

Tree, The Bamboo Cutter, and Sumiyoshi, was not the achievement of a mere human being.⁵

Although the ladies agreed that it should be easy for someone to create a work that was even better than *The Tale of Genji* by skillfully borrowing its techniques and materials, they clearly did not believe that any later tale was in fact superior.

THE TALE OF SAGOROMO

The work to which the ladies of *Story Without a Name* gave the most attention among those composed after *The Tale of Genji* was *Sagoromo Monogatari* (The Tale of Sagoromo). One lady, asked to state her likes and dislikes among the tales she had read, replied, "I think *The Tale of Sagoromo* is next best to *Genji*. From the opening words, 'We regret the passing of the spring of youth,'⁶ the language is somehow charming, but although it maintains a wonderfully aristocratic manner,⁷ nothing strikes especially deep into one's heart. On the contrary, there are many things in the book that might better not have been there at all."⁸ This mixed praise is followed by a more favorable evaluation of various scenes in the work; but the section of *Story Without a Name* devoted to *The Tale of Sagoromo* ends with sharp disapproval of the instances of supernatural intervention, and with condemnation of the resolution of the tale, the ascension to the throne of the hero, Sagoromo.

The lady is remarkably astute in her analysis of the faults of *The Tale of Sagoromo*—its failure to strike deeply into the reader's heart, the various passages that are unnecessary to the development of either the plot or the characters, the implausibility of the intervention of a divine being in a work that is otherwise realistic, and the unconvincing oracle that leads to Sagoromo's becoming the emperor; but her reasons for ranking *The Tale of Sagoromo* second only to *The Tale of Genji* are disappointingly brief and uninformative. The judgment nevertheless is basically sound: with the exception of *Yoru no Nezame* (Wakefulness at Night), the work the ladies rated next highest in order of excellence, *The Tale of Sagoromo* is the finest example of fiction in the tradition of *The Tale of Genji*.

The authorship of *The Tale of Sagoromo* is nowhere mentioned in contemporary writings. Fujiwara Teika, writing more than a century later, expressed the belief that it was the work of a court lady, a daughter of Minamoto no Yorikuni known by her title of Senji,⁹ who died in

1092 at an advanced age.¹⁰ This attribution is generally accepted today, and internal evidence suggests that the work was probably written about 1080. One other monogatari¹¹ and four poems in imperially sponsored collections are also credited to Senji, and we know that she was in the service of Princess Baishi (1039–1096), the fourth daughter of the Emperor Suzaku. Baishi was the high priestess at Ise from 1046 to 1058, but later took orders as a Buddhist nun; perhaps her influence explains the striking combination of Shintō and Buddhist elements in *The Tale of Sagoromo*. The work is little read today except by specialists in Heian literature, but for many years it enjoyed great popularity, as we can infer from the more than a hundred manuscripts that have been preserved, each with its complement of textual variants.

The Tale of Sagoromo is perhaps the first extended work of Japanese fiction to have been conceived from the outset as a single, unified story.¹² The three love affairs that make up the bulk of the work are related more or less independently, but the reader does not get the impression that chapters, unanticipated when the work was begun, were added in response to the demands of readers or to a deepening understanding of the materials on the author's part. Although most manuscripts divide *The Tale of Sagoromo* into four books, each with an elegantly written introductory section, it is from beginning to end an uninterrupted account of ten years in the life of Sagoromo, a prince of the highest rank (the son of the kampaku and the nephew of the emperor). He is blessed with extraordinary beauty and intelligence, as the author frequently reminds us, but to the end is unsuccessful in his love for his cousin, Princess Genji.¹³ Other loves or worldly honors, even becoming emperor, give him no pleasure because of this frustration, and as his despair accumulates, his thoughts turn incessantly to "leaving the world" as a Buddhist priest. The work concludes as Sagoromo gazes out over an autumn garden in the deepening twilight, and wonders about the nature of the karma that has caused his life in the present world to be so unsatisfying.

The Tale of Sagoromo opens with the quotation from Po Chū-i praised by the lady of *Story Without a Name*, then abruptly plunges into an account of Sagoromo's secret love for Princess Genji without identifying by name either Sagoromo or his beloved. After a few pages the story begins again, this time in a more conventional manner, suggesting (despite the evidence of *Story Without a Name*) that the present opening may represent a corruption in the text. The second opening is also rather unusual because it sets the story in recent years (*kono koro*), though monogatari generally were set in some vague but distant past. There

fortunate exception of Sagoromo) is distinctly drawn. It is possible to find in Fujitsubo the model for the inaccessible Princess Genji, though the two women are quite dissimilar; and the other resemblances discovered between characters in the two works often seem to be products of the tacit conviction that *The Tale of Sagoromo* could not but be derived from *The Tale of Genji* (or, at any rate, from *some* monogatari written earlier in the Heian period).³⁶

The most memorable characters in *The Tale of Sagoromo* are unsympathetic. The menoto is not simply a mischievous matchmaker but an evil woman whose momentary feelings of sympathy for Asukai do not last long. There is certainly no model for the menoto in *The Tale of Genji*, and the closest example of an evil woman, the stepmother in *The Tale of Ochikubo*, is hardly more than a cartoon.

Shikibu no Tayū is another disagreeable character, but there is humor in the portrayal. Once he finally realizes his desires and is actually lying beside Asukai he indulges in self-advertisement, presumably in order to persuade her how lucky she is to have found such a splendid man.

A comic interlude (which occurs just before Asukai is abducted) describes Sagoromo's visit to the unsophisticated Princess Imahime. She is a foolish young woman, but she is neither vulgar like the Lady of Ōmi nor hopelessly out of touch with the times like Suetsumuhana. The note of coarseness in this section comes not from Imahime herself but from the ladies of her entourage who gape at Sagoromo, make indecorous comments, and so on. One gets the momentary impression that this was what most court ladies of the time were really like, though such women do not appear in *The Tale of Genji* or other works of the high court tradition.

The resemblances between Sagoromo and Kaoru have often been pointed out. Kaoru was perhaps the figure in *The Tale of Genji* who appealed most to the readers and authors of the later monogatari, and it is not surprising that some of his characteristics should be found in the hero of *The Tale of Sagoromo*. He and Sagoromo are alike in their failure to win the woman they love most, and various other resemblances exist, but they are unlike in the most crucial respect: Kaoru is a memorable creation, a man of complex character who is so tormented by the secret of his birth that he is incapable of achieving even momentary happiness, but Sagoromo is hardly more than an instrument of the plot of *The Tale of Sagoromo*. If Sagoromo had been drawn as effectively as the surrounding characters this would be a monument of Heian literature.

Of the four books of *The Tale of Sagoromo*, the first is the best. The second is concerned chiefly with Sagoromo's secret affair with the Second Princess, a woman he could have married and possessed with the approval of the emperor and the whole court. The theme is intriguing, but the plot becomes unwieldy when the empress, learning of the pregnancy of her daughter by an unknown man, decides the only way to avoid disgrace is to pretend that the baby about to be born is her own. Even amid such improbable plot developments there are passages of startling directness. When, for example, Sagoromo learns for the first time that the Second Princess's baby is his, he "blushes violently,"³⁷ a reaction one could hardly imagine of any of the men in *The Tale of Genji*. The third and fourth books are built around two oracles, one that forbids Princess Genji to take Buddhist orders (and thereby leads to her becoming the high priestess at the Shintō shrine of Ise), and the second that decrees Sagoromo must become the emperor after the direct succession to the throne has been broken. These books are inferior to the first, but the account of the chilly marriage between Sagoromo and Princess Ippon (likened unconvincingly by the critics to Genji's marriage to Aoi) is excellently evoked.

The style of *The Tale of Sagoromo* was much admired. Like other monogatari of the Heian period, the text is written mainly in kana with only occasional words of Chinese origin written in kanji, particularly words referring to Buddhism. The conversations sometimes seem remarkably close to colloquial speech, and there are even a few coarse words,³⁸ but little else distinguishes the language from that written by Murasaki Shikibu sixty or seventy years earlier. Among the features it shares with *The Tale of Genji* are the *sōshiji*, the passages in which the author directly addresses the reader. *The Tale of Genji* is referred to several times, as a work of fact rather than fiction, and mention is also made of *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, *The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, and other monogatari, emphasizing the statement made near the opening of the work that this was a story of more recent times than the others.

The more than two hundred poems in the text were highly rated by Fujiwara Teika, and at the time of the composition of the *Shin Kokinshū* the work was considered to be no less essential an object of study for aspiring poets than *The Tale of Genji*.³⁹ The poetry forms an integral element of the style, epitomizing the action and supplying leitmotivs for the different persons of the book. In addition to the original poems, there are many quoted from the *Kokinshū*, the *Gosenshū*, and other official and private collections. *The Tale of Sagoromo* has a profes-

sional competence that is still impressive, but the author could not rise to the supreme test of creating a hero worthy to stand at the side of Prince Genji.

WAKEFULNESS AT NIGHT

The monogatari next most highly praised by the ladies of *Story Without a Name* was *Yoru no Nezame*⁴⁰ (Wakefulness at Night). The title is a reference to the opening sentence of the work: "Much have I seen of the varied and devious ways of love, but the romance of the lonely, wakeful ones, bound by deep love yet doomed to suffer, seems the strangest of all."⁴¹ The word *nezame* (wakeful) suggests the woman whose anxiety over not being able to meet her lover causes her to wake at night and lie sleepless. It was used in this work also as a kind of nickname for the heroine, whose many worries kept her from sleeping soundly.

Fujiwara Teika attributed this monogatari to the daughter of Takasue, known chiefly for *The Sarashina Diary*.⁴² It is the custom of modern scholars to reject such attributions when unsupported by other evidence, but Teika's opinion has been cautiously revived in recent years.⁴³ If there is little evidence to support the theory, there is equally little reason for rejection.⁴⁴ In any case, it is hard to avoid the impression that it was written by a woman, and it has been suggested, on the basis of a study of known facts of the life of the daughter of Takasue, that the work possesses the features of an autobiographical novel.⁴⁵ Most authorities believe that *Wakefulness at Night* was written between 1045 and 1068, though the composition is placed considerably later by others.⁴⁶

The completed work, consisting of four parts, was originally perhaps half the length of *The Tale of Genji*, but at some point the second and fourth parts were lost and less than half survives.⁴⁷ It is possible to reconstruct the general outlines of the work from later adaptations, but much has been irretrievably lost, and discussion of *Wakefulness at Night* can only properly be made of the two books that remain.

