initiated by the bakufu, a trend that continues throughout the rest of the anthologies. Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358), the first shogun of the Ashikaga shogunate, directed Emperor GoKōgon (1338-1374, r. 1352-1371) of the Northern Court to commission the anthology. Robert Huey explains why Takauji believed that Emperor GoKōgon in particular needed the cachet of imperial legitimacy gained through ordering an imperial anthology.<sup>234</sup>

Ashikaga Takauji came to the position of shogun in 1338. He had previously been aligned with the Kamakura shogunate but aided Emperor GoDaigo (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339) of the Southern Court in the Kenmu Restoration (1333-1336), an attempt to wrestle political control

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<sup>234</sup> Robert N. Huey, "Warrior Control over the Imperial Anthology," in Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 188-189.

from the Kamakura shogunate, dominated by the Hōjō clan, back to the imperial line. Takauji later switched sides again, seizing power for himself and transferring support to the Northern Court. Takauji's Ashikaga line was descended from the Minamoto, who had defeated the Heike and established the Kamakura shogunate.

Takauji established the new bakufu headquarters in Kyoto but was repeatedly forced to defend or leave the capital due to attacks by the Southern Court's troops. Takauji's son and shogunal successor Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1330-1367) installed GoKōgon as emperor in 1352 after the Southern Court abducted multiple members of the Northern Court imperial family, including two retired emperors, the current emperor, and the crown prince. GoKōgon thus gained the throne without proper ceremonies and without the imperial regalia, which the Southern Court held. He and his supporters were again driven from the capital, and Takauji instructed Emperor GoKōgon to order an anthology in 1356, one year after they had returned. Huey argues that given the circumstances of GoKōgon's ascension, it is unsurprising that Takauji would want him to counter the uncertain legitimacy of his reign by joining the line of imperial predecessors who had created the cultural monument of an imperial anthology.<sup>235</sup> At the same time, the commissioning of this imperial anthology can be seen as a triumph of the Northern Court for regaining the capital in 1355, and for this reason Yoshiakira has GoKōgon order a second imperial anthology, *ShinShūi wakashu* (New Collection of Gleanings, 1364), completed just five years after the previous anthology.<sup>236</sup> This is the only instance of two imperial poetry anthologies being commissioned by the same emperor, although Huey notes how GoKōgon's relevance in

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<sup>235</sup> Huey, "Warrior Control," 188-189.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

the compilation of the second anthology had dwindled.<sup>237</sup> These two anthologies will be examined together.

*ShinSenzaishū* was compiled by Nijō Tamesada (1293-1360). Lady Daibu's only poem in this anthology appears in the middle of Book Seventeen, the second of three miscellaneous books of poetry. The poem is significantly altered from its appearance in her memoir (alterations in bold):

Composed during a period of lamentation

Kenreimonin Ukyō no Daibu

いざさらば  
行へもしらず  
あくがれむ  
跡とどむれば  
かなしかりけり<sup>238</sup>

If that be so,  
**not knowing the way**  
I'd wander with no destination,  
but **since** I leave these traces of myself  
**how sad it is!**<sup>239</sup>

We again see Lady Daibu in an elegiac mode, although her focus here is on herself, not praying for Sukemori. The literary scholar Kubota Jun notes that while this poem is attributed to Lady Daibu in *ShinSenzaishū*, it may have been purposefully revised by the compiler, Tamesada, to soften the tenser tone of the original verse.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Taniyama Shigeru et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1983), *ShinSenzaishū* #1888.

<sup>239</sup> This is my translation.

<sup>240</sup> Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 117. For example, Kubota points to the complete replacement of the first two lines from *yuku he naku/waga mi mo saraba* 行く方なくわが身もさらば, which resembles the meaning of *izasaraba yuku he mo shirazu* いざさらば行へもしらず in *ShinSenzaishū* but emphasizes a sense of not having a path to take rather than not knowing the way.

In the context of Lady Daibu's memoir, this poem directly follows another criticizing the Buddha, situating it firmly in a religious context (places of alterations to poem in bold):

Having no other source of comfort, I turned to the Buddha. After all, I had had faith in him ever since my childhood. But there were so many things to convince me that my fate had always been wretched, and now I had such sorrows as had never been heard of. What had I done to deserve this, I wondered, and I began to resent even the gods and buddhas:

さりともと  
頼む 仏も  
恵まねば  
後の世までを  
思ふかなしき<sup>241</sup>

In spite of all  
I have trusted in the Buddha.  
But he withholds his blessings,  
So now I have these miseries of doubt  
About the life to come.<sup>242</sup>

行く方なく  
わが身もさらば  
あくがれむ  
あととどむべき  
憂き世ならぬに<sup>243</sup>

If that be so,  
Would that **my body too** could join my heart  
And wander with no destination,  
For I would leave no traces of myself  
**In this brief world of misery.**<sup>244</sup>

Harries notes that within the context of her memoir, the second poem here takes up the implications of the first poem. In the Buddhist context, he argues, "If Lady Daibu's salvation is in doubt, it would be better to vanish completely from the phenomenal world, rather than simply die, only to be reborn and continue (leave her traces) in the unending cycle of misery."<sup>245</sup> The

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<sup>241</sup> Lady Daibu, poem #231. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 117; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 116.

<sup>242</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 213.

<sup>243</sup> Highlights in bold are what is changed in the *ShinSenzai shū*. Lady Daibu, poem # 232. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 117; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 116.

<sup>244</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 213.

<sup>245</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 212.

traces of which she speaks could thus be her bodily form but may also point to the traces of writing she leaves behind, including her diary itself. The poem in Lady Daibu's memoir expresses a wish to leave no traces, but the poem in *ShinSenzaishū* shows that traces have been left behind, and she regrets them.

The next imperial anthology, *ShinShūishū*, was primarily compiled by Nijō Tameakira (1295-1364), heir to the Nijō lineage. He died before the compilation was finished, and it was completed by Ton'a (1289-1372), who was not of the Nijō line but followed their poetic practices and had judged poetry contests held by both Ashikaga Takeuji and his son Yoshiakira.<sup>246</sup> Only one of Lady Daibu's poems was selected for this anthology, but it appears as an exchange and is contextualized with three other poems in sequence. The five poems as they appear in *ShinShūishū*, with headnotes, are as follows:

Composed in the third year of Kennin [1203] in the eleventh month, when there was a ninetieth [birthday] celebration at the Bureau of Japanese Poetry

Senior Assistant Minister to the Empress Dowager<sup>247</sup> Shunzei

ももとせに  
近づく人ぞ  
おほからん  
方代ふべき  
君が御代には<sup>248</sup>

There are many  
people whose lives approach  
one hundred years--  
but it should go on forever,  
this reign of yours.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> For imperial anthology dates and compilers, see Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 222. For information about Ton'a, see Steven Carter, *Just Living: Poems and Prose by the Japanese Monk Tonna* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

<sup>247</sup> His title is *Kōtai Kōgū Daibu* 皇太皇宮大夫.

<sup>248</sup> Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1, *ShinShūishū* #704.

<sup>249</sup> This is my translation.

	Senior Grade of the Third Rank Tsuneie <sup>250</sup>
わかのうちら	Oh, counting
による年波を	the waves of years
かぞへしる	coming from Waka Bay
御代ぞうれしき	of your peaceful realm! –the happiness
老いらくのため <sup>251</sup>	of growing old. <sup>252</sup>

At the same time, this was written as something to embroider on a monk's surplice to be presented [to Shunzei]

Retired Emperor GoToba's Lady Kunaikyō

ながらへて	For <b>your</b> long life
けさやうれしき	<b>You must be</b> pleased this day!
老の波	Serve your Lord
やちよをかけて	Through a thousand ages,
君につかへよ <sup>253</sup>	As your years mount like waves! <sup>254</sup>

Upon going to the palace to offer this celebratory poem, [she] stayed the whole night, and thinking about how this was a fabulous honor for the extraordinary Way of Poetry, [she] composed this

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<sup>250</sup> This is Fujiwara no Tsuneie (1149-1209).

<sup>251</sup> Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1, *ShinShūishū* #705.

<sup>252</sup> This is my translation.

<sup>253</sup> Bold indicates changes Lady Daibu made to Lady Kunaikyō's poem while embroidering, as instructed by Retired Emperor GoToba. Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1, *ShinShūishū* #706. The unaltered poem, #354 in Lady Daibu's memoir, reads:

ながらへて	For <b>my</b> long life
けさぞうれしき	<b>How</b> pleased <b>I am</b> this day!
老の波	Though <b>my</b> years mount like waves,
やちよをかけて	<b>I shall</b> serve <b>My</b> Lord
君につかへん	For a thousand ages.

Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 160; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 165; Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 279.

<sup>254</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 278.

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

君ぞなほ  
けふのち  
今日より後も  
かぞ  
数ふべき  
ここの  
九かへりの  
とをゆく末<sup>255</sup>

Still more, My Lord,  
From this day forward  
The course of your life to come  
Shall number yet again  
Nine times ten years.<sup>256</sup>

In reply:

Senior Assistant Minister to the Empress Dowager, Shunzei

かめやま  
亀山の  
ここの  
九かへりの  
ちとせ  
千歳をも  
みよ  
君が御代にぞ  
添へゆづるべき<sup>257</sup>

Nine times one thousand years  
On the Mount of Immortality  
I would relinquish,  
Could I but add them to the reign  
Of His Gracious Majesty.<sup>258</sup>

Lady Daibu's memoir gives us greater context. She had been asked by Retired Emperor GoToba to embroider Lady Kunaikyō's poem onto the surplice and deliver it to Shunzei's birthday celebration. Lady Daibu had noticed that the honorifics of Lady Kunaikyō's original poem did not match those of a sovereign addressing his subject, however—the original poem was composed as if Shunzei were congratulating himself and confirming his dedication to the

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<sup>255</sup> Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1, *Shinshūishū* #707. Poem #355 in Lady Daibu's memoir. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 161; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 166.

<sup>256</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 281.

<sup>257</sup> Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1, *Shinshūishū* #708. Poem #356 in Lady Daibu's memoir. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 161; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 166.

<sup>258</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 281.

imperial line. Lady Daibu thinks to correct the poem herself but refrains, then receives orders from GoToba to do so. Only the uncorrected version appears in her memoir, but the corrected version appears in the *ShinShūishū*.

This sequence of poems emphasizes Lady Daibu's connection to Shunzei through poetic exchange. That she was in poetic communication with him at all justifies the inclusion of the poems in the anthology. Lady Daibu also serves as an intermediary between Shunzei and Lady Kunaikyō—embroidering the latter's words onto the cloth that will lie over his heart—and also offers the poem that receives his response in this short sequence focused on his birthday event. This poem is her first verse to appear in an imperial anthology which is *not* taken from the sections of her memoir detailing her time serving Empress Tokushi at court or secret mourning for Sukemori away from court. It appears in the final section of her memoir, after her return to court to serve Emperor GoToba (Appendix A).

Both *ShinSenzai wakashū* and *ShinShūi wakashū* include Lady Daibu's poetry but reject some of the representations of her set by the Kyōgoku poets in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*. This suggests that the Kyōgoku poets were effective in rehabilitating her poetry, but later anthologizers were not bound to how she had been portrayed in earlier texts. The emphasis on her poetic exchange with Shunzei further reinforces her reputation as a poet worthy of inclusion in the imperial anthologies.

