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To the memory of Professor Karin Tomala
Whom we lost for ever

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MALGORZATA CITKO

Ancient Japanese Poetry in Early Medieval
Poetic Discourse –
Appropriation of the *Man'yōshū* in Selected Poems
of Princess Shikishi¹

Abstract

The paper analyzes several poems by the Princess Shikishi (1149–1200) from the viewpoint of *Man'yōshū* appropriation. Despite relative scarcity of allusions to *Man'yōshū*, some features in her appropriation style are found in the poetry of other contemporary poets, e.g. frequent appropriation of volumes X–XI and well-known *Man'yōshū* lines, utilization of secondary sources rather than *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, etc. This demonstrates complexity of channels through which *Man'yōshū* was appropriated. Simultaneously, there are features of her *Man'yōshū* appropriation that distinguished her from other contemporary poets, which evidences that Princess Shikishi was not only a participant in but also a significant contributor to early medieval poetic discourse.

The poetry of Princess Shikishi (1149–1200) has been well researched in both Japanese and Anglophone academia.² There are, however, some aspects of her poetry that have attracted less attention in the field of Japanese literary studies, e.g. the appropriation of Chinese or ancient Japanese poetry. The Chinese intertext in this early medieval³ female

¹ This article is based on research conducted in National Institute of Japanese Literature and at Waseda University in Tokyo in 2012–2014 thanks to Japan Foundation Japanese Studies Fellowship program and University of Hawai'i Center for Japanese Studies Graduate Fellowship. I would like to thank those academic institutions and sponsors for access to resources and financial support during the process of researching and writing.

² There are three annotations of Princess Shikishi's poems: 1) Gō Oda, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkachūshaku* [All Poems by Princess Shikishi Annotated], Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1995; 2) Hitoshi Nishiki, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkashū* [Collection of All Poems by Princess Shikishi], Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2001; 3) Yōko Okuno, *Shikishi Naishinnōshū zenshaku* [Complete Annotation of Princess Shikishi's Collection], Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2001. There are also about 300 scholarly papers in Japanese on the subject of Princess Shikishi's poetry and life. Moreover, her poems have been translated into English – Hiroaki Sato, *String of Beads: Complete Poems of Princess Shikishi*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.

³ As opposed to traditional Japanese historiography, which marks the medieval period as starting in 1185 (beginning of Kamakura shogunate), Robert Huey argued that the medieval era in Japanese poetry began during Emperor Horikawa's (1078–1007) reign, specifically in mid-1080s.

poet's *waka* (Japanese court poetry) has already received some scholarship by Nishiki Hitoshi, Oda Gō, Yoshizaki Keiko and Akahane Shuku, even though the Chinese intertext is usually considered to reflect a different type of discourse in Japan than vernacular literature. However, the appropriation of ancient Japanese poetry, especially the poetry of the first collection of Japanese poetry, *Man'yōshū* [Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, c. 759–785], in Princess Shikishi's poems has so far only been examined by Hirai Keiko.⁴ Thus, the subject of this article is the appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in Princess Shikishi's poetry, as well as the character and significance of such appropriation.

Man'yōshū perhaps does not constitute the most significant part of the medieval poetic discourse, but it is an important part of it. *Man'yōshū*'s poetry was utilized in the process of reconsidering Japanese poetic past and the renewal of *waka* tradition, which were trends that marked the compilation era of the eighth *chokusen wakashū* [Imperial Collection of Japanese Poetry], *Shinkokin wakashū* [New Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times, 1205].⁵ I assume that the appropriation of *Man'yōshū* poetry in works of Princess Shikishi, who was a very respected female poet of her time, must therefore be a reflection of early medieval Japanese poetic discourse. The question arises as to what features of such discourse's manifestation may be found in *Man'yōshū*'s appropriation into the poetry of Princess Shikishi. Moreover, we should consider how Princess Shikishi participated in and contributed to this poetic discourse. Did she follow the guidance of her poetry master, Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204)⁶ of Mikohidari house, or did she perhaps study *Man'yōshū* on her own and become inspired by its ancient poetics and vocabulary? Are we able to determine whether Princess Shikishi utilized any of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts circulated in the early medieval era, or whether she rather came across the ancient poems in secondary sources? What, then, are the major features of her appropriation of *Man'yōshū* poetry, and do they generally speak for the early medieval *waka*?

In order to address those questions, I will provide some information on Princess Shikishi's life that will give us an idea of the background of her poetic education, and determine some features of her poetic style. This section allows the reader to understand what kind of poetry Princess Shikishi composed and what her poems were likely intended to represent. Subsequently, I will take into consideration some features of *Man'yōshū*'s

See Robert N. Huey, 'The Medievalization of Poetic Practice', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 2, December 1990, pp. 651–668.

⁴ Keiko Hirai, 'Shikishi Naishinnō ni okeru *Man'yō sesshu*' [Appropriation of 'Man'yōshū' in Poems of Princess Shikishi], in Akahane Shuku (ed.), *Akahane Shuku sensei taishoku kinen ronbunshū* [Collected Papers for Professor Shuku Akahane's Retirement], Okayama: Akahane Shuku Sensei Taishoku Kinen no Kai, 2005, pp. 185–195.

⁵ *Shinkokin wakashū* was ordered in 1201 by Retired Emperor Go-Toba (1180–1239) and completed in 1205 by Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), Fujiwara Ari'ie (1155–1216), Fujiwara Ietaka (1158–1237), priest Jakuren (?–1202), Minamoto Michitomo (1171–1237), and Asukai Masatsune (1170–1221). See Tamotsu Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten* [Dictionary of Japanese Court Poetry], Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1982, pp. 346–348.

⁶ Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204) was a poet, critic, and arbiter of *waka*. He compiled the seventh imperial anthology of classical Japanese poetry, *Senzai wakashū* [Collection of Thousand Years]. He was also a father of Fujiwara Teika, with whom he established the most powerful family of poets and scholars of *waka* – Mikohidari. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten*..., pp. 312–313.

reception that had built up by the early medieval era, and determine some features of this collection's image during that era. This section deals with the issues regarding *Man'yōshū*'s reception, to which Princess Shikishi must have been exposed. Special attention is paid to a poetic treatise entitled *Korai fūteishō* [Poetic Styles of Past and Present, 1197] created by Fujiwara Shunzei, since it is believed to have been dedicated to Princess Shikishi, and contains nearly two hundred *Man'yōshū* poems.⁷ Finally, in the last section I present the features of Princess Shikishi's appropriation of *Man'yōshū* based on an analysis of four of her poems.

1. Methodological Considerations

In my analysis of the appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in Princess Shikishi's poetry, I will use a few key concepts from Western literary theory. However, these concepts are not the core of my study but simply the tools and vehicles, sometimes revised and reconsidered, that will hopefully enable me to present the results of my research comprehensively.

Considering the notion of 'historicity of texts', coined by the New Historicist Louis Montrose⁸, which informs us that reception of any literary work in the following centuries is affected by social, political and cultural processes of those eras⁹, we become aware of the significance of 'reception'. The notion of reception has been applied in the area of Japanese literary studies by Joshua Mostow, who argued that poetry's "production and reception are constituted by specific historical forces of which we ourselves are a result and part", thus emphasizing the historical nature of poetry and implying that any text is not "the self-same over time".¹⁰ Even though I generally agree with those definitions and interpretations of reception, I would like to revise the understanding of this concept and distinguish between 'reception' (*kyōju*) and 'appropriation' (*sesshu*). I define 'reception' as an activity of perception of a literary work, characteristic for a given historical period, society, or group, which 'receives' (perceives or sees) various literary works, and processes them in a manner that suits best their worldly views, religious and political ideals and needs. Thus, the given objects of 'reception' activity are subject to change, transformation, reconfiguration, reconsideration, etc., according to the standards of a given society that receives them. I understand 'reception', which usually occurs in the form of readership, literary criticism (*karon*) and exchanges of views, as a comparatively passive activity in comparison to 'appropriation', which I define as the process of an aware and active engagement or usage of given works in newly created literature. 'Reception' and 'appropriation' are thus inter-related concepts, but they are not identical activities.

Another crucial concept for this article is intertextuality, as developed first by the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975) and then expanded upon by the

⁷ Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, p. 235.

⁸ Louis Montrose is a specialist in Renaissance poetics, English Renaissance theatre and Elizabeth I (1533–1603).

⁹ For more about New Historicism and the notion of 'historicity of texts', see Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002, pp. 172–191.

¹⁰ Joshua Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin isshu in Word and Image*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996, pp. 1–11.

Bulgarian-French philosopher and literary critic Julia Kristeva. The latter claims that “a text cannot exist as a hermetic or self-sufficient whole, and so does not function as a closed system”¹¹, since writers are first of all readers of other texts that influence them during their activity of writing. Both Kristeva and Bakhtin argue that even discursive practices themselves are intertextual, since they also influence the texts. Based on this definition of intertextuality, we may conclude that authors and readers ought to accept and recognize the inevitable intertextuality of their activities of writing, reading and participating in discourse.

