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The Shape of Love and Loss: Izumi Shikibu's "Gojusshu waka" (五十首和歌, Fifty-Poem Sequence)¹

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To many scholars and readers of pre-modern Japanese literature, the poet Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 (976?–?) is best known as the author of the *Izumi Shikibu nikki* 和泉式部日記 (Izumi Shikibu diary, 1007 or after), which recounts her affair with Prince Atsumichi 敦道親王 (981–1007) from the fourth month of 1003, concluding with her move to his residence near the end of the year. Her former lover and Atsumichi's brother, Prince Tametaka 為尊親王 (977–1002), had died in 1002. Four years into Atsumichi's relationship with Izumi Shikibu, he, too, would pass away, and it was after his death that she composed her diary. A less familiar text in which Izumi Shikibu also memorializes her love for Atsumichi is the sequence of some 120 poems—"Sochi no miya banka gun" 帥宮挽歌群 (Elegies for His Highness, the Viceroy Prince)—among which is a discrete set of topic compositions, "Gojusshu waka" 五十首和歌 (Fifty-poem sequence).²

For this set of poems, which in its present form consists of forty-six poems, the poet devised five topics corresponding to different times in a day to explore the shifting emotions of grief within the passage of time.³

Besides disclosing the depth of the poet's love for Atsumichi, "Gojusshu waka" and the larger "Sochi no miya banka gun" are also products of Izumi Shikibu's interest in composing (or at times assembling) sets of poems in novel formats, and through a number of them, summoning up an image of herself as a solitary woman, bereft of the care of family or a lover. This paper will examine "Gojusshu waka" and argue that the sequence shows the integration of two forms of poetic production: the composition of novel formats of poems that became popular from the mid-tenth into the eleventh century, and women's *tenarai* 手習, the solitary



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composition or copying of verses to express or explore their feelings, especially in times of emotional distress.⁴

According to the poet's prefatory headnotes that introduce the sequence, the "Gojusshu waka" originated in Izumi Shikibu's solitary composition of poems in the melancholy tedium of her life. This solo composition, I will show, can be linked to the practice of *tenarai*. Then at some point, it seems, she devised topics and either arranged poems she had already composed or composed new poems appropriate to the topics. Izumi Shikibu also belongs to a group of poets who, in the second half of the tenth century, composed hundred-poem sequences (*hyakushu*, 百首), as well as sets of verses in other novel formats. Composition arranged according to topic, even sequences of such poems, may not seem worthy of being termed novel. However, Izumi Shikibu devised unique sets of topics related to the courtly narrative of love in a time when this was as yet unusual. Up to the beginning of the eleventh century, only about a quarter of poetry contests (*uta-awase*, 歌合) included love topics, and the topics were not yet highly differentiated into stages of a love affair, times of day, or objects in a lover's surroundings.⁵ Only one *uta-awase*, held prior to 943, has topics close to two of Izumi Shikibu's: "love upon awakening in the night" (*nezame no koi* ねざめのこひ) and "parting at dawn" (*akatsuki no wakare* あかつきのわかれ).⁶ Hundred-poem sequences of Izumi Shikibu's time, including Izumi Shikibu's own, did not provide separate topics for their love poems.

Further, "Gojusshu waka" is not merely a collection of subsets of up to ten poems on a given topic but is an integrated, aesthetic whole that traces the speaker's shifting feelings across time. The topics of "Gojusshu waka" trace the passage of a day, but they also unfold to display a longer progression of time from a period near the Prince's death to a gradual realization of irrevocable loss. (This is also the general overall progression of the *Sakakibara bon* 榊原本 "Sochi no miya banka gun.")⁷ Thus with "Gojusshu waka," Izumi Shikibu sets herself the challenge of composing or gathering together multiple poems on a given self-assigned topic, integrating the verses by echoing the same or closely associated images, and suggesting the passage of time. This sort of delineation of feeling that integrates the poet's self-expression according to the demands of a topic, with the larger progression of emotions across time has no precedents among the works of her predecessors. In "Gojusshu waka," Izumi Shikibu brings together the practice of solitary writing of *tenarai* in moments of emotional distress and the creation of novel sequences of poems.

Before turning to “Gojusshu waka,” let us first examine briefly the literary context of Izumi Shikibu’s sequences: the composition of poetic sequences of novel formats and the practice of *tenarai*.

Literary Context

As noted above, Izumi Shikibu belongs to a group of poets who, in the second half of the tenth century, began composing hundred-poem sequences as well as sets of verses in other novel formats. Sone no Yoshitada 曾禰好忠 (active second half of tenth century) in 961 or so originated the *hyakushu* form, and he was quickly followed by Minamoto Shitagō 源順 (911–983) and the priest Egyō 恵慶法師 (active second half of tenth century), who composed hundred-poem sequences in response to Yoshitada’s. Izumi Shikibu was likely the third woman to compose in this format, the other two being Minamoto Shigeyuki no Musume 源重之女 (active second half of tenth century) and Kamo no Yasunori no Musume 賀茂保憲女 (active second half of tenth century).⁸ Half of Yoshitada’s hundred-poem sequence, as well as those by Minamoto Shitagō and the priest Egyō include acrostic verses of various kinds while Izumi Shikibu’s hundred-poem sequence does not; however, she composes several other sets of such acrostic poems in which the compositions echo the meaning and mood of the phrase she had chosen as the source of the acrostic syllables.⁹ This further step is one not employed by other poets. Izumi Shikibu also composed a set of poems that describe such qualities as “moving things” (*aware naru koto* あはれなること) or “desirable things” (*yo no naka ni aramahoshiki koto* 世間にあらまほしきこと), and sets of multiple poems each on topics she had chosen.¹⁰ “Gojusshu waka” is an example of the last.¹¹ Among the poets who engaged in composition in novel formats, Izumi Shikibu most thoroughly deployed her sequences, yoking the strict format to an exploration to her self-image as a woman alone, to write to explore her own feelings. This latter quality relates to Heian women’s practice of *tenarai*.

Literally, *tenarai* means “practicing one’s hand,” that is, calligraphy practice, and the term is so used in the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (ca. 905) kana preface, where it mentions two poems that are “the first lines we learn in calligraphy practice.”¹² Likewise, in *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (ca. 1009–1014), Genji prepares for the young Murasaki 紫 paintings and old poems that he fashioned into a model book for her.¹³ *Tenarai* is also associated with women, unable or unwilling by their nature or the circumstances to convey their feelings to another, copying verses or jotting

down their own poems at moments of intense emotion or distress. Thus as Edith Sarra writes, “[f]ictional female characters who compile full-fledged memoirs or who leave behind fragments jotted down ‘as though practicing the hand’ (*tenarai no yō ni*) under circumstances of personal deprivation or anxiety appear here and there in eleventh-century tales.”¹⁴ Again in *Genji monogatari*, in the “Hatsune” 初音 (The warbler’s first song) chapter, Genji calls upon Akashi 明石 and finds “scattered practice sheets,” among which is an old poem that Akashi, who has been long parted from her daughter, has copied out to express her joy at having exchanged poems with her daughter earlier in the day.¹⁵ She had also “written out for her own consolation” other lines that revealed her sadness, knowing she would remain parted from her daughter, who was being raised by Murasaki.¹⁶ Likewise, in “Wakana I” 若菜 I (Spring shoots I), when Genji marries the Third Princess and Murasaki fears she will lose Genji’s love, Murasaki writes out old poems for practice (*tenarai nado suru*, 手習などする), finding that her choices “would evoke whatever weighed on her mind” so that “she would then read her own preoccupation in them.”¹⁷ Murasaki Shikibu’s description of Murasaki writing out old poems, seemingly unconsciously choosing those that reflected her own feelings back to her, suggests that *tenarai* functioned for her as a means of discovering her feelings, feelings that she was not wholly aware of and had been unable to directly articulate. It is possible that the poem Murasaki writes, which Genji discovers where it had been hidden under an inkstone with the others, is the result of a new awareness of her plight, acquired through the act of copying out old poems.¹⁸ Finally, the penultimate chapter of *Genji*, “Tenarai” 手習 (Writing practice), contains several scenes where Ukifune 浮舟, after her rescue from drowning, writes poems “as though for practice.”¹⁹ After she takes her vows, she is described thus:

Shy and reserved as always, she stayed in her darkened room. She had never been good at telling other people her feelings, and since in any case she now had no one close to talk to, she could only sit before her inkstone and bravely set down her emotions, when they overflowed as writing practice.²⁰

It was through poetry, whether old poems or her own compositions, that a woman could find and give shape to her emotions—grief, anger, even joy—emotions she held within herself, because of her isolation or because she wished to conceal them from other persons around her. The phrase *tenarai no yō ni* (as though practicing calligraphy) itself seems to

gesture to the woman's effort to conceal her feelings, hiding them from an outsider's view, in the seeming casual, insignificant act of copying out poems.