## 5.2 Lady Daibu in the *ShinGoShūi wakashū*

By the twentieth and next imperial anthology, the *ShinGoShūi wakashū* (New Collection of Later Gleanings, 1384), the cultural prestige related to the creation of an imperial anthology extended not only to the commissioning emperor and anthologizers but also the shogun who

requested its commission.<sup>259</sup> Yoshiakira's son, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408), joined his father and grandfather in requesting a commission in 1375, from Emperor GoEn'yū (1358-1393, r.1371-1382).<sup>260</sup> These three Ashikaga shoguns all rank in the top ten represented poets within the anthology, signifying the successful appropriation by warrior-aristocrats of courtly forms of cultural prestige.<sup>261</sup>

Lady Daibu's sole poem appearing in this anthology is composed on a set topic, the first and only of her poems appearing in an imperial anthology to do so. The poem, *ShinGoShūishū* #72, appears late in the first book of spring poetry:

On geese returning in the dark of night

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

花をこそ  
思ひも捨てめ  
ありあけ  
有明の  
月をも待たで  
帰るかりがね<sup>262</sup>

All thought of blossoms  
Well may they give up!  
But why do the geese,  
As they journey home, not even wait  
For the crescent moon of dawn?<sup>263</sup>

As a poem written on a set topic, this is not connected to any particular narrative within Lady Daibu's memoir. Within the scope of this study, it is noteworthy for being the only poem selected for inclusion in an imperial anthology from the second segment of Lady Daibu's

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<sup>259</sup> Huey, "Warrior Control," 189.

<sup>260</sup> Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 222.

<sup>261</sup> Huey, "Warrior Control," 189.

<sup>262</sup> Poem #35 in Lady Daibu's memoir. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 30; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 24; Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1, *ShinGoShūishū* 72.

<sup>263</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 97.

memoir, a sequence of poems on a set topic (Appendix A). This selection is a token inclusion of Lady Daibu's poetry; she has been established as a poet who should appear in each anthology.

### 5.3 Lady Daibu in the *ShinShokuKokin wakashū*

The final imperial anthology, the *ShinShokuKokin wakashū* (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times Continued, 1439), was requested by Yoshimitsu's son and shogunal successor, Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1441), commissioned by Emperor GoHanazono (1419-1470, r.1428-1464), and compiled by Asukai Masayo (1390-1452).<sup>264</sup> While Masayo was judged as not particularly well-suited to the task of compilation, the Nijō school had failed to produce an heir, and Yoshinori disliked the alternative Reizei school.<sup>265</sup> Poetic production had also largely shifted to *renga*, which coupled with a lack of compilers contributed to the end of the imperial poetic anthologies.<sup>266</sup>

Two of Lady Daibu's poems appear in the *ShinShokuKokinshū*. The first, poem #202 in her memoir, appears in the anthology's Book Sixteen (a book of elegiac poetry), and forms a public lament for the passing of Retired Emperor Takakura, the husband of Lady Daibu's mistress, Empress Tokushi:

Hearing that Retired Emperor Takakura had passed away [on the fourteenth day of the first month of 1181], [she] remembered countless things from when she had [served at court and] seen him all the time:

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<sup>264</sup> Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 223.

<sup>265</sup> Huey, "Warrior Control," 189.

<sup>266</sup> Huey, "Warrior Control," 190.

Kenreimonin Ukyō no Daibu

雲の上うへに  
行く末ゆ すゑとほ遠く  
見し月の  
光消えぬと  
聞くぞかなしき<sup>267</sup>

How grieved I am to hear  
That the light has vanished  
From that moon which once  
I thought would shine forever  
In that land above the clouds.<sup>268</sup>

This poem in the *ShinShokuKokinshū* echoes *Shinchokusenshū* #1098 in addressing Lady Daibu's feelings toward Emperor Takakura and his reign. She compares Emperor Takakura to the moon, an image which Imazeki Toshiko has argued has special value for Lady Daibu, as it is featured in twenty-seven poems within her memoir.<sup>269</sup> This poem is placed within Lady Daibu's memoir at the end of the first volume of her work (#202) and followed by one final poem that closes out the book (#203):

Saddened to think what the Empress must have been feeling in her heart, she composed:

かげなら  
影並べ  
照る日の光  
かくれつつ  
ひとりや月の  
かき曇くもるらむ<sup>270</sup>

The sun that used to shine  
Beside the moon  
Has veiled its radiance;  
Surely the moon in its solitude  
Is overcast with grief.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Lady Daibu #202. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 98; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 95; Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan 1, ShinShokuKokinshū* #1570. Also in Murao Seiichi, ed. *ShinShokuKokin wakashū*, Waka bungaku taikai 12, series editor Kubota Jun (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2001), 290.

<sup>268</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 187.

<sup>269</sup> Imazeki Toshiko, *Chūsei jōryū nikki bungaku ronkō* (Tokyo: Izumi shoin, 1987), 69. Quoted in Nakahara, "Chokusenshū ga motomeru mono," 34.

<sup>270</sup> Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 98; Kimie, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 96.

<sup>271</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 187.

Here, the empress is now the moon and the emperor the sun. If we are to take Lady Daibu's use of the moon as indicating a special interest, then this shift in imagery reflects her change in focus to the Empress.

Lady Daibu's poem #202, selected for inclusion in *ShinShokuKokinshū*, also appears in *The Tale of the Heike*, in the sixth volume detailing Emperor Takakura's death with imagery of the sun and the moon. In this reference, she is an uncredited woman:

Dharma Seal Chōken hastened down from Mount Hiei to attend the funeral, only to learn that the Retired Emperor had already become a wisp of smoke. He recited a poem:

つねにみし	We have seen our lord
君が御幸を <small>みゆき</small>	set forth on many a trip,
けふ 今日とへば	but how sad to hear
かへらぬたびと	that today's journey is one
きくぞかなしき	from which there is no return!

A certain lady-in-waiting<sup>272</sup> also expressed her emotions in verse when she heard of the former sovereign's death:

雲の上に	How grievous to hear
ゆくすゑ 行末とほく	that its light is extinguished—
みし月の	the moon we beheld
ひかり消えぬと	above the clouds, thinking it
きくぞかなしき <sup>273</sup>	destined to shine forever.

The twenty-one-year-old Retired Emperor was a...wise ruler in the latter days of the Law, he was deeply mourned by the members of

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<sup>272</sup> Lady Daibu is referenced here as *aru nyōbō* ある女房.

<sup>273</sup> Ichiko Teiji, ed., *Heike monogatari, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 45 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2002), 423-424.

society, all of whom felt as though deprived of the light of the sun and the moon.<sup>274</sup>

The impact of his loss as both that of the sun and the moon reflects Lady Daibu's conventional usage. This example shows how Lady Daibu's poem was appropriated by multiple sources to express the grief of an age. That she is unnamed in the *Heike monogatari* reference—with no indication of how close she was to him through her service of Empress Tokushi, as in the *ShinShokuKokinshū* headnote—emphasizes the impact of his death throughout the aristocratic ranks. In contrast, the intimacy described in the imperial anthology's headnote—when she thought about when she had “seen him all the time”—individualizes the sentiment of what is otherwise a public lament using conventional imagery.

Lady Daibu's final poem to appear in the *ShinShokuKokinshū*, #2031—her last poem in the last imperial anthology, placed within the third book of miscellaneous poetry—returns to a romantic tone, the first of the anthologies since *Fūgashū* to do so.

(*Fūgashū* headnote)

**Even after retiring from the palace**, since she thought her love [for him] was weak, as an experiment she went away to the country. **As she was disposing of the** [letters and other] **useless things [related to him]**, she wrote this **on the edge of a letter** in which he had said that his love **would not fade through all of eternity.**<sup>275</sup>

なが  
流れてと  
たのめしかども

For all time, he said  
And made me trust in him:

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<sup>274</sup> Emphasis added and poem format adapted for stylistic uniformity. Helen Craig McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 198-199. The last underlined phrase reads “It was like the light of the sun and the moon was stolen from them” (*tsukihi no hikari o usinaheru ga gotoshi* 月日の光をうしなへるがごとし), which strongly echoes Lady Daibu's poem.

<sup>275</sup> This is my translation, which borrows heavily from Harries. Bold indicates phrases in the *ShinShokuKokinshū* headnote which are identical to the prose in Lady Daibu's memoir. Murao, *ShinShokuKokinshū*, 368.

(みづぐき)  
水 茎 の  
かきたえぬべき  
跡のかなしさ<sup>276</sup>

But now the sadness  
Of these letters—the last traces  
That soon will be no more.<sup>277</sup>

While this poem is couched in a narrative, there is no direct mention of Sukemori. If we are to take the reception of Lady Daibu's poems within the imperial anthologies as a collective narrative, with each anthology building upon the narratives drawn in previous anthologies, then this poem could only refer to Sukemori as there is only one lover in the selectively recrafted narrative. Her memoir is ambiguous, however, where this poem refers to Sukemori or Takanobu. Her prose contextualization reads:

Even after retiring from the palace I was still visited from time to time by a man, and even though I was not wholly in love with him, I went on in a state that may best be described as the indifference of “Musashi stirrups;” indeed the affair only became more dreary, and I felt our relationship was no longer at all what it had been. To see how his feelings really were, I moved away, and as I was putting my private papers in order I wrote this poem on the edge of a letter in which he had said over and over that his love would not weaken through all of eternity.<sup>278</sup>

The main element in this headnote that was not copied in the *ShinShokuKokinshū* headnote is the “Musashi stirrups.” They are an image drawn from the thirteenth episode of *Ise monogatari* and connote both the ambivalence of ending a relationship about which one no longer cares and one person having two lovers. Interestingly, here Lady Daibu employs the term with these connotations, as the male lover in *Ise* uses it; the woman to whom he writes counter-

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<sup>276</sup> Lady Daibu #162. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 83; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 78-79. *ShinShokuKokinshū* #2031. Taniyama et al., *Shinpen kokka taikan* 1, *ShinShokuKokinshū* #2031; Murao, *ShinShokuKokin wakashū*, 368.

<sup>277</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 167.

<sup>278</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 166-167.

uses the term to represent her clinging dependence on him, as stirrups press upon a horse.<sup>279</sup>

Lady Daibu indicates her agency through the use of this term, which is amplified by her decision to move away in order to test her lover's devotion. The term "musashi stirrups" has also been found in Takanobu's poetry, which has been taken as evidence that this poem relates to him, although the evidence is weak.<sup>280</sup>

The decision not to include this image in the *ShinShokuKokinshū* headnote, then, eliminates the possibility of reading Takanobu into the narratives about Lady Daibu presented as cultural history in the imperial anthologies. While the headnote retains some element of her agency—she makes the decision to leave the capital—without knowledge of a second lover, her poem seems voiced by an abandoned woman who we might imagine at a very late stage of love, in the fourth or fifth volumes within the cycle of love poetry.

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<sup>279</sup> Mostow and Tyler, *Ise Stories*, 45.

<sup>280</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 164.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

I have shown in the above chapters how the imperial anthologies are more than repositories of poetry that shape standards of poetic excellence and convention. In serving as sources of legitimization, the anthologies also established mutual cultural authority for poetic and imperial lineages. This was accomplished in the anthologies by demonstrating harmonization with poets of previous ages. The poetic and imperial lineages used poetic precedents for their shared poetic style in a manner that showed their own prowess and also provided lesser poems for contrast. Each anthology thus created a cultural history by presenting poets of the past within a framework that emphasized the past's influence on the present and offered headnotes contextualizing the historical circumstances of the poems' production. The anthologizers chose poets from each age and determined how to represent them in the anthologies. The cultural histories that the anthologies present differ with each anthology as the imperial sponsor, involved parties, and their mutual concerns changed with each text. We could compare each imperial anthology to a historical museum in literary form, in which the subject matter *and* the individual voices/perspectives through which the reader experiences those topics are curated.