The critical attention bestowed on *Wakefulness at Night* by *Story Without a Name* is more satisfying than its treatment of *The Tale of Sagoromo*, though the author once again seems to enjoy finding fault more than bestowing praise. The section devoted to the work opens,

There is nothing specially impressive about *Wakefulness at Night*, and no scenes that strike one as being particularly remarkable, but

from the outset it describes just one person, unwaveringly depicting that person in a most profoundly affecting manner. One can easily imagine what intense feelings inspired the author to create so rare and deeply moving a work.⁴⁸

The accounts of specific parts of the work that were praised or dispraised by the ladies of *Story Without a Name* are valuable because they preserve poems and other excerpts that would otherwise have been lost, but more important than the particulars of their criticism is the high overall ranking they give to *Wakefulness at Night* and their recognition that the work is devoted to only one person, the heroine, Nezame. Although earlier monogatari, including *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* and *The Tale of Ochikubo*, have a woman as the central character, this is the first work of fiction to deal in a mature manner with a woman's thoughts and emotions. Again, unlike most earlier monogatari, *Wakefulness at Night* contains very little action, contrasting notably with *The Tale of Sagoromo* in which the author, though rarely entering into the thoughts of the characters, gives a full account of their actions. The style is also reminiscent of the diaries of the court ladies, especially *The Sarashina Diary*. During the course of the narration the names of several historical emperors are mentioned, in this way setting the events about a hundred years before the time of composition, but no attempt was made to contrast the past and the present. Probably the author was merely following the tradition of setting monogatari in the past.

The story is an unbroken account of events in the life of Nezame, especially those relating to her love for the high-ranking courtier Naidaijin. At the opening of the work we are told a little about her family background. Nezame was the daughter of an imperial prince who had relinquished his position in order to serve as a minister. He had four children, and after the death of both his wives he decided not to remarry but to devote himself entirely to their education. His favorite among the children was Nezame, his second daughter, who was the most gifted, especially in music. When she has learned all her father can teach her about playing the biwa, a celestial being appears in a dream on the night of the harvest moon to teach her even more difficult works. He reappears in a dream on the same night of the next year; after teaching her five more pieces, he announces that this is his last visit, and predicts that the life of so unusual a person as Nezame will be filled with grief and anxiety, a prophecy that proves to be all too true.

The celestial being's music lessons may recall the intervention of the supernatural child in *The Tale of Sagoromo*, and both occur early in the

as Naidaijin thinks, that she is only feigning possession in order to discredit Nezame; but gossip soon reaches the ears of Nezame, who is appalled to think people may believe she is capable of the malice of a living ghost. Much of the third part of *Wakefulness at Night* is devoted to an account of the despair the rumor produces in Nezame, especially at the thought that Naidaijin may believe it. She reflects,

So he believes it. If such a spirit appeared and said such bizarre things, would he hesitate to tell me about it if he did not think it genuine? He seems to believe it is true. How he must wish to sever completely all ties with me. In this case, his careful politeness is all the more humiliating. If I thought that every time he is with his wife my spirit flees from me and is with him at her side, I would loathe myself. But is it possible I appeared before them?⁵⁸

Nezame's doubts concerning Naidaijin and the self-torture to which she subjects herself are typical of the work and contribute to its specifically modern quality, even though her reflections are occasioned by an unmodern dread of being perhaps a "living ghost." Nezame's fear is so acute that she decides to "leave the world" and take orders as a Buddhist nun, but in this, too, she is frustrated, first by Naidaijin's intervention, then by the discovery that she is once again carrying his child. The prediction made long before by the heavenly being who appeared in her dream, that she would know much suffering, has proven to be all too true.

Wakefulness at Night is deeply affecting, even in its present truncated state. The characters linger in the mind not by what they do but by what they think, and in this sense it represents an advance as a novel over *The Tale of Genji*, though it lacks that work's encompassing vision of the court society and its richness of detail. It is novelistic also in the resolutely prosaic style and in the comparative scarcity of poems. These factors probably militated against its reputation in its own day but contribute to the prevailing impression of modernity. It is an extraordinary work, as close as the Heian storytellers ever came to creating what even purists might call a novel.

THE HAMAMATSU MIDDLE COUNSELOR⁵⁹

The same postscript to Fujiwara Teika's manuscript of *The Sarashina Diary* that identified the daughter of Takasue as the author of *Wake-*

fulness at Night also credited her with *Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari* (The Tale of the Hamamatsu Middle Counselor).⁶⁰ The title of the work, as given by Teika and other early sources, was originally *Mitsu no Hamamatsu* (The Pine on the Beach at Mitsu), derived from a poem by Chūnagon, the hero:

<i>hi no moto no</i>	The pine on the beach
<i>Mitsu no hamamatsu</i>	At Mitsu in the country
<i>kyōi koso</i>	Of the rising sun
<i>ware wo kourashi</i>	Tonight—it seems to miss me—
<i>yume ni mietsure</i> ⁶¹	I could see it in my dream. ⁶²

Teika's attribution of the work has been bolstered in recent years by comparative analysis of *The Sarashina Diary* and *The Hamamatsu Middle Counselor*, especially the importance of dreams in both. Some scholars are now reluctant to accept the daughter of Takasue as the author of *Wakefulness at Night*, but hardly anyone doubts she wrote *Hamamatsu*.⁶³ The dating of the two works divides the critics. Those who believe she wrote both works opine that *Wakefulness at Night* came earlier,⁶⁴ but those who think she wrote only *Hamamatsu* are sure that *Wakefulness at Night* was written much later. Judged in more subjective terms than Japanese critics have been willing to employ, it is easier to imagine the wonderfully sensitive author of *The Sarashina Diary* as the author of the no less sensitive *Wakefulness at Night* than of the pedestrian *Hamamatsu* but, obviously, the authorship and dating of both works have yet to be determined.

Hamamatsu survives only in texts that lack the first chapter (or, possibly, chapters). Until 1930 it also lacked the concluding chapter, but two manuscripts were discovered at that time. Our knowledge of the lost opening is derived (as so often) from the account in *Story Without a Name* and from poems quoted elsewhere. We can gather that the work began with the unhappiness of the hero, Chūnagon, over his mother's hasty remarriage after his father's death. This sounds like *Hamlet*, but there are no further resemblances. Chūnagon has a dream revelation that his father has been reborn in China, and he decides to travel there. At this point the surviving text begins.

A summary of the plot of *Hamamatsu* is likely to do it more than justice. The prominence of dreams and reincarnation is intriguing; that was what attracted Mishima Yukio to the work when he began to write his final tetralogy, *Hōjō no Umi* (The Sea of Fertility). However, the narration unfortunately does not live up to the promise of the themes.

The poem has the grace typical of many *Kokinshū* poems, but surely has no special depth; it seems to be little more than an expression of pleasure that the summer heat has at last ended. The first three lines of the original (the last three of the translation) are considered by most commentators to be an “introduction” (*jo kotoba*), not directly related by meaning to the last two lines of the original. The two parts of the poem are linked by *ura*, an intensifying prefix for *mezurashiki*, meaning “fresh” or “unusual,” but also the “lining” (*ura*) of the husband’s robe. Mention of the lining was probably intended to indicate that the husband had changed this day, the first of autumn, from an unlined to a lined robe. The poem is classified in the *Kokinshū* as a seasonal poem, but the “borrowed” poem in the *Shin Kokinshū* by Fujiwara no Ariie (1155–1216) is a love poem:

<i>sarade dani</i>	Even without this,
<i>uramin to omou</i>	I think I would resent her:
<i>wagimoko ga</i>	The autumn wind blows
<i>koromo no suso ni</i>	In the hems of the garment
<i>akikaze zo fuku</i> ¹²	The woman I love is wearing.

Despite the resemblances of vocabulary to the source poem, this poem creates a quite dissimilar effect. The autumn (*aki*) wind here suggests the melancholy atmosphere surrounding the end of a love affair, and there are overtones of the homonym *aki*, “weariness” or “boredom.” *Uramin* means “I would resent,” but *ura min* is “to see the inside (or lining),” a metaphor for the inner thoughts of the beloved. The poem can be expanded in translation: “Even if this had not happened [even if the autumnal wind had not stirred the hems of my beloved’s robe to reveal the lining], I think I should still have detected her inner feelings of apathy and resented them.” Although imagery was borrowed from the *Kokinshū*, the poem has been transformed out of recognition.

Such complexity, made possible because of the ease of punning in Japanese, may arouse doubts about the sincerity of the poet’s expression, but when honka-dori was successfully employed, the new poem could still be personal, regardless of the extent of the borrowing. The uncovering of source poems has long been a favorite pastime of academics involved with Japanese poetry. Sometimes new light is thrown on a poem by revealing its inspiration, but there is a tendency to imply that once the source poem has been discovered, everything necessary to an understanding of the new poem stands revealed; the use of words and their sounds, the basic concern of any poet, is often passed over without

comment.¹³ But the fact that the themes of many *Shin Kokinshū* poems were borrowed from earlier collections should not suggest that its poets composed in a claustrophobic atmosphere of rigid conformance with old traditions. The resonance given to a poem by its echoes in the past was more important to these poets than asserting their individuality, but their new use of the old imagery imparted richness and complexity, and that is what makes their poems distinctive.

Borrowings from prose, most often from *Tales of Ise* or *The Tale of Genji*,¹⁴ were also made to enrich the poetic associations, but the sources from which the *Shin Kokinshū* poets most often borrowed were poems that had been composed some three hundred years earlier in what was perceived to have been the golden age of the Heian court. A nostalgic looking back to an age when the court society was untroubled by fears of disorder may account for the “neoclassicism” discernable in the *Shin Kokinshū* poetry,¹⁵ even though the unhappiness overtly voiced in the poems was almost always restricted to the poet’s own life. It is difficult, however, to imagine that there was no relation between the emergence of honka-dori as a consciously practiced artistic discipline at the end of the Heian period and the reduced circumstances of the lives of the aristocrats that made many of them yearn for the happier times evoked by the poetry of the past.

Composing allusive variations on the old poetry had long served aspiring Japanese poets as a preparation for expressing themselves in their own voices, but with Fujiwara Teika it became a basic part of poetic praxis, and (as so often in Japan) this involved the creation of rules governing the art. In various critical works he laid down such prescriptions as (1) borrowing should be mainly from the first three imperially commissioned collections, the *Kokinshū*, the *Gosenshū*, and the *Shūishū*;¹⁶ but not more than one or two, or at the most two and a half lines should be taken from the source poem; (2) the borrowed elements should be in a different place within the poem from their position within the source poem; and (3) the main theme of the original poem should be so altered that, for example, a seasonal poem is turned into a love or miscellaneous poem.¹⁷ It was strictly forbidden to borrow from the poets of recent times, let alone contemporaries.¹⁸

It might seem as if the adoption of honka-dori as an intrinsic part of poetic discipline would have tended to impair the creative imaginations of Japanese poets, but within the limits of the rules for honka-dori laid down by Teika there was still room for entirely personal expression, as the poets of the *Shin Kokinshū* demonstrated again and again.