The concept of intertextuality leads us to another notion crucial for this article – that of ‘discourse’, which was defined by the French philosopher and historicist Michel Foucault (1926–1984), as “systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak”.¹² Even though this notion was first developed in social sciences, and was originally applied to the theory of political science, thanks to Foucault’s concept of ‘power/knowledge’ it provided literary studies with a tool that enables scholars to reconsider numerous allegedly fixed notions about literature. The notion of ‘discourse’, defined by Foucault as simply ‘knowledge’, is particularly useful with regard to Japanese medieval poetry, since the existence of a poetic discourse has been brought up as one of the characteristics of early medieval poetic world.¹³ In this article, the notion of discourse becomes a vehicle that allows me to tie up phenomena of ‘reception’ and ‘appropriation’ in a broader context of poetic activity during the medieval era. Simultaneously, poetic discourse helps me to demonstrate that despite the existence of various poetic circles and schools, it was shared by many, if not all, poets of the early medieval era. Differences in *Man’yōshū*’s reception and appropriation, as well as similarities, may be found only in the manner the poetic discourse is interpreted and reconsidered in various poets’ poetic criticism and poetry.

The results of this study prove that *Man’yōshū* was a significant part of the medieval poetic discourse, in which Princess Shikishi was a participant. Moreover, we see that even though there are some features of Princess Shikishi’s appropriation of *Man’yōshū*, which distinguished her as a *waka* poet, she participated in the early medieval *Man’yōshū* discourse in a manner similar to other contemporary poets.

2. Some remarks on Princess Shikishi’s life and poetry

Princess Shikishi was the third daughter of Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192); she was thus a *naishinnō* (princess of blood). The year of her birth has been a matter of scholarly dispute, but since Murai Shunji argued for 1149¹⁴, his interpretation has become

¹¹ Michael Worton and Judith Still, *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 1.

¹² Iara Lessa, ‘Discursive Struggles within Social Welfare: Restaging Teen Motherhood’, *British Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 36, No. 2, February 2006, pp. 283–298.

¹³ David T. Bialock, ‘Voice, Text, and the Question of Poetic Borrowing in Late Classical Japanese Poetry’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 1, June 1994, p. 195.

¹⁴ Shunji Murai, ‘Shikishi Naishinnō shūhen no hitobito’ [People around Princess Shikishi], *Chūkyō Daigaku Kyōyō Ronsō Ronsō*, Vol. 40, No. 4, April 2002, p. 824.

the standard in the area of Japanese literary studies. It is believed that at the age of 9 or 10, Princess Shikishi was sent to serve as a *sai'in* (high priestess)¹⁵ at *Kamo Jinja*¹⁶ in Kyoto and continued her service for about ten years until 1169 when she resigned, likely due to an illness. Then, probably during the 1190s, she took tonsure, became a Buddhist nun and acquired the name Shōnyohō.¹⁷ Unfortunately, not much is known about her life after she retired from the *sai'in* post but it may be confirmed in *Meigetsuki* [Diary of the Bright Moon, 1180–1235] by Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241)¹⁸ and *Minamoto Ienaga nikki* [Diary of Minamoto Ienaga, 1211–1221] by a courtier named Minamoto Ienaga (c. 1173–1234) that she dwelled in numerous residences and did not settle down in one place for a long time. She died at the beginning of 1201, having lived in seclusion and solitude for most of her life.¹⁹

The extant corpus of Princess Shikishi's poetry consists of about 400 poems, even though the exact number of her poems has been a matter of dispute among Japanese literature scholars. Yamasaki Keiko²⁰ and Okuno Yōko²¹ argued for a figure of 400 poems, while Oda Gō provided a number of 407 poems²² and Nishiki Hitoshi counted 416.²³ Moreover, Kunishima Akie estimated that Princess Shikishi had presumably composed about 2600 poems during her lifetime.²⁴ The majority of her extant poems are composed in three *hyakushu* sequences consisting of a hundred pieces of *tanka* (short poem), a form adopted during the reign of Emperor Horikawa (1079–1107).²⁵ Satō Hiroaki argued that the rest of Shikishi's poems were taken from similar sequences, which have not survived.²⁶ The creation dates of those three *hyakushu* sequences, commonly referred to as the A sequence, B sequence, and C sequence, have been an object of dispute. Kunishima argued that the A sequence must have been composed about 1169, that is soon after

¹⁵ *Sai'in* was a female relative to the emperor who served as a high priestess at Kamo Shrines in Kyoto.

¹⁶ *Kamo Jinja* [Kamo Shrines] are two closely associated Shinto shrines in Kyoto – *Kamigamo Jinja* and *Shimogamo Jinja*.

¹⁷ Sato, *String of Beads...*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241) was a *waka* poet, critic, and scholar. He was one of six compilers of the eighth imperial collection, *Shinkokinshū* and sole compiler of the ninth, *Shinchokusen wakashū* [New Imperial Collection, 1235]. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, pp. 459–461.

¹⁹ Mieko Imamura, 'Teika to Shikishi Naishinnō – *Meigetsuki* o chūshin' [Teika and Princess Shikishi – Focusing on *Meigetsuki*], *Bungaku*, Vol. 6, No. 4, October 1995, pp. 81–83.

²⁰ Keiko Yamasaki, 'Shikishi Naishinnōshū no kenkyū: hyakushu uta no seiritsu jiki o megutte' [Study on Princess Shikishi's Collection: about the Creation Time of Hundred-poem Sequences], *Kokubungakukō*, Vol. 77, No. 3, March 1978, p. 11.

²¹ Okuno, *Shikishi Naishinnōshū zenshaku...*, pp. 3–9.

²² Oda, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkachūshaku...*, p. 3.

²³ Nishiki, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkashū...*, p. 124.

²⁴ Ayao Yasuda (ed.), *Fujiwara Teika kenkyū* [Research on Fujiwara Teika], Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1975, p. 253.

²⁵ Emperor Horikawa (1079–1107) was the 73rd emperor of Japan according to the traditional order of succession; reigned 1086–1107. He was deeply interested in *waka*. His *Horikawa hyakushu* [One Hundred Poems for Emperor Horikawa] is considered to be one of the most important poetic events of the era. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, p. 577.

²⁶ Sato, *String of Beads...*, p. 16.

Princess Shikishi retired from the post of *sai'in*, since one of her poems from this sequence included in *Shinkokinshū* is signed as *Zensai'in no gohyakushu* [Hundred-poem Sequence by the Former *Sai'in*].²⁷ Other scholars claimed that it was created much later, about 1194. Yamasaki, however, believes that this sequence was composed in 1188 because none of the poems from the A sequence are included in *Senzai wakashū* [Collection of Thousand Years, 1183]²⁸, compiled by Fujiwara Shunzei, the renowned *waka* poet and critic of the early medieval era, and Princess Shikishi's poetry tutor. Yamasaki argued that it is unlikely that the A sequence had not attracted Shunzei's attention, especially since nine of her later poems are included in this imperial collection.²⁹ The B sequence is considered to have been composed between 1187–1194³⁰, although Yamasaki argued that it was created closer to 1194.³¹ The C sequence was composed in 1200 at the order of Retired Emperor Go-Toba (1180–1239).³²

Despite the limited size of her extant poetic corpus, reception of Princess Shikishi's poetry by her contemporaries is characterized above all by a high evaluation of her poetic talent and ability. Forty-nine of her poems are included in *Shinkokinshū*, which is the fifth greatest number of *waka* by one author in the said collection, and the greatest amount of poems by a female poet. In the entry from the fifth day of the ninth month of the second year of Shōji era (1200) in *Meigetsuki*, Fujiwara Teika described Princess Shikishi's C sequence in the following manner: "all of the pieces are divine"³³, which indicates that he had a great deal of respect and admiration for her poetic ability. The C sequence was especially well received in the subsequent periods, the proof of which is the fact that seventy *tanka* were selected for inclusion in the imperial anthologies, *Shinkokinshū* containing 25 of them. Moreover, Retired Emperor Go-Toba also evaluated Shikishi's poetry highly in his poetic treatise *Go-Toba-in gokuden* [Secret Teachings of Retired Emperor Go-Toba, 1208–1212].

When we come to more recent times, among the outstanding poets are the Former Imperial Virgin of Ōimikado, the late Nakanomikado Regent and the Former Archbishop Yoshimizu. The Imperial Virgin composed in a very polished and ingenious style.³⁴

In Go-Toba's poetic treatise, Princess Shikishi, referred to as "the former imperial virgin of Ōimikado", appears next to such valued poets of the era as Kujō Yoshitsune (1169–1206) – a patron to Mikohidari poetic school – referred to as "Nakanomikado regent", and Jien

²⁷ Yamasaki, 'Shikishi Naishinnōshū no kenkyū...', pp. 11–12.

²⁸ *Senzai wakashū* is the seventh imperial anthology of Japanese poetry compiled by Fujiwara Shunzei at the order of Emperor Go-Shirakawa. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, pp. 377–378.

²⁹ Yamasaki, 'Shikishi Naishinnōshū no kenkyū...', pp. 12–13.

³⁰ Sato, *String of Beads...*, p. 17.

³¹ Yamasaki, 'Shikishi Naishinnōshū no kenkyū...', p. 11.

³² Go-Toba ordered this sequence from many other distinguished poets of that era. The event was named *Shōji ninen in shodo hyakushu* [Retired Emperor's First Hundred Poem Sequence of the Second Year of Shōji Era] and was one of the sources of poems for *Shinkokinshū*. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, p. 321.

³³ Yasuda, *Fujiwara Teika kenkyū...*, p. 259.

³⁴ Robert H. Brower, 'Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings: Go-Toba-in no Gokuden', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 32, 1972, p. 36.

(1155–1225) – one of *Shinkokinshū*'s compilers – referred to as “former archbishop Yoshimizu”. Furthermore, Go-Toba described her poetry with the expression *momimomi*, which though difficult to define³⁵, was also used to estimate Teika's poem, which is surely indicative of a high evaluation of Princess Shikishi's poetic style.