The anthologies transmit narratives about Lady Daibu through their selection of poems, contextualizing headnotes, integration of voices, and structural choices in terms of where her poems are placed within the anthology. While the narratives created in this manner have some connection to Lady Daibu's self-portrayal within her memoir, such as her relationship with Sukemori, connection to the Heike clan, and intimacy with the imperial family, they frequently differ from her own story and each other. In other words, the historical narratives within the

anthologies create competing cultural histories about Lady Daibu, the time in which she lived, and the focal point of much of her attention—Sukemori and the Heike clan.

Chapter One introduced the above argument in relation to previous scholarship on Lady Daibu's memoir and the imperial anthologies in question. I also considered recent academic approaches to the literary reception of Heian women with regard to my own methodology.

Chapter Two, focusing on *Shinchokusenshū*, showed how the lack of a headnote can change the meaning of a poem and limit the narrative that is transmitted through the anthologies. We can only conjecture why Teika, as the anthologizer, might wish to do so, but it may have been due to the thick contextualization of Lady Daibu's poetry within discourses of the Heike clan. This anthology emphasized harmonization of the realm, which would make her romantic and elegaic narratives, both couched in the theme of war, at odds with the overall effort of the text. We also saw in Chapter Two the selection of Lady Daibu as a voice of authority on Emperor Takakura's reign.

Chapters Three and Four analyzed the portrayal of Lady Daibu within two Kyōgoku school anthologies, *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*. These anthologies present different images of Lady Daibu in their contextualization of her poems. In *Gyokuyōshū*, Lady Daibu's love poems are situated in the latter volumes of love poetry as if she and Sukemori completed their romantic relationship, i.e., they finished the ideological cycle of love as defined by poetic convention. The arrangement of their exchange in Book Five contravenes convention, however, which dictates a cease in communication between the former lovers at the end of the love cycle. The framing of her poetry within Book Five also conflicts with Lady Daibu's presentation of their relationship within her memoir, in which Sukemori is killed while they are still romantically involved. I argued that these choices result in something resembling spirit pacification, allowing the two

lovers the final farewell that they never had an opportunity to achieve in Lady Daibu's memoir. This shows that the *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers not only appropriated narrative elements from Lady Daibu's memoir, they also responded to them in the presentation of her poetry. This decision to include her within the volumes of love poetry is also striking in that no other anthology places her poetry in those volumes in relation to Sukemori. The only other anthology to include her within the volumes of love, *Shinchokusenshū*, includes a headnote "topic unknown."<sup>281</sup>

*Gyokuyōshū* also posits Lady Daibu as *the* representative female elegaic voice for the whole Heike clan, not just Sukemori. This positioning and the love-poetry revisionist representations of Lady Daibu emphasize her association with the Heike. The presentation of Lady Daibu as a mourner of the clan suggests that she was seen as an appropriate spokesperson for them. This placement of a woman, who is never represented as a nun, at the center of literary Heike discourses is incongruent with the group of blind, itinerant monks associated with oral transmission of Heike clan's story during the time these two anthologies were compiled. Further inquiry is necessary in the transmission of war narratives by women as well as individuals like Lady Daibu who served the Heike but remained at court after their fall from power. Such an examination might reveal a more robust portrait of the ways in which narratives about the Heike were preserved.

Many of Lady Daibu's poems in *Gyokuyōshū* and other anthologies are placed in the Miscellaneous Book (Appendix A.1). I argue this is because the overlap of her grief and love in the same poem fall outside of the conventions of any other book. This raises questions about

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<sup>281</sup> See Appendix A.1 for a table of her poems' placement within the books of each anthology.

acceptable poetic expression during or concerning war, as does Sukemori's claim that as a warrior going into battle, he is "already dead" and therefore unable to write love poetry to Lady Daibu. A thematic study of war-related poetry, such as earlier precedents in the *Man'yōshū* and later medieval texts composed by members of warrior clans, might show more nuanced approaches to how participants and victims of war expressed their experiences in poetry and engaged with poetic convention.

Although modern scholars frequently group the two Kyōgoku anthologies together, *Fūgashū* presents a more diverse representation of Lady Daibu than *Gyokuyōshū*. While all of her interactions in *Gyokuyōshū* are with Heike men, *Fūgashū* also portrays her in a homosocial poetic setting with other women from her age. This new representation, or placement of Lady Daibu in new historical contextualization, may have been part of a conscious effort to rehabilitate her poetry. The *Gyokuyōshū* anthologizers had also attempted this, but the absence of her poetry in the following two anthologies compiled by the rival Nijō school demonstrate their failure.<sup>282</sup> In showing Lady Daibu in communication with other poets, outside of love and war narratives, *Fūgashū* emphasize both her versatility in subject matter and connections to poetic spheres.

While highlighting the differences between *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, I also showed a parallel in their framing of Lady Daibu. By examining the reception of Sukemori, I demonstrated how she speaks for him, alive (in framing his words) or dead (in her lamentation poetry) in both

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<sup>282</sup> These two anthologies are *ShokuSenzai wakashū* (Collection of a Thousand Years, Continued, 1320), commissioned by Retired Emperor GoUda (1267-1324, r. 1274-1287) and compiled by Nijō Tameyo (1250-1338), and *ShokuGoShūi wakashū* (Later Collection of Gleanings Continued, 1326), commissioned by Emperor GoDaigo (1288-1339, r.1318-[1339]) and compiled by Nijō Tamefuji (1275-1324) and completed by Nijō Tamesada (1290-1360) after his death. Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 221.

texts. We would not have his voice without hers, by which I mean two things. First, nearly every poem of his which is included in the imperial anthologies is sourced directly from her memoir, and her name is mentioned in the headnotes. Her text *literally* preserved his voice and provided source material from which his poems could be selected for anthologization, but this also means that we can only access his poetry refracted through her writings. Second, the Kyōgoku poets may not have been interested in Sukemori's poetry without the narrative contextualization that Lady Daibu provided. I suggest that her poetry was attractive to them because of her narrative, and Sukemori's poetry was thus appropriated alongside hers in the retelling of her story. These two points are further evidence for Lady Daibu's role within the imperial anthologies as a propagator of narratives related to the Heike clan.

These two anthologies also share a critical element in Lady Daibu's later reception—they both represent her as one of the top female poets of the past in terms of the number of her poems included in each text. She ranks in the top five long-dead female poets in the *Gyokuyōshū*, with more poems chosen for selection than Shunzei's Daughter, Murasaki Shikibu, Michitsuna's Mother (935-995), and Akazome Emon (956-1041).<sup>283</sup> Lady Daibu is the fourth best represented female poet of the past within *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* combined, after Izumi Shikibu, Princess Shikishi, and Nun Abutsu (1225-1283).<sup>284</sup> Because any poem could only be included once in the imperial anthologies, the range of available material for selection of poems by a past author was

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<sup>283</sup> Michitsuna's Mother wrote *Kagerō nikki* (The Kagerō Diary, 974). For the rankings of poets by number of poems selected for inclusion in *Gyokuyōshū*, see Appendix F.2.

<sup>284</sup> See Appendix F.1. Like all of the other women listed in this paragraph who are well-represented in the Kyōgoku anthologies, Nun Abutsu was a strong poet but also wrote the first female-authored poetic travelogue and poetic treatise. Christina Laffin analyzes her literary production in a sociocultural and political framework in *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women*.

necessarily limited. The anthologizers of *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū* may have seen Lady Daibu's poetry as a relatively untapped resource in comparison to literary works by the other women listed above.

Even so, their selection of so many of her poems indicates a statistically significant interest in rehabilitating her as a poet. I investigated possible explanations for this and argue in favor of two, which are not mutually exclusive. First, the Kyōgoku poets were concerned with representing female poets both past and present, most likely due to the influence of women within their own ranks, including Eifukumon'in. Second, the Kyōgoku poets appear interested in Lady Daibu's connection to the Heike clan. Further study on the reception and representation of Heike and clan-related poets in these two anthologies would be necessary to determine the reason for this interest. It would also be beneficial to examine the reception of other Heike-related poets to determine if alternative narratives are transmitted in the non-Kyōgoku anthologies.

Chapter Five discussed the various representations of Lady Daibu in the final four imperial anthologies. In contrast to the Kyōgoku anthologies, none specifically frame her within Heike discourses, and Sukemori is never mentioned in any of the headnotes. *ShinShūishū* includes an exchange between Lady Daibu and Shunzei, affirming her ties to him. The final imperial anthology, *ShinShokuKokinshū*, expresses her sadness at Emperor Takakura's death. This forms a convenient bookend that parallels her first appearance in the imperial anthologies, within Teika's *Shinchokusenshū*, which also included a poem praising Emperor Takakura. In emphasizing her connection to the emperor, she is again represented as an authority on his reign.

The fact that at least one of Lady Daibu's poems appears in every anthology after *Fūgashū* shows that her inclusion had become standard practice. The small number of poems

selected in the anthologies after *Fūgashū*—only one or two in each text—illustrates that while these anthologizers felt required to include her, they did not have any special interest in her poetry or using her poetic contextualization to (re)write narratives about the Heike. Lady Daibu’s memoir includes more than three hundred of her own poems; even with significant representation within *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, the anthologizers had ample untapped verses to select. While the small amount of source material limits what can be said about how each later anthology represents Lady Daibu, the *absence* of significant representation and narrative contextualization demonstrates the freedom each anthologizer exerted regardless of how Lady Daibu was represented in previous anthologies. The various depictions and recontextualizations of Lady Daibu’s narrative show the flexibility with which anthologizers could include narratives within the imperial anthologies and craft them to further their aims.

Much of my argument above concerns the use of prose headnotes or the manipulation of Lady Daibu’s poetry within the structure of the anthologies. I base this thesis on Freadman’s theory that material moving across genre lines retains some of its original function. What, then, of the role of the poetry itself?

In Lady Daibu’s memoir, poetry serves different functions, at times moving the narration along through conversation and in other moments providing a pause for reflection and introspection. Poetry serves a more active role in structuring the poetic narratives of imperial anthologies by reflecting conventions, such as the poetic ideology of love discussed in Chapter Three, and demonstrating a progression of poetic topoi.<sup>285</sup> We can also see visual differences in

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<sup>285</sup> Robert Brower and Earl Miner introduced the idea of “association and progression” to an English audience with an adapted translation of Jin’ichi Konichi’s work. Konishi Jin’ichi, “Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences in Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900-1350,” trans. Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21 (1958): 67-127. Burk points out that progression through poetic

how poetry and prose are lineated within memoirs and imperial anthologies. In Lady Daibu's memoir the poems are indented, visually cradled in the surrounding prose contextualization. In contrast, within the anthologies the poems prominently occupy the full length of the page, while the prose headnotes and author's names are usually indented.<sup>286</sup>

In both memoir and anthology, however, poetry represents a crystallization of Lady Daibu's feelings and experiences in a particular moment. One difference between the genres is who describes that moment. I briefly discussed in Chapter Three how memoirs are narrated in the first person, while prose headnotes in the imperial anthologies are represented in the third person, through the voice of the anthologizer. This framing sets up a situation in which the various anthologizers have represented Lady Daibu through prose headnotes and placement within the text—they have determined how her poems are to be read and what narratives are to be told through her—and in each instance, her poem seems to corroborate these decisions. In other words, Lady Daibu's first person voice helps to validate the competing cultural narratives set forth in the anthologies. The anthologizers package Lady Daibu's poetry, the inclusion of her poetry reinforces their actions, and Lady Daibu's words thus turn back on itself. We could compare this to a realistic cardboard cutout with Lady Daibu's head sticking out; her face, or first-person voice in the anthology, completes the picture, strengthens the other elements in the scene, and lends an air of authenticity. The irony of this feedback loop is clear when viewed

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imagery was not the only form of forward movement within the anthologies. She analyses how Fujiwara no Tameuji (1222-1286), the Nijō school anthologizer of the twelfth imperial poetry collection *ShokuShūi wakashū* (Collection of Gleanings Continued, 1278), places one of his own poems consecutively and in chronological order with his poetically literate forefathers. Showing this lineage within the anthology was a form of demonstrating his poetic legitimacy. Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 102-110.