In the realm of *waka*, several poets invoke the notion of *tenarai* to communicate to their readers the emotional distress that gave rise to their compositions and the deeply private nature of their feelings. *Saigū nyōgo shū* 齋宮女御集 includes a set of ten poems that Saigū nyōgo 齋宮女御 (Kishi joō 徽子女王; 929–985) sent to Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (r. 946–967) when she had withdrawn from court during the period of mourning for her father.²¹ Saigū nyōgo's personal collection includes two different sets of poems associated with the same occasion with very similar headnotes. The headnote to the first set of poems reads in part as follows: “She sent poems she had composed and gathered together in recent days as though calligraphy practice” (*ontenarai no yō nite* 御てならひのやうにて).²² The headnote to the second set is slightly more detailed, reading, “feeling lonely in the cheerless tedium of her days, she gathered together poems she had composed in recent days and sent them as though she had included them inadvertently.”²³ Thus Saigū nyōgo preserves the notion that her supposedly *tenarai* poems were intended for her eyes alone. And significantly, the emperor appears to have understood the connection between *tenarai* and emotions that a woman would generally not outwardly reveal. His last response to her poems reads:

かほのせにたまものうけるごとなれやこころにせけどもらすといふらん

<i>Kawa no se ni</i>	Are your thoughts
<i>tamamo no ukeru</i>	like duckweed in the rapids?
<i>goto nare ya</i>	In your heart
<i>kokoro ni sekedo</i>	you would submerge them
<i>morasu to iuran</i>	but they are risen to the surface. ²⁴

Saigū nyōgo shū 31

Later than Izumi Shikibu, the poet Sagami 相模 (b. ca. 1000) includes in her personal collection a group of nine poems, all beginning with the line *ikanisemu* いかにせむ (What is to be done?) and ending with *kakure naki mi o* かくれなきみを (I who have no place to hide), which she wrote as calligraphy practice on a night she spent awake (*yoi no tenarai* よひみのてならひ). According to her headnote, the occasion was her discovery that a lover had made public letters they had exchanged as well as other private information.²⁵

Izumi Shikibu herself employs the term *tenarai* in *Izumi Shikibu nikki*. The diary records an incident that takes place at the end of autumn in 1003, when the woman, presumably Izumi Shikibu herself, fails to have her gate opened for her lover Prince Atsumichi in a timely fashion. Unable to sleep, with the coming of dawn, “she set down on paper the feelings she had had upon being awakened at dawn.”²⁶ At this point, a note with a poem arrives from the Prince. She is moved that he, too, had felt deeply “the cast of the sky at dawn” and “in her pleasure at the discovery, she took the papers she had written that morning and, folding them together just as they were, sent them to him.”²⁷ The Japanese text describes the “papers she had written” as “something she had written that was like *tenarai*” (*tenarai no yō ni kakiitaru* 手習のように書きおたる).²⁸ What follows in the text is a short essay, alternating *waka* and prose, in which Shikibu speaks of her loneliness through the autumn night, listening to the wind, to the cries of geese, to the booming of a temple bell, to the crowing of a rooster, and gazing at the dawn moon.²⁹

We need not take at face value Izumi Shikibu’s claim that she sent her essay to the Prince just as she had written it. In fact, in her hands, the notion of *tenarai* becomes a strategic tool to move her readers to view her in a certain way. The essay works to dispel the Prince’s suspicions that she was with another man, and her last poem implicitly invites the Prince to see himself as the person “with feelings that accorded with hers.”³⁰ Izumi Shikibu’s poem is followed by, “if only there were someone who would come knocking...,” which seems very much addressed to the Prince who had indeed come knocking.³¹ Izumi Shikibu may have revised or amended what was originally a piece of *tenarai* to send to the Prince and rewritten it again when she compiled her diary, deploying the notion of *tenarai* to perform the disclosure of deeply private feelings. Saigū nyōgo, Izumi Shikibu, and Sagami invoke the practice of *tenarai* not so much to describe a process of composition but as a means to signal the expression of troubled emotions in solitude, even when the poems or essay are revised and subsequently shared with others.

Izumi Shikibu does not use the term *tenarai* to describe “Gojusshu waka.” Nonetheless, the practice of *tenarai*, that is, of a solitary woman turning to writing in order to express or explore her feelings helps to explain at least in part the impulse behind her poem sequence. The headnote to her sequence stresses her loneliness and solitude, as did Saigū nyōgo’s headnotes. Izumi Shikibu also states that she gathered together poems she happened to have composed, rather than setting out to compose

on set topics. The claim may well be only partly true; she may have composed verses as they came to her and later organized or revised them under topics. As a practicing poet, she, like Sagami, chooses the path of yoking personal feelings to the discipline of form, not only of individual *waka* but one, in Izumi Shikibu's case, that unites her sequences into an aesthetic whole.

Finally, in “Gojusshu waka,” Izumi Shikibu explores in the realm of elegies the figure of the waiting woman (待女), who awaits a visit from a lover often in vain, a figure introduced in the Japanese court in Chinese boudoir poetry (Japanese: *keiensi*, Chinese: *guiyuanshi* 閨怨詩) and made familiar in such anthologies as *Kokinshū*.³²

“Gojusshu waka” (Fifty-poem sequence)

As noted in the introduction, “Gojusshu waka” is a set of forty-six poems found in *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* 和泉式部続集 that mourn the death of Izumi Shikibu's lover Prince Atsumichi in the tenth month of 1007. There seems to be no precedent prior to Izumi Shikibu of a poet composing elegies on set topics, that is, pre-selecting a season or object to incorporate into one's elegy. Poems of mourning can be found in *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720) and also in *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (ca. 759), the latter of which includes numerous *banka* 挽歌 (coffin-pulling poems). Many imperial anthologies beginning with *Kokinshū* contain volumes of elegies (哀傷歌, *aishōka*). Elegies, even short sequences of them, are, of course, also found in various personal collections and other poetic texts including Ki no Tsurayuki's 紀貫之 (ca. 872–945) *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (Tosa diary, 935).³³ If we consider the entirety of “Sochi no miya banka gun,” of which “Gojusshu waka” is a part, the sheer number of Izumi Shikibu's compositions mourning Atsumichi's death exceeds that of entire volumes of elegies in the royal collections and approaches the number of poems in *Izumi Shikibu nikki*.

“Gojusshu waka” also differs in kind and nature from the elegies chosen for the first two imperial collections *Kokinshū* and *Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集 (951 ff.). Elegies in *Kokinshū* are mostly by men, and there are no poems in which women mourn the death of a husband or lover, likely in keeping with the editors' interest in public verse.³⁴ Half a dozen of the thirty-four compositions, while they may be related to the death of a specific person, convey a more universal sense of the transitory nature of life.³⁵ The book of elegies in *Gosenshū* is characterized by a large number

of poetic exchanges in which grief or consolation is shared with family members or acquaintances.³⁶

The elegies collected in *Kokinshū* and *Gosenshū* do not match the intensity of Izumi Shikibu's expressions of longing, even erotic yearning, for her beloved. Her poems are, in a sense, love poems; she assumes the role of the waiting woman, consumed by thoughts of her absent lover, who, in this case, will never return.

The headnote to “Gojusshu waka” reads:

With no respite from the melancholy listlessness of my days, I wrote out what I was feeling and gathered my poems together. They took the form of something like a poem³⁷—my topics on which I wrote and distributed my poems: *hiru shinobu* (ひるしのぶ, remembrance during the day), *yūbe no nagame* (ゆふべのながめ, gazing at dusk), *yoi no omoi* (よひのおもひ, grief in the evening), *yonaka no nezame* (夜なかの寝覚, awakening in the middle of the night), *akatsuki no koi* (あか月の恋, longing at dawn).³⁸

Izumi Shikibu opens by noting the listless tedium (つれづれ, *tsurezure*) of her days, which leads her to solitary writing. The headnote seems to describe two acts of writing: “I wrote out what I was feeling and gathered [my poems] together” (*oboyuru koto o kaki atsumetaru* おぼゆる事をかきあつめたる) and “my topics on which I wrote and distributed my poems” (*kore o kaki wakataru* これをかきわけたる). The first phrase suggests that Izumi Shikibu wrote a body of poems during the melancholy of her days. The second suggests that she composed on set topics. It is unlikely that the poet freely wrote verses that just happened to fall into the five topic categories. Instead, it can be surmised that she wrote a large number of poems, including perhaps the many solo compositions of the larger “Sochi no miya banka gun” sequence. Then, at some point, she set herself the task of exploring her feelings in relation to set topics that she chose, based at least in part on the kinds of poems she had written. The fact that “Gojusshu waka” is placed near the end of “Sochi no miya banka gun” in the *Sakakibara bon Izumi Shikibu zokushū* does not guarantee that the sequence was written after the bulk of the poems of that sequence. Still, as will be seen, internal evidence in “Gojusshu waka” suggests it was put together some time after Atsumichi's death, and so it is likely Izumi Shikibu had already written a large number of poems mourning the Prince's death prior to writing the sequence. It is the first stage of writing, when the poet wrote out of listless melancholy after the Prince's death,

that I would associate with the practice of *tenarai*: a woman's solitary writing.