Despite the fact that Princess Shikishi seemed to stand out in the evaluation of her male counterparts among a handful of well-respected women poets of her age, her life is frequently perceived as one full of sacrifices, seclusion and ceaseless solitude. This reception of Princess Shikishi's character was surely based not only on her biography but also on the image created by a number of factors, e.g. conventional *waka* poetics³⁶, Princess Shikishi as a poet herself, the people surrounding her, and a later process of medievalization, which mythicized, idealized and legendarized the figures of many Japanese poets.³⁷ The large number of her poems included in *Shinkokinshū* – 49, and Retired Emperor Go-Toba and Fujiwara Teika's high evaluation of her poetry are evidence that in her own age Princess Shikishi was perceived mostly as a great poet, and not necessarily as the “lonely, waiting woman”.³⁸ We may thus assume that she was a semi-professional poet highly valued for her poetic abilities by her contemporaries, which suggests that she was able to compose poetry according to the already established poetic conventions of her time, and not necessarily derived poetic inspirations from her personal life. Simultaneously, she might have participated in the process of creating her own image of a recluse through traditional poetics that have been misinterpreted as an image of the waiting woman, which I have recently examined in another publication.³⁹

³⁵ “Elegant beauty conveyed by a highly wrought poetic conception and complex poetic texture-not a spontaneous or impromptu style”. See Brower, “Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings...”, p. 57.

³⁶ Gotō Shōko pointed out that by looking at Princess Shikishi's love poetry without taking into consideration the fact that she was a woman, and focusing on the long history of love poetry, we are able to read her poems from the contemporary perspective. Gotō emphasized that Shikishi's love poems are often composed in a male voice, which excludes the possibility of autobiographical setting. See Shōko Gotō, ‘Joryū ni yoru otoko uta – Shikishi Naishinnō uta e no ichishiten’ [Male Poems by Female Poets – One Approach to Poems by Princess Shikishi], in *Waka to wa nani ka* [What Is *waka*?], Kubukihara Rei (ed.), Tōkyō: Yūseidō, 1996, pp. 322–323.

³⁷ Based on Susan Matisoff's research on Semimaru's (early Heian Period) legend, one observes that in the medieval era people learned about ‘high’ aristocratic culture through ‘low’ literature and drama. Legends about earlier poets developed with time, and while some facts about them remain true, much information is added to attract attention of the medieval and later audiences. See Susan Matisoff, *The Legend of Semimaru. Blind Musician of Japan*, Boston: Cheng & Tsui Company, 2006, pp. XI–XIX. The image of Princess Shikishi was also medievalized, largely due to her image in a *nō* play attributed to Komparu Zenchiku (1405–1471), *Teika Kazura*. In this play, she is presented as a madwoman, who had once been in love with Fujiwara Teika, but cannot detach herself from the world and love.

³⁸ It has also been suggested that due to Princess Shikishi's high social status as a member of the imperial family, she was unlikely to be perceived as a woman, but rather as an imperial persona. Shikishi and Teika maintained a relatively close relationship caused by their passion for *waka*, but their supposed love affair are not confirmed by historical sources. See Imamura, ‘Teika to Shikishi Naishinnō...’, p. 76.

³⁹ Małgorzata Citko, ‘Elements of ‘possibly Chinese’ Origin in Selected Poems by Princess Shikishi (1149–1201)’, *Analecta Nipponica*, Vol. 2, 2012, pp. 21–56.

3. Some features of *Man'yōshū*'s reception in the early medieval era

Man'yōshū has been annotated, studied and translated by many generations of scholars around the world.⁴⁰ This collection is an important subject matter for the field of *waka* studies, since it lies at the source of Japanese culture and literary history, and it has always aroused much interest and controversy among Japanologists. However, despite centuries of research on this poetic collection, it is difficult to conclude that we 'know' *Man'yōshū*, since the reception of many subsequent eras has undoubtedly transformed the shape and character of this poetic collection.

Reception of *Man'yōshū*'s poetry already had quite a long history prior to the early medieval era. In fact, *Man'yōshū* became an object of scholarship quite early, since in Heian Period (8–12th century) there had already been a shift from Western Old Japanese (WOJ) language of Asuka (538–710) and Nara Periods (710–784) to Middle Japanese, also known as Classical Japanese. This language change was the reason why in Heian Period poets were already unable to read *man'yōgana* script⁴¹ used in *Man'yōshū*, or fully understand poems written in WOJ. The inaccessibility of *Man'yōshū*'s poetry was possibly the direct reason why numerous attempts were made to annotate this collection and make it more accessible to the contemporary poets. If we were to point to a moment in the history of Japanese literature when *Man'yōshū* started to be subject to the reception phenomenon that had a significant impact for later generations of scholars and poets, it was mid-10th century, when the first *Man'yōshū* glossing project was officially commissioned. In 951 Emperor Murakami (926–967) appointed five scholars of *Nashitsubo* (Pear Pavilion)⁴² to compile the second imperial collection, *Gosen wakashū* [Later Collection of Japanese Poetry, 951], and simultaneously add readings to *Man'yōshū*.⁴³ The effects of their work on *Man'yōshū* are commonly known as *koten* (old glossing), but none of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts containing this glossing have survived.

There was one more glossing project in the history of the reception of *Man'yōshū*'s poetry prior to Kamakura Period (1185–1333). The second glossing project, the effects of which are commonly named *jiten* (subsequent glossing), was probably initiated by Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1028), who was the most powerful politician in 11th-century Japan, and conducted by Fujiwara Atsutaka (?–1120), who compiled *Ruijū koshū* [Classified Collection of Old Poems,

⁴⁰ E.g. Orikuchi Shinobu (1887–1953), Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872–1963), Nakanishi Susumu in Japan, Ian Hideo Levy and Alexander Vovin in the United States of America, René Sieffert (1923–2004) in France, Frederick Victor Dickins (1838–1915) in Great Britain, Karl Florenz (1865–1939) in Germany, Anna Gluskina (1904–1994) in Russia, Wiesław Kotański (1915–2005) in Poland, etc.

⁴¹ *Man'yōgana* is a term describing the use of Chinese characters to write Japanese phonographically. This system of writing was named after their extensive use in *Man'yōshū*. See Bjarke Frellesvig, *A History of the Japanese Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 14.

⁴² Those five scholars were Kiyowara Motosuke (908–990), Ki no Tokibumi (922–996), Ōnakatomi Yoshinobu (921–991), Minamoto Shitagō (911–983), and Sakanoue Mochiki (late 10th century). See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, p. 498.

⁴³ Not all *Man'yōshū* poems were annotated at that time, but most likely 4100 poems, most of which were *tanka*. See Alexander Vovin, *Man'yōshū. Book 15. A New English Translation Containing the Original Text, kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary*, Wilts: Global Oriental, 2009, p. 13.

before 1120] – a manuscript that classifies *Man'yōshū* poems not by volumes but by Chinese categories *ruì* – and annotated it with his own *jiten*⁴⁴, the leader of Rokujō poetic school Fujiwara Kiyosuke (1104–1177), a renowned Japanese poet, scholar and tutor Ōe Masafusa (1041–1111), another renowned *waka* poet and scholar Fujiwara Mototoshi (1060–1142), and other scholars of 11th century.⁴⁵ *Jiten* is especially significant for the early medieval era, since the majority of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and secondary sources containing *Man'yōshū* poems utilized by early medieval poets, including Princess Shikishi, likely reflected the second glossing.

There are obviously other aspects of *Man'yōshū*'s reception. It has been emphasized that some of the underestimated poetic collections and treatises, e.g. a private poetic collection in two volumes probably compiled by Sugawara Michizane (845–903), *Shinsen man'yōshū* [A New Selection of the Ten Thousand Leaves Collection, 893], and the first extant ancient work of Japanese poetry criticism by Fujiwara Hamanari (724–790), *Kakyō hyōshiki* [A Formulary for Verse Based on the Canons of Poetry, 772], as well as *kanajo* (*kana* preface) to the first imperial collection *Kokin wakashū* [Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times, c. 920], were crucial for *Man'yōshū*'s reception.⁴⁶ However, I believe that other examples of poetry criticism, private poetic collections and handbooks, as well as poetic events were equally significant in the early medieval reception and appropriation of *Man'yōshū*, which becomes clear in the analysis of Princess Shikishi's poems further on. Thus, works like *Kakinomoto Hitomaro kashū* [The Private Collection of Kakinomoto Hitomaro, before 759], *Kokinwaka rokujō* [Six Quires of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry, c. 980s] which was used by generations of poets and imperial anthologies' compilers as a source of older poems, *Ise monogatari* [The Tales of Ise, mid-10th century], the first great novel in world literature *Genji monogatari* [The Tale of Genji, c. 1008], a poetic treatise by Fujiwara Kintō (966–1041) *Shinsen zuinō* [Newly Selected Poetic Essentials, 1004–1012], a poetic treatise by Minamoto Toshiyori (1060–1142) *Toshiyori zuinō* [Toshiyori's Essentials, 1111–1115], the famous poetic event organized by Emperor Horikawa *Horikawa hyakushū* [One Hundred Poems for Emperor Horikawa, 1105–1106], the first extant poetic treatise by Fujiwara Kiyosuke *Ōgishō* [Secret Teachings, 1124–1144] and another of Kiyosuke's treatises *Fukurozōshi* [Ordinary Book, 1157], as well as Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* provided a space for the emergence of poetic discourse, thanks to which certain ideas could be exchanged and circulated. Moreover, all those works contributed to the creation of a network of channels for transmitting *Man'yōshū* poetry in the medieval and later eras, which affected subsequent phases of this collection's reception and appropriation phenomena. Thanks to the existence of this network and many later texts containing *Man'yōshū* poetry, we realize that what is believed to be a '*Man'yōshū* poem' in the contemporary era according to *Nishihonganji-bon*⁴⁷ *Man'yōshū* manuscript, in the early medieval era may not have been considered to be a '*Man'yōshū* poem' but a poem from a later collection.