UTA-AWASE

As early as the tenth century (as we have seen) members of the Japanese court participated in uta-awase, or poem competitions. These competitions gradually developed into serious literary occasions at which poems on set themes by outstanding poets were matched and judged by experts, but in the early days of uta-awase the literary aspects were overshadowed by the elaborate presentations. Music was an indispensable part of these courtly entertainments, and members of the two teams, left and right, were dressed in elaborate, contrasting costumes.¹⁹ The competing poems were not presented casually but arranged on poem slips set in miniature landscape gardens that were embellished with precious stones. The greatest care was devoted to the impression the competing teams made with their stately entrances to the hall where the competition took place. The poems themselves do not seem to have benefited by the same attention, judging by surviving examples.

As would be true of other, later poetic forms such as renga or haiku, literary importance was imparted to what had originated merely as a game or a diversion by the creation of strict rules governing the art. Fujiwara no Kiyosuke was one of the first to attempt to enhance the dignity of uta-awase sessions by prescribing the manner of choosing the themes, the participants, and the judges. Initially, the judges made only the most perfunctory comments on why they chose as superior the poem submitted by the left team or by the right team, or why they decided to call it a tie, but when the competitions, no longer lavish displays of artistic taste, developed into occasions for the creation of literature, the opinions expressed by the judges became more substantial, and some are still of interest.

The shift from the Heian to the "medieval" style of literary uta-awase has been traced to a period of twenty years during the reigns of the emperors Horikawa and Toba, from about 1100 to 1120.²⁰ It is not clear precisely why the change occurred, but it has been plausibly linked to the inability of the court to indulge in the extravagance that was typical of the older uta-awase competitions. Certainly this was true of the court during the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, the time when the literary uta-awase flourished most memorably.²¹

The lasting importance of the many sessions of literary uta-awase conducted at the court during the period of greatest activity can be measured in terms of the number of poems composed for such occasions that were later included in the imperially sponsored anthologies: out of

a total of 1,981 poems in the *Shin Kokinshū*, 373 originated in uta-awase competitions.²²

Once the uta-awase had changed from being a court festivity at which the composition of poetry was only one element of an evening's entertainment to a serious contest between individual poets or rival schools, the atmosphere became much less relaxed. Most participants wanted more to win than to create beautiful poems, and this no doubt accounted for the tendency to compose poems that were free of blemishes rather than poems that communicated the poet's deepest feelings. (Of course, it was by no means impossible to communicate deep feelings in a poem without flaws.) A knowledge of the faults of poetry, most of them arbitrarily decided by the compilers of "codes," became as essential as thorough familiarity with the *Kokinshū*.

The judge (*hanja*) of an uta-awase was usually a poet of unquestioned competence. The two best judges during the period when the literary uta-awase first became prominent were Fujiwara no Michitoshi, and Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016–1097), his bitter rival for recognition as the poet arbiter of the day. Michitoshi headed the conservative faction among the poets of the day, Tsunenobu the faction of innovators. The division between the Ancients and Moderns, which began about this time, would continue to affect the composition of court poetry for centuries to come, though the names of the schools standing on one side or the other of the issue of tradition versus modernity changed from time to time.

Probably the most distinguished judge of the fully developed uta-awase was Fujiwara Shunzei, who served an unprecedented twenty-one times. He owed this distinction both to his reputation as a poet and to his extraordinary longevity. A passage in *Mumyōshō* (Nameless Selection, 1209–1210), the book of poetic criticism by Kamo no Chōmei, quoted the poet-priest Kenshō on the different impressions created by Shunzei and his conservative rival Fujiwara Kiyosuke when they served as judges:

It is hard to decide who was better as a judge of modern waka, Shunzei or Kiyosuke. Both of them had their prejudices, which assumed different forms in their judgments. Shunzei's expression seemed to say that he was aware that he himself on occasion made mistakes, and he never pronounced a really devastating opinion. He generally would say something like, "This is the usual way of expressing oneself, I'm sure, but would it be wrong to compose the

poem in some other way?" Kiyosuke seemed, on the surface at least, absolutely beyond reproach, and there was not the faintest suggestion of unfairness in his expression, but if ever anyone looked unconvinced by one of his pronouncements, his expression would invariably change, and he would argue his points fiercely. Eventually people became aware of this, and nobody ever dared voice a word of opposition.²³

The uta-awase sessions became the occasion for recriminations as judges defended their own decisions or attacked those of other judges;²⁴ but read today, long after most of the issues brought up by the judges have ceased to be matters of real concern to poets, let alone readers, one is unlikely—even if one plods through the judges' comments appended to the many rounds of uta-awase—to find in them sentiments as perceptive or as universally meaningful as those expressed in the poems they analyze.

The most famous of all uta-awase gatherings took place in 1201 by command of the Retired Emperor Gotoba. Thirty poets were invited to submit one hundred poems each on prescribed subjects, for a total of three thousand poems. These poems were subsequently divided into two matching sets of fifteen hundred "rounds" and judged by a group of ten eminent poets, headed by Shunzei. It was the biggest uta-awase in the history of Japanese poetry.²⁵

Even on this famous occasion, the comments made by the judges when revealing their choices of the winning or losing poems (or the reasons for calling a tie) were seldom persuasive and occasionally, no doubt because of the pressure of such a huge competition, the judges seemed to misunderstand the poems.²⁶ One example, round 221, may suggest the manner in which the poems were judged. It is of special interest because the judge, Shunzei, obliquely refers to his predicament in judging his own son's composition.

LEFT

asahikage In morning sunlight,
noeru yama no Glowing along the mountains,
sakurabana The cherry blossoms—
tsurenaku kienu I thought they might be snow that
yuki ka to zo miru Had stubbornly refused to melt.

ARIIE

RIGHT

sakurabana The cherry blossoms
utsurou haru wo Have passed through so many springs,

amata hete Blooming and fading,
mi sae furinuru And even I have grown old
asajiu no yado In my cogon-thatched cottage.²⁷

TEIKA

[Judge's comment] The left poem is given great charm by the placement of "morning sunlight" at the head and by the elegance conjured up by the words "had stubbornly refused to melt." As for the right poem, perhaps parental affection has blinded me, or it may be that commiseration induces me to favor "have passed through so many springs" and "even I have grown old"; but all the same, when I think how, if the "evening crane of long ago" were still alive, he might feel about the "morning sunlight" of the left poem, I am at a loss to decide which poem should win, and perhaps the best I can do is to call it a tie.²⁸

A modern commentator, if asked to judge the comparative merits of the two poems, might also have trouble deciding the winner, though not for Shunzei's reasons. Ariie's poem, later incorporated in the *Shin Kokinshū*, is the more polished, but the poet's momentary uncertainty as to whether he saw cherry blossoms or snow is all too apt to make the reader recall (without pleasure) a mannerism of the *Kokinshū*, and the first two lines, especially admired by Shunzei, were borrowed virtually unchanged from the *Man'yōshū*.²⁹ The most memorable part of Shunzei's judgment is his avowal that partiality for his son makes him want to judge that Teika's poem is the winner; but, if Ariie's father, the late Fujiwara no Shigeie,³⁰ were still alive, he too would want his son to win. The safest policy, then, was to declare the match a draw.³¹

Shunzei's best-known comment made in his capacity as the judge of an uta-awase was pronounced during the competition in six hundred rounds of 1193. He awarded victory to this winter poem by Fujiwara no Yoshitsune:

mishi aki wo In this grassy field,
nani ni nokosan What can bring back traces of
kusa no hara The autumn I saw?
hitotsu ni kawaru The landscape of the meadows
nobe no keshiki ni Has turned a single color.

Shunzei of course recognized the allusion to *The Tale of Genji* in the words *kusa no hara* (fields of grass),³² and declared that it lent

Yoshitsune's poem special charm. He added, "Murasaki Shikibu was even more extraordinary as a writer [of prose] than as a poet,³³ and among the chapters of her book 'The Flower Feast' has special charm. It is shocking for anyone to write poetry without knowing *Genji*."³⁴ Shunzei's comment is of interest because it reveals his great love for *The Tale of Genji*, but it does not help us much to understand the merits of Yoshitsune's poem. The same might be said of most of the comments made by judges of uta-awase, but they were of great importance to members of the court whose lives were consecrated to the perfection of their poetry.

POETIC SEQUENCES

Another important source of poems for the *Shin Kokinshū* was the series of poetic sequences submitted in response to imperial commands. The practice of individual poets' composing sets of poems, usually one hundred poems (*hyakushu*) on prescribed topics, went back as far as the tenth century, but it first acquired importance—indeed, became something of a craze—as the result of the extremely favorable impression produced by the sets of hundred-poem sequences composed at the court of the Emperor Horikawa early in the twelfth century.³⁵ These sequences were organized along the lines of the imperially sponsored anthologies: seasonal poems were followed by poems on love and these in turn by poems on various other subjects. The particular novelty of the sequences associated with the Emperor Horikawa was the adoption of set topics for each poem. The poems submitted all bore titles—not merely "Spring Poem" but such topics associated with spring as "Young Shoots," "Remaining Snow," "Plum Blossoms," "Geese Returning Home," and so on.³⁶

The arrangement of poems within a given section of a poetic sequence followed the pattern Konishi Jin'ichi called "association and progression."³⁷ "Association" implied a smoothly flowing series of poems, each independent but linked to the poem before and the poem after by associations of imagery or language; "progression" refers to the temporal progression of the seasons within a sequence, flowers appearing in the order in which they bloom, and love poems being arranged to suggest the course of a love affair, from the first awakening of interest to the bitter realization that the affair is over. Another aspect of the arrangement was the deliberate mixing of poems of greater and lesser degrees of emotional or literary intensity in order to avoid monotony.³⁸ The principle of "association and progression" would be followed in the arrangement of the poems in the *Shin Kokinshū*.