In a different context, Izumi Shikibu's topics could readily function as topics for love poems, and as will be seen, in some poems in the sequence the poet compares the pain of awaiting a lover who does not visit to that of grieving for one who has died. Izumi Shikibu ties specific times of a day to specific emotions and the experiences of a woman who still seeks a lover who has passed beyond her reach; "gazing at dusk," "awakening in the night," and "longing at dawn" are the exemplary moments in the poetic narrative of love. *Shinobu* (remembering) of *hiru shinobu* is also closely associated with love.³⁹ *Omoi* (to yearn for, to hold dear in one's heart) of *yoi no omoi* is a staple item in the vocabulary of love, but it is also associated with mourning, as in the headnote to *Kokinshū* 16: 840: "Written while in mourning for his mother" (*haha ga omoi nite yomeru* はがおもひにてよめる).

Izumi Shikibu's use of such topics focuses attention on the intimate relationship between her and the Prince, and she underscores this intimacy by directly addressing her lover in her sequence as *kimi*, which can mean lord or master, but also can be used as the second-person address, "you." The distinction between the two usages is not always clear, but the poet appears to employ it in the latter sense. In the books of elegies in *Kokinshū* and *Gosenshū*, *kimi* is employed primarily to mean "lord" or "master." In contrast, *kimi* meaning "you" is used over twenty times among *Kokinshū* love poems and over sixty among the same *Gosenshū* books. Employing *kimi*, Izumi Shikibu fashions a poetic world in which elegies and love poetry intersect, a world in which she, the waiting woman, continues to cry out to her absent lover.

Several other characteristics of "Gojusshu waka" should be noted. "Gojusshu waka" is not merely a set of forty-six discrete poems fulfilling five topics. Izumi Shikibu ties her poems together by echoing words from the topics, using them in different manners, and through the association of related images.⁴⁰ (I have placed in bold in the Romanized transcription of the poems the words that derive from or are closely related to the topic at hand.) There are also instances where the poet seems to order her verses through an association of images. Thus, a poem that mentions tears may be followed by one that focuses on sleeves; mention of grass in a poem may summon up the image of dew in the one that follows. Such associations occur not only among poems for a given topic but at times bridge topics.

Further, beyond the manner in which the compositions are knit together by repeated images and words from the topics, the poems of “Gojusshu waka” trace a much longer period of time than the one day that the topics indicate. The early compositions summon up a time close to that of the Prince’s death; the later ones suggest that more time has passed and Izumi Shikibu has come to acknowledge the finality of her parting from the Prince. In poems early in the sequence, the Prince is addressed several times as *kimi* (you) but later in the sequence *kimi* gives way to *hito* (he, she, person), even *tōzakarinishi hito* とほざかりにし人 (a person who has withdrawn far into the distance), as the Prince becomes less and less present to the poet. This suggests that the sequence was composed after some time had passed since the Prince’s death.

The Poems

1. *Hiru shinobu* (Remembrance in the day)

Hiru (daytime) is not a time period much explored in love poems; no emotion is conventionally attached to the interval between having parted from a lover or having waited for him in vain and the resumption of the cycle of waiting at dusk. When *hiru* is invoked in earlier love poems, it is often paired with *yoru* (night), rather than being explored for its own emotional significance.⁴¹ Izumi Shikibu is the first to tie daytime to a specific emotion in a topic. In her poems for this topic, the poet embeds words of the topic or those closely related in each of the poems. The first poem echoes the topic directly. The second poem (113) of the set echoes *shinobu* in its last line *kimi o shinoban*. In the fourth and fifth poems (115 and 116), Izumi Shikibu is attentive to different ways that her topic can be deployed in her compositions; she uses *hiru* as a pivot, in the first with “to dry,” and in the second with an unusual pun with “garlic.” The sixth poem (117) summons up the image of *shinobu no kusa* (grass of remembrance). In poems 114, 117, 118, and 119, the poet introduces *hi* and *ka* (day), which is closely related to *hiru* (daytime) to suggest the empty passage of days.

The poems for this topic portray a time still close to the Prince’s death. Thus, a number of the poems speak of the accumulation of days that Izumi Shikibu must mourn the Prince: 112 *hi o hete* (as days go by), 113 *itsu made* (until when), 114 and 119 *ikuka* (how many days), and 117 *hi o furedo* (although days go by). Five of the poems—113, 114, 117, 118, and 119—are directly addressed to the Prince.

1-1 ひる忍ぶことだにことはなかりせば日をへて物はおもはざらまし

Hiru shinobu	If my waking hours
<i>koto dani koto wa</i>	were not consumed
<i>nakariseba</i>	with memories,
<i>hi o hete mono wa</i>	I would not so yearn for him
<i>omowazaramashi</i>	as the days stretch on.
	<i>Zokushū</i> 112 ⁴²

1-2 かぎるらんいのちいつとも知らずかし哀れいつまで君をしのばん

<i>Kagiruran</i>	Surely life has limits,
<i>inochi itsu tomo</i>	but when I will reach its end
<i>shirazu kashi</i>	I do not know.
<i>aware itsu made</i>	Alas, how long must I go on,
<i>kimi o shinoban</i>	consumed by memories of you?
	113

1-3 君をみであはれいくかに成りぬらん涙のたまはかずもしられず

<i>Kimi wo mide</i>	For how many days,
<i>aware ikuka ni</i>	alas, have I lived bereft,
<i>narinuran</i>	not seeing you,
<i>namida no tama wa</i>	shedding so many tears,
<i>kazu mo shirarezu</i>	droplets without number?
	114

1-4 やみにのみまどふ身なればすみ染めの袖はひるともしられざりけり

<i>Yami ni nomi</i>	In darkness
<i>madou mi nareba</i>	I wander, lost,
<i>sumizome no</i>	no sunlight
<i>sode wa hiru to mo</i>	to dry the sleeves
<i>shirarezarikeri</i>	of my ink-black robe.
	115

The prior poem's tears lead to an image of sleeves of the dark robe worn during mourning. *Hiru* pivots to mean both day and to dry and contrasts with *yami* (darkness). The notion of wandering in darkness (*yami ni madou*) or often wandering in the darkness of the heart (*kokoro no yami ni madou*) is found in a few earlier poems as a metaphor for a state in which emotions overwhelm rational thought.⁴³ Izumi Shikibu, too, seems to use *yami ni madou* to suggest the intensity of her grief that

erases all distinctions of day or night and the possibility of other thoughts.

1-5 もろともにかでひるまに成りぬれどさすがにしなぬ身をいかにせん

<i>Morotomo ni</i>	What am I to do?
<i>ikade hirusa ni</i>	You, not here, I, not there,
<i>narinuredo</i>	I pass my days alone,
<i>sasuga ni shinanu</i>	sequestered by garlic's scent.
<i>mi o ikanisen</i>	and yet, I do not die.

116

I follow *Zenshaku*'s lead in seeing *hiru* (day) as pivoting with *hiru* (garlic).⁴⁴ Most likely, the topic does not reflect Izumi Shikibu's actual illness. Instead, she was drawn to another way of deploying *hiru* in a poem.

1-6 ひをふれど君を忘れぬ心こそ忍ぶの草のたねとなりけれ

<i>Hi wo furedo</i>	This I now know:
<i>kimi o wasurenu</i>	My heart that never forgets you
<i>kokoro koso</i>	thought days go by
<i>shinobu no kusa no</i>	is the seed from which grows
<i>tane to narikere</i>	the grasses of remembrance.

117

Once more addressing the Prince directly, the poet fulfills her topic *hiru shinobu*, by introducing the image of *shinobu no kusa* (grasses of remembrance).⁴⁵

1-7 君をおもふ心は露にあらねどもひにあてつつもきえかへるかな

<i>Kimi o omou</i>	It is not dew,
<i>kokoro wa tsuyu ni</i>	My heart that yearns for you,
<i>aranedomo or</i>	so fleeting, I thought.
<i>hi ni atetsutsu mo</i>	Yet with the light of each day,
<i>kiekaeru kana</i>	I feel I shall vanish.

118

Mention of grass in the prior poem leads to *tsuyu* (dew); *hi* (sun or day) echoes *hiru* (daytime).

1-8 きみなくていくかいくかとおもふまにかげだにみえで日のみぞふる

<i>Kimi nakute</i>	I count the days
<i>iku ka iku ka to</i>	without you, wondering,
<i>omou ma ni</i>	does he still live,
<i>kage dani miede</i>	but not a sign of you do I see;
<i>hi o nomi zo furu</i>	only monotonous days go by.

119

Iku ka pivots to mean both “how many days,” and “does he live?” *Hi* is now used in its meaning of day.

1-9 かくしあらばしににをしなんひとたびにかなしき物はわかれなりけり

<i>Kakushi araba</i>	Things being thus,
<i>shinini o shinan</i>	I want to die, welcoming death.
<i>hitotabi ni</i>	For to live even once
<i>kanashiki mono wa</i>	with this sorrow of parting
<i>wakare narikeri</i>	is more than I can bear.