⁴⁴ Yōko Shirosaki, *Man'yōshū no hensan to kyōju no kenkyū* [Study of *Man'yōshū*'s Compilation and Reception], Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2004, pp. 333–350.

⁴⁵ Vovin, *Man'yōshū. Book 15...*, p. 13.

⁴⁶ Fusae Ekida, *A Reception History of the Man'yōshū*, Ph.D. dissertation, Seattle: University of Washington, 2009.

⁴⁷ *Nishi Honganji-bon* is the earliest extant complete *Man'yōshū* manuscript that includes all twenty volumes and 4516 poems. It dates from late Kamakura Period (1185–1333). See Nobutsuna Sasaki, *Man'yōshū no kenkyū. Man'yōshū koshahon no kenkyū* [Research about *Man'yōshū* and Its Old Manuscripts], Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1944, pp. 206–260.

Furthermore, contrary to the modern era in which *Man'yōshū* officially gained a status of a celebrated 'national anthology' during the process of building the modern nation-state after Meiji Restoration in 1868⁴⁸, in the early medieval era *Man'yōshū* was perceived as an ancient, distant and rather obscure, yet intriguing and admirable collection, to which allusions should be made either very carefully or should not be made at all. In fact, such a reception is notable in the *kana* preface to *Kokinshū*, *Shinsen zuinō* and *Toshiyori zuinō*. Even though *Horikawa hyakushū* (1105–1106) was certainly a significant step towards encouraging poets to allude to *Man'yōshū* poetry⁴⁹, it was only with the poetry criticism of Fujiwara Kiyosuke (specifically his last poetic handbook *Waka shogakushō* [Elementary Poetry, 1169])⁵⁰, and of Fujiwara Shunzei (specifically his *Korai fūteishō*)⁵¹ that *Man'yōshū* became a collection to which poets started making references more frequently. Despite that, in the early medieval era *Man'yōshū* was undeniably not perceived in isolation or out of context. It was highly valued and always presented as a part of a bigger concept of Japanese antiquity, e.g. in Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō*, which appreciated the processes of evolution and natural progression of Japanese poetic styles, at the very beginning of which we find *Man'yōshū*.⁵²

Furthermore, we should keep in mind that the early medieval era was the time when knowledge about *Man'yōshū* became contested, since numerous poetic circles and schools had emerged, and poetry became intertwined in court politics.⁵³ The study of this collection has long been believed rather exclusive to Rokujō poetic school, whose influence flourished during *insei*⁵⁴ period (1087–1192).⁵⁵ However, based on Fujiwara Shunzei's poetry criticism, it is clear that *Man'yōshū* was also an object of interest to Mikohidari school's poets, who are believed to have mainly focused on Heian Period masterpieces, and who have been considered rivals to Rokujō school in Japan for many centuries. The construct of the 'Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry', however, is only a stereotype that 'eclipses the more fundamental impact they left as an aristocratic family unit on the cultural and intellectual histories of Japan'.⁵⁶ The notion of the 'Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry' finds no evidence in the early medieval reception of *Man'yōshū*, in which we rather observe an evolution of Japanese poetry criticism manifested

⁴⁸ Ekida, *A Reception History of the Man'yōshū*..., p. 4.

⁴⁹ Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten*..., pp. 577–578.

⁵⁰ Nobutsuna Sasaki (ed.), *Waka shogakushō* [Elementary Poetry], in *Nihon kagaku taikei 2* [Compendium of Japanese Poetry Criticism], Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1956 p. 238.

⁵¹ Yasuaki Watanabe, "Korai fūteishō" [Poetic Styles of Past and Present], in Yasuaki Watanabe, Kazuhiko Kobayashi and Hajime Yamamoto (eds.), *Karon kagaku shūsei 7* [Collection of Poetry Criticism], Tōkyō: Miyai Shoten, 2006, pp. 88–89.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

⁵³ Significant changes were taking place in the years preceding *Shinkokinshū*'s compilation, e.g. rise of *uta'awase* (poetry contests) and, related to it, professionalization and politicization of poetic practice. See Huey, "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice"..., pp. 651–668.

⁵⁴ *Insei* period (1087–1192) refers to a time in Japanese history when political control was restored to the imperial house from Fujiwara regents, but was exercised primarily by retired emperors rather than by titular rulers and official bureaucracy. See *Nipponica*...

⁵⁵ Muneo Inoue, *Kamakura jidai kajinden no kenkyū* [Research on Biographies of Poets from Kamakura Period], Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1997, pp. 3–10.

⁵⁶ Saeko Shibayama, *Ōe no Masafusa and the Convergence of the "ways": The Twilight of Early Chinese Literary Studies and the Rise of waka Studies in the Long Twelfth Century in Japan*, Ph.D. dissertation, New York: Columbia University, 2012, p. 344.

by numerous poets who, by participating in and interpreting the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse differently, attempted to push its boundaries.

It should be emphasized that even though it was not yet in the exclusive manner of 'secret teachings' (*denju*) of Muromachi Period (1336–1573), strongly related to *iemoto* system,⁵⁷ Rokujō and Mikohidari poetic schools, as well as poets of other circles, possessed some level of knowledge about *Man'yōshū*. Various poets transmitted this knowledge, both orally and in writing, within their families and to their patrons from both the imperial court and shogunate. Knowledge of literary texts became a kind of capital, which brought them political and material benefits and support. This may sound similar to the Foucauldian concept of 'power/knowledge', in which it is argued that power and knowledge are inter-related, and therefore every human relationship is a negotiation of power.⁵⁸ Even though the 'power/knowledge' concept was not created based on literary studies, it applies astonishingly well to the poetic world of early medieval Japan. In that era, in order to gain patronage for their poetic activity, that is to become receptors of power, poets started to participate in activities involving poetry criticism, e.g. writing poetic treatises and judging poetry contests (*uta'awase*), which would demonstrate their extensive knowledge of Japanese literature. It was thus not the secrecy of one's literary knowledge, but rather its skilful public demonstration and distribution that provided poetic schools with valuable imperial and shogunal patronage. An example of such symbiosis of patronage in the exchange of poetic knowledge is the close relationships of Princess Shikishi and her brother Prince Shukaku with Fujiwara Shunzei and the adopted son of Fujiwara Kiyosuke – Kenshō (c. 1130–c. 1210) – who created numerous poetic treatises for their imperial-blood patrons.⁵⁹ Those poets clearly attempted to participate in the poetic discourse differently in order to gain power through knowledge. However, it would be an overstatement to conclude that only Fujiwara Shunzei and his *Korai fūteishō*, allegedly dedicated to Princess Shikishi, had affected her style of appropriating *Man'yōshū* poetry. We observe that out of 41 *tanka* in which she alluded to *Man'yōshū*, only 12 overlap with *Korai fūteishō* (Table 1). Princess Shikishi must have thus utilized other sources, which becomes clear in the analysis of her poems further on, even though it is undeniable that *Korai fūteishō* constructed the canon of Japanese poetry up until the 1200s, and was a widely recognized and validated treatise by contemporary and later generations of *waka* poets and scholars.⁶⁰ *Korai fūteishō* is a significant document for a number of reasons. First of all, it drew an analogy between *waka*

⁵⁷ *Iemoto* is a term used in traditional Japanese arts to refer to either the founder of a school or current head of the school, who is usually a direct descendant of the founder. The *iemoto* of each school inherits secret traditions and prized art objects of the school from the previous *iemoto*. See *Encyclopedia of Japan*, in *Japan Knowledge*, Tōkyō: Net Advance, 2012.

⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, 'Two lectures', in Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, New York: Pantheon, 1980, pp. 78–108.

⁵⁹ Fujiwara Shunzei dedicated his private poetic collection, *Chōshū eisō* [Weeds Composed for Long Autumns, 1178] to Shukaku (1150–1202) and his *Korai fūteishō* to Princess Shikishi. Kenshō also dedicated his *Man'yōshū jidai nanji* [Problematic Matters of the *Man'yōshū* Era, 1168–1183], which focused on issues related to *Man'yōshū*'s compilation, to Prince Shukaku. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, pp. 444–445, 600–601.

⁶⁰ Karolina Szebla-Morinaga, *Tajemna głębia (yūgen) w poezji japońskiej* [Mysterious Beauty in Japanese Poetry], Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012, p. 76.