GOTABA AND THE COMPILATION OF THE *SHIN KOKINSHŪ*

Sometime about the middle of the year 1200 the Retired Emperor Gotoba invited some twenty poets to submit for his approbation hundred-poem sequences. Gotoba was only twenty at the time. He was the fourth son of the Emperor Takakura, and there had seemed to be little likelihood that he would ever ascend the throne, but his oldest brother, the Emperor Antoku, and his second brother were both carried off by the Taira when they fled the capital in 1183. As we have seen, Antoku perished at Dannoura; the second brother eventually became a Buddhist priest. A passage in *The Tale of the Heike* relates how, just as Gotoba was being taken from the capital to join his brothers in the western provinces, his escort was stopped by an official who was aware that if the child remained in the capital he might become the next emperor.³⁹ The official's premonition proved to be correct, but there was another step before Gotoba was chosen: when the Retired Emperor Goshirakawa was debating whether to put on the throne the third or the fourth son of Takakura, he called them to his side. The third son looked reluctant and burst into tears. He was accordingly dismissed, but when the retired emperor called Gotoba, he unhesitatingly went to his grandfather and sat on his lap.⁴⁰ That (plus some divination) decided Goshirakawa in favor of the fourth prince.

Gotoba was officially proclaimed emperor in 1183 even though his brother Antoku was still alive, and even though for the first time in "eighty-two generations" an accession ceremony was performed without the Three Sacred Treasures of the imperial regalia.⁴¹ There is little to report on the sixteen years of Gotoba's reign, partly because of his youth, partly because power in Kyoto was exercised by Goshirakawa and by Minamoto no Michichika (1149–1202), a poet and high-ranking noble.⁴²

It is strange, considering Gotoba's later development as a poet of exceptional ability, that not a single poem survives from his years on the throne. He apparently spent his time mainly at kemari, rather than at composing poetry, and he also enjoyed playing the flute, hunting, cockfights, dog chasing (*inu-oimono*), wrestling, and the songs of women entertainers.⁴³ Early in 1198 Gotoba named his eldest son, the future Emperor Tsuchimikado, as crown prince, and abdicated on the same day. His abdication was not occasioned by any sudden realization of the meaninglessness of worldly existence; on the contrary, he seems to have found life as emperor disagreeably constricting, and he abdicated in order to devote himself wholeheartedly to his pleasures.⁴⁴ Once he was

free of official duties he was like “a fish that has found water.” Kemari matches were held in his palace, and many other diversions brightened his days. Gotoba’s oldest surviving poem, describing a nostalgic visit to the Imperial Palace when the cherry trees were in bloom, was written in 1199, the year after his abdication.⁴⁵ His interest in poetry, once ignited, quickly became a consuming passion. This was the background for the two sessions of solo composition of hundred-poem sequences at the retired emperor’s palace in 1200.

Gotoba’s command to the outstanding poets of the day to submit hundred-poem sequences was the occasion for a display of bitter rivalry between the two main factions in the world of poetry, the Mikohidari school (including Shunzei, Teika, and other “progressive” poets) and their enemies, the Rokujō family of conservative poets. The latter conspired to keep Teika and other junior members of the Mikohidari faction from participating by obtaining a command from Gotoba specifying that only senior persons (*rōsha*) would be asked to submit sequences. Teika was outraged. He declared in his diary, “In all the history of Japanese poetry, I have never heard of age being considered as a factor of competence. This had all been arranged by Suetsune with his bribes in order to get rid of me.”⁴⁶ Teika had good reason to suspect that Fujiwara Suetsune (1131–1221) had bribed Michichika: a few months earlier Suetsune had been enraged to hear that Teika had refused to participate in a poem competition because “that fake poet” (*ese utayomi*) was to be the judge.

The only way to get Michichika’s decision reversed was by a direct appeal to Gotoba himself. Teika’s aged father, Shunzei, accordingly wrote a letter to Gotoba pointing out the lack of any precedent for making age a factor in choosing poets for a gathering. He urged that Teika be invited to participate: he was already close to forty (by Japanese reckoning), and he had demonstrated his ability. Teika was attempting to create a new style of poetry,⁴⁷ but the self-styled poets who had slandered him were incapable of going beyond the old, hackneyed traditions. Shunzei wrote, “Of late the people who call themselves poets have all been mediocrities. The poems they compose are unpleasant to hear, wordy and lacking in finesse.”⁴⁸ He denounced by name Teika’s enemy Suetsune, calling him an ignoramus, and urged Gotoba not to be misled by his machinations. He asked that not only Teika but two other poets, Fujiwara Takafusa and Fujiwara Ietaka, be added to the list of poets invited to compose hundred-poem sequences. Shunzei’s letter concluded with the assurance that he did not make these recommendations because of fatherly love but because he believed that appointing

Teika would prove to be of benefit to the world and to Gotoba in particular.⁴⁹

Gotoba was moved by Shunzei’s appeal, both because of its intrinsic merits and because Shunzei was old and respected; he agreed to ask Teika (and the two others) to submit hundred-poem sequences.⁵⁰ Needless to say, Teika was overjoyed to learn that he had been included among the participants. He attributed this development not only to his father’s intercession but to the gods, and four days later went to worship at the Kitano Shrine, sacred to Sugawara no Michizane, the god of literature, and offered a scroll of his poems by way of thanks.⁵¹

During the next ten days Teika worked frantically on his poetic sequence. He took eighty of the assigned hundred poems to his father and asked for his suggestions. Shunzei found nothing to correct, and urged Teika to submit the poems as soon as possible. Two days later he presented the hundred poems to Gotoba, who had been impatiently waiting for them. On the following day Teika received a letter informing him that Gotoba had permitted him to enter the imperial presence. Teika wrote in his diary, “It is not surprising, after all, that I should be admitted to the palace at this point, nor is it anything I had my heart set upon. But that the privilege should be conferred on the basis of my hundred-poem sequence—this is a great honor for the art of Poetry and a beautiful and inspiring story to pass on to future generations. My gratification is unbounded. This incident shows better than anything else that a revival of poetry has taken place.”⁵² The hundred-poem sequences composed in 1200 would prove second only to the *uta-awase* in 1,500 rounds as a source of poems for the *Shin Kokinshū*.⁵³

Recognition by Gotoba was immensely gratifying to Teika, and the latter’s counsels fostered Gotoba’s burgeoning poetic talent. Teika’s hundred-verse sequence reveals him at the height of his powers, although the poems have not enjoyed the popularity of those included in other collections.⁵⁴ Teika was not asked to compose poems for the second set of poetic sequences compiled that year, presumably because the number of participants was much reduced. He and Gotoba remained on excellent terms, and Gotoba showed himself to be an unusually apt pupil. He began to attend *uta-awase* sessions, often those staged before a portrait of Hitomaro, the most revered of the Japanese poets.⁵⁵ On such occasions Gotoba regularly concealed the authorship of his poems, signing them with a pseudonym in order to permit free criticism.

In the seventh month of 1201 Gotoba, following the practice of the Emperor Murakami who in 951 had established a Poetry Bureau (*waka*

dokoro) by way of preparation for compiling the anthology *Gosenshū*, created a Poetry Bureau in the Nijō Palace, the first step toward compiling the *Shin Kokinshū*.⁵⁶ During the next few years fresh excitement was imparted to the regular *uta-awase* sessions by the possibility that poems composed on these occasions might be included in the new court anthology. In 1202 alone there were a dozen or so major poetry competitions held at Gotoba's palace. Gotoba's progress as a poet was little short of astonishing: in 1202, a bare two years after taking up the composition of poetry, he wrote this poem for a competition:

<i>uguisu no</i>	The uguisu
<i>nakedomo imada</i>	Has begun to sing but still
<i>furu yuki ni</i>	In the falling snow
<i>sugi no ha shiroki</i>	The cedar needles are white
<i>Ausaka no yama</i> ⁵⁷	At Ausaka Mountain.

The contrast between the uguisu's song, heralding the spring, and the snow falling on the green cedars is a graceful variation on a *Kokinshū* poem, but superior in its imagery.⁵⁸ Gotoba was qualified now not only to command the compilation of a court anthology but to contribute to its contents.

CONTENTS OF THE *SHIN KOKINSHŪ*

The 1,981 poems of the *Shin Kokinshū* are divided in the traditional manner into twenty books of which six are devoted to the seasons; one each to poems of congratulations, condolences, separation, and travel; five to love; three to miscellaneous topics; and, finally, one each to Shintō and Buddhism. Following the model of the *Kokinshū*, the collection has two prefaces, one in Japanese by Fujiwara Yoshitsune, the other in Chinese by the Confucian scholar Fujiwara Chikatsune (1151–1210). The poems included were not restricted to works composed during the period of the compilation: poems that had already appeared in *chokusenshū* were excluded, but some poems from the *Man'yōshū* (not a *chokusenshū*) were chosen, as were many works by poets of the *Kokinshū* era. It is nonetheless customary to speak of a "*Shin Kokinshū* style" pervading the entire collection because the compilers chose poetry from the past as well as from the present that best suited the tastes of their generation.

When the Retired Emperor Gotoba toward the end of 1201 officially

decided to sponsor a *chokusenshū*, he appointed an editorial committee of six men: Minamoto Michitomo, Fujiwara Ariie, Fujiwara Teika, Fujiwara Ietaka, Fujiwara Masatsune, and the Buddhist priest Jakuren. Jakuren died in the following year but was not replaced. We know quite a bit about the manner in which the committee went about its task thanks to two diaries, Teika's *Meigetsuki* (Chronicle of the Bright Moon) and the diary of Minamoto Ienaga.⁵⁹ We know, for example, that there was debate over the name of the new anthology; it was agreed that the name should refer to the *Kokinshū*, the collection it emulated, but not for several years did the compilers settle on *Shin Kokinshū*. In the meantime, they had made good progress with the task of selecting and arranging poems in the twenty books of the new anthology.

Both Chinese and Japanese prefaces to the *Shin Kokinshū* contain much the same information: a traditional account of the history of the *waka*, related with the utmost brevity; a statement of the policy followed in selecting poems for inclusion; and an explanation of how it came about that poems by Gotoba, who had commanded the compilation, were included, although the compilers of the *Kokinshū* had not included poems by the emperor, who had issued a similar command. Both prefaces, in describing Gotoba's injunctions to the editors, state that he urged them to choose superior poems without respect to the social status of the poets. Naturally, this was not interpreted as meaning that the editors should search for suitable poems composed by soldiers, artisans, or peasants; in practice, it meant little more than that a small number of anonymous poems (some borrowed from the *Man'yōshū*) and a few more by priests not of the highest social station were included in a collection that otherwise consisted almost entirely of poetry composed by aristocrats of impeccable lineage. Perhaps the *Shin Kokinshū* suffers when compared to the *Man'yōshū* because the backgrounds and experiences of its poets were so similar, but it is the ultimate achievement of Japanese court poetry, and the aesthetic that colors its expression would become that of Japanese poets of future centuries, even those far removed from the world evoked by its poets.