<sup>286</sup> Many thanks to Stefania Burk and Joshua Mostow for pointing this out.

alongside the poem which opens the introduction to Lady Daibu's memoir, discussed in Chapter One: "If not myself, / Who, then, will be moved by pity, / As they gaze upon my words, / Should they be handed down / To later days?"<sup>287</sup> The answer is herself, and through the anthologies, many others.

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<sup>287</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 77.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A : Distribution of Lady Daibu's Poems in Imperial Anthologies<sup>288</sup>

#9 <i>Shinchokusenshū</i>	LD 111, 197
#14 <i>Gyokuyōshū</i>	LD 61, 67, [147], [153], 154, 196, 205, [221], 251, 258, 261, 266, 268
#17 <i>Fūgashū</i>	LD 56, [70], 71, [72], 73, 215, 217, 239
#18 <i>ShinSenzaiishū</i>	LD 232
#19 <i>ShinShūishū</i>	LD 355, [356]
#20 <i>ShinGoShūishū</i>	LD 35
#21 <i>ShinShokuKokinshū</i>	LD 162, 202

### Sections of Lady Daibu's memoir key:

#### Introduction (Poem 1)

**Part 1** (Poems 2-13): Early life at Emperor Takakura's court (no romance)

**Part 2** (Poems 14-53): Sequence of poems on set topics (*dai*)

**Part 3** (Poems 54-203): Intro love affairs and court life; ends with death of Retired Emperor Takakura (early 1180s)

[Break between vol. 1 and 2]

**Part 4** (Poems 204-270): Flight of Taira from capital through deaths of Sukemori and mother, including mourning and travels (1182- second entrance at court)

**Part 5** (Poems 270-321): Sequence of Tanabata poems

**Part 6** (Poems 322- 356): Return to court (Emperor GoToba); more deaths of old friends, focus on bonds of memory and links to the past. Ends with Shunzei's 90<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration

**Conclusion: Poem 357**

**Epilogue: Poems 358-9**

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<sup>288</sup> Numbers are the order in which the poem appears in Lady Daibu's memoir. Brackets indicate that while the poem appears in her memoir, it is credited to another writer. These are included here because they are replies to Lady Daibu's poems and frequently appear sequentially as such in the imperial anthology. Adapted from Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 54-55.

### A.1 Categorization of Lady Daibu's Poems in Imperial Anthologies

	9. SCSS	14. GYS	17.FGS	18. SSZS	19. SSIS	20. SGSIS	21.SSKKS
<b>S</b>	--	--	1	--	--	1	--
<b>F</b>	--	--	1	--	1	--	--
<b>L3</b>	1	1	--	--	--	--	--
<b>L4</b>	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
<b>L5</b>	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
<b>M</b>	1	7	4	1	--	--	1
<b>La</b>	X	X	X	--	--	X	1

Key:

S= Spring (*haru no uta* 春歌)

F= Felicitations (*ga no uta* 賀歌)

L= Love (*koi no uta* 恋歌); 3= Book 3, 4= Book 4, etc.

M= Miscellaneous (*zōka* or *kusagusa no uta* 雜歌)

La= Laments (*aishō no uta* 哀傷歌)

-- = no poems appear

X = category not present in imperial anthology; Laments frequently shifted to Miscellaneous

# = number of poems by Lady Daibu appearing in each section

## Appendix B Timeline

<u>Year</u>	<u>Lady Daibu's Age</u> <sup>289</sup>	<u>Events in Lady Daibu's Life</u>	<u>Concurrent Events</u>
1152-1155		Born	
1155	1-4		Empress Tokushi born
1156	2-5		Hōgen Rebellion
1160	5-8		Heiji Rebellion
1161	7-10		Emperor Takakura born Sukemori born (estimate)
1162	8-11		Teika born
1167	13-16		Kiyomori becomes Chancellor ( <i>Daijō daijin</i> )
1169	15-18	Exchanges poetry with Princess Shikishi's attendant Chūjō	
1171	17-20		Takakura becomes Emperor, Taira no Tokushi enters service at the palace and becomes Emperor Takakura's consort ( <i>nyōgo</i> )
1172	18-21	Enters Empress Tokushi's service <sup>290</sup>	Tokushi named Empress ( <i>chūgū</i> )
1174	20-23	First Month, First Day, begins memoir	
1175	21-24	Father (Koreyuki) passes away	
1176	22-25	Begins relationship with Sukemori	

<sup>289</sup> As there are no records indicating her exact year of birth, all following ages are approximations. All ages are noted according to traditional Japanese count (*kazoedoshi*). This timeline is adapted from Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 565-571.

<sup>290</sup> Estimated year.

1177	23-26		Sixth Month, First Day, Shishigatani Incident Seventh Month, Ninth Day, Fujiwara no Narichika exiled
1178	24-27	Autumn, leaves Empress Tokushi's service	Eleventh Month, Twelfth Day, Empress Tokushi gives birth to Prince Tokihito (future Emperor Antoku) Eleventh Month, Fifteenth Day, Tokihito named crown prince
1179	25-28	Third Month, Sukemori and father (Shigemori) visit Kumano Fifth Month, Second Day, Lady Daibu's mother (Yūgiri) dies Seventh Month, Twenty-Ninth Day, Shigemori dies from illness	
1180	26-29		Second Month, Twenty-First Day, Emperor Takakura takes tonsure Fourth Month, Twenty-Second Day, Antoku assumes throne Sixth Month, Second Day, capital moves to Fukuwara Eleventh Month, Twenty-Third Day, capital returns to Kyoto Twelfth Month, Twenty-Eighth Day, Taira no Shigehira sets fire to Nara
1181	27-30		First Month, Fourteenth Day, Emperor Takakura dies Second Month, Fourth Day, Kiyomori dies Eleventh Month, Twenty-Fifth Day, Tokushi takes the tonsure, becomes Kenreimon'in
1183	29-32	Autumn, last meeting with Sukemori	Seventh Month, Twenty-Fifth Day, Taira clan flees capital with Emperor Antoku
1184	30-33	Exchanges poems with Sukemori Composes poems recollecting other	Second Month, Seventh Day, Taira loses battle of Ichi no Tani:

		Taira clan members (Shigehira, Koremori) Second Month, Ninth Day, writes about heads of Tadanori, Michimori, and others paraded through capital	Tadanori, Michimori, and others die, Shigehira captured, Kozaishō drowns Third month, Twenty-Eighth Day, Koremori drowns at Kumano Seventh Month, Twenty-Eighth Day, GoToba becomes emperor
1185	31-34	Hears about Sukemori's death, writes many elegiac poems	Third Month, Twenty-Fourth Day, Heike lose battle of Dan no Ura: Emperor Antoku, Sukemori, and others drown Sixth Month, Twenty-First Day, Taira no Munemori beheaded Sixth Month, Twenty-Third Day, Shigehira beheaded Ninth Month, Kenreimon'in relocates to Jakkōin in Ōhara
1186	32-35	Performs memorial rituals for mother and Sukemori Autumn, visits Kenreimon'in in Ōhara <sup>291</sup>	Fourth Month, Retired Emperor GoShirakawa visits Kenreimon'in in Ōhara
1187	33-36		Shunzei presents <i>Senzaishū</i>
1189	35-38	Stays with brother Son'en	
1195	41-44	Returns to court as a female attendant ( <i>nyōbo</i> ) to Emperor GoToba <sup>292</sup>	
1199	44-47	Ninth Month, sends consoling poems to Chikanaga, Chikamune's son	Seventh Month, Twenty-Seventh Day, Fujiwara no Chikamune dies
1201	46-49		First Month, Twenty-Fifth Day Princess Shikishi dies Eleventh Month, Third Day GoToba orders Teika to compile an imperial anthology

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<sup>291</sup> Approximate year.

<sup>292</sup> Approximate year.

1203	48-51	Eleventh Month, Twenty-Third Day Exchanges poems with Shunzei on his ninetieth birthday	
1204	49-52		Shunzei dies
1205	50-53		Second Month, Twenty-Seventh Day Takanobu dies Third Month, Twenty-Sixth Day <i>ShinKokinshū</i> presented
1206	51-54	Seventh Month, Eleventh Day Receives five poem topics from Emperor GoToba, named as Shichijō' in Ukyō no Daibu	
1212	57-60		Twelfth Month, Eighth Day, Fujiwara no Sanemune dies
1213	58-61	Writes elegiac poem about Fujiwara no Sanemune on first year memorial of his death (last datable entry in memoir)	Twelfth Month, Thirteenth Day Kenreimon'in dies
1219		Memoir presumed completed	
1221	66-69		Fifth Month, Fifteenth Day Jōkyū Rebellion
1232	77-80	Receives invitation from Teika to submit poems for inclusion in <i>Shinchokusenshū</i>	Sixth Month, Thirteenth Day Teika ordered to compile a new imperial anthology Tenth Month, Twelfth Day Teika submits table of contents
1235	80-83	[Death date unknown]	Third Month, Twelfth Day <i>Shinchokusenshū</i> presented

## Appendix C Persons Appearing in Lady Daibu's Memoir

(Asterisks indicate those who have poetry exchanges with Lady Daibu recorded in her memoir.)<sup>293</sup>

**Emperor Antoku** 安德天皇 (1178-1185, r.1180-1185), son of Emperor Takakura and Kenreimon'in.

\***Lady Chūjō** 中将 (dates unknown), lady-in-waiting to Princess Shikishi, Kamo Shrine Priestess. Correspondent with Lady Daibu and rumored to briefly be lover of Taira no Kiyotsune (Sukemori's brother).

**Fujiwara no Kanemitsu** 藤原兼光 (1145-1196), tutored Antoku from 1166. Later served both Antoku and GoToba as head chamberlain and rose to second rank.

\***Fujiwara no Keishi** 藤原経子 (dates unknown), Taira no Shigemori's wife, Fujiwara no Narichika's sister.

\***Fujiwara (Saionji) no Kintsune** 藤原公経・西園寺公経 (1171-1244), Fujiwara no Sanemune's son. Biwa player and poet, with selections in the imperial anthologies beginning with *ShinKokinshū*. Reported GoToba's Jōkyū Rebellion to the bakufu and was later rewarded with the highest possible civil rank, Chancellor (*daijō daijin*).

**Fujiwara no Koretsune** 藤原伊経 (d. 1227), Lady Daibu's older brother. Not mentioned in memoir but possible source of support. Head of Sesonji calligraphy school after his father.