120

This final poem for the topic *hiru shinobu* makes no mention of a time of day or explicitly of remembrance. With *kakushi araba* (Things being thus), this poem sums up the pain of the poet’s days mourning the Prince.

2. *Yūbe no nagame* (Gazing at dusk)

Dusk is the time when women awaited their lovers’ visits, gazing out into their gardens. It is a time of anticipation that only reminds Izumi Shikibu of the utter dissonance of a past when she awaited her lover and the present when she continues her futile act of gazing.

2-1 山のはにいろひをみても思ひ出づる涙にいとどくらさるるかな

<i>Yama no ha ni</i>	Even the sun,
<i>iru hi o mite mo</i>	sinking beyond the mountains,
<i>omoi izuru</i>	reminds me again,
<i>namida ni itodo</i>	and tears fill my eyes,
<i>kurasaruru kana</i>	deepening the darkness.

121

The sun (*hi*), invoked in several poems of the prior topic, is now setting. In poem 128 below, Izumi Shikibu appears to gaze upon distant mountains as the place the Prince is buried.⁴⁶ That may be the case here as well.

2-2 今のまのいのちにかへてけふのごとあすのゆふべをなげかずもがな

<i>Ima no ma no</i>	Gladly I would give
<i>inochi ni kaete</i>	my life this very moment
<i>kyō no goto</i>	not to know again
<i>asu no yūbe o</i>	as darkness falls tomorrow
<i>nagekazu mogana</i>	the anguish I know this twilight.

122

This and the following poem lead up to poem 124, which explicitly states the nature of her anguish: the anguish of a present in which dusk has lost its accustomed meaning of waiting for a lover.

2-3 夕暮はいかなるときぞめにみえぬ風のおとさへあはれなるかな

<i>Yūgure wa</i>	Why is twilight
<i>ikanaru toki zo</i>	unlike all other times,
<i>me ni mienu</i>	that even the sound
<i>kaze no oto sae</i>	of the invisible wind
<i>aware naru kana</i>	moves one to sorrow?

123

Izumi Shikibu asks: What makes twilight so much sadder than any other time? The following poem provides the answer: because it is the time when she used to await her lover.

2-4 たぐひなく悲しき物はいまはとてまたぬ夕のながめなりけり

<i>Tagui naku</i>	Nothing can compare
<i>kanashiki mono wa</i>	to the sadness I feel
<i>ima wa tote</i>	gazing at dusk,
<i>matanu yūbe no</i>	as that time draws near
<i>nagame narikeri</i>	I no longer await him.

124

The fifth (and final) book of love poems in *Kokinshū* includes numerous compositions where a woman has waited in vain for a lover's visit, unable to lose hope however late the hour. Izumi Shikibu speaks not of the coming of dusk when she once awaited the Prince but explicitly of a dusk when she does not await him, as though with effort closing off the impulse to wait.

2-5 おのがじし日だにくるればとぶ鳥のいつかたにかは君をたづねん

<i>Ono ga jishi</i>	Birds rise into the sky
<i>hi dani kurureba</i>	as the sun begins to set,
<i>tobu tori no</i>	each calling to its mate,
<i>izukata ni ka wa</i>	but I am lost, not knowing
<i>kimi o tazunen</i>	which way to seek you out.

125

The poet turns to a wish to more actively seek him out, once more addressing the Prince directly.

2-6 夕暮は君がかよひしみちもなくすがけるくものいとぞ悲しき

<i>Yūgure wa</i>	I cannot see
<i>kimi ga kayoishi</i>	that path you took to me
<i>michi mo naku</i>	as night draws near,
<i>sugakeru kumo no</i>	only the webs the spiders weave,
<i>ito zo kanashiki</i>	threading me through with sorrow.

126

Again, Izumi Shikibu addresses the Prince directly. Just as she does not know which way to turn to seek the Prince, the path he once took to her is now blocked. *Ito* pivots to mean both thread and extremely. There was a folk belief that a spider spinning a web in one's chamber heralded a lover's visit, but in Izumi Shikibu's case, the webs only block the path.⁴⁷

2-7 ひのやくとなげくなかにもいとせめて物詫しきはたまぐれかな

<i>Hi no yaku to</i>	Mourning
<i>nageku naka ni mo</i>	seems my daily task,
<i>ito semete</i>	but no hour
<i>mono wabishiki wa</i>	is more depressing
<i>yūmagure kana</i>	than that of nightfall.

127

2-8 忘れずはおもひおこせよ夕暮にみゆればすぎき遠の山かけ

<i>Wasurezu wa</i>	Take pity on me,
<i>omoi okose yo</i>	if you have not forgotten.
<i>yūgure ni</i>	How desolate it looks
<i>miyureba sugoki</i>	receding into darkness,
<i>ochi no yamakage</i>	the distant mountain.

128

In comparison to the first poem of this topic, the sun now seems to have sunk behind the mountains. Izumi Shikibu addresses the dead Prince, who is perhaps buried in the distant mountains; that is, she acknowledges his distance from her. Further underscoring her fear of the Prince's growing distance is her query whether he remembers her.

2-9 夕暮はくものけしきをみるからに詠めじとおもふ心こそつけ

<i>Yūgure wa</i>	When I see clouds
<i>kumo no keshiki o</i>	drifting across the sky
<i>miru kara ni</i>	at twilight,
<i>nagameji to omou</i>	I tell myself I will cease
<i>kokoro koso tsuke</i>	this endless gazing.

129

Of course, even as the poet tells herself not to gaze, she continues to do so.⁴⁸

3. *Yoi no omoi* (Grief in the evening)

Yoi (night) is the time when lovers spend time together or, as explored in poetry, a woman remains alone and sleepless, her lover having failed to call upon her. Besides invoking *yoi* in each of the nine poems for the topic, the poet invokes *mono o omou* (to grieve for, yearn for) in six of the compositions, and in two of them objectifies herself as *mono omou hito* (one who grieves/yearns). In her personal poetry collection, Izumi Shikibu employs *mono omoi/u...* in some dozen poems, far more than any of her contemporaries, and it is significant that she places that phrase in poems that are at the center of her sequence, defining herself as a person who yearns. In the poems for this topic, the poet has ceased calling out to the Prince.

3-1 さやかにも人はみるらんわがめには涙にくもるよひの月かげ

<i>Sayaka ni mo</i>	How clear must be
<i>hito wa miruran</i>	the light that others see,
<i>waga me ni wa</i>	but my eyes
<i>namida ni kumoru</i>	are clouded by tears,
<i>yoi no tsukikage</i>	dimming the evening moon.

130

3-2 不尽⁴⁹のねにあらぬ我が身のもゆるをばよひよひとこそいふべかりけれ

<i>Fuji no ne ni</i>	I am not
<i>aranu waga mi no</i>	the peak of Fuji,
<i>moyuru o ba</i>	but I burn
<i>yoi yoi to koso</i>	like the mountain each night,
<i>iubekarikere</i>	my body ablaze with yearning.

131

The *i* of *yoiyoi* pivots to mean fire (*hi*).

3-3 こぬ人をまたましよりも詫しきは物おもふ比のよひみなりけり

<i>Konu hito o</i>	To wait in vain
<i>matamashi yori mo</i>	for one who does not come
<i>wabishiki wa</i>	is misery enough,
<i>mono omou koro no</i>	but sadder still is a night
<i>yoi narikeri</i>	spent grieving for one who is gone.

132

Konu hito (one who does not come) may include the Prince, who at times during his life failed to visit Izumi Shikibu, but more broadly the innumerable untrue lovers of love poems in the voice of a waiting woman.⁵⁰ As she did in poem 124, the poet sets her experience apart from that in so many love poems in a woman's voice: the uncertainty of waiting for a man whose love is never assured. For her, uncertainty is replaced by grief over a lover who cannot come.

3-4 宵ごとに物おもふ人のなみだこそちぢのくさばのつゆとおくらめ

<i>Yoi goto ni</i>	The dewdrops
<i>mono omou hito no</i>	clinging to myriad grasses
<i>namida koso</i>	must be the tears
<i>chiji no kusaba no</i>	shed night after night
<i>tsuyu to okurame</i>	by those lost to grief.

133

The natural world reflects back to the poet her own sorrow and that of others in similar circumstances, *mono omou hito* (those lost to grief) encompassing not only herself but others in similar circumstances.

3-5 いとへどもきえぬ身ぞうきうらやまし風のまへなるよひのともし火

<i>Itoedomo</i>	How hateful!
<i>kienu mi zo uki</i>	Though gladly I would vanish,
<i>urayamashi</i>	my body clings to life.
<i>kaze no mae naru</i>	I envy a flame in the night,
<i>yoi no tomoshibi</i>	flickering in the breeze.

134

The desiring body, aflame with longing, of poem 131 clings to life despite the poet's wish to die.⁵¹

3-6 月にこそ物おもふことはなぐさむれみまほしからぬ宵の空かな

<i>Tsuki ni koso</i>	It is the moonlight
<i>mono omou koto wa</i>	that eases the pain
<i>nagasamure</i>	of my thoughts.
<i>mimahoshikaranu</i>	I would turn my gaze away
<i>yoi no sora kana.</i>	from the early evening sky.