The *Shin Kokinshū*, as its name indicates, stands in the direct line of the *Kokinshū*. Many poems derived their inspiration from *honka* in the earlier collection, and some of the mannerisms—such as the disproportionate attention given to snow, the moon, and cherry blossoms among the sights of nature—were taken over without question by the *Shin Kokinshū* poets.⁶⁰ This meant that the images of many *Shin Kokinshū* poems hardly differ from those in the *Kokinshū*. If the poets had been satisfied with creating no more than an elegant pastiche of poems in

the manner of the *Kokinshū*, they no doubt could have done this so skillfully that it would be difficult to tell the new from the old; but although the *Shin Kokinshū* poets invariably spoke with reverence of the *Kokinshū*, they were aware that they lived in times quite dissimilar to the golden age of the emperors Daigo and Murakami and knew that their poetry would inevitably reflect the changes. The differences between their collection and the *Kokinshū* would not be of imagery but of mood, of outlook on the world; the *Kokinshū* poets savored their gentle melancholy, but the *Shin Kokinshū* poets expressed an intensity of grief that sometimes approached despair.

The *Shin Kokinshū* poets might have looked back to the age of the *Kokinshū* with envy, in the manner that Japanese poets often recalled the past, but despite the sadly changed circumstances of their world, they believed that they lived in an age of a great revival of the waka. The Japanese preface concluded,

If one looks down on what one actually sees with one's eyes and reveres excessively the reports that reach one's ears, one will feel ashamed before the old writings; but we have followed the mainstream of poetry back to its sources, and have striven to revive this never-ending art. Frosts may succeed dews again and again, but this collection will not disappear; no matter how many autumns follow springs, it will remain bright and unclouded as the moon. We who are fortunate enough to be alive for this occasion rejoice that the work is completed. Will not future generations of people who honor the way of poetry envy us today?⁶¹

This confidence was justified by the extraordinary quality of the collection. The first poem in the *Shin Kokinshū* is by the Regent and Prime Minister Fujiwara Yoshitsune, and this is followed by poems by the Retired Emperor Gotoba, Princess Shokushi, Kunaikyō, Shunzei, and the priests Shun'e and Saigyō—a dazzling array. With the possible exception of the *Man'yōshū*, no collection contains waka poetry of this quality.

In 1205 a banquet was held to celebrate the completion of the *Shin Kokinshū*. Such festivities were a departure from tradition—no banquet was held for the *Kokinshū* or *Gosenshū*—but Gotoba was eager for a celebration, and it was possible to cite as a precedent the banquet that commemorated the completion of the *Nihon Shoki* some five hundred years before.⁶² Teika, annoyed that tradition had been violated, did not attend, giving as his excuse that he was still in mourning for his father,

Shunzei, who had died in the previous year. On this occasion Fujiwara Ariie read aloud the Chinese preface for the *Shin Kokinshū*, written as if by Gotoba himself, though it was in fact by Fujiwara Chikatsune.⁶³ An elaborate ceremony of poetry reading and music followed.

Teika, who learned what occurred from someone who had been present, commented sourly in his diary, "What was the point of holding such a ceremony? It was not in accordance with precedents. It was suddenly arranged and everything was at cross purposes. The poets were not even poets. The choice was most peculiar."⁶⁴ Teika's remark that the "poets were not even poets" refers to the circumstance that four of the twenty poets who attended the banquet, members of the defeated Rokujō faction, had not had a single poem included in the *Shin Kokinshū*. The Japanese preface was unfortunately not ready in time for the celebration,⁶⁵ but Gotoba composed a poem expressing satisfaction with his achievement in having commissioned such a splendid anthology, likening himself to the Emperor Daigo who "mindful of the past and desiring to revive the ancient ways" had commanded the compilation of the *Kokinshū*.⁶⁶

Although the banquet ostensibly signified the completion of the *Shin Kokinshū*, editorial work continued until late in 1210, and years later, while Gotoba was an exile in the Oki islands, he completely revised the text, eliminating nearly four hundred poems. But it is usual to say that the *Shin Kokinshū* was completed in 1205, if only because that makes it exactly three hundred years after the completion of the *Kokinshū*.

FUJIWARA TEIKA (1162–1241)

One great *Shin Kokinshū* poet, Fujiwara Teika, was missing from the opening cluster of poets, but his first poem, the thirty-eighth in the collection, set the tone of the entire work and typifies the waka of its age:

haru no yo no	When the floating bridge
yume no ukihashi	Of dreams of a night in spring
todae shite	Was interrupted,
mine ni wakaruru	In the sky a bank of clouds
yokogumo no sora	Was taking leave of the peak.

Teika's poem is found in a section of the first book of the *Shin Kokinshū* devoted to sights of early spring, but commentators agree that, despite the imagery drawn from nature, the poem is not about the seasons

but about love. The poet awakes at dawn from a dream. We are not told the content of the dream, but the tone of the poem strongly suggests that it was romantic. Awakening, he feels a poignant sense of separation (perhaps from a woman he met in the dream), and when he looks outside he sees in the dawn sky a bank of clouds separating from the peak, an echo in nature of his own experience. The “floating bridge of dreams” was the name of the last chapter in *The Tale of Genji*, in which the lovers Kaoru and Ukifune are separated forever. The term appears elsewhere in literature of the time, with overtones of an important experience coming to an end, causing the writer to reflect on the transience of the world. It is twice used in this sense by Minamoto Michichika in his diaries to describe his feelings, once when the Emperor Takakura abdicated after a short reign, and later when he saw the emperor lying on his deathbed.⁶⁷

The last two lines of Teika’s poem borrowed from earlier poems. The *honka* is believed to be the poem by Mibu no Tadamine in the *Kokinshū*:

<i>kaze fukeba</i>	Like a white cloud that
<i>mine ni wakaruru</i>	Has been cut loose from the peak
<i>shirakumo no</i>	By the blowing wind,
<i>taete tsurenaki</i>	Has your heart, cut off from me,
<i>kimi ga kokoro ka</i> ⁶⁸	Turned completely unfeeling?

The second line of this poem is identical with the fourth line of Teika’s. A poem by Fujiwara Ietaka on the theme of “a spring dawning” (also included in the *Shin Kokinshū*) is even closer:

<i>kasumi tatsu</i>	Swathed in the spring mist
<i>Sue no Matsuyama</i>	Mount Pine-to-the-End is now
<i>honobono to</i>	Faintly visible,
<i>nami ni wakaruru</i>	In the sky a bank of clouds
<i>yokokumo no sora</i> ⁶⁹	Is taking leave of the waves.

It seems probable that Teika derived the last line and a half of his poem from the above poem by his friend Ietaka. Although his practice of borrowing from the poetry of contemporaries violated his own prohibition,⁷⁰ this is not only Teika’s most famous poem, but the best known of all *Shin Kokinshū* poems.⁷¹ The two source poems are both of exceptional quality, but read in conjunction with Teika’s it is at once apparent why they never acquired its fame: for all their beauty, they lack the

mysterious depth in Teika’s waka that for centuries has intrigued readers and induced scholars to supply explanations. The contemporary poet Tsukamoto Kunio wrote about the poem,

The clouds of a spring night that lie on the peak are at once a landscape and a bridge joining the worlds of the dream and of reality. No harm is done by inferring that the poem hints at a lovers’ parting at dawn, but one should keep this at a barely perceptible level, the last of the last. . . . With respect to the neologism “the floating bridge of dreams,” it is customary to cite the name of the last chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, but more theories than one can count on the fingers of both hands have been advanced concerning the term; in this instance, too, it is quite sufficient if, with the utmost caution, one bears this theory in mind. Of greater importance than the sources is the question of how the words of the poem have been given life, and how the image of the bridge has always been used to symbolize the route connecting this shore to the far shore. The figure of speech “the floating bridge,” necessitated by “clouds,” resonates mutually with *todae shite* [was interrupted].⁷²

Tsukamoto provided a necessary corrective to the tendency to “explain” *Shin Kokinshū* poems in terms of their sources or their hidden meanings. As a poet, Tsukamoto was especially sensitive to the effects created by the placement of words and their sounds, quite apart from their ultimate sources. Even if Teika had borrowed every single word in this poem, the combination of images and sounds was uniquely his own; and the epiphany he experienced on seeing the bank of clouds in the dawn sky, rather than any hidden reference to a lovers’ parting, gave immortality to his poem.

Another poem by Teika conveys, perhaps even better than his poem on the “floating bridge of dreams,” the lonely beauty evoked by the word *sabi*,⁷³ an aesthetic ideal that became prominent from this time:

<i>miwataseba</i>	In this wide landscape
<i>hana mo momiji mo</i>	There are no cherry blossoms
<i>nakarikeri</i>	And no colored leaves;
<i>ura no tomoya no</i>	Evening in autumn over
<i>aki no yūgure</i> ⁷⁴	A straw-thatched hut by the bay.

The source of Teika’s poem is the “Akashi” chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. Genji, staying at the house of the former governor of Akashi

after his lonely exile at Suma, is delighted by the landscape, which suits his mood exactly.

In the wide, unbroken view over the seacoast, the exuberant foliage under the trees seemed even more captivating than the full brilliance of cherry blossoms in the spring or colored leaves in the autumn.⁷⁵

Although Teika probably had this passage in mind when he composed his poem, the effect is diametrically dissimilar. Genji is enchanted by a brilliance of color that seems to him (at least at this moment) even more captivating than the conventionally admired sights of nature; but Teika's attention is caught not by foliage that rivals in color the sights of spring and autumn but by a monochrome landscape—a wretched hut in the growing dark of an autumn day. The intent was certainly not parody of *The Tale of Genji*, but there could not be a more striking contrast between the charm of the original and the *sabi* of Teika's poem.⁷⁶

Teika was one of the handful of undoubtedly great Japanese poets, but he does not inspire the affection we feel toward Hitomaro, Saigyō, or Bashō, an affection that makes us want to know every detail of their lives. He was unwaveringly aristocratic in his tastes and (especially in later years) extremely conservative in his views on poetry.⁷⁷ His famous declaration (found in his diary, *Chronicle of the Bright Moon*) that “the red banners and the expeditions against the traitors are no concern of mine”⁷⁸ has been interpreted as an expression of the poet's determination to maintain his integrity in the face of sordid conflicts, but it is hard not to catch overtones of aristocratic disdain for matters (like warfare) that concern only the lower classes.