**Fujiwara no Koreyuki** 藤原伊行 (ca. 1123-1175), Lady Daibu's father, descendant of Fujiwara no Yukinari (972-1027, founder of Sesonji calligraphy school). Served as head of Sesonji school as well as being a musician and literary scholar. Wrote first commentary on *The Tale of Genji*, the *Genji monogatari shaku*, and treatise on calligraphy for Lady Daibu, *Yakaku teikinshō*. Not mentioned in memoir.

**Fujiwara no Motomichi** 藤原基通 (1160-1233), Taira ally who rose to serve as Regent and Chancellor. Survived Taira defeat and regained positions.

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<sup>293</sup> There are some poetry exchanges in Lady Daibu's memoir in which her correspondent is not named, i.e., "a distant relative," or "someone who had fallen in love with Person X." She also writes poetry *about* some of the people listed here, such as a poetic response to the death of Taira no Koremori, but these are not poetic exchanges and thus not granted asterisks. Lady Daibu also composes many response-poems as part of her duties serving Empress Tokushi, some of which appear in her memoir. I do not count these as poetic exchanges, as the poems were addressed to her mistress and the intent here is to show with whom Lady Daibu herself maintained a poetic correspondence. This list is compiled from Tsunoda Bun'ei, *Heian jidai shi jiten*, CD-ROM, ed. Kodaigaku kyōkai and Kodaigaku kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 2006), and notes from Harries' translation. Entries not available in these sources supplemented by *Nihon daihyakkasensho*, accessed via Japan Knowledge.

\***Fujiwara (Saionji) no Sanemune** 藤原実宗 (ca. 1149-1212), famous biwa player and frequent visitor to Empress Tokushi's quarters while Lady Daibu was at court. Eventually rose to Inner Palace Minister (*naidaijin*). His death is the latest datable event in the body of Lady Daibu's memoir.

\***Fujiwara no Shunzei** 藤原俊成 (1114-1204), Teika's father, compiler of the seventh imperial anthology (*Senzaishū*), author of many poetry collections and treatises, and possible supporter of Lady Daibu at court.

\***Fujiwara no Takafusa** 藤原隆房 (1148-1209), one of Kiyomori's son-in-laws. Had a famous love affair with Lady Kogō (dates unknown), one of Emperor Takakura's female attendants. Proposed author of *Heike kindachi sōshi* (Illustrated Handscroll of the Heike Clan, early thirteenth century). Rose to the rank of Provisional Major Counselor.

\***Fujiwara no Takanobu** 藤原隆信 (1142-1205), one of Lady Daibu lovers, although never named in her memoir and given less importance than Sukemori. His mother, Fujiwara no Chikatada's Daughter (dates unknown), remarried Shunzei after Takanobu's father, Fujiwara no Tametaka (dates unknown), took the tonsure; Teika is his stepbrother. Famous portrait painter and literatus. Wrote *Fujiwara no Takanobu asonshū* (Takanobu's Collection, early thirteenth century), in which some of Lady Daibu's poems appear.<sup>294</sup>

\***Fujiwara no Teika** 藤原定家 (1162-1241), Shunzei's son, author of many poetry collections and treatises, compiler of the eighth and ninth imperial anthologies (*ShinKokinshū* and *Shinchokusenshū*), asked Lady Daibu for poems to include in *Shinchokusenshū*. Descendants dominated compilation of the remaining imperial anthologies. Mentions Lady Daibu in an entry in his kanbun diary, *Meigetsuki* (Diary of the Bright Moon, 1235).<sup>295</sup>

**Fujiwara no Yasumichi** 藤原泰通 (1147-1210), noted flute player who rose to the rank of Provisional Major Counselor. Also served as the Superintendent to Emperor GoHorikawa and Retired Emperor GoToba.

**Emperor GoToba** 後鳥羽天皇 (1180-1239, r. 1184-1198), succeeded the child-Emperor Antoku. Attempted to overthrow the bakufu in the Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221, resulting in the exile of himself and his son and heir Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242, r.1210-1221).

**Retired Empress Jōzaimon'in** 上西門院 (1126-1189), daughter of Emperor Toba (1103-1156; r.1107-1123) and Taikenmon'in. Sister to Emperor GoShirakawa. Sponsored poetry gatherings and corresponded with Saigyō (1118-1190).

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<sup>294</sup> See Appendix E.1 for a list of Lady Daibu's poems appearing in this collection.

<sup>295</sup> See Appendix E.2 for a translation of the *Meigetsuki* passage in which Lady Daibu appears.

\***Lady Kojijū** 小侍従 (dates unknown), correspondent with Lady Daibu. Served Emperor Nijō (1143-1165, r. 1158-1165), then Emperor Takakura. Rumored love affair with Minamoto no Yorimasa (1104-1180). Wrote a personal poetry collection, *Kojijū shū* (Lady Kojijū's Collection, ca. 1182)

**Lady Kozaishō** 小宰相 (d. 1184), member of Fujiwara family, served Retired Empress Jōzaimon'in. Had an affair with Taira no Michimori (Kiyomori's nephew) and drowned herself after his death.

**Lady Kunaikyō** 宮内卿 (d. ca. 1204), active participant in poetry contests. Appears in Lady Daibu's memoir being commissioned by GoToba to compose a poem for Shunzei's ninetieth birthday party. According to Teika's kanbun diary, *Meigetsuki*, she was ordered to help Teika, Shunzei's Daughter, and Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158-1237) arrange the first page of each book in the *ShinKokinshū* imperial anthology, but it is suspected that she fell ill and passed away before that could occur.

\***Lady Kyōgoku** 後白河院京極局 (d. 1181), daughter of Shunzei and wife of Fujiwara no Narichika, who was banished and killed for plotting against Taira in Shishigatani Affair. Has four daughters by Narichika, the second-oldest of whom married Taira no Koremori.

**Minamoto no Masayori's Daughter (Lady Suke)** (源)雅頼娘 (dates unknown), served Kenreimon'in.

**Minamoto no Michimune** 源通宗 (1168-1198), served with Lady Daibu in GoToba's court but died young.

\***Fujiwara no Narichika's Daughter / Kenshunmon'in Shindainagon** (藤原)成親娘・建春門院新大納言 (dates unknown), Taira no Koremori's wife. Her father (Narichika) was exiled and killed after conspiring against the Taira in the Shishigatani Plot. Daughter of Lady Kyōgoku.

**Priest Son'en / Enjari** 尊円・円闍梨 (dates unknown), Shunzei's son, Lady Daibu's brother, and friend of Jien (1155-1225).

**Taira no Chikamune** 平親宗 (1144-1199), one of Kiyomori's son-in-laws. Active in poetry contests held by Retired Empress Kenshunmon'in and GoShirakawa. Authored *Chūnagon no Chikamune shū* (The Middle Counselor Chikamune's Collection, date unknown).

\***Taira no Chikanaga** 平親長 (dates unknown), Chikamune's son. Renounced his court position alongside his father after the 1183 attack on Retired Emperor GoShirakawa's residence, Hōjūji, but returned to his post the following year. Achieved the third rank in 1232 and took the tonsure the following year.

**Taira no Kiyotsune** 平清経 (d. 1183), Sukemori's brother, rumored to have drowned himself.

**Taira no Koremori** 平維盛 (1158-1184), Kiyomori's eldest son, brother to Sukemori.

**Taira no Michimori** 平通盛 (d. 1184), son of Taira no Norimori (1129-1185; Kiyomori's younger brother).

\***Taira no Munemori** 平宗盛 (1147-1185), Kiyomori's third son.

**Taira no Seishi (Lady Shirakawa)** 平盛子・白河殿 (1156-1179), one of Kiyomori's daughters.

\***Taira no Shigehira** 平重衡 (1157-1185), Kiyomori's fifth son and close friend to Lady Daibu. Known for his skill with poetry, biwa, and the flute. Also commanded during the burning of Tōdaiji in 1181 and was executed by monks after being captured at Ichinotani in 1184.

**Taira no Shigeko / Retired Empress Kenshunmon'in** 平滋子・建春門院 (1142-1176), Kiyomori's sister-in-law, aunt of Empress Tokushi, consort of Emperor GoShirakawa, and mother of Emperor Takakura.

**Taira no Shigemori** 平重盛 (1138-1179), Kiyomori's son and father of Sukemori. Begged Kiyomori to spare the lives of Fujiwara no Narichika and Minamoto no Yoritomo after their involvement in the Shishigatani affair. Rose to the second rank and post of Palace Minister. Died of illness.

\***Taira no Sukemori** 平資盛 (ca. 1161-1185), Kiyomori's grandson, Shigemori's second son, and Lady Daibu's secret lover. Died in the Dan no Ura naval battle.

\***Taira no Tadanori** 平忠度 (1144-1184), Kiyomori's younger brother, famously known for stopping to give Shunzei poems for inclusion in the *Senzaishū* anthology before fleeing the capital in advance of the attacking Minamoto clan's arrival.

**Taira no Jishi / Nun of the Second Rank** 平時子・二位尼 (d. 1185), wife of Kiyomori and mother of Empress Tokushi, Shigehira, Tomomori, and Munemori. Drowned at Dan no Ura with Emperor Antoku.

**Taira no Tokitada** 平時忠 (1127-1185), brother of Kenshunmon'in and Kiyomori's wife Tokishi, uncle to Kenreimon'in.

**Taira no Tokushi / Retired Empress Kenreimon'in** 平徳子・健礼門院 (1157- ca.1213), daughter of Kiyomori, consort to Emperor Takakura, mother of Antoku, and Lady Daibu's patron.

**Taira no Tomomori** 平知度 (d. 1183), Kiyomori's fourth son.

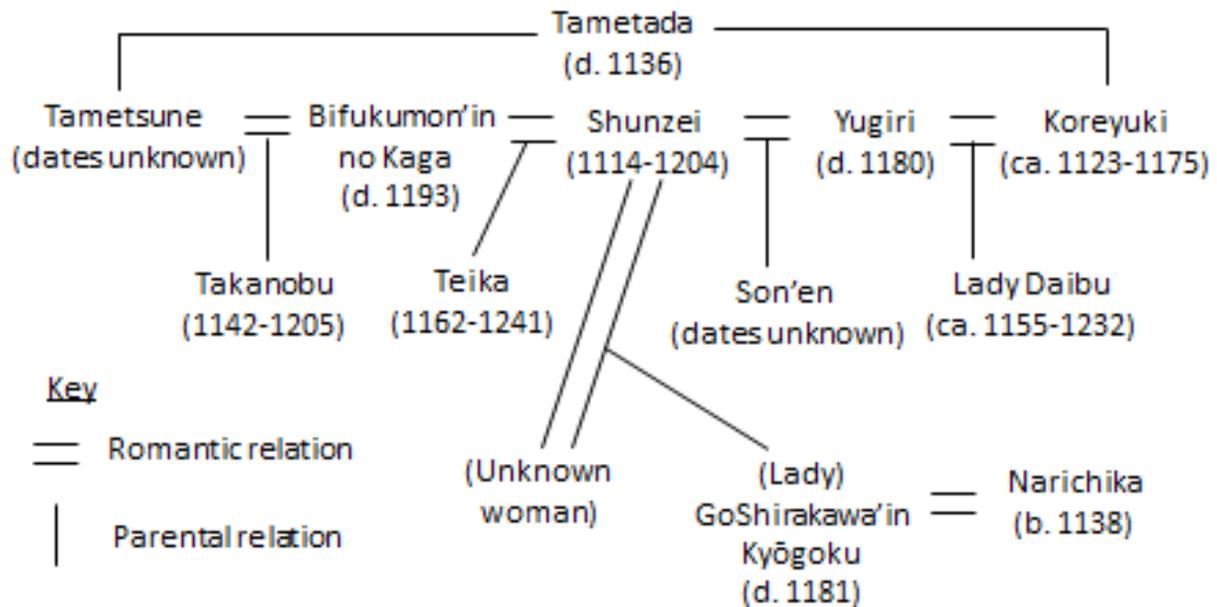
**Taira no Tsunemasa** 平経正 (d. 1184), nephew to Kiyomori.