135

3-7 人しれずみみにあはれときこゆるはもの思ふよひの鐘の音かな

<i>Hito shirezu</i>	Unheeded by others,
<i>mimi ni aware to</i>	how moving to my ears
<i>kikoyuru wa</i>	the temple bell,
<i>mono omou yoi no</i>	resounding in the night
<i>kane no oto kana</i>	when grief assails me.

136

3-8 かなしきはただ宵のまの夢のよにくるしく物をおもふなりけり

<i>Kanashiki wa</i>	What sorrow it is
<i>tada yoi no ma no</i>	to live in anguish
<i>yume no yo ni</i>	in this world
<i>kurushiku mono o</i>	that is no more real
<i>omou narikeri</i>	than an evening's dream.

137

Mention of a temple bell and the earlier flame flickering before the wind leads Izumi Shikibu to ponder the insubstantiality of life, which even in its brief existence, is filled with pain. She does not, however, take the further step of acknowledging that the pain has its source in attachment.

Thus, in the following poem, the poet returns to a desire to see her lover, even for a brief moment.

3-9 なぐさめてひかりのまにもあるべきをみえてはみえぬ宵の稲妻

<i>Nagusamete</i>	I would find comfort
<i>hikari no ma ni mo</i>	even in an interval of light
<i>arubeki o</i>	but I see a flash,
<i>miete wa mienu</i>	and then do not, of lightening,
<i>yoi no inazuma</i>	the rice's spouse in the night.

138

Inazuma is written with the characters rice and spouse (いな・いね、稲 and つま、妻) and the notion of spouse probably drew Shikibu to the image.⁵²

3-10 おきみつもののおもふ人の宵の間にぬるとは袖のことにぞ有りける

<i>Okuitsutsu</i>	For one who grieves,
<i>mono omou hito no</i>	lying awake each night,
<i>yoi no ma ni</i>	there is no sleep.
<i>nuru to wa sode no</i>	Instead, my sleeves
<i>koto ni zo arikeru</i>	are heavy with tears.

139

Nuru pivots to mean both to sleep (寝る, modern Japanese: *neru*) and to be moistened (濡れる), in this case with tears. Izumi Shikibu looks upon herself objectively as *mono omou hito* (a person who grieves/yearns).

4. *Yonaka no nezame* (Awakening in the night)

The time is now well past that when a lover might call, and the woman who has waited in vain may have dozed off, only to awaken well before light. Izumi Shikibu's poems focus on her sleeplessness and thus inability to dream of the Prince, who she describes as increasingly distant from her. Along with the topic's *nezame* (awakening from sleep), the poet embeds in her poems forms of the verb *nu* (ぬ, to lie down) and *inu* (いぬ, to sleep).

4-1 わが袖はくらき夜なかの寝ざめにもさぐるもしるくぬれにけるかな

<i>Waga sode wa</i>	Awakening
<i>kuraki yonaka no</i>	in the dark of night,
<i>nezame ni mo</i>	my hand strays
<i>saguru mo shiruku</i>	to my pillowing sleeve
<i>nurenikeru kana</i>	and is startled by dampness.

140

The image of tear-drenched sleeves continues from the prior poem, but here, Izumi Shikibu introduces the sense of touch, emphasizing the Prince's physical absence. Lovers slept with their robes layered together. The poet sleeps only on her own robe.

4-2 物をのみおもひねざめのとこのうえにわが手枕ぞありてかひなき

<i>Mono o nomi</i>	My slumber ended
<i>omoi nezame no</i>	by anguished thoughts,
<i>toko no ue ni</i>	how wretched it is
<i>waga tamakura zo</i>	to wake to his absence,
<i>arite kai naki</i>	no pillowing arm but my own.

141

The image of a pillow echoes the prior poem, and now Izumi Shikibu explicitly focuses on the absence of the Prince's pillowing arm. *Izumi Shikibu nikki* contains a series of poems with the recurrent image of "sleeve of a pillowing arm" (*tamakura no sode*), which Izumi Shikibu and the Prince exchange affirming their love.⁵³ As noted earlier, it is not known which was written earlier, *Izumi Shikibu nikki* or "Gojusshu waka," but even if "Gojusshu waka" was composed prior to the diary, it is still possible that the poet had in mind the poems she exchanged with the Prince.

4-3 こひてなくねにだにねばや夢ならでいつかは君を又はみるべき

<i>Koite naku</i>	Even asleep,
<i>ne ni dani nebaya</i>	I may weep in longing,
<i>yume narade</i>	still let me sleep,
<i>itsuka wa kimi o</i>	for it is only in dreams
<i>mata wa mirubeki</i>	I will ever see you again.

142

Dreams are introduced as the only possibility of seeing the Prince. The poet calls upon him as *kimi* for the last time.⁵⁴

4-4 いかにしてくもとなりにしひと声にきかばやよはのかくばかりだに

<i>Ikani shite</i>	Is there some means
<i>kumo to narinishi</i>	to hear the voice of the one I lost,
<i>hito koe ni</i>	vanished as a cloud,
<i>kikabaya yowa no</i>	telling me he spends his nights
<i>kakubakari dani</i>	in anguish deep as mine?

143

The poet describes the Prince in the past tense as *kumo to narinishi hito* (a person who had become a cloud), signaling his growing distance. However, clouds may be reminiscent of smoke from a cremation fire as in the *Genji* composition quoted in endnote 48. Izumi Shikibu still imagines the Prince as a continued presence with whom she might communicate.

4-5 夢にてもみるべきものをまれにても物おもふ人のいをねましかば

<i>Yume nite mo</i>	At least in dreams
<i>mirubeki mono o</i>	we might see our love,
<i>mare nite mo</i>	be it a rare night,
<i>mono omou hito no</i>	if we assailed with grief
<i>ionemashikaba</i>	could only fall asleep.

144

Once more, the poet objectifies herself as *mono omou hito* (person or persons assailed with grief).

4-6 ね覚する身を吹きとほす風の音をむかしはみみのよそにききけん

<i>Nezame suru</i>	A cold wind
<i>mi o fukitōsu</i>	blows through my body
<i>kaze no oto o</i>	when I awaken,
<i>mukashi wa mimi no</i>	its sound in the past I heard
<i>yoso ni kikiken</i>	as having nothing to do with me.

145⁵⁵

The poet summons up an image of her body (*mi*) exposed to the cold wind as she lies awake alone, bereft of the warmth and comfort of the Prince's presence. The wind is often employed in love poetry as a metaphor for a lover's coldness, but here the image evokes the Prince's absence from her side, revealing Izumi Shikibu's new experience of vulnerability.

4-7 まどろまであかしはつるをぬる人の夢に哀とみるもあらなん

<i>Madoromade</i>	All through the night,
<i>akashihatsuru o</i>	I have not even dozed.
<i>nuru hito no</i>	Among those who sleep,
<i>yume ni aware to</i>	is there one who dreams of me
<i>miru mo aranan</i>	and pities me for my sorrows?

146

One belief about dreams in the Heian period was that if one goes to sleep thinking of someone, that person would appear in the sleeper's dreams.⁵⁶ *Nuru hito* (persons who sleep) does not appear to be a specific person or persons, but the awareness of her aloneness, expressed in the prior poem, leads Izumi Shikibu to hope that there are others who sympathize with her plight.

4-8 いをしねば夜のまもものはおもふまじうちはへさむるめこそつらけれ

<i>Ioshi neba</i>	Could I but sleep,
<i>yo no ma mo mono wa</i>	my mind would be stilled
<i>omoumaji</i> ⁵⁷	at least at night.
<i>uchihae samuru</i>	How cruel this wakefulness
<i>me koso tsurakere</i>	that binds me to my grief.

147

4-9 中中になぐさめかねつからころもかへしてきるにめのみさめつつ

<i>Naka naka ni</i>	How hard it is
<i>nagusamekanetsu</i>	to find any comfort.
<i>karakoromo</i>	My Chinese robe
<i>kaeshite kiru ni</i>	I turn inside out to no avail
<i>me nomi sametsutsu</i>	for sleep ever evades me.

148

Izumi Shikibu borrows the notion of turning one's robe inside out in order to dream of a lover from Ono no Komachi's poem:

いとせめてこひしき時はむば玉のよるの衣を返してぞきる

<i>Ito semete</i>	When longing for you
<i>koishiki toki wa</i>	torments me beyond my strength,
<i>mubatama no</i>	I reverse my robe,
<i>yoru no koromo o</i>	raiment of seed-black night,
<i>kaeshite zo kiru</i>	and put it on inside out.

Kokinshū 12:554, Komachi (McCullough, trans.)⁵⁸

Unlike Komachi's speaker, who seems to imply that turning her robe inside out was an effective way to dream of her lover, Izumi Shikibu remains sleepless.