Although Teika's diary abounds in mentions of sickness, suggesting that he suffered from a delicate constitution, he was unusually long-lived, and evidently had a fierce temper.⁷⁹ In 1185 he had a quarrel with a junior official named Minamoto Masayuki whom he accused of having insulted him. The quarrel is described in *Gyokuyō* (Jeweled Leaf), the diary kept between 1164 and 1200 by Fujiwara Kanezane (1149–1207): “It has been reported that on the night of the rehearsal of the Gosechi dances in the presence of His Majesty,⁸⁰ a quarrel took place between the lesser general Masayuki and the chamberlain Teika. In the course of making some sneering remarks, Masayuki became quite disorderly. Teika, unable to control his indignation and disgust, struck Masayuki with a lantern. Some people say he hit him in the face. Because of this incident, Teika's name was removed from the palace register.⁸¹ Teika

was restored to the ranks of those permitted to present themselves at the palace the next year, after his father, Shunzei, had written a letter pleading that Teika be forgiven because of his youth.

Among the earliest surviving poems by Teika are hundred-verse sequences he contributed in 1189 to two poetry gatherings. He was also selected to compose poems to ornament the screens presented to Ninshi, the daughter of Fujiwara Kanezane, when she became the consort of the Emperor Gotoba. Clearly, his talent as a poet had been recognized, but he was slow in rising in the hierarchy. His disappointment when he discovered in 1187 that, once again, he had been passed over for promotion in the spring list is suggested by this poem:

<i>toshi furedo</i>	Another year gone by
<i>kokoro no haru wa</i>	And still no spring warms my heart,
<i>yoso nagara</i>	It's nothing to me
<i>nagamenarenuru</i>	But now I am accustomed
<i>akebono no sora</i> ⁸²	To stare at the sky at dawn.

This kind of poem was called *jukkai*, a poem complaining about some personal grievance, a subject for poetry first admitted to poetry competitions in the twelfth century. As this example suggests, the grievance is not baldly stated. The “sky at dawn” probably refers to the statement at the opening of *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon* that “in spring it is the dawn that is most beautiful,” but the coming of spring brings Teika no joy. The cause of Teika's discontent is not mentioned, but failure to gain promotion was a typical theme of *jukkai* poems.

In 1190 Teika was promoted for the first time in ten years. His joy was short-lived: in the following month the great poet Saigyō, who had always encouraged Teika, died on his travels. Teika wrote a poem of mourning:

<i>mochizuki no</i>	Just as he desired,
<i>goro wa tagawanu</i>	A full moon was in the sky
<i>sora naredo</i>	When he passed away,
<i>kieken kumo no</i>	But how sad to trace the cloud
<i>yukue kanashi na</i> ⁸³	To the place where it vanished.

That autumn the regent and prime minister, Fujiwara Yoshitsune, summoned poets to a gathering at which hundred-verse sequences were to be presented. In a marked departure from tradition, there were only

two topics of poetry for each sequence—fifty poems each on the moon and on cherry blossoms—and the sequences were accordingly known as *Kagetsu Hyakushu* (One Hundred Poems on Blossoms and the Moon). The choice of these topics indicated that the poems composed at this gathering were dedicated to the memory of Saigyō, whose greatest joy was cherry blossoms, and who never wearied of celebrating the beauty of the moon. Some of the best of Teika's early poetry is found among the poems composed on this occasion, including:⁸⁴

<i>hana no ka wa</i>	Only the fragrance,
<i>kaoru bakari wo</i>	Still pervasive, indicates
<i>yukue tote</i>	Where the blossoms went:
<i>kaze yori tsuraki</i>	The dark of the evening sky
<i>yūyami no sora</i>	Is harder to bear than the wind.

This poem presents problems at different levels.⁸⁵ The first is that cherry blossoms have no scent. Since the variety of blossoms is not specified, some critics have assumed that Teika was describing plum blossoms, whose scent is the subject of innumerable poems.⁸⁶ This is plausible, but if the flowers mentioned in only one poem of the sequence of fifty were plum blossoms rather than cherry blossoms, it would disrupt the harmony of the sequence and run counter to the underlying theme of the poems. This poem must also be about cherry blossoms, even though they have no scent; a poetic, rather than a botanical, logic is involved. The importance of the scent to the poem is underlined by the repetition (contrary to normal waka practice) of near synonyms, *ka*, meaning “scent,” and *kaoru*, meaning “to be fragrant,” in successive lines. The statement that the evening sky is “harder to bear than the wind” is puzzling, especially since we have been told nothing about the wind. The poem might be spelled out: “The cherry blossoms have all been blown away by the wind, leaving only their scent to suggest the direction in which they were carried off. The sky has grown dark, making it even harder to see where the blossoms might have gone; this darkness is harder to bear than the wind.”

The poem is certainly beautiful, evoking through sight (the falling blossoms in the twilight), touch (the wind), and smell (the fragrance of the blossoms) a late-spring scene. But was that all Teika had in mind? The poet Andō Tsuguo was the first to suggest that the flowers in the poem referred to Saigyō;⁸⁷ in that case, it describes Teika's loneliness after Saigyō “disappeared,” blown off by the wind of death, leaving only the fragrance of his poetry in the dark. Interpreted in these terms, the

poem becomes doubly interesting. But was that in fact Teika's intent? We shall probably never know.

The difficulty of the poems Teika wrote as a young man earned them the nickname of *daruma-uta*, or Zen poems, implying that they were as arcane as the sayings of the Zen masters. Later in his career, after Teika had become conspicuously more conservative, his poems were much easier to understand, but the *daruma-uta*, long deplored by critics, have a special appeal for poets today because they convey philosophical ideas within the thirty-one syllables of a waka by means of symbolist imagery.⁸⁸

Teika's experiments at this time included an enlargement of the subject matter of the waka to include themes that hitherto had been treated only in Chinese poetry: toward the end of 1191 Fujiwara Yoshitsune convened a poetry gathering at which poets were asked to compose one hundred poems on ten themes including “animals,” “birds,” and “insects.” These themes had hitherto been treated by Chinese poets, who were not restricted in their subject matter, but rarely appear in the waka;⁸⁹ so it was natural for Teika to have turned to Chinese poetry for precedents when composing poetry about such unpoetic animals as bears, monkeys, wild boars, and sheep. His poem on a tiger, the last of the sequence of ten animal poems, had a double meaning:

<i>takayama no</i>	The path taken by
<i>mine fuminarasu</i>	The tiger cub as it climbs
<i>tora no ko no</i>	With powerful tread
<i>noboran michi no</i>	To the mountain peak stretches
<i>sue zo harukeki</i> ⁹⁰	Far out into the distance.

This is definitely not one of Teika's masterpieces, but it does suggest an attempt to expand the horizons of the waka poet. It also has an allegorical meaning: Teika is congratulating the tiger cub (his host, Yoshitsune) on his success in climbing up the high mountain (the ranks of the nobility) to his present position, and is further predicting that his prospects are limitless.⁹¹

Another of Teika's experiments inspired by Yoshitsune involved expanding the vocabulary of the waka. In later years Teika would be known as an uncompromising exponent of the traditional poetic diction—essentially, the vocabulary of the poetry in the *Kokinshū*—but when a messenger came from Yoshitsune with the request that Teika compose a set of poems each of which began with a different member of the kana syllabary, he immediately rose to the challenge, though this

involved using words not sanctioned by earlier poetic practice. The main problem was the need to begin poems with the *ra, ri, ru, re, ro* of the syllabary. No native Japanese word begins with these sounds, and Teika therefore had to use words of Chinese origin, some of them technical terms of Buddhism. These poems were hardly more than a display of virtuosity, and the non-native elements of vocabulary did not figure in Teika's later works, but he had demonstrated that a few words of foreign origin did not destroy the lyric beauty of a waka.⁹² Teika's later opposition to untraditional language would, however, be one of the causes of the establishment of a poetic diction that was observed by most waka poets until well into the nineteenth century.

Yoshitsune seems to have enjoyed testing Teika's powers of improvisation. In 1192, when Teika visited his house, Yoshitsune suddenly asked him to compose thirty-three poems, each one beginning with a syllable from a certain poem by the priest Sosei in the *Kokinshū*.⁹³ Teika not only complied without hesitation, but composed all thirty-three poems about autumn, since that was the season, and many of these poems are of exceptional pictorial beauty.⁹⁴ In 1196 Yoshitsune asked Teika to compose 128 poems, each of which concluded with one of the 128 characters used for rhymes in Chinese poetry. It goes without saying that Teika responded brilliantly to the challenge.⁹⁵

Of greater lasting importance than these experiments was the *uta-awase* held at Yoshitsune's house in 1193. Late in 1192 Yoshitsune asked twelve poets each to compose a hundred-verse sequence. Teika's mother died in the spring of the next year, and Teika attempted to withdraw, but Yoshitsune insisted. The twelve hundred poems were all assembled by the autumn of that year and were then paired off into the six hundred rounds of a poem competition. The poets included the host, Yoshitsune, his uncle Jien, Teika, Jakuren, and various younger poets of the Mikohidari school as well as poets of the rival Rokujō school. Shunzei was the judge, and the standards set by the competition were unusually high.⁹⁶

Teika's success as a poet seemed assured when he and the others of the Mikohidari school suffered a setback from a quite unexpected quarter. Minamoto Yoritomo, the shogun, had a daughter called Ōhime whom he decided he would marry off to the finest man in Japan—that is, the emperor himself. It occurred to him that the best way of approaching the youthful Emperor Gotoba (who was sixteen at the time) was through the poet and courtier Minamoto Michichika, whose wife had been Gotoba's wet nurse. Up until this time Yoritomo had been friendly with Fujiwara Kanezane, the *kampaku*,⁹⁷ but he now seemed to favor Michichika, Kanezane's bitter rival. This gave Michichika the

chance to persuade Gotoba that Kanezane was incompetent and to replace him in 1196 with a man of his own faction. The repercussions of political change were extended to the world of poetry: the Mikohidari school, associated with Kanezane's family, was displaced at the court by the conservative Rokujō school, and the brilliant gatherings at Fujiwara Yoshitsune's salon ended. Only two poems by Teika survive from 1197, unmistakable evidence of the difficulty he experienced in composing in the hostile atmosphere of the new régime.