**\*Emperor Takakura** 高倉天皇 (1161-1181), reigned 1168-1180. Son of Emperor GoShirokawa and Kenshumon'in. Husband to Kenreimon'in.

**Yūgiri** 夕霧 (d. ca. 1180) Lady Daibu's mother, daughter of Ōmiwa no Motomasa (1079-1138). Family traditionally served in Gagakuryō, the Bureau of Music. Known for skill at thirteen-stringed koto.

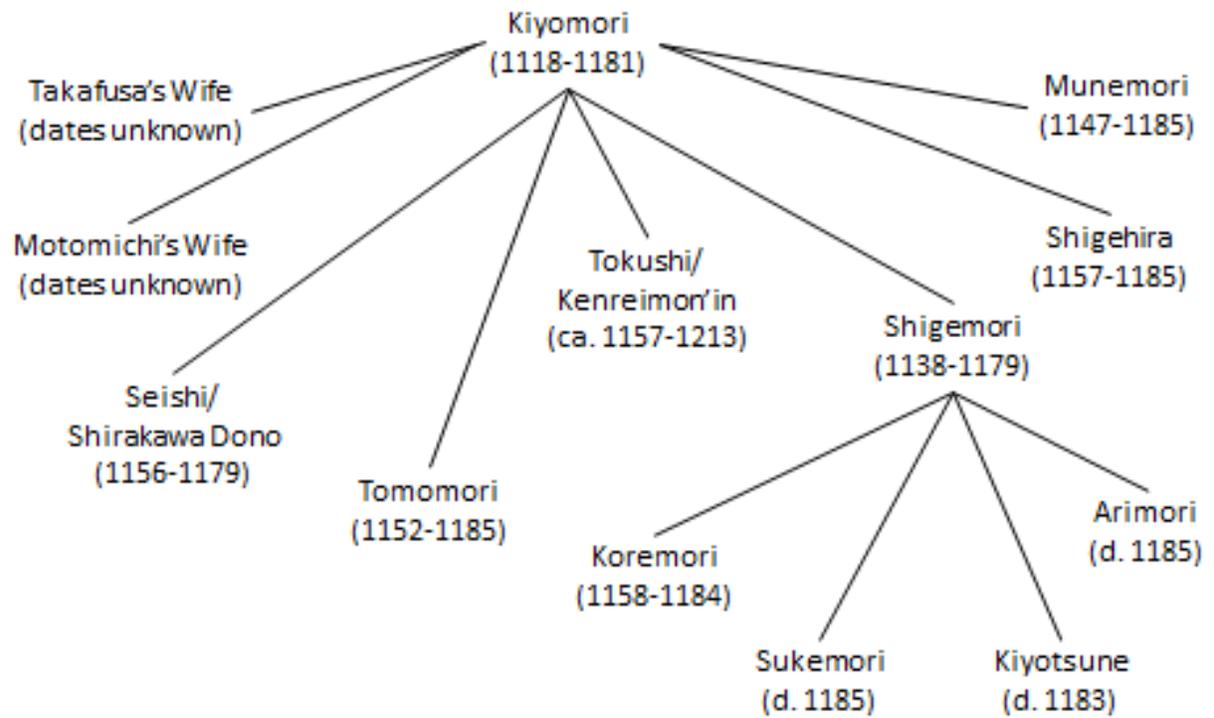
## Appendix D Genealogies

### D.1 Lady Daibu Genealogy



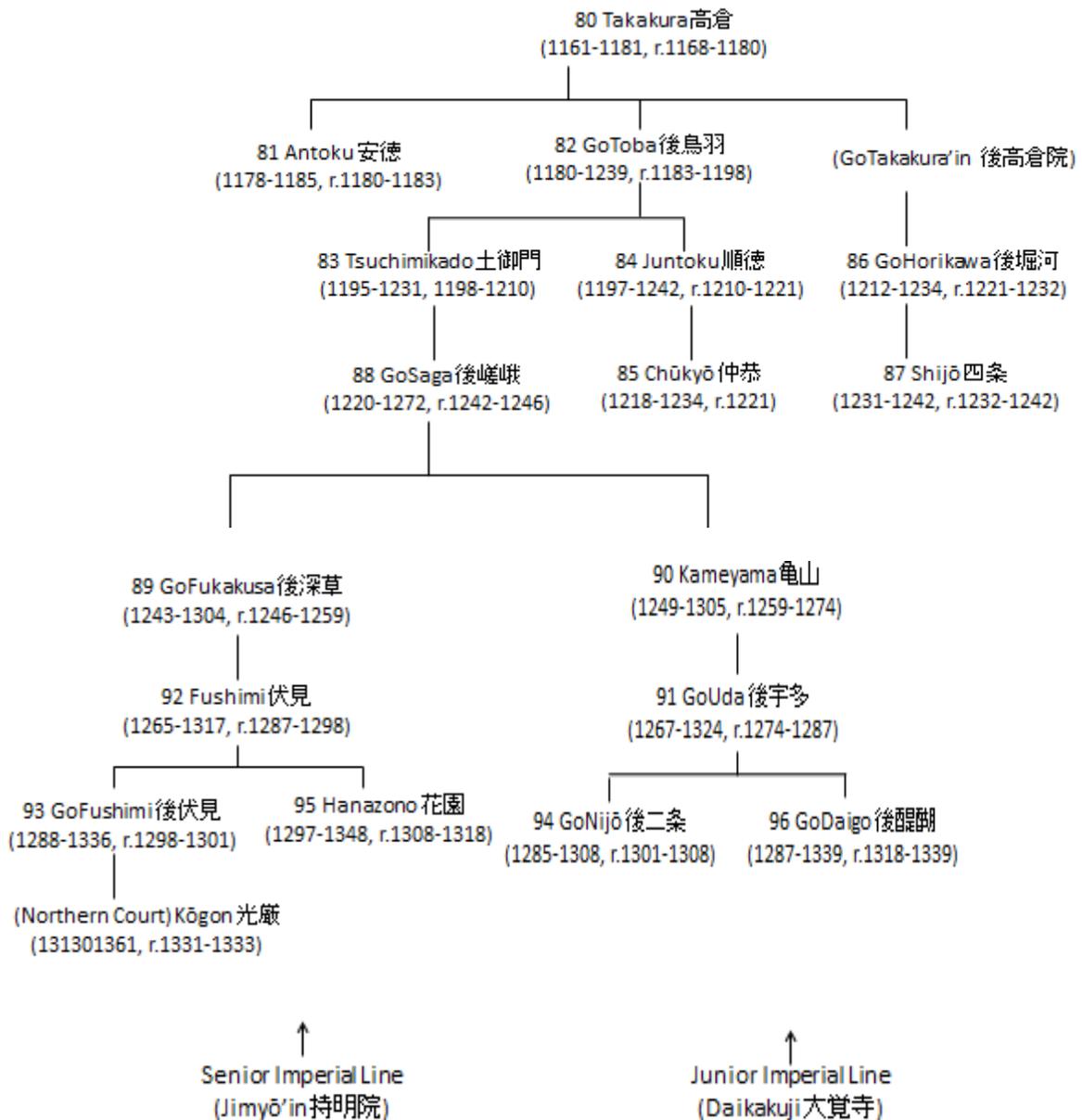
Adapted from Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 174.

## D.2 Heike Genealogy



Adapted from Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 173.

### D.3 Imperial Lineage



Adapted from Burk, "Reading between the Lines," 215.

## Appendix E Medieval Reception of Lady Daibu Outside of the Imperial Anthologies

### E.1 Poetic Reception

(1) *Fujiwara no Takanobu asonshū* 藤原隆信朝臣集 (Fujiwara no Takanobu Collection, early thirteenth century)

The personal poetry collection of Fujiwara no Takanobu. Six poems from Lady Daibu's memoir have been found in this collection, two of them hers and the other four by Takanobu. All are part of romantic exchanges, although Lady Daibu is never named. Takanobu's collection includes even more poems attributed to this mystery woman, but here I list only those poems also found in Lady Daibu's memoir. All are found within Book Five of Love, but Takanobu includes an additional Book Six of Love.

The poems included in this collection are:

<u>Takanobu #</u> <sup>296</sup>	<u>Lady Daibu #</u>	<u>Author</u>
665	135	Takanobu
666	136	Lady Daibu
670	139	Takanobu
676	148	Lady Daibu
677	149	Takanobu
679	150	Takanobu

We can see some of the same poetry exchanges in both texts, and they also appear in the same order.

(2) *Fuboku wakashō* 夫木和歌抄 (Selections of Japanese Poems, ca. 1310)

A poetry collection assembled by topic and compiled by Fujiwara no Nagakiyo (dates unknown), a pupil of Reizei Tamesuke (1263-1328). Reputedly created in response to the decision that Tamekane would be the compiler for the *Gyokuyoshū*, the collection draws from poems dating back to the *Man'yōshū* that had not yet been included in an imperial anthology. It includes

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<sup>296</sup> I draw numbers from Wakashi kenkyūkai, ed., *Shikashū taisei* 3 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1973), 256.

poems from approximately 970 poets on six hundred different topics. It was used as a reference source for later renga poets for its inclusion of unusual topics.<sup>297</sup>

Nine of Lady Daibu's poems are included in the 1,700 poem collection. In the context of Lady Daibu's memoir, they are all presented as poems composed on set topics with little narrative contextualization.

From Book Five, the last poem in a cluster on the topic of the *yobukodori*, or cuckoo:

Inari Shrine poetry contest, on "A cuckoo just before dawn"<sup>298</sup>

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

夜をのこす  
寝覚めに誰を  
よぶこどり  
人も答へぬ  
しののめの窓<sup>299</sup>

Waking while yet the night is dark,  
I hear a cuckoo sing.  
Yet who can he be calling to?  
For no one makes reply  
Across the sky in the early dawn.<sup>300</sup>

From Book Six, in a group of poems about irises:

Inari Shrine poetry contest, on "Irises at an ancient lake"

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

あせにける  
姿の池の  
かきつばた  
いくむかし  
幾昔をか  
隔てきぬらむ<sup>301</sup>

These irises that show  
Such faded outward form  
Beside the waters of Sugata Lake,  
From what distant ages  
Can they have flourished here?<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> *Nippon daihyakkasensho*, Fukuda Hideichi, "Fuboku wakashū," accessed via Japan Knowledge February 10, 2015, <http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?kw=%E5%A4%AB%E6%9C%A8%E6%8A%84&lid=1001000202665>.

<sup>298</sup> I have translated this and the rest of the headnotes in this section.

<sup>299</sup> Fujiwara Nagakiyo, *Fuboku wakashō* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1906), 129. Lady Daibu #36. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 30; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 24.

<sup>300</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 99.