5. *Akatsuki no koi* (Longing at dawn)

In this last topic of the sequence, we move from awakening in the night to a time close to dawn when it is still mostly dark. *Akatsuki* is the time when

lovers take leave of the women with whom they have spent the night, or when a woman finds she has waited in vain through the night. Izumi Shikibu continues her focus on the sleeplessness that denies her dreams of the Prince. She also introduces memories of her past with her lover, as he further recedes from her present. In several poems, the poet is awakened to her present world by the songs of birds, a new aural image in the sequence.

5-1 住吉のありあけの月をながむればとほざかりにし人ぞ恋しき

<i>Sumiyoshi no</i>	When I gaze
<i>ariake no tsuki o</i>	on the clear, dawn moon
<i>nagamureba</i>	at Sumiyoshi,
<i>tōzakarinishi</i>	I long for the one I love,
<i>hito zo koishiki</i>	lost far away in the distance.

149

In poem 135, the poet also spoke of the sight of the moon merging with the visage of her lover. Here the moon is sinking from view, and the Prince is described as *tōzakarinishi hito* (a person who has withdrawn far into the distance). This is the only poem in the sequence in which Izumi Shikibu introduces a poetic place name. Why she chose Sumiyoshi (in present-day Ōsaka) is not clear; it is not associated with moonlight in either *Kokinshū* or *Gosenshū*. In a bare handful of poems, Sumiyoshi is described as a place where *wasuregusa* (grass of forgetfulness) grows.⁵⁹ Likewise, *Tosa nikki* includes a poem in which the narrator expresses a wish to step onto the beach at Sumiyoshi to pick grasses of forgetfulness.⁶⁰ Sumiyoshi also pivots to mean “good to live in,” and it is possible Izumi Shikibu chose the place name ironically, as it in fact provides no comfort.⁶¹

5-2 こふるみはことものなれやとりのねにおどろかされしときはなにどき

<i>Kouru mi wa</i>	Is this self
<i>koto mono nare ya</i>	that so longs for him
<i>tori no ne ni</i>	a thing utterly changed?
<i>odorokasareshi</i>	When was that time a cock crow
<i>toki wa nanidoki</i>	awoke me from my sleep?

150

In poem 145, Izumi Shikibu spoke of being newly aware of the wind in the night. Here she goes further, exploring the disjunction not only

between her past life and her present, but her past self and her self in the present. It is possible that the *tori* (bird[s]) mentioned in the poem are just ordinary ones that sing at dawn. However, Takeda Sanae has pointed out that this poem may refer to a passage in *Izumi Shikibu nikki* where the Prince in his next-morning note wrote “[b]ecause that cock woke us up and parted us this morning, I have had him killed.”⁶² Given the similarity in wording of the poem and the passage from the diary, it is likely that Izumi Shikibu had the Prince’s note in mind, recalling a time when the Prince had escorted her home after a night spent together in a hall at the palace.

5-3 夢にだにみであかしたる暁の恋こそこのかぎりなりけれ

<i>Yume ni dani</i>	To spend a sleepless night,
<i>mide akashitsuru</i>	unable even to dream of him,
<i>akatsuki no</i>	still yearning at dawn—
<i>koi koso koi no</i>	surely yearning has no further depth
<i>kagirinarikere</i>	than this extremity of pain.

151

Akatsuki no koi is imbedded directly in the poem, summing up the topic’s emotional significance.

5-4 夜もすがら恋ひてあかせる暁はからすのさきに我ぞなきぬる

<i>Yomosugara</i>	On dawns like this,
<i>koite akaseru</i>	when I have passed the night
<i>akatsuki wa</i>	sleepless, longing for him,
<i>karasu no saki ni</i>	earlier even than the crows
<i>ware zo nakinuru</i>	are my cries of sorrow.

152

This and the following poem return to the image of birds calling at dawn.⁶³

5-5 わが胸のあくべき時やいつならんきけばはねかくしぎも鳴くなり

<i>Waga mune no</i>	Will there be a dawn
<i>akubeki toki ya</i>	when my burden of darkness
<i>itsunaran</i>	will lighten?
<i>kikeba hane kaku</i>	I hear snipes beating their wings,
<i>shigi mo nakunari</i>	joining their cries with mine.

153

Izumi Shikibu borrows the image of snipes beating their wings from a *Kokinshū* love poem:

暁のしぎのはねがきももはがき君がこぬ夜は我ぞかずかく

<i>Akatsuki no</i>	On nights without you,
<i>shigi no hanegaki</i>	I lie on this side and that
<i>momohagaki</i>	restless as the snipe
<i>kimi ga konu yo wa</i>	beating and beating again
<i>ware zo kazu kaku</i>	his wings in the graying dawn.

Kokinshū 15:761, Anon. (McCullough, trans.)⁶⁴

5-6 たますだれたれこめてのみねしときはあくてふ事もしられやはせし

<i>Tama sudare</i>	Never was I sated,
<i>tarekomete nomi</i>	when we slept together,
<i>neshi toki wa</i>	not even aware,
<i>akuchō koto mo</i>	our bamboo blinds rolled down,
<i>shirare yawa seshi</i>	of the coming of dawn

154

The poem presents a memory from the past when Izumi Shikibu and the Prince spent the night, lost in their love. The dissonance between the past and the present is once more underscored. *Aku* pivots to mean both for dawn to arrive and to be tired of or sated. In an earlier poem, the poet invoked *waga tamakura* (my pillowing arm) to convey the Prince's absence from her bed. Here she summons up an image of their private world of desire that even the coming of dawn could not bring to an end.

Izumi Shikibu likely borrowed from Ise's (c. 875–c. 938) poem, composed for a set of screens illustrating scenes from Bai Juyi's (772–846) “The Song of Everlasting Sorrow” (長恨歌, *Chang hen ge*, 806):⁶⁵

たますだれあくもしらでねしものをゆめにもみじとゆめおもひきや

<i>Tama sudare</i>	Bamboo blinds
<i>akuru mo shirade</i>	rolled down, we slept,
<i>neshi mono o</i>	unaware of dawn,
<i>yume ni mo miji to</i>	never dreaming of this day
<i>yume omoiki ya</i>	I see her not even in dreams.

Ise shū 55

The poet reverses the genders of the protagonists of the Chinese poem and of Ise's poem based on it. It is she, the woman, who has lost her lover.

5-7 暁は我にてしりぬ山人もこひしきによりいそぐなりけり

<i>Akatsuki wa</i>	I have come to know
<i>ware nite shirinu</i>	why the woodsman too
<i>yamabito mo</i>	hurries at dawn,
<i>koishiki ni yori</i>	for longing draws him forth
<i>isogu narikeri</i>	to commence his day of logging.

155

The poem is built around the pun of *ki* contained in *koishiki* (yearning) with *ki* (tree).

5-8 明けぬやといまこそみつれ暁のそらはこひしき人ならねども

<i>Akenuya to</i>	I have come to know
<i>ima koso mitsure</i>	the first light of dawn
<i>akatsuki no</i>	these days,
<i>sora wa koishiki</i>	though gaze as I might at the sky
<i>hito naranedomo</i>	I do not see my love.

156

With the coming of morning light, the poet returns to an expression of her desire to see the Prince, but now nature offers no signs to remind her of her love. The sky is simply empty.⁶⁶

5-9 わがこふる人はきたりといかがせんおぼつかなしやあけぐれのそら

<i>Waga kouru</i>	Even had he returned,
<i>hito wa kitari to</i>	my love I so long for,
<i>ikagasen</i>	it would be for naught,
<i>obotsukanashi ya</i>	for how could I find him
<i>akegure no sora</i>	in the dimness of the dawning sky?

157

In poem 125, Izumi Shikibu spoke of not knowing which way to turn to find the Prince. Now even if the Prince had returned, she acknowledges she would be unable to find him in the pale sky of dawn. The sequence ends with the poet's realization of the completeness of her loss, her last image being that of the empty sky.

Conclusion

Among Izumi Shikibu's "Sochi no miya banka gun" is the following poem:

思ひきやありて忘れぬおのが身を君がかたみになさむものとは

<i>Omoikiya</i>	Never did I think
<i>arite wasurenu</i>	that I myself, still living,
<i>onoga mi o</i>	not forgetting,
<i>kimi ga katami ni</i>	would become the keepsake
<i>nasamu mono to wa</i>	you have left behind.