Table 1. Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in poetry of Princess Shikishi vs. inclusion of *Man'yōshū* poems in secondary sources (until 1200s)

Princess Shikishi	Kokinwaka rokujo 976-982	Toshiyori zuiho 1111-1115	Kigoshō 1099-1188	Ōgishō 1124-1144	Waka domōshō 1145-1153	Waka ichijūshō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaihan utamakura bef. 1165	Wakashō gakushō 1169	Shachū shō 1186	Kopyaku Chinjo 1193	Korai futeishō 1197	Other
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 1													
No. 10	○							○					
No. 34	○	○		○						○		○	Kakyō hyōshiki, Shinkokinshū
No. 40	○							○					Hitomaro shū, Shūishū
No. 57								○		○		○	
No. 66								○					
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 3													
No. 282								○		○			
No. 351	○			○						○		○	Shūishū, Kin'yōshū*, Wakan rōeishū**, Genji monogatari
No. 428	○		○	○				○		○			Kojiki***, Hitomaro shū

* *Kin'yō wakashū* [Collection of Golden Leaves, 1124-1127] is the fifth imperial collection ordered by Emperor Shirakawa and compiled by Minamoto Toshiyori. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, pp. 159-160.

** *Wakan rōeishū* [Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Singing, ca. 1013-1018] is a collection compiled by Fujiwara Kintō. It consists of about 800 poems, which are parts of Chinese poems written by the Chinese (mostly the Tang poetry), *kanshi* - Chinese poetry composed by the Japanese, and *waka*. See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten...*, p. 715.

*** *Kojiki* [Records of Ancient Matters, 712] is the oldest extant chronicle in Japan. It was created by Ō no Yasumaro (mid-7th century) at the request of Empress Genmei (660-721). See *Nipponica...*

Table 1. Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in poetry of Princess Shikishi vs. inclusion of *Man'yōshū* poems in secondary sources (until 1200s)

Princess Shikishi	<i>Kokinwaka</i> 976–982 <i>rokujū</i>	<i>Toshiyori</i> 1111–1115 <i>zuiin</i>	<i>Kigoshō</i> 1099–1188	<i>Ogishō</i> 1124–1144	<i>Waka domōshō</i> 1145–1153	<i>Waka ichijūshō</i> 1153	<i>Fukuro zōshi</i> 1157	<i>Godaijū utamakura</i> bef. 1165	<i>Wakashō gakashō</i> 1169	<i>Shūchū shō</i> 1186	<i>Kopyaku Chinjō</i> 1193	<i>Korai futeshō</i> 1197	Other
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 4													
No. 445	○												<i>Yakamochishū*</i>
No. 502	○		○									○	<i>Hitomaro</i> shū, <i>Shinkokinshū</i>
No. 583	○												
No. 661	○												
No. 667	○												
No. 675	○		○		○					○			
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 6													
No. 919	○	○		○						○	○	○	<i>Akahitoshū**</i> , <i>Kanajo</i> , <i>Wakan rōeishū</i> , <i>Kin'yōshū</i>
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 7													
No. 1188	○					○							
No. 1361	○				○								

* *Yakamochishū* [Collection of Yakamochi, ca. 785] is a private collection of about 320 poems attributed to the famous *Man'yōshū* poet and compiler, Ōtomo Yakamochi (718–785). See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten*..., p. 654.

** *Akahitoshū* [Collection of Akahito, ca. 740] is a private collection of about 360 poems attributed to a famous *Man'yōshū* poet, Yamabe Akahito (early 8th century). See Ariyoshi, *Waka bungaku jiten*..., pp. 3–4.

Table 1. Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in poetry of Princess Shikishi vs. inclusion of *Man'yōshū* poems in secondary sources (until 1200s)

Princess Shikishi	<i>Kokinwaka rokujō</i> 976-982	<i>Toshūyori zuijō</i> 1111-1115	<i>Kigoshō</i> 1099-1188	<i>Ōgishō</i> 1124-1144	<i>Waka domōshō</i> 1145-1153	<i>Waka ichijūshō</i> 1153	<i>Fukuro zōshi</i> 1157	<i>Godaijū utamakura</i> bef. 1165	<i>Wakashō gakushō</i> 1169	<i>Shūchu shō</i> 1186	<i>Kopyaku Chinjō</i> 1193	<i>Korai futetsū</i> 1197	Other
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 8													
No. 1418	○	○	○		○					○		○	<i>Wakan rōeishū,</i> <i>Genji monogatari,</i> <i>Shinkokinshū</i>
No. 1500	○				○		○				○	○	
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 10													
No. 1897	○	○	○	○	○					○	○	○	
No. 1983	○				○						○		<i>Akahitoshū,</i> <i>Hitomarooshū,</i> <i>Shūishū</i>
No. 1994	○										○		<i>Akahitoshū,</i> <i>Hitomarooshū,</i> <i>Shinkokinshū</i>
No. 2125								○					
No. 2270	○												<i>Hitomarooshū,</i>
No. 2319	○							○					<i>Hitomarooshū,</i> <i>Yakamochishū</i>
No. 2331	○							○					<i>Hitomarooshū,</i> <i>Yakamochishū,</i> <i>Shinkokinshū</i>

Table 1. Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in poetry of Princess Shikishi vs. inclusion of *Man'yōshū* poems in secondary sources (until 1200s)

Princess Shikishi	<i>Kokinwaka rokujō</i> 976–982	<i>Toshūyori zuinō</i> 1111–1115	<i>Kigoshō</i> 1099–1188	<i>Ōgishō</i> 1124–1144	<i>Waka domōshō</i> 1145–1153	<i>Waka ichijūshō</i> 1153	<i>Fukuro zōshi</i> 1157	<i>Godaijū utamakura</i> bef. 1165	<i>Wakashō gakushō</i> 1169	<i>Shachū shō</i> 1186	<i>Kopyaku Chinjō</i> 1193	<i>Korai futeishō</i> 1197	Other
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 14													
No. 3400	○							○					
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 16													
No. 3851	○	○	○	○									
<i>Man'yōshū</i> 17													
No. 3899	○							○					

and *tendai*⁶¹ Buddhism, by saying that they are both philosophical and artistic paths (*michi*) having a sense of continuity.⁶² This comparison proves that *Korai fūteishō* had a clear agenda and ideology behind it, which none of the earlier examples of poetry criticism seemed to have. Shunzei's broad and sophisticated reception of poetry must have been different from that of other and earlier *waka* scholars.⁶³ Thus, we should perhaps perceive *Korai fūteishō* as Shunzei's call for a novel approach towards *waka* in general, as well as his reconsideration of the poetic discourse, by which Princess Shikishi might have been affected. In fact, I believe that it was exactly due to this kind of poetry criticism of Rokujō and Mikohidari schools, as well as some earlier works containing a significant number of poems believed to come from *Man'yōshū* and due to the appropriative practice of *honkadori* (allusive variation)⁶⁴, that more extensive knowledge of *Man'yōshū* became more and more desirable in the era of *Shinkokinshū*'s compilation, which generally sought poetic innovation among others through the renewal of poetic tradition.

Thus, the reception of *Man'yōshū*'s poetry in the early medieval era should be perceived and understood in a broad context of attaining the art of *waka* composition, and participation in and contribution to poetic discourse. Such participation and contribution, if sufficiently diversified poet by poet, may be interpreted as the manifestation of a quite politically charged, Foucauldian attempt to gain power through knowledge. Since Princess Shikishi happened to live in the early medieval era, I assume that she participated in and contributed to the same *Man'yōshū* discourse as her contemporary poets.

4. Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in selected poems by Princess Shikishi

As emphasized above, appropriation of *Man'yōshū* poetry in Princess Shikishi's works has unfortunately not been treated to a great deal of scholarship yet. However, the sole scholarly paper dealing with this subject, by Hirai Keiko, makes several important remarks; for example, that Princess Shikishi's poetry did not necessarily focus on allusions to *Man'yōshū*, and that the references to this collection were simply a part of the process of her education in the art of *waka*. Hirai also emphasized that Princess Shikishi probably followed Fujiwara Shunzei's guidance and style in regard to *Man'yōshū* poems' appropriation⁶⁵, which seems reasonable because she studied *waka* under Shunzei's supervision. Also, based on my own research, Princess Shikishi drew on the same *Man'yōshū* poetic examples as Shunzei seven times. On the other hand, her poems alluding to *Man'yōshū* possess characteristics notable in many other contemporary poets' work, and they in fact prove that Princess Shikishi was an active member of the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse, who was aware of not only the existence of *Man'yōshū*'s manuscripts but above all of the secondary sources containing *Man'yōshū* poetry as well as other poets' work alluding to this collection.

Thus, based on an analysis of Table 1, we see that of about 400 extant poems by Princess Shikishi, 41 contain allusions to *Man'yōshū*. The majority of her poems refer to

⁶¹ *Tendai* was a Buddhist school founded in Japan in 806 by Saichō (767–822). It was one of the dominant schools in Heian Period (794–1185). See *Encyclopedia of Japan...*

⁶² Watanabe, "Korai fūteishō"..., p. 30.

⁶³ Shibayama, *Ōe no Masafusa and the Convergence of the "ways"...*, p. 373.

⁶⁴ *Honkadori* (allusive variation) is a practice of borrowing lines from earlier poems and reconfiguring them in one's own work.

⁶⁵ Hirai, "Shikishi Naishinnō ni okeru *Man'yō* sesshu"..., p. 186.

volumes X–XI of *Man'yōshū*, which are the volumes brought up most frequently in poetic treatises and referred to in the poetry of the early medieval era. Moreover, almost all of *Man'yōshū* poems appropriated in the work of Princess Shikishi are included in numerous secondary sources, e.g. *Kokinwaka rokujō*: 30 poems, *Godaishū utamakura* [Poetic Landmarks in Collections of Five Eras, before 1165] by Fujiwara Norikane (1107–1165): 20, *Shūchūshō* [Sleeve Notes, 1186] by Kenshō: 14, *Hitomaroshū*: 13, *Korai fūteishō*: 12, *Kigoshō* [Notes on Poetic Words, 1099–1118] by Fujiwara Nakazane (1075–1133), etc. This suggests that instead of studying any of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, Princess Shikishi might rather have utilized the secondary sources.