At the end of 1197 Teika was summoned from this spiritual banishment by a request from the Cloistered Prince Shukaku, who was resident at the Ninna-ji, a Shingon temple in the northwest of the capital. Teika recorded in his diary,

Jakuren came. He had gone to see the prince at the Ninna-ji at the latter's request on the first. The prince informed him that he would like to have a session of fifty-poem sequences and asked him to inform Teika and his father that he wished them to participate. Although I felt very hesitant, considering the times, once I heard this request I accepted without condition. A request from the prince is not at all like a request from a stranger.⁹⁸

A manuscript of the poems in Teika's hand survives, together with corrections in another hand, presumably Shunzei's. Most of the poems were submitted more or less in their original form, but some were replaced, suggesting that Teika had taken adverse criticism to heart. The quality is remarkably good: six of his fifty poems would be incorporated in the *Shin Kokinshū*, including:

<i>ōzora wa</i>	The wide heavens are
<i>ume no nioi ni</i>	Misted over with the scent
<i>kasumitsutsu</i>	Of the plum blossoms:
<i>kumori mo hatenu</i>	The moon of a night in spring
<i>haru no yo no tsuki</i> ⁹⁹	Not quite obscured by the clouds.

and

<i>shimo mayou</i>	Spring rain is falling
<i>sora ni shioreshi</i>	On the wings of the wild geese
<i>karigane no</i>	As they return north,
<i>kaeru tsubasa ni</i>	Wings that drooped when they struggled
<i>harusame zo furu</i> ¹⁰⁰	Through a sky laden with frost.

The poem on the “floating bridge of a spring night,” discussed above, was also included.

The poetry gathering at the Ninna-ji, like the hundred-poem sequences of 1200, was a direct predecessor of the *Shin Kokinshū*. In between the two events an important political change occurred, Gotoba's abdication in favor of his three-year-old son, Tsuchimikado. This should have given even greater power to Michichika, who was related to the new emperor on his mother's side (and who himself was often referred to as Tsuchimikado Michichika); but Gotoba intended to rule as a retired emperor, and showed himself increasingly independent of Michichika, finally restoring Yoshitsune to power by appointing him as regent in 1202. In the meantime, as has been related, Gotoba had begun to manifest an extraordinary interest in composing poetry. The celebrated uta-awase in fifteen hundred rounds was held in 1201. Teika, whose poetic genius had been recognized by Gotoba in 1200, the year of the hundred-poem sequences, was now a constant companion to the retired emperor. Fundamentally, however, the two men were not alike in their tastes. Gotoba still enjoyed an evening with prostitutes and *shirabyōshi* (women entertainers), but on such occasions Teika apparently sat in a corner sulking.¹⁰¹

Shunzei died in 1204, ninety-one years old by Japanese reckoning. Teika, who wrote many poems mourning the death of his mother, left no poems about Shunzei's death,¹⁰² but remained absorbed with the task of compiling the *Shin Kokinshū*. The sudden death of Yoshitsune in the spring of 1206 seems to have affected Teika more; he composed a number of poems of mourning, including:

<i>tsukihi hete</i>	The months and days pass,
<i>aki no konoha wo</i>	And in the wind that blows through
<i>fuku kaze ni</i>	The leaves of autumn,
<i>yayoi no yume zo</i>	The dream of the third month slips
<i>itodo furiyuku</i> ¹⁰³	Farther and farther away.

From this time until about 1220 Teika was at the height of his creative powers. His relations with the imperial court continued to be excellent even though no poem competitions or similar gatherings were held at the court of Tsuchimikado (reigned 1198–1210). Gotoba, who had never much liked his eldest son, replaced him on the throne with his second son, the Emperor Juntoku (reigned 1210–1221). It was a time of unusual poetic activity: although Gotoba himself seemed to have lost interest in composing poetry, Juntoku was an enthusiast for the waka and eagerly participated in poetry sessions held at the palace.¹⁰⁴ Teika

and his friend Ietaka were the leading spirits of poetry of the day, and Teika was especially heartened when (in 1207) Minamoto Sanetomo (1192–1219), the youthful shogun, sent him thirty poems for correction. Two years later, in response to Sanetomo's questions about poetry, Teika composed for his benefit *Kindai Shūka* (Superior Poems of Our Time), his first work of criticism.¹⁰⁵ Although Teika and Sanetomo wrote in entirely different manners, Teika recognized the unusual ability of his pupil, as we know from the large number of Sanetomo's poems included by Teika in the court anthology he edited, *Shin Chokusen Waka Shū* (known as the *Shin Chokusenshū*). The contacts that Teika made in this way with the Kamakura shogunate would prove beneficial to his official career in later years.¹⁰⁶

Sanetomo's natural poetic bent led him back to the *Man'yōshū*, rather than to the more courtly *Kokinshū* or the *Shin Kokinshū*. Teika (perhaps imitating his pupil) turned to the *Man'yōshū* for honka in the poetry he composed at this time, though he did not always seek to emulate the simple strength that Sanetomo found in the old collection. A particularly complex poem among the hundred he composed in 1215 on “famous places” drew on the *Man'yōshū*:

<i>Ikoma yama</i>	At Mount Ikoma
<i>arashi mo aki no</i>	Even the storm winds blow
<i>iro ni fuku</i>	The color of autumn:
<i>tezome no ito no</i>	How sad to twist together
<i>yoru zo kanashiki</i> ¹⁰⁷	Thread I have dyed with my hands.

The honka is this anonymous *Man'yōshū* poem:

<i>Kōchime no</i>	The Kōchi girl
<i>tezome no ito wo</i>	Again and again twists the thread
<i>kurikaeshi</i>	She herself has dyed;
<i>kataito ni aredo</i>	Although the thread is single, ¹⁰⁸
<i>taen to omoeya</i> ¹⁰⁹	There is no fear it will break.

Teika's poem incorporates the imagery of the *Man'yōshū* poem, but changes the mood and the implications. The “color of autumn” is the crimson of autumn leaves, and this leads to the color of the thread spun by the speaker; but *aki* is not only “autumn” but “satiety,” suggesting that the speaker fears her lover is weary of her. Again, *yoru* is at once the verb “to twist together” and the noun “night,” yielding for the last line the additional meaning “the nights are sad (now that he is weary

of me and I am alone)." Perhaps Teika, planning to write about Mount Ikoma, famous for its autumn leaves, thought of Kōchi (more commonly, Kawachi), the general area of the mountain, a place where crafts were early introduced from the continent, and then recalled the *Man'yōshū*.¹¹⁰

A poem written in 1216 which also has a honka in the *Man'yōshū*¹¹¹ is of similar complexity:

<i>konu hito wo</i>	Waiting for someone
<i>Matsuho no ura no</i>	Who does not come, my heart burns
<i>yūnagi ni</i>	Like seaweed fires
<i>yaku ya moshio no</i>	Smoldering in the calm of dusk
<i>mi mo kogaretsutsu</i> ¹¹²	On the shore of Matsuho.

These poems are unusual in that Teika was describing women of the peasant or fisherfolk class, unlike his usual aristocratic subjects. He rarely left the surroundings of the Imperial Palace and probably knew of such people mainly through the poetry of the *Man'yōshū*.

Teika continued to compose poetry at the palace and seems to have been on unusually good terms with Juntoku, but his relations with Gotoba steadily deteriorated. On the thirteenth day of the second month of 1220 there was an uta-awase at the palace. Teika was invited to participate, but he declined because it was the anniversary of his mother's death and he always spent that day in prayer. Gotoba insisted that he attend, regardless of the circumstances, sending a messenger three times. Teika finally yielded and went to the palace with two poems for the competition. The first bore the title "Moon over the Spring Mountains":

<i>sayaka ni mo</i>	The mountain should be
<i>mirubekei yama wa</i>	Brilliantly clear, but tonight
<i>kasumitsutsu</i>	It is mist-covered;
<i>wa ga mi no hōka mo</i>	The moon of a night in spring
<i>haru no yo no tsuki</i> ¹¹³	Has no connection with me.

It is not difficult, in view of the background, to deduce what Teika had in mind: the mountain, which should be clearly visible on this moonlit night, is blurred because of his tears, and has nothing to do with someone who at heart is in mourning. There is an allusion to a poem by Nakatsukasa in the *Shūishū* in which she says that the moon, which should be brilliantly clear that night, seems blurred because of her tears, a poem very similar to Teika's. It may well be imagined that

this poem did not please Gotoba, but Teika's second was even less to his liking. It was called "Willows Beyond the Fields":

<i>michinobe no</i>	Alongside the road,
<i>nohara no yanagi</i>	The willows of the meadows
<i>shita moenu</i>	Have sprouted below.
<i>aware nageki no</i>	Alas, which of us will win
<i>kemuri kurabe ni</i> ¹¹⁴	This test of burgeoning grief?

The poem compares the willow shoots rising from the ground to the "smoke" (*kemuri*) rising from his breast because of his grief. The poem contains allusions to two poems attributed to Sugawara no Michizane, one included in the *Shin Kokinshū* and the other in *The Great Mirror*. Michizane, it will be remembered, was sent into exile though blameless, and the poems convey his grief. This is the first of the two poems:

<i>michinobe no</i>	The withered willow
<i>kuchiki no yanagi</i>	Standing alongside the road
<i>haru kureba</i>	When spring at last comes
<i>aware mukashi to</i>	Surely must think with longing,
<i>shinobare zo suru</i> ¹¹⁵	"Ah, how I long for the past!"

The second of Michizane's poems to which Teika alluded appears in *The Great Mirror* with a prefatory note, "On an evening when everything conspired to deepen his gloom, he noticed plumes of smoke here and there in the distance."¹¹⁶

<i>yū sareba</i>	The day has ended,
<i>no ni mo yama ni mo</i>	And in the fields and mountains
<i>tatsu keburi</i>	Plumes of smoke arise;
<i>nageki yori koso</i>	Fires burn ever more intense
<i>moemasarikeru</i> ¹¹⁷	Because they feed on my griefs.