Zokushū 52

Katami (keepsake, memento) is usually a personal item that calls forth memories of someone who has died or of a lover who has proven unfaithful. In *waka*, it is often a piece of writing or a garment but can even be the sky. Uniquely, Izumi Shikibu claims that she herself has become the Prince's keepsake, underscoring their continued intimacy and its disruption, which the Prince's death has brought about.⁶⁷

Distributing five emotions associated with the experience of love into five discrete time periods, the forty-six poems of "Gojusshu waka" trace Izumi Shikibu's shifting emotions of love and grief, from an early period of hope that the Prince might return, through the hours when once she expected his visits and her sleepless nights bereft even of dreams, to memories of the past and an awareness of the finality of the Prince's death. Izumi Shikibu had no precedents to look to for her efforts to yoke love and grief in so many compositions. Nor did any prior poetic text or diary focus on the process of mourning for a departed person, tracing its emotions across time to the same degree. Perhaps the closest to her effort is the *Maboroshi* 幻 (The seer) chapter of *Genji monogatari*, which portrays Genji's year-long mourning for Murasaki. For "Gojusshu waka," Izumi Shikibu was not content merely to compose individual poems of grief, arranging them generally in a time progression, as she does in the rest of "Sochi no miya banka gun." Setting up a scene in her headnote where a woman might well produce *tenarai* compositions, she, as a practicing poet who had an interest in composing sequences of poems in novel forms, took up the discipline of topic composition, further shaping her poems into an aesthetic whole by echoing images and diction and suggesting the unfolding of emotions across a far longer period of time than her topics suggested, from disbelief in the finality of the Prince's death to acceptance.

NOTES

- ¹ The author would like to express appreciation to John Wickstrom, professor emeritus of history, Kalamazoo College, for his perceptive reading of earlier drafts of this and many other papers across the years, as well as to the anonymous readers of this article and the editor of *JLL*, who made numerous, insightful helpful comments. All omissions and errors are, of course, my own. I would also like to thank Joseph T. Sorensen, Associate Professor, UC Davis, for encouraging me to pursue this project.
- ² “Sochi no miya banka gun” is found in *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* 和泉式部続集 38–159. Some of the poems appear to be composed quite soon after the Prince’s death; the later ones in the sequence, after a year had passed. “Gojusshu waka” is also in *Izumi Shikibu zokushū*, 112–157.
- ³ Four poems, one poem each from four of the topics, may have been lost or perhaps never composed.
- ⁴ All poems in this paper are cited to *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観 (henceforth *SKT*) (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1983–) unless otherwise noted. I have also consulted Saeki Umetomo 佐伯梅友, Murakami Osamu 村上治, and Komatsu Tomi 小松富美, eds., *Izumi Shikibu shū zenshaku* 和泉式部集全釈, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2012). In *SKT*, *Izumi Shikibu*’s personal collection comprises two texts: *Izumi Shikibu shū* 和泉式部集 and *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* 和泉式部続集 (henceforth *Zokushū*). “Gojusshu waka” is also found in *Zokushū*.
I have chosen to focus on “Gojusshu waka” rather than on “Sochi no miya banka gun” as a whole, because of several unresolved issues with “Sochi no miya banka gun.” Most importantly, many of the *Sakakibara bon* 榊原本 (text of *Izumi Shikibu*’s personal collection used in *Shinpen kokka taikan*) “Sochi no miya banka gun” poems, but not the “Gojusshu waka,” are found in a fragment of *Izumi Shikibu*’s personal collection: *Den Yukinari hitsu Izumi Shikibu zokushū gire* 伝行成筆和泉式部続集切. This text includes forty-nine poems that correspond to those in “Sochi no miya banka gun,” at times in a significantly different order. *Zokushū gire* also contains several poems not found in the *Sakakibara bon* sequence. It is difficult, therefore, to determine which text better preserves *Izumi Shikibu*’s intent in sequencing the poems. See Kuboki Tetsuo 久保木哲夫, “*Den Yukinari hitsu Izumi Shikibu zokushū gire* to sono seikaku” 伝行成筆和泉式部続集切とその性格, *Kokugo to bungei* 国語と文芸 102 (1988): 31–61.
- ⁵ Keeping in mind that *uta-awase* records are very incomplete, I count close to twenty-five contests between the late ninth century and the beginning of the eleventh that have love topics. This is out of about a hundred contests for which some records exist. With a couple of exceptions, the topics are “love” (*koi*, 恋),

“love without meeting,” (*awazaru koi*, 不会恋) and “love and meeting” (*au koi*, 会恋). See Hagitani Boku 萩谷朴, ed., *Heian-chō uta-awase taisei* 平安朝歌合大成 vol. 1–3 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1979).

⁶ *Tengyō rokunen shichigatsu izen Yōzei'in shinnō futari uta-awase* 天慶六年七月以前陽成院親王二人歌合, Hagitani Boku, ed., *Heian-chō uta-awase taisei* 1, 270–277.

⁷ *Sakakibara bon* (Sakakibara text) is the text of *Izumi Shikibu shū* and *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* found in *Shinpen kokka taikan* (SKT).

⁸ Minamoto Shigeyuki no Musume's *hyakushu* dates to prior to 996, Kamo no Yasunori no Musume's sequence, which is actually more than 200 poems, to either 993 or 998. Izumi Shikibu's *hyakushu* can be dated to between 993 and 1000. These poets were followed by Sagami, who produced her first hundred-poem sequence around 1004. See Kuboki Toshiko 久保木寿子 ed., *Izumi Shikibu hyakushu zenshaku* 和泉式部百首全釈, *Uta-awase teisūka zenshaku sōsho* 4 歌合・定数歌 4 (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 2004), 211–212.

⁹ An example is a set of her acrostic poems that takes its acrostic syllables from the second and third lines of a miscellaneous poem in *Kokinshū* (18:952). According to the headnote to her compositions, they were composed when “something strange and unexpected happened to her, and she left the place she usually lived. Grief stricken, she also heard of her father's anguish and sent these poems....” The “strange and unexpected” happening was most likely the discovery of her affair with Prince Tametaka, and her estrangement from her family. *Izumi Shikibu shū* poems 433–444. The poems are datable probably to the spring of 1001 or 1002.

¹⁰ *Izumi shikibu shū* poems 336–353.

¹¹ Another example is “Jūdai jusshu” 十題十首 (Ten poems on ten topics), which Izumi Shikibu likely composed in the winter of 1001, when she was estranged from her family, owing to her affair with Prince Tametaka. It explores in ten topics that trace the passage of a day, the plight of a woman living alone, without family or lover. The poems of “Jūdai jusshu” are found in slightly different forms in both the *Izumi Shikibu shū* (poems 163–172) and *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* (poems 559–568) volumes of Shikibu's personal collection. The headnote is found only in *Zokushū*.

¹² Helen C. McCullough, *Kokin wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 3. The Japanese reads: *tenarai hito no hajime ni mo shikeru* てならふ人のはじめにもしける. Saeki Umetomo 佐伯梅友, ed., *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集, *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学体系 8 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971), 95. The *Kokinshū* preface does not associate *tenarai* specifically with women, and, in

fact, men also engaged in casual, calligraphy practice. See for instance, *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* 40, where, according to the headnote, someone sent Izumi Shikibu a scrap of the Prince's *tenarai* after his death.

- ¹³ *Genji monogatari* dates to the first or second decade of the eleventh century. Whether the tale or “Gojusshu waka” is earlier cannot be known. Genji speaks of preparing a copybook for the young Murasaki in the “Young Murasaki” (Wakamurasaki, 若紫) chapter. Royall Tyler, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York, Penguin Books, 2001), 108. The Japanese reads *imamekashiki tehon narawaba, ito yō kaitamaitemu to mitamau*, 「いまめかしき手本習はば、いとようかいたまひてむ」とみたまふ。All Japanese text citations from *Genji monogatari* are the results of searches through the University of Virginia Library Japanese Text Initiative: <http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/texts/titles-en.html>. Accessed January 2020.
- ¹⁴ Edith Sarra, *Fictions of Femininity* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 21.
- ¹⁵ Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, 434. The original Japanese reads, *tenarai domo midare uchitoketaru* てならひどもみだれうちとけたる。
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 434.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 601.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1085.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1100.
- ²¹ *Saigū nyōgo shū* 斎宮女御集 was not compiled by the poet herself but likely by one of the women of her household. Morimoto Motoko 森本元子, *Shikashū to Shinkokinshū* 私家集と新古今集 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1974), 273.
- ²² Headnote prior to poem 18 in *SKT Saigū nyōgo shū*. Each of Saigū nyōgo's poems is followed by the Emperor's response, although Saigū nyōgo most likely sent her poems as a set.
- ²³ Headnote prior to poem 119 in *SKT Saigū nyōgo shū*. The Japanese reads, 物の心ぼそくおぼえたまひてかきあつめたまへけるを、とりあやまちたるやうにて、まみらせ給へりける。
- ²⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all poem translations are my own.
- ²⁵ *Sagami shū* 相模集 poems 34–42. Each of the nine poems presents a different metaphor for her plight. Sagami apparently sent the poems to her lover Minamoto Sukemichi 源資通 (1005–1060). The poems cannot be precisely dated.