In fact, one of Princess Shikishi's poems alluding to *Man'yōshū* is a clear evidence of the significance of secondary sources in her appropriation practices. This is *tanka* No. 478 from a “contest on paper” *Sanbyaku rokujūban uta'awase* [Poetry Contest in Three Hundred and Sixty Rounds, 1200] organized probably by Kujō Yoshitsune:

<i>nanifagata</i>	When I row my boat
<i>asibe wo sasite</i>	Toward the reeds on the shore
<i>kogiyukeba</i>	Into the Naniwa Bay,
<i>uraganasikaru</i>	The single voice of a crane
<i>tadu no fitokowe</i> ⁶⁶	Sounds lonesome.

The poem quoted above clearly contains elements of ancient Japanese poetics. *Nanifagata* (Naniwa Bay) is a frequent *utamakura* (poetic place name) signifying a shore in the ancient Setsu Province (eastern part of Hyōgo Prefecture and the northern part of Ōsaka Prefecture).⁶⁷ *Tadu* (crane) on the other hand, is an image frequently incorporated by ancient poets in their compositions about long travels along the coast, and it is a metaphor for the loneliness of the traveler. Thus, the voice of the crane is a symbol of the traveler's longing for their beloved.⁶⁸

We observe that Princess Shikishi's poem is composed from the viewpoint of a lonely traveler, who is reminded about his/her solitude by the voice of a crane. In fact, as noted by two out of three annotators of Princess Shikishi's poems⁶⁹, her *tanka* undeniably refers to the following *Man'yōshū* poem from volume VI: 919 by the renowned poet Yamabe Akahito (early 8th century), in which we find a similar expression of loneliness during a solitary trip:

⁶⁶ I decided not to transcribe but to transliterate the poems based on the Heian Japanese system codified by John R. Bentley. This transliteration exposes consonant repetitions that the Hepburn system obscures, and thus reveals phonological features of Classical Japanese. This system is not applied to Japanese names and titles of poetry collections, since their transcriptions in the Hepburn system are widely acknowledged in academia. The originals of all poems are from *Shinpen kokka taikan* [New Collection of Japanese Poems], CD-ROM, Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 2003.

⁶⁷ See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten* [Great Dictionary of Japanese Vocabulary and Poetic Place Names] *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* [Online Library of Japanese Literature], Tōkyō: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2001.

⁶⁸ Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, p. 138.

⁶⁹ Oda, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkachūshaku*..., p. 544, Nishiki, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkashū*..., p. 121.

<i>waka no ura ni</i>	When the tide overflows
<i>sifo miti kureba</i>	In the Waka Bay ⁷⁰ ,
<i>kata wo nami</i>	It covers the shore
<u>asibe wo sasite</u>	And cranes fly off crying
<u>tadu</u> nakiwataru	To the reeds on the other shore.

Even though this *Man'yōshū* poem is an obvious reference for Princess Shikishi's *tanka*, it is only through the analysis of the secondary sources containing *Man'yōshū* poems (Table 1), that we are able to note that Princess Shikishi might have borrowed this poem from *Toshiyori zuinō*, where it appears containing a significant textual variant – *nanifagata*⁷¹:

<u>nanifagata</u>	When the tide overflows
<i>sifo miti kureba</i>	In the Naniwa Bay,
<i>kata wo nami</i>	It covers the shore
<u>asibe wo sasite</u>	And cranes fly off crying
<u>tadu</u> nakiwataru	To the reeds on the other shore.

Simultaneously, we should not exclude another possibility, namely that the vocabulary of this *Man'yōshū* poem was channeled via the poetry of Princess Shikishi's contemporary poets. In fact, it turns out that this *Man'yōshū* poem was quite a popular reference in the early medieval era. Numerous poets, such as Fujiwara Kinzane (1053–1107), Fujiwara Shunzei, Fujiwara Teika, Minamoto Ienaga (1170?–1234), Fujiwara Ietaka (1158–1237), etc. used similar vocabulary in their own poetic compositions. We even find the expressions *nanifagata/nanifae* (the Naniwa Bay) together with *asibe wo sasite* (reeds on the shore) in poems by two poets contemporary to Princess Shikishi, Shun'e (1113–1191?) and Retired Emperor Juntoku (1197–1242).⁷²

<u>tadu</u> no wiru	The Bay of Naniwa,
<u>asibe wo sasite</u>	Where the cranes rest
<u>nanifagata</u>	On the reedy shore,
<i>muko no ura made</i>	Became veiled in haze
<i>kasumi sinikeri</i>	All the way to the Muko Bay ⁷³ .

<u>nanifae</u> ya	Is it the Bay of Naniwa,
<i>tamino no sima ni</i>	Where on the Isle of Tamino ⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Waka Bay (*waka no ura*) is an *utamakura* (poetic place name) for Kii Province (currently Wakayama Prefecture and the southern part of Mie Prefecture). At the end of Heian Period it started to symbolize the art and path of *waka*. See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten...*

⁷¹ In all extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts from the early medieval era and all of the other secondary sources, this *Man'yōshū* poem appears containing *waka no ura ni* in the first line.

⁷² Shun'e and Juntoku's poems are included in *Rin'yō wakashū* [Collection of Forest Leaves, 1178]: 29, and in *Shikin wakashū* [Collection of Forbidden Verses, ca 1220]: 271, respectively.

⁷³ Muko (*muko*) is an *utamakura* for Setsu Province. Muko was one of the most important harbors in ancient Japan, which appears in *Man'yōshū* in a love context. See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten...*

⁷⁴ Isle of Tamino (*tamino no shima*) is an *utamakura* for Setsu Province but its current location is unknown. It appears in *waka* together with the image of cranes. See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten...*

*naku **tadu** no*
asibe wo sasite
yado mo tazunen

Crying cranes
 Seek lodging
 On the reedy shore?

The poems quoted above clearly appropriate the same *Man'yōshū* poem. They perhaps do not emphasize the feeling of solitude as much as Princess Shikishi's poem does, and they reflect the content of *Man'yōshū* poem more faithfully. However, they are evidences for the existence of early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse, which at times caused poets to allude to *Man'yōshū* poems in a similar manner.

We may assume that Princess Shikishi might have been aware of both *Toshiyori zuinō* version of this *Man'yōshū* poem and Shun'e's *tanka*, while Juntoku was likely inspired by the same *Man'yōshū* vocabulary later on. The fact that multiple poems appropriated this *Man'yōshū* poem and simultaneously contained *nanifagata/nanifae* proves that it was likely through the secondary sources, such as *Toshiyori zuinō*, and not through any of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts directly, that *Man'yōshū*'s poetry was channeled in the early medieval era. Moreover, it seems that early medieval poets were mutually aware of their own appropriations of *Man'yōshū* poetry. They borrowed not only from the *honka* (original poem) but also from each other's compositions, which is notable in Shikishi's poem quoted above, since it additionally contains vocabulary found in a poem by yet another early medieval poet, Fujiwara Ietaka.⁷⁵

The second example of Princess Shikishi's appropriation of a *Man'yōshū* poem, above all, reflects a borrowing from contemporary poets rather than utilizing *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, or even secondary sources containing *Man'yōshū* poetry. The poem is included in *Shikishi Naishinnōshū* [Collection of Poems by Princess Shikishi, 1201]: 350:

tadunureba
soko to mo iezu
narinikeri
tanomishi nobe no
mozu no kusaguki

When I sought them,
 I still could not
 Catch their sight
 – The shrikes-sitting grass stalks
 In the field that I relied on.

The poem quoted above contains only one element of natural imagery, *mozu no kusaguki* (shrikes-sitting grass stalks)⁷⁶, which in ancient Japanese poetry is a symbol of inability to meet with a beloved person. This image originates in a legend about a man who, during one of his trips to the countryside, met a lady with whom he fell in love. When the man met the

⁷⁵ This refers to a line *tazu no kowe* (voice of a crane) that may be found only in poems by Shikishi and Ietaka. Ietaka's poem is included in *Gyokuginshū* [Collection of Jeweled Poems, 1245]: 85:

shifo mite fa The current overflows
asibe wo sasite And even the voices
*yuku **tadu** no* Of the cranes
***kowe** mo katabuku* Headed to the reedy shore
ariake no tuki Sink in the dawning moon.