From Book Ten, three sequential poems in a cluster on Tanabata:

Personal poetry collection, “On Tanabata”

Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu

七夕に けふ 今日や貸すらん 野辺ごとに 乱れ織るなる 虫の衣は <sup>303</sup>	Today, perhaps the insects Will lend the Weaving Maid those robes That in every field The loud confusion of their cries Proclaims them to be weaving. <sup>304</sup>
聞かばやな ふたつの星の 物語 たらひの水に 映らましかば <sup>305</sup>	How I would like to hear The words of love Exchanged by those two stars. If only words could be reflected In the bowl of water as their images is. <sup>306</sup>
声のあやは 音ばかりして はたおりの 霜のきぬをや 星に貸すらむ <sup>307</sup>	With a noise of looms, Grasshoppers cry and weave Patterns that are only sound; Is it because they lend the Weaving Maid The dew of which they form their strands? <sup>308</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Fujiwara, *Fuboku wakashō*, 140. Lady Daibu #38. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 31; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 25.

<sup>302</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 99.

<sup>303</sup> Fujiwara, *Fuboku wakashō*, 280. Lady Daibu #288. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 141; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 142. Bold indicates a difference from Lady Daibu’s memoir, where the line reads, “虫の衣も.” I have cited Harries’ translation regardless of the minor textual difference.

<sup>304</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 249.

<sup>305</sup> Fujiwara Nagakiyo, *Fuboku wakashō*, 280. Lady Daibu #277. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 139; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 140.

<sup>306</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 245.

<sup>307</sup> Fujiwara, *Fuboku wakashō*, 280. Lady Daibu #274. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 139; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 139. Bold indicates a difference from Lady Daibu’s memoir, where the line reads, “霜のぬきをや.” The change in meaning is a distinction between the threads forming the weft of a fabric and regular thread.

From Book Eleven, in a series of poems about *susuki* (pampass grass):

Inari Shrine poetry contest, on “Plants in the rain”

Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu

過ぎてゆく	Hard-hearted is the one
人はつらしな	Who passes coldly by,
花すすき	While waving pampass grasses
招く <small>まそで</small> 真袖に	Beckon with their sleeves,
雨は降りきて <sup>309</sup>	On which the rains begin to fall. <sup>310</sup>

From Book Thirteen, in a group of poems on the moon:

Personal poetry collection, from autumn poems:

Kenreimon’in Ukyō no Daibu

名に高き	Not only those two nights
<small>ふたよ</small> 二夜のほかも	That are renowned for viewing;
秋はただ	But constant the whole season through
いつも <small>みが</small> 磨ける	Is autumn, in the color
月の色かな <sup>311</sup>	Of its burnished moon. <sup>312</sup>

From Book Sixteen, in a series of poems on the winter moon:

Personal poetry collection, on “Visiting the Kamo Shrine on a winter night when the moon was bright”

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<sup>308</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 245.

<sup>309</sup> Fujiwara, *Fuboku wakashō*, 102. Lady Daibu #48. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 34; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 28.

<sup>310</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 103.

<sup>311</sup> Fujiwara, *Fuboku wakashō*, 358. Lady Daibu #65. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 41; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 35.

<sup>312</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 115.

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

かみがき 神垣や	Within the holy fence,
松のあらしも	Amongst the pines the storm
音さえて	Sounds clear and cold;
霜に霜おく	Frost spreads across the frost,
冬の夜の月 <sup>313</sup>	The moon of a winter's night. <sup>314</sup>

From Book Thirty-Six, in a cluster of poems on love (*koi*):

Inari Shrine poetry contest, on “Love expressed by referring to a popular song (*saibara*)”

Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu

見し人は	He who once loved me—
かれがれになる	How few his visits now,
東屋に	While round the withered arbor
茂りのみゆく	Where we met
忘れ草かな <sup>315</sup>	Only the lilies of forgetfulness grow rank. <sup>316</sup>

(3) Heike monogatari (The Tale of the Heike)

One of Lady Daibu's poems appears uncredited in the sixth volume within the section detailing Emperor Takakura's death.

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<sup>313</sup> Fujiwara, *Fuboku wakashō*, 461. Lady Daibu #118. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 64; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 59. Bold indicates a difference from Lady Daibu's memoir, where the line reads, “霜に霜しく.” I have cited Harries' translation regardless of the minor textual difference.

<sup>314</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 143.

<sup>315</sup> Fujiwara, *Fuboku wakashō*, 1260. Lady Daibu #52. Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 35; Itoga, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 29. Bold indicates a difference from Lady Daibu's memoir, where the line reads, “茂りのみする.” I have cited Harries' translation regardless of the minor textual difference.

<sup>316</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 105.

Dharma Seal Chōken hastened down from Mount Hiei to attend the funeral, only to learn that the Retired Emperor had already become a wisp of smoke. He recited a poem:

つねにみし	We have seen our lord
君が御幸を <small>みゆき</small>	set forth on many a trip,
けふ 今日とへば	but how sad to hear
かへらぬたびと	that today's journey is one
きくぞかなしき	from which there is no return!

A certain lady-in-waiting<sup>317</sup> also expressed her emotions in verse when she heard of the former sovereign's death:

雲の上に	How grievous to hear
ゆくすゑ 行末とほく	that its light is extinguished—
みし月の	the moon we beheld
ひかり消えぬと	above the clouds, thinking it
きくぞかなしき <sup>318</sup>	destined to shine forever.

The twenty-one-year-old Retired Emperor was a... wise ruler in the latter days of the Law, he was deeply mourned by the members of society, all of whom felt as though deprived of the light of the sun and the moon.<sup>319</sup>

#### (4) *Shūgyokushū* 拾玉集 (A Gleaning of Treasures, 1346)

The personal poetry collection of the priest Jien (1155-1225). There is one poem accredited to Lady Daibu, which Harries translates as:

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<sup>317</sup> ある女房

<sup>318</sup> Ichiko Teiji, ed., *Heike monogatari, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 45 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2002), 423-424. This poem appears as Lady Daibu #202 within her memoir and also appears as #1570 in Book Sixteen (Poetry of Lamentation) of *ShinShokuKokinshū*.

<sup>319</sup> Poem format adapted for stylistic uniformity. Helen Craig McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 198-199. The last underlined phrase reads, “月日の光をうしなへるがごとし,” more literally “It was like the *light* of the sun and the moon was stolen from them,” which more strongly echoes Lady Daibu's poem.

On the same snowy morning the Retired Emperor [GoShirakawa] sent to the cell of the priest Jōken requesting some snow with which to build a little snow mountain at his palace. So Jōken raked down the snow from his roof and sent it off. Someone must have seen this, for an unsigned letter was thrown in to him, and on opening it he read:

きえ行を	This is a house where
おしむやとたに	Even the slow melting of the snow
有物を	Brings feelings of regret;
はらひてけりな	Yet now you have swept it all away,
雪のうはふき <sup>320</sup>	The covering of snow upon the thatch.

Thinking the letter was the work of his neighbor, Jitsuryō, he wrote, “This is without the doubt the work of Sanmi no Bō, for who, except my neighbor, could have seen me getting the snow down from the roof?” He attached a poem of reply and sent it to the lodging of Enjari [Son’en]... The letter was really the work of Enjari’s younger sister, the lady-in-waiting, Lady Daibu.<sup>321</sup>

## E.2 Non-poetic Reception

### (1) *Meigetsuki* (Diary of the Bright Moon, 1235)

Teika’s kanbun diary, which mentions Shichijō’in Ukyō no Daibu, a name attributed to Lady Daibu after her return to court following the Genpei War. The reference, from the Twelfth Day of the Seventh Month of Ken’ei 1, shows Lady Daibu’s active participation in a poetry contest. She is the only woman invited to compose poems for this event.

Text:

昨日朝五首題給十人、今夜詠進、可有歌合、大納言兼宗卿、太理、季經卿入道、經家、顯家、隆保、通方朝臣、七条院右京大夫、賀茂重政、蓮重...<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Taga Munehaya, *Kōhon Shūgyokushū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1971), 544. Poem #5461.

<sup>321</sup> Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, 24-25.

<sup>322</sup> This text is from the Reizei Family Collection variant (*Reizeike shiguretei sōsho* 冷泉家時雨亭叢書). Quoted in Kubota, *Ukyō no Daibu shū*, 178.

Yesterday morning, five poetry topics were sent to ten people. Tonight the poems will be presented, and there will be a poetry contest. [The poets are] Major Counselor Kanemune, Tari, Monk [Fujiwara no] Suetsune, [Fujiwara no] Tsuneie, [Fujiwara no] Akiie, [Fujiwara no] Takayasu, Lord [Minamoto no] Michikata, Shichijō'in Ukyō no Daibu, Kamo Shigemasa, [and] Renjū...<sup>323</sup>

(2) *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness, ca. 1330-1332)

A collection of short, miscellaneous jottings (*zuihitsu*) by the monk Kenkō (ca. 1283-1350).

Someone said, “No one ever spoke of anything as being a ‘ceremony’ until the Reign of Go-Saga. The word has come into use in recent times.” However, Kenreimon'in no Ukyō no Daibu, when speaking of taking up service in the palace for a second time after the accession of Go-Toba, wrote, “How strange that the ceremonies of the court are unchanged!”<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> This is my translation.

<sup>324</sup> Section 169. Donald Keene, *Essays in Idleness: The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkō*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 145.

## Appendix F Highly-ranked Poets in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*

### F.1 Poets with 15+ Poems in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, Combined

<u>Name</u> <sup>325</sup>	<u>GYS</u>	<u>FGS</u>	<u>GYS+FGS</u>
(* =Kyōgoku school)			(^ =past poet) <sup>326</sup>
1. Retired Emperor Fushimi 伏見院*	93	85 poems	<b><u>178</u></b>
2. Eifukumon'in 永福門院*	49	68 poems	<b><u>117</u></b> Female
3. Teika 定家	69	36 poems	<b><u>105</u></b> ^
4. Tameko 為子*	60	39 poems	<b><u>99</u></b> Female
5. Tamekane 為兼*	36	52 poems	<b><u>88</u></b>
6. Shunzei 俊成	59	28 poems	<b><u>87</u></b> ^
7. Tameie 為家	51	26 poems	<b><u>77</u></b> ^
8. Sanekane 実兼*	60	17 poems	<b><u>77</u></b>
9. Saigyō 西行	57	13 poems	<b><u>70</u></b> ^
10. Retired Emperor Hanazono 花園院*	12	54 poems	<b><u>66</u></b>
11. Tsurayuki 貫之	26	28 poems	<b><u>54</u></b> ^
12. Retired Emperor GoFushimi 御伏見院*	16	35 poems	<b><u>51</u></b>
13. Jien 慈円	27	18 poems	<b><u>45</u></b> ^
Shinshi 親子	30	15 poems	<b><u>45</u></b> Female
15. Retired Emperor GoToba 後鳥羽院	16	27 poems	<b><u>44</u></b> ^
16. Eifukumon'in no Naishi 永福門院の内侍*	12	29 poems	<b><u>41</u></b> Female

<sup>325</sup> This list includes poets with at least four poems in each individual anthology with a combined total of fifteen or more poems. List compiled from Iwasa Miyoko, *Gyokuyō wakashū zenchūshaku* 4 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1996), 145-218, and Nagoya waka bungaku kenkyūai, ed. *Chokusenshū sakusha sakuin* (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1986).

<sup>326</sup> Past poet = died at least thirty years before the time of compilation of the *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*.

Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部	34	7 poems	<u>41</u> ^	<b>Female</b>
18. Hitomaro 人麿	24	9 poems	<u>33</u> ^	
19. Tamesuke 為相	14	18 poems	<u>32</u>	
20. Yoshitsune 良経	16	15 poems	<u>31</u> ^	
21. Ietaka 家隆	15	15 poems	<u>30</u> ^	
Shikishi 式子	16	14 poems	<u>30</u> ^	<b>Female</b>
23. Munetaka 宗尊	22	7 poems	<u>29</u> ^	
24. Mototada 基忠	21	7 poems	<u>28</u>	
25. Fushimi'in no Shinzaishō 伏見院新宰相*	13	13 poems	<u>26</u>	<b>Female</b>
Retired Emperor Juntoku 順徳院	12	14 poems	<u>26</u> ^	
27. Ankamon'in Shijō 案嘉門院四条	11	14 poems	<u>25</u> ^	<b>Female</b>
28. Tameuji 為氏	16	8 poems	<u>24</u>	
29. Toshiyori 俊頼	7	15 poems	<u>22</u> ^	
30. Saneyasu 実泰	12	7 poems	<u>19</u>	
31. Kamakura Udaijin 鎌倉右大臣	11	7 poems	<u>18</u> ^	
Kin'ō 公雄	10	8 poems	<u>18</u>	
Retired Emperor GoSaga 御嵯峨院	11	7 poems	<u>18</u> ^	
Dōgen 道玄	8	10 poems	<u>18</u>	
Kakujo 覚助	11	7 poems	<u>18</u>	
36. Tameyo 為世	10	7 poems	<u>17</u>	
Masafusa 匡房	10	7 poems	<u>17</u> ^	
Noriyoshi's Daughter 教良女*	12	5 poems	<u>17</u>	<b>Female</b>
Kaneyuki 兼行*	9	8 poems	<u>17</u>	

#### 40. Kenreimon'n Ukyō no Daibu

健礼門院右京大夫	10	6 poems	<u>16</u> ^	Female
Retired Emperor GoUda 後宇多院	8	8 poems	<u>16</u>	
Retired Emperor GoNijō 御二条院	8	8 poems	<u>16</u>	
Michiyoshi's Daughter 道良女	11	5 poems	<u>16</u>	Female
Tadayoshi 忠良	11	5 poems	<u>16</u>	
Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado 土御門院	9	7 poems	<u>16</u> ^	
Retired Emperor Kazan 花山院	13	3 poems	<u>16</u> ^	
Yorimasa 頼政	5	11 poems	<u>16</u> ^	
Takahiro 隆博	9	7 poems	<u>16</u>	
49. Retired Emperor Sutoku 崇徳院	7	8 poems	<u>15</u> ^	
Kiyosuke 清輔	8	7 poems	<u>15</u> ^	
Keisei 慶政	5	10 poems	<u>15</u> ^	

## F.2 Poets with 4+ Poems in *Gyokuyōshū*

	<u>Name</u> <sup>327</sup>	<u>Number of poems</u>	<u>Female?</u> <sup>328</sup>
1.	Retired Emperor Fushimi 伏見院*	93	
2.	Teika 定家	69	
3.	Tameko 為子*	60	<b>Female</b>
	Saionji Sanekane 西園寺実兼*	60	
5.	Shunzei 俊成	59	
6.	Saigyō 西行	57	
7.	Tameie 為家	51	
8.	Eifukumon'in 永福門院*	49	<b>Female</b>
9.	Tamekane 為兼*	36	
10.	Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部	34	<b>Female</b> <sup>^</sup>
11.	Saionji Saneuji 西園寺実氏	31	
12.	Kitabatake Shinshi 北畠親子	30	<b>Female</b>
13.	Jien 慈円	27	
14.	Tsurayuki 貫之	26	
15.	Hitomarō 人麿	24	
16.	Munetaka 宗尊	22	
17.	Mototada 基忠	21	
18.	Mitsune 躬恒	18	

<sup>327</sup> List compiled from Iwasa Miyoko, *Gyokuyō wakashū zenchūshaku* 4 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1996), 145-218, and Nagoya waka bungaku kenkyūai, ed. *Chokusenshū sakusha sakuin* (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1986).

<sup>328</sup> ^= died at least 30 years before compilation in 1312; past female poets.

19.	Tameuji 為氏	16	
	Masaari 雅有	16	
	Retired Emperor GoToba 後鳥羽院	16	
	Retired Emperor GoFushimi 御伏見院*	16	
	Princess Shikishi 式子	16	<b>Female^</b>
	Fujiwara no Yoshitsune 藤原良経	16	
25.	Ietaka 家隆	15	
26.	Tamesuke 為相	14	
	Fuyuhira 冬平	14	
28.	Retired Emperor Kazan 花山院	13	
	Fushimi'in no Shinzaishō 伏見院新宰相	13	<b>Female</b>
30.	Retired Emperor Hanazono 花園院*	12	
	Noriyoshi's Daughter 教良女	12	<b>Female</b>
	Saneyasu 実泰	12	
	Retired Emperor Juntoku 順徳院	12	
	Kojijū 小侍従	12	<b>Female^</b>
	Michiyoshi's Daughter 道良女	12	<b>Female</b>
	Eifukumon'in no Naishi 永福門院の内侍*	12	<b>Female</b>
37.	Kakujō 覚助	11	
	Kintsune 公経	11	
	Retired Emperor GoSaga 御嵯峨院	11	
	Abutsu-ni 阿仏尼	11	<b>Female^</b>
	Shigeyuki 重之	11	

	Tadayoshi 忠良	11	
	Yūgimon'in 遊義門院	11	<b>Female</b>
44.	Tamenori 為教	10	
	Tameyo 為世	10	
	Princess Kishi 徽子	10	<b>Female^</b>
	Masafusa 匡房	10	
	Kino 公雄	10	
	Kōben 高弁	10	
	<b>Lady Daibu 健礼門院右京大夫</b>	<b><u>10</u></b>	<b>Female^</b>
51.	Lady Ise 伊勢	9	<b>Female^</b>
	Iechika 家親*	9	
	Kunaikyō 宮内卿	9	<b>Female^</b>
	Kaneyuki 兼行*	9	
	Kintō 公任	9	
	Koben 小弁	9	<b>Female^</b>
	Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado 土御門院	9	
	Takahiro 隆博	9	
59.	Retired Emperor GoUda 後宇多院	8	
	Retired Emperor GoNijō 御二条院	8	
	Sakuemon'in 朔平門院	8	<b>Female</b>
	Sanuki 讃岐 (Sanuki)	8	<b>Female^</b>
	Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部	8	<b>Female^</b>
	Sanesada 実正	8	

	Jakuren 寂蓮	8	
	Shōgimon'in 章義門院	8	<b>Female</b>
	Kiyosuke 清輔	8	
	Akahito 赤人	8	
	Sagami 相模	8	
	Dōgen 道玄	8	
	Michitsuna's Mother 道綱母	8	<b>Female<sup>^</sup></b>
	Ben no Menoto 弁乳母	8	<b>Female<sup>^</sup></b>
73.	Retired Emperor Kameyama 龜山院	7	
	Tomohira 具平	7	
	Gyōen 行尊	7	
	Shigeyuki's Daughter 重之女	7	<b>Female<sup>^</sup></b>
	Sanekata 実方	7	
	Shunzei's Daughter 俊成女	7	<b>Female<sup>^</sup></b>
	Toshiyori 俊頼	7	
	Shōshō no Naishi 小将内侍	7	<b>Female</b>
	Retired Emperor Sutoku 崇徳院	7	
	Akazome Emon 赤染衛門	7	<b>Female<sup>^</sup></b>
	Munehide 宗秀	7	
	Emperor Murakami 村上天皇	7	
	Tadamine 忠峯	7	
	Nagaie 長家	7	
	Nagakata 長方	7	

	Sadatoki 貞時	7	
89.	Tamezane 為実	6	
	Yakamochi 家持	6	
	Ieyoshi 家良	6	
	Masatsune 雅経	6	
	Horikawa 堀河	6	<b>Female^</b>
	Tsunemori 経盛	6	
	Kagetsuna 景綱	6	
	Kanesue 兼季	6	
	Akisuke 顕輔	6	
	Kinaki 公顕	6	
	Sanetsune 実経	6	
	Saneshige 実重	6	
	Sanefusa 実房	6	
	Saneo 実雄	6	
	Shitagō 順	6	
	Nobutoki 宣時	6	
	Princess Senshi 選子	6	<b>Female^</b>
	Zōki 増基	6	
	Sadayori 定頼	6	
	Lady Ōtomo of Sakanoue 坂上郎女	6	<b>Female^</b>
	Ben no Naishi 弁内侍	6	<b>Female</b>
	Ariie 有家	6	

111.	Korekata 惟方	5	
	Tameaki 為題	5	
	Tameuji 為藤	5	
	Ienori 家教	5	
	Masataka 雅孝	5	
	Sanetsune 季經	5	
	Mototoshi 基俊	5	
	Hisaakira 久明	5	
	Tsunechika 經親	5	
	Tsunemasa 經正	5	
	Keisei 慶政	5	
	Getsukamon'in 月花門院	5	<b>Female^</b>
	Dainagon Tenji 大納言典侍	5	<b>Female^</b>
	Kenshō 顯昭	5	
	Kinsuke 公相	5	
	Mitsutoshi 光俊	5	
	Fujiwara no Michiie 藤原道家	5	
	Jakaku 守覺	5	
	Toshikane 俊兼*	5	
	Toshimitsu 俊光	5	
	Kohyōe no Kami 小兵衛督	5	<b>Female</b>
	Jōtōmon'in 上東門院	5	<b>Female^</b>
	Nobuzane 信実	5	

	Ninchō 仁澄	5	
	Naritoki 齊時	5	
	Senshi 宣子*	5	<b>Female</b>
	Munenobu 宗宣	5	
	Daini 大貳	5	<b>Female^</b>
	Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇	5	
	Tango 丹後	5	<b>Female^</b>
	Nakatsukasa 中務	5	<b>Female^</b>
	Sadanari 定成	5	
	Fuyumoto 冬基	5	
	Fujiwara no Michiie 藤原道家	5	
	Higo 肥後	5	<b>Female^</b>
	Yorimasa 頼政	5	
	Takanori 隆教	5	
148.	Koreakira 惟明	4	
	Iemoto 家基	4	
	Iesada 家定	4	
	Iehira 家平	4	
	Lady Kii 紀伊	4	<b>Female^</b>
	Noriyoshi 教良	4	
	Kanenori 兼教	4	
	Kanetsune 兼経	4	
	Genne 源恵	4	

Kōgimon'in 広義門院	4	<b>Female</b>
Yukiie 行家	4	
Sanetoshi 実俊	4	
Saneyoshi 実頼	4	
Dewa no Ben 出羽弁	4	<b>Female^</b>
Komachi 小町	4	<b>Female^</b>
Shōshō 小将	4	<b>Female</b>
Masamura 政村	4	
Taifu 大輔	4	<b>Female^</b>
Tadamichi 忠通	4	
Tadanori 忠度	4	
Asamitsu 朝光	4	
Dōjun 道潤	4	
Michinaga 道長	4	
Michihira 道平	4	
Yorimune 頼宗	4	
Yorisuke 頼輔	4	
Takanobu 隆信	4	
Takafusa 隆房	4	
Yoshizane 良実	4	
Renshō 蓮生	4	
<b>[179. Sukemori 資盛</b>	<b>3]</b>	