- ²⁶ Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1969), 120.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.
- ²⁸ Suzuki Tomotarō 鈴木知太郎 et al., ed., *Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki, Izumi Shikibu nikki, Sarashina nikki* 土佐日記、かげろふ日記、和泉式部日記、更級日記, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 20 (Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1964), 419.
- ²⁹ Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, 121–122.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 122–123. Yasunaga Miho argues that the latter part of Shikibu’s *tenarai* essay beginning with Shikibu’s poem “Not I alone...” (*ware naranu hito mo*) may have been written after she read the Prince’s poem also opening with the same line. Yasunaga Miho 安永美保, “*Izumi Shikibu nikki no ittai gensō: Tenarai bunshōdan no baai*” 和泉式部日記の一体幻想：手習い文章段の場合, *Dōshisha joshi daigaku nihongo nihonbungaku* 同志社女子大学日本語日本文学 24 (June 2012): 93–106. It is, of course, possible that Shikibu revised both her essay and the Prince’s poems for the diary.
- ³¹ Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, 122.
- ³² See Kin Chū (Jin Zhong, 金中), “Yūgure no ‘matsu koi’ no uta: chūgoku keiensi to no idō o chūshin ni” 夕暮の「待つ恋」の歌：中国閨怨詩との異同を中心に, *Kokusai Nihon bungaku kenkyū shūkai kaigiroku* 国際日本文学研究集會會議録 31 (March 31, 2008): 93–104.
- ³³ Written by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之(872–945) in the voice of woman, *Tosa nikki* (935) includes nine poems on the death of the author’s daughter who had died in Tosa. See Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, 59–91.
- ³⁴ The breakdown of *Kokinshū* is: ten poems related to the death of one’s lord; two poems related to the death of a sibling; of friends and acquaintances, six; of one’s own death, six; of a parent, four. Who is being mourned is unclear in six poems. See Satō Masayo 佐藤雅代, “Shi o itamu waka no tenkai: shinjō hyōgen ‘kanashi’ o megutte” 死を悼む和歌の展開：心情表現「かなし」をめぐる, *San’yō ronsō* 山陽論叢 22 (2016): 148. It is only in *Goshūishū* 御拾遺集 (1086) that we find half a dozen verses by women about the deaths of husbands, lovers, or some significant male, of which three are by Izumi Shikibu mourning Atsumichi.
- ³⁵ For example, *Kokinshū* 16:838, Ki no Tsurayuki.
- ³⁶ See for example the poem (*Gosenshū* 20: 1394) sent by Ise 伊勢 (875– c. 938) in condolence after the death of the wife of Fujiwara Morosuke 藤原師輔 (909–960) to an unnamed recipient (*Gosenshū* 20: 1935).

- ³⁷ I have followed the suggestion that “they took the form of something like a poem” (*uta ni koso nitare*, 歌にこそにたれ) refers to her topics, which taken together form the 5/7/5/7/7 syllable count of a *waka*. See Nam Isuku 南二淑, *Izumi Shikibu waka kenkyū* 和泉式部和歌研究 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2001), 117.
- ³⁸ This prefatory headnote can be found in *SKT*, *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* before poem 112. Kobayashi Takaaki has determined *nezame* is the time period from 11 p.m. to 3 a.m., *akatsuki*, from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m. See Kobayashi Takaaki 小林賢章, “‘Yōzei’ in *shinnō futari uta-awase*’ no ‘*nezame no koi*’ to ‘*akatsuki no wakare*’ no *jikan*” 「陽成院親王二人歌合」の「ねざめのこひ」と「あかつきのわかれ」の時間, *Dōshisha joshi daigaku gakujutsu kenkyū nenpō* 同志社女子大学学術研究年報 68 (2017): 1–6.
- ³⁹ See for instance *Kokinshū* 15:800, Anon.
- ⁴⁰ For details of how sets of *waka* were integrated, see Konishi Jin’ichi, Robert H. Brower, and Earl Miner, “Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A. D. 900–1350” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21 (December 1958): 67–127.
- ⁴¹ For instance in *Kokinshū* 13:665, Kiyowara Fukayabu 清原深養父 (ninth–tenth centuries).
- ⁴² All “*Gojusshu waka*” poems are cited to *Zokushū*.
- ⁴³ See for example the poem which the hero of *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 sends to the Ise priestess after their night together: *Ise monogatari* 127 (episode 69).
- ⁴⁴ Saeki Umetomo, et al., *Izumi Shikibu shū zenshaku: Zokushū hen*, 84–85.
- ⁴⁵ She uses the same image in another poem in “*Sochi no miya no banka gun*”: *Izumi Shikibu zokushū* 91.
- ⁴⁶ I follow the interpretation of the editors of *Izumi Shikibu shū zenshaku, Zokushū hen*, 89.
- ⁴⁷ See *Kokinshū* 1110 (among deleted poems).
- ⁴⁸ Although it cannot be said which is earlier, *Genji monogatari* or “*Gojusshu waka*,” the former has in the *Yūgao* 夕顔 chapter a poem that Shikibu may have known. The speaker is Genji, after his lover *Yūgao*’s death: *Genji monogatari* 36

見し人の煙を雲とながむれば夕べの空もむつまじきかな

Mishi hito no/keburī o kumo to/nagamureba/yūbe no sora mo/mutsumashiki kana

When I gaze on the clouds/as smoke from the funeral pyre/of the one I love/even the sky at twilight/is precious to me.

Murasaki Shikibu's personal poetry collection also includes a poem, composed after her husband's death in 1001, that opens with the lines *mishi hito no/keburi to narishi...* みし人のけぶりとなりし (“[since that time] my love turned into smoke”), *Murasaki shikibu shū* 48

- ⁴⁹ *SKT* provides the *kanji* 不尽 to be read “fuji.” *Zenshaku* gives 富士.
- ⁵⁰ See for example *Kokinshū* 15:777, Anon.
- ⁵¹ *Zenshaku* notes that the metaphor of a human life being no more than a flame flickering before the wind derives from Buddhist texts. Saeki Umetomo, et al., *Izumi Shikibu shū zenshaku: Zokushū hen*, 92–93.
- ⁵² She may also have been influenced by *Kokinshū* 11:548, Anon.
- ⁵³ Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, 125–131.
- ⁵⁴ Nakatsukasa 中務 (912–991) composed a similar poem, expressing her hope to fall asleep and at least dream of her deceased daughter: *Shūishū* 20:1312
- わすられてしばしまどろむほどもがないつかはきみをゆめならで見ん
Wasurarete/shibashi madoromu/hodo mogana/itsuka wa kimi o/yume narade min
 How I wish to forget/ for a while and doze,/ for when/ except in dreams/shall I see you again.
- ⁵⁵ This poem is included in *Shinkokinshū* (*Shinkokinshū* 8:783) with a headnote stating that it was composed mourning the death of Prince Tametaka. The fourth line there reads *mukashi wa sode no* 昔は袖の (“in the past, having nothing to do with my sleeves”).
- ⁵⁶ See for instance, *Kokinshū* 12:552.
- ⁵⁷ I have taken the reading of this line as given in *Zenshaku*, p. 99. *SKT* has *omowamashi* おもはまし (“I might grieve.”)
- ⁵⁸ All poems indicated as McCullough, trans. are taken from Helen C. McCullough, *Kokin wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 126.
- ⁵⁹ See for instance *Shūishū* 14:888. The poem is anonymous and thus cannot be dated.
- ⁶⁰ Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, 83.
- ⁶¹ A miscellaneous *Kokinshū* poem by Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (898–920) uses this pun of “Sumiyoshi” and also invokes the grasses of forgetfulness. *Kokinshū* 17:917.
- ⁶² Takeda Sanae 武田早苗, “*Izumi shikibu zokushū* ‘Gojusshu waka’ o megutte: *Izumi shikibu nikki* to ‘Gojusshu waka’ to” 和泉式部続集五十首和歌をめぐつ

て：和泉式部日記と五十首和歌と, *Sagami joshi daigaku kiyō* 相模女子大学紀要 A. 68A (2004): 7. From instances where “Gojusshu waka” and *Izumi Shikibu nikki* share wording, Takeda argues that Shikibu wrote the diary before “Gojusshu waka.” It is still possible, however, that Shikibu had a record of both her own and the Prince’s poems from their relationship, which served as source material for both texts. Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, 109. The Prince’s poem itself gestures toward an *Ise monogatari* poem (*Ise monogatari* 21, episode 14).

⁶³ Shikibu may have had in mind a *Kokinshū* poem (*Kokinshū* 13:640) which unlike hers is in the voice of a man leaving his lover at dawn.

⁶⁴ McCullough, *Kokin wakashū*, 168.

⁶⁵ “The Song of Everlasting Sorrow” tells of the Emperor Xuanzong’s 元宗 (r. 713–756) love for one of his concubines Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–756). The Emperor’s love for her caused him to neglect his duties, resulting in a rebellion. As a result, Yang was executed by the imperial forces. For details about the screens and Ise’s poems, see Joseph T. Sorensen, *Optical Allusions: Screens, Paintings, and Poetry in Classical Japan (ca. 800-1200)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 130–135.

⁶⁶ Izumi Shikibu may have been influenced by a *Kokinshū* poem: *Kokinshū* 14:743, Sakai Hitozane さかみのひとざね (d. 917), which speaks gazing at the sky in longing.

⁶⁷ The poem is the second of two compositions with a headnote in which the poet considers, and then seemingly rejects, the idea of becoming a nun. To become a nun would have meant wholly turning her back on her erotic life with Atsumichi.