⁷⁶ *Mozu no kusaguki*, or *kayaguki*, is an expression meaning 'the invisibility of a shrike diving into grasses'. It was not appropriated in Japanese poetry until late Heian Period, when poets such as Fujiwara Akisue (1055–1123) and Minamoto Toshiyori incorporated it for the first time in their own poems. See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten*...

lady in the open field, he asked her about the location of her house. The lady explained that a grass stalk, on which a shrike was sitting, points to her house's direction. The man was forced to return to the imperial court but he promised to visit the lady again. When the man came back to the same field the next year, he was unable to locate her house because the grass was crushed and veiled in haze, and there were no shrikes around.⁷⁷

Princess Shikishi's poem is thus clearly composed from the point of view of a man who cannot find the direction to his beloved woman's house because there are no 'shrikes-sitting grass stalks' in the field. Since this poetic expression appears in *Man'yōshū* only once, Princess Shikishi's *tanka* clearly appropriated the following poem from volume X: 1897 by an anonymous author:⁷⁸

<p><i>faru sareba</i> <u><i>mozu no kusaguki</i></u> <i>miezu to mo</i> <i>ware fa miyaramu</i> <i>kimi ga atari wo</i></p>	<p>Even if the shrikes-sitting grass stalks Are out of my sight When the spring arrives, I will keep looking To the direction of your neighborhood.</p>
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Princess Shikishi's *tanka* obviously appropriated this *Man'yōshū* poem, as well as the whole legend related to it. However, we observe that even though this *Man'yōshū* poem was included in numerous secondary sources (Table 1), they do not reflect any textual variants that would enable us to determine a clear channel of appropriation. Thus, we cannot assume that the channel of appropriation was through any other sources than *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. On the other hand, we see that other poetic expressions from Princess Shikishi's poem that do not appear in the original *Man'yōshū* poem – *tanomekosi nobe* (a field always relied on) and *tanomisi nobe* (a field to rely on) – may be found in poems by Fujiwara Shunzei and by one of *Shinkokinshū*'s compilers Minamoto Michitomo (1171–1227):⁷⁹

<p><u><i>tanomekosi</i></u> <u><i>nobe no mitisiba</i></u> <i>natu fukasi</i> <i>iduku naruran</i> <u><i>mozu no kusaguki</i></u></p>	<p>Summer in bloom – Grassy roadside in the field I always relied on. Where are those Shrikes-sitting grass stalks?</p>
<p><i>samidare fa</i> <u><i>tanomisi nobe ni</i></u> <i>midu koete</i> <i>ika ni tadunemu</i> <u><i>mozu no kusaguki</i></u></p>	<p>The water overflows The field that I relied on During the early summer rains. How then will I find The shrikes-sitting grass stalks?</p>

⁷⁷ For the full version of the legend, see Nobutsuna Sasaki (ed.), *Ōgishō* [Secret Teachings], in *Nihon kagaku taikei 1* [Compendium of Japanese Poetry Criticism], Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1957, p. 403.

⁷⁸ Oda, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkachūshaku*..., pp. 496–497, Nishiki, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkashū*..., p. 105, Okuno, *Shikishi Naishinnōshū zenshaku*..., pp. 342–344.

⁷⁹ Shunzei and Michitomo's poems are included in *Senzaishū*: 795, and in round 433 of *Sengohyakuban uta'awase* [Poetry Contest in one Thousand Five Hundred Rounds, 1203], respectively.

It is clear that all the poetic compositions quoted above appropriated the same *Man'yōshū* poem, since they utilize not only similar imagery and vocabulary but they also depict the same kind of confusion and disappointment caused by the change in the natural environment, which prevented the man from finding the path to his beloved lady's house. Thus, it is indisputable that the channel of appropriation of this *Man'yōshū* poem in Princess Shikishi's *tanka* must have been through the poetry of her contemporary poets. It seems that it was most likely Shunzei's poem that was the main source for Princess Shikishi, Michitomo and the other poets' *tanka*. However, the appropriation of similar *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in poems by other early medieval poets, such as Fujiwara Teika, Fujiwara Takanobu (1142–1205), Fujiwara Ietaka, etc., proves the existence and significance of early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse, in which Princess Shikishi clearly participated and to which she contributed.

The third example of Princess Shikishi's appropriation of *Man'yōshū* poetry demonstrates that she must have been simultaneously aware of secondary sources containing *Man'yōshū* poetry and other poets' compositions alluding to the same *Man'yōshū* poems. It is thus clear that she was an active member of the early medieval discourse on *Man'yōshū*. Simultaneously, based on the poetic example included in *Shikishi Naishinnōshū*: 284, we observe some features of Princess Shikishi's allusions to *Man'yōshū* that distinguished her among her contemporary poets:

<i>ofomiyabito</i>	The courtiers –
<i>okitu <u>kosima no</u></i>	Separated for as long as
<i><u>fama bisasi</u></i>	The hut-roofs on the islet-shore
<i><u>fisasiku narinu</u></i>	Far off in the sea
<i>namidi fedatete</i>	Are drawn apart by the wave-trails.

The poem quoted above contains an expression characteristic of *Man'yōshū* poetry, *ofomiyabito* (courtiers).⁸⁰ It is also full of vocabulary symbolizing the lovers' separation, e.g. *fedatu* (to divide, to separate), *fisasi* (long period of time). Princess Shikishi's *tanka* thus describes a situation in which a couple is drawn apart by the adversities of life, which is illustrated by a metaphor of hut-roofs separated by the waves preventing their visual contact. Her poem indisputably appropriates vocabulary from the following *Man'yōshū* poem from volume XI: 2753 by an anonymous author:

<i>nami no ma yu</i>	For as long as it takes
<i>miyuru <u>kosima no</u></i>	The beach-catalpa on the islet
<i><u>famafisagi</u></i>	To come into view between the waves
<i><u>fisasiku narinu</u></i>	– This is for how long
<i>kimi ni afazu site</i>	I have not met with you.

Even though the appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary seems obvious in this case, it must be emphasized that this *Man'yōshū* poem was included in numerous secondary sources (Table 1), among others in *Ise monogatari*, which is believed by all three annotators of Princess Shikishi's poems to be the main channel of appropriation.⁸¹ One of the reasons

⁸⁰ *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten...*

⁸¹ Oda, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkachūshaku...*, pp. 407–408, Okuno, *Shikishi Naishinnōshū zenshaku...*, pp. 521–522.

for such unanimous assessment may be the fact that in episode 116 of the *Ise monogatari*⁸², *famafisagi* (beach-catalpa), notable in the original *Man'yōshū* poem, is replaced by *fama bisasi* (hut-roofs on the shore), which is also a textual variant evident in Princess Shikishi's *tanka*. However, based on my research, the same alternation may also be observed in *Godaishū utamakura*. Thus, there are at least two possible channels for the appropriation of this *Man'yōshū* poem, even though *Ise monogatari* is considered to have been one of the most frequently read works in the early medieval era.⁸³

In the analysis of this poem by Princess Shikishi it is difficult to overlook, besides the significance of secondary sources, the expression *okitu* (offshore) that overlaps with the work of some of her contemporary poets, e.g. Fujiwara Mototoshi, Kujō Yoshitsune and the third shogun of Kamakura government Minamoto Sanetomo (1192–1219).⁸⁴

kimi to ifeba
nado mimafosiki
namima naru
okitu kosima no
famafisagi kana

For what reason do you
 Desire me to catch a glimpse
 Of the beach-catalpa
 Between the waves
 On the islet far off in the sea?

nagamekosi
okitu namima no
famafisagi
fisasiku misenu
farugasumi kana

I looked out,
 And between the waves in the offing
 I saw the beach-catalpa
 That for long has not shown
 A sign of the spring haze.

okitu nami
utide no fama no
famafisagi
siworete nomi ya
tosi no fenuran

Waves in the offing
 And the beach-catalpa
 Of the Uchide Shore⁸⁵
 – Do they simply wither
 With the passage of time?

All three poems quoted above clearly appropriate the same *Man'yōshū* poem as Princess Shikishi's *tanka*. However, they do not approach the source of their inspiration identically. While Mototoshi's *tanka* is perhaps the most faithful to the love theme of *Man'yōshū* poem, Yoshitsune's *tanka* clearly deepened the level of its interpretation by changing the subject from love to spring. Sanetomo's poem, on the other hand, strays a little away from the original love theme, since it is composed in a manner that allows a more philosophical interpretation of life as a concept related to transience.

⁸² For more about episode 116 of *Ise monogatari*, see Joshua Mostow and Royall Tyler, *The Ise Stories. Ise monogatari*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p. 234.

⁸³ Haruo Shirane (ed.), *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 497.

⁸⁴ Fujiwara Mototoshi, Kujō Yoshitsune and Minamoto Sanetomo's poems are included in *Mototoshishū* [Poetic Collection of Mototoshi, c. 1142]: 190, in *Shingū senka'awase* [Poetry Contest of the Imperial Collections' Poems Held in Shingū Shrine, 1201] in round 2, and in *Kinkai wakashū* [Collection of Golden Flakes, c. 1219]: 490, respectively.

⁸⁵ Uchide Shore (*utide no fama*) is an *utamakura* for Ōmi Province (currently Shiga Prefecture) near Biwa lake. See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten*...

It is thus obvious that the channel of appropriation must have in this case been more complex than in the previously analyzed poems by Princess Shikishi. We see that secondary sources, presumably *Ise monogatari* or *Godaishū utamakura*, played as significant a role in her appropriation of *Man'yōshū* as did the poetry of other early medieval poets, which suggests the importance of the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse. Simultaneously, we cannot rule out the fact that Princess Shikishi usually seemed to borrow long lines from individual *Man'yōshū* poems, which were often not anyhow adjusted for the needs of the newly composed poem, in this case *kosima no fama bisasi fisasiku narinu*. The majority of early medieval poets, on the other hand, usually appropriated short lines, sometimes modifying the order of words according to the needs of their poetic vision, in this case *kosima no famafisagi, famafisagi fisasiku* or *famafisagi nami no ma ni*. I believe that appropriating relatively long lines quite faithfully is one of the features distinguishing Princess Shikishi's appropriation of the *Man'yōshū* poetry among other contemporary poets.

In fact, a similar feature of borrowing long lines from *Man'yōshū* is notable in the last poem by Princess Shikishi to be analyzed in this article. However, this poetic example, included in a poetic event organized to collect poems for *Shinkokinshū – Shōji ninen in shodo hyakushu* [Retired Emperor's First Hundred Poem Sequence of the Second Year of Shōji Era, 1200]: 281, also proves that Princess Shikishi was not only aware of the early medieval discourse on *Man'yōshū*, but also that her poems reflect a touch of poetic innovation and individuality:

<i>wa ga sode fa</i>	Will my sleeves dry
<i>kari ni mo fime ya</i>	Even for a brief moment,
<i>kurenawi no</i>	While the evening dew
<i>asafa no nora ni</i>	Is falling upon the crimson
<i>kakaru yufugiri</i>	In the Asaha Field ⁸⁶ ?

The poem quoted above is clearly on the subject of love, since it contains imagery and vocabulary typical of love poetry in *Man'yōshū*, e.g. *kurenawi no* (crimson), which is a *makurakotoba* (pillow word)⁸⁷, and *asafa*, which puns on the various meanings of *asa* (shallow, light). I also assume that this poem is composed in the voice of the 'waiting woman', which is an archetype of idealized woman in both Chinese and Japanese ancient poetry.⁸⁸ Moreover, there are two kinds of confusion implied in this poem: 1) a confusion between the color of the autumn evening dew and the color of the fields, both of which are red⁸⁹, and 2) a confusion between the evening dew and the speaker's tears, both of

⁸⁶ Asaha Field (*asafa no nora*) is an *utamakura* for Musashi Province (currently Tōkyō, Saitama and Kanagawa Prefectures). See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten*...

⁸⁷ *Makurakotoba* (pillow word) is a five-syllable figure modifying the following word, e.g. *fisakata no* (eternal and strong) that precedes and modifies words like *tsuki* (moon), *sora* (sky), *ame* (rain), etc. It is a poetic device characteristic of *Man'yōshū*.

⁸⁸ Citko, "Elements of 'possibly Chinese' Origin"..., pp. 21–56.

⁸⁹ Red is a significant color in ancient Japanese love poetry. It symbolizes human feelings visible to the outside world, and it also refers to woman's eyes reddened from ceaseless crying and sorrow. See Małgorzata Citko, "Patterns of Illicit Passions: Imagery and Poetic Techniques in Love Poetry of Princess Shikishi", in *Looking at Language and the World: Past, Present, and Future*, Honolulu: College of Language, Linguistics, and Literature, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2010, p. 128.

which wet the waiting woman's sleeves.⁹⁰ Thus, Princess Shikishi's *tanka* evidently appropriates vocabulary from the following *Man'yōshū* poem from volume XI: 2763 by an anonymous poet:

<i>kurenawi no</i>	Even for as briefly as a break
<i>asafa no nora ni</i>	Between cutting the bundles of grass
<i>karukaya no</i>	In the Asaha Field
<i>tuka no afida mo</i>	Filled with crimsons,
<i>a wo wasurasu na</i>	– Do not forget me...

Although the appropriation of this *Man'yōshū* poem by Princess Shikishi is unquestionable, we observe that the poem was included in a few secondary sources (Table 1). Moreover, it was widely alluded to in many poems by other contemporary poets, such as Fujiwara Kiyosuke, Fujiwara Teika, Fujiwara Norimune (1171–1233), Emperor Juntoku, Sai'onji Saneuji (1194–1269), etc. It was thus clearly a part of the early medieval poetic discourse. However, we find significant similarities between Princess Shikishi and two other poets' manner of appropriation of this *Man'yōshū* poem's vocabulary, e.g. *kakaru yufutuyu* (falling evening haze) notable in a poem by Teika's oldest son Fujiwara Mitsuie (1184–?), and *sode* (sleeves) evident in a poem by Fujiwara Ietaka:⁹¹

<i>fuku kaze mo</i>	Why do not I see the color
<i>iro ya fa mienu</i>	Of the breezing wind,
<i>kurenawi no</i>	While the evening haze
<i>asafa no nora ni</i>	Is falling upon the crimsons
<i>kakaru yufutuyu</i>	In the Asaha Field?
<i>kurenawi no</i>	Do not blame
<i>asafa no nora no</i>	My sleeves that I lay
<i>tuyu no ue ni</i>	Upon the dew
<i>wa ga siku sode zo</i>	Fallen on the crimsons
<i>fito na togame so</i>	In the Asaha Field.

Both poems undeniably allude to the same *Man'yōshū* poem as Princess Shikishi's *tanka*. Moreover, they appropriate the theme of love, even though it is more obvious in Ietaka's poem, considered by all the annotators of Princess Shikishi's poems as one of the top references for her own composition⁹² due to the imagery of sleeves and tears (*namida*). It is, however, difficult to determine which poem was inspired by which. Simultaneously, I believe that Mitsuie's poem has more in common with Princess Shikishi's poem in terms of

⁹⁰ According to traditional Japanese poetics, courtiers' sleeves never dry out, since they are conventionally always involved in some sort of relationship that eventually brings around pain and long-term separation. See Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka, *Japońska miłość dworska* [Japanese Court Love], Warszawa 2005, p. 143.

⁹¹ Mitsuie and Ietaka's poems are included in *Kenryaku san'nen hachigatsu nanoka dairi uta'awase* [Poetry Contest in Imperial Palace Held on the Seventh Day of the Eighth Month in the Third Year of the Kenryaku Era, 1213]: 26, and in *Gyokuginshū*: 2697, respectively.

⁹² Oda, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkachūshaku...*, pp. 400–401, Okuno, *Shikishi Naishinnōshū zenshaku...*, pp. 510–512, Nishiki, *Shikishi Naishinnō zenkashū...*, p. 85.

structure, since they are both composed in a form of a question. Moreover, the last three lines in Mitsuie and Princess Shikishi's poems are almost identical (with an exception of *kiri* [dew]), which is a fact difficult to ignore. However, Mitsuie's poem was composed later than Princess Shikishi's *tanka*, so we may assume that Mitsuie appropriated this *Man'yōshū* poem through her poetry.

Thus, it is obvious that the existence of the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse, which urged numerous poets of the era to appropriate the same *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, also greatly affected Princess Shikishi's appropriation of this collection's poetics. Moreover, it is undeniable that poetic compositions by contemporary poets, alluding to the same *Man'yōshū* poem, were the most significant channel of appropriation in this case. Simultaneously, we observe that there is something unusual in Princess Shikishi's utilization of the *Man'yōshū* line. Not only did she borrow a very long line from the original poem, which I already claimed as one of the features distinguishing her style of *Man'yōshū* poetry appropriation, but she introduced an additional autumn image, *kiri* (autumn dew). The dew fits the rest of the imagery of her poem much better than *tsuyu* (spring haze), which was utilized in the majority of the other poets' *tanka* drawing on this *Man'yōshū* poem. We may assume that this change of vocabulary was intentional, and that such attention to details and slight modifications made by Princess Shikishi are manifestations of her poetic talent and quest for innovation in *waka*, in order to perfect her poetic compositions.

Conclusions

Even though this article deals with only four primary poetic examples authored by Princess Shikishi, we may conclude that her style of appropriating *Man'yōshū* poetry reflects some significant features that are likely shared by other early medieval poets. First of all, we realize that Princess Shikishi was undeniably an active member of the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse, in which she participated and contributed to. Her allusions to *Man'yōshū* poetry prove that she utilized secondary sources, e.g. *Toshiyori zuinō* and *Ise monogatari*, rather than any of the extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. We may even conclude that in some cases Princess Shikishi did not intend to appropriate *Man'yōshū* poetry itself, but poems from other literary works, which proves that poems nowadays considered to be "*Man'yōshū* poems" may not have been perceived as such in the early medieval era. On the other hand, Princess Shikishi must have been aware of other contemporary poets' compositions appropriating similar vocabulary and themes, since in some cases she was clearly inspired by the work of her contemporary poets. However, the channels of appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in her own poems were not only limited to Fujiwara Shunzei who was her poetry tutor. Simultaneously, we see that she also inspired other poets to allude to the same *Man'yōshū* poems, which subsequently evidences the overwhelming significance of poetic discourse in the early medieval poetic practice.

The appropriation of *Man'yōshū*'s poetry in the works of Princess Shikishi undeniably reflects also some features of her individual poetic style. Her poetry tends to contain relatively long lines borrowed from *Man'yōshū*, in comparison to other contemporary poets' work. Moreover, Princess Shikishi did not follow the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse without careful consideration. The last of her poems analyzed above proves that she did not blindly imitate such discourse, even though the majority of her poems appropriating

Man'yōshū contain a love theme, which is also a feature notable in the work of some other early medieval poets. In fact, Princess Shikishi was not afraid to alter and modify the poetic lines and expressions that she borrowed from *Man'yōshū* or from other poets' *tanka*. Her undeniable creativity in the art of *waka*, which may be understood as an alternative interpretation of the early medieval discourse on *Man'yōshū*, is thus a significant feature distinguishing her among her contemporaries.

Finally, it should be noted that although the majority of other early medieval lower-ranking poets surely attempted to gain power through knowledge by offering their poetic services to a number of patrons, Princess Shikishi represented the patron's side of such a relationship. She did, however, possess an undeniable poetic talent, and perhaps due to the fact that she was not forced to adjust herself poetically to anybody, she had also no fear of innovation. Such a mixture of Princess Shikishi's high social status, that provided her with a certain degree of freedom of expression in *waka*, and her evident poetic ability, created an excellent poet, whose work was as highly appreciated during her lifetime as it still is in the contemporary era.

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