By quoting these two poems Teika was in effect comparing himself to Sugawara no Michizane, who was exiled to Kyūshū by a scheming politician. It may easily be imagined how Gotoba reacted to Teika's poems. The diary of the Emperor Juntoku describes the wrath of the retired emperor: at first, Gotoba asked only that Teika be forbidden to appear for the time being at poetry sessions in the palace, but his anger mounted, and he never forgave Teika. Quite different explanations of

Gotoba's anger were given by the novelist Maruya Saiichi. First, he cited the opinion of the *Shin Kokinshū* authority Ishida Yoshisada that the real cause of Gotoba's anger with Teika was the latter's friendly relations with the Kamakura shogunate; the poems merely served to ignite his hostility. Maruya, disagreeing, recalled an incident that appears in Teika's diary for 1213. Because the willows planted in the previous year at Gotoba's Kaya-in Palace had withered, he requisitioned two willow trees that were in Teika's Reizei garden. This angered Teika (as he relates in the diary), and when asked seven years later to compose a poem on willows he may have recalled the incident. The word *keburikurabe* (literally, "a comparison of [the degree of] smoldering") could well apply to the two willows, comparing their unhappiness over being transplanted. This reference may have annoyed Gotoba, but Maruya, after considering these possibilities, concluded that what Gotoba really disliked was not so much any implied meanings to the poems but their gloomy tone, so at variance with the auspicious nature of the occasion.¹¹⁸

In 1221 the Jōkyū disturbance, a rebellion headed by Gotoba against the Kamakura shogunate, broke out. The forces of the shogunate easily defeated the imperial rebels in two months of fighting, and the emperors involved (Gotoba, Juntoku, and Tsuchimikado) were exiled to Oki, Sado, and Tosa respectively—the more serious the crime, the more distant the banishment. Teika, though a member of the Kyoto aristocracy, was delighted by the results of the fighting: not only was his enemy Gotoba defeated, but his wife's family, the Saionji, rose to the highest power in Kyoto, and he himself prospered as never before.

Despite this worldly recognition, Teika's activity as a poet markedly diminished; during the ten years following the Jōkyū Rebellion, Teika composed a total of fewer than eighty poems. Early in 1232 he was at last promoted to the position of middle counselor as he had long desired. In the sixth month he was commanded by the emperor to compile singlehandedly a new court anthology, *Shin Chokusenshū*, and subsequently resigned his post as middle counselor to devote himself entirely to the selection of poems for the collection. His final flowering as a poet is found in the hundred-poem sequence he composed in the same year for presentation at the house of the chancellor and minister of the Left, Kujō Norizane. In the poems of this sequence Teika wrote in a simpler style than in his better-known works, as the following may suggest:

<i>niou yori</i>	As soon as it blooms
<i>haru wa kureyuku</i>	The spring approaches its end:
<i>yamabuki no</i>	The yamabuki

The Age of the Shin Kokinshū

hana koso hana no Flowers are the most disliked
*naka ni tsurakere*¹¹⁹ By all the other flowers.

The poem says that the yamabuki (a yellow flower sometimes called a kerria rose) is disliked by the other flowers because, being the last to bloom, it presages the end of spring. The use of personification gives the comparatively simple conception a certain piquance, but it would be hard to pretend that this was one of Teika's masterpieces.

The editing of the *Shin Chokusenshū* was far from being completed when, in the tenth month of 1232, Teika presented a list of the content to the Emperor Gohorikawa for his approval. Probably he was aware that the emperor intended to abdicate two days later in favor of his son the Emperor Shijō, and wished to make the formal presentation while Gohorikawa, who had ordered the collection, was still on the throne. Work continued for another three years, and Teika was besieged by people who wanted their poems included. The completed collection was in any case a disappointment; despite the brilliance of the individual poets, the *Shin Chokusenshū* is in the rather bland manner of Teika's late poetry and has never enjoyed wide popularity.¹²⁰ In the next year following the death in childbirth of the lady she served, Teika's daughter entered orders as a nun. Teika seems to have been shocked by this development; at any rate, he himself took vows as a priest the same year. People flocked to express their grief that Teika had "left the world." Minamoto Ienaga wrote a poem "on hearing of your retreat from the world"

<i>sumizome no</i>	Sleeves layered on sleeves
<i>sode no kasanete</i>	All of them dyed inky black—
<i>kanashiki wa</i>	How sad that the world,
<i>somuku ni soete</i>	Deserted by one, is now
<i>somuku yo no naka</i>	Deserted by another.

Teika replied,

<i>ikeru yo ni</i>	I am delighted
<i>somuku no mi koso</i>	I could desert the world while
<i>ureshikere</i>	I was still alive.
<i>asu to mo matanu</i>	A old man's life is so unsure
<i>oi no inochi wa</i> ¹²¹	He cannot wait the morrow.

During his last years Teika seems to have composed little poetry but he was otherwise engaged in copying manuscripts, especially of the

major works of Heian literature. It is not much of an exaggeration to say that what we know of the literature of Teika's day and earlier is mainly what he thought was worthy of preservation.¹²²

One compilation made by Teika about this time (c. 1235) is of special importance, *Hyakunin Isshu*. It was long a matter of debate among scholars whether Teika in fact compiled the collection or whether it was a forgery attributed to him because of his great fame; but it now seems definite that Teika was the compiler, though perhaps one of his sons (or some later person) modified his selection somewhat.¹²³ These poems constituted the basic knowledge of classical Japanese poetry for most people from the early Tokugawa period until very recent times. Innumerable editions have been published, and a knowledge of the poems was essential in order to play the New Year's game of *karuta* (poem cards).¹²⁴ This meant, in a real sense, that Teika was the arbiter of the poetic tastes of most Japanese even as late as the twentieth century. The poems themselves conform in manner and vocabulary to the prescriptions laid down by Teika in *Superior Poems of Our Time*, and for this reason have been subject to attacks by those who feel that the poems insufficiently represent the vast majority of people who lived in Teika's time or that the elegant language conceals a poverty of intellectual content. It can hardly be pretended that all the poems deserve the immortality Teika bestowed on them, but many are fine poems, and his choices do no harm to his reputation as a critic.¹²⁵ But, regardless of the merits of the poems, Teika's selection of one hundred poems influenced the aesthetic preferences of Japanese for seven centuries after his death.

Teika's reputation as a poet would not have been much different even if all the poems of the last twenty years of his life had been lost. Gotoba, on the contrary, seems to have attained full maturity as a poet only after suffering the shock of exile. It will be remembered that during the years after the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū* Gotoba lost interest in poetry, but when he was sent into exile on one of the lonely Oki islands, composing poetry became his greatest distraction and comfort. In the postscript he added to the version of the *Shin Kokinshū* he edited in exile, he wrote that it was easier for him now, when he was a priest and leading a quiet life, to devote himself to poetry than when he was occupied by the business of the court.¹²⁶ The poems he wrote during the twenty years of his exile are preserved mainly in such historical works as *The Clear Mirror*. On the way to exile he composed this poem:

<i>tōyamaji</i>	Distant mountain road—
<i>ikue mo kasume</i>	Hide yourself in layers of mist!
<i>sarazu tote</i>	Even if you don't,
<i>ochikatabito no</i>	It's not likely anyone
<i>tou mo nakereba</i> ¹²⁷	Will visit me from afar.

The note of self-pity is sounded often, but it is not objectionable because we feel that Gotoba really had reason to feel sorry for himself. When he wrote that he wept, we can be sure that this was no mere figure of speech:

<i>shiokaze ni</i>	More and more distraught
<i>kokoro mo itodo</i>	By the sound of the salt wind,
<i>midare ashi no</i>	My sobs burst from me
<i>ho ni idete nakedo</i>	Like ears on a reed stalk, but
<i>tou hito mo nashi</i> ¹²⁸	Nobody comes to ask why.

Most of all, he suffered by being deprived of suitable company, and it made him bitter to think that, for all the professions of loyalty and devotion in the past, nobody came to Oki to see him:

<i>towaruru mo</i>	Getting a letter
<i>ureshiku mo nashi</i>	Does not bring any pleasure—
<i>kono umi wo</i>	It's merely empty
<i>wataranu hito no</i>	Consolation from someone
<i>nage no nasake wa</i> ¹²⁹	Who does not dare cross the sea.

Gotoba must have been aware how dangerous it would have been for anyone to attempt to visit him, but this poem (striking in its lack of imagery) seems an unpremeditated outcry of resentment.

While in exile Gotoba also composed a work of poetic criticism, *Gotoba-in Gokuden* (Oral Instructions of the Cloistered Emperor Gotoba), probably about 1225–27. The work was ostensibly intended for beginners in waka, but its most interesting sections are not those concerned with techniques but those that relate Gotoba's opinions of other poets, both predecessors and contemporaries. About half of the second part of the work is devoted to a criticism of Teika. Gotoba recognized that Teika possessed unusual talent, but he dwelt particularly on the serious faults that marred Teika's works. Gotoba's criticism is of interest because of the light it sheds on his relations with Teika, but his accusations are vaguely worded and the essay as a whole does not contribute

much to our understanding of poetic practice at the time of the *Shin Kokinshū*.

SAIGYŌ (1118–1190)

At least a half-dozen other *Shin Kokinshū* poets are remembered for their mastery of the waka. The most affecting poems in the collection were perhaps those of Fujiwara Shunzei, but his work has already been discussed in connection with the *Senzaishū*, the imperial collection he edited. The Prime Minister and Regent Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169–1206), the priest Jien, Princess Shokushi (d. 1201), and Fujiwara Ietaka¹³⁰ all composed memorable poems; but one more poet must be treated in detail, Saigyō. Although Saigyō belonged to a somewhat earlier generation than most of the poets of the *Shin Kokinshū*, this is the imperial collection in which he was most fully represented.¹³¹

Saigyō was born into a distinguished family of the military class, and was known by his lay name, Satō Norikiyo, during the early part of his career, when he served in the guard of the retired emperor. He seems to have won a reputation for martial ability: when (in 1186), long after Saigyō abandoned his lay career and entered orders as a priest in 1140, he met Minamoto Yoritomo, the shogun asked him not only about the art of poetry but about “bows and horses,”¹³² evidence that Saigyō was still considered to be an authority on martial matters, despite his long years as a priest.

It is not known why Saigyō, at the early age of twenty-two, decided to abandon a promising career as a soldier and take the vows of a Buddhist priest. It often happens when scholars attempt to explain why men of letters or artists have given up the careers for which they seemed to be intended that they attribute these decisions to disappointed love, most often love for a woman of a higher social station.¹³³ This explanation of Saigyō's renunciation of the world is found as early as *Gempei Seisuiiki*, an account of the warfare between the Taira and the Minamoto compiled about 1250,¹³⁴ and is still supported by some scholars.¹³⁵ Other sources state that the sudden death of a relative shocked Saigyō into an awareness of the uncertainty of life;¹³⁶ and still other evidence suggests that he may have “left the world” out of disgust with the state of the country or perhaps out of sympathy for the Retired Emperor Sutoku, who was forced to abdicate in 1142.¹³⁷

Saigyō was by no means the only young man with a promising future to turn his back on the world. A series of six poems written before he

entered the path of the Buddha indicates that his decision was made not in the wake of any one particular disappointment but after long consideration. The first bears the preface, “Along about the time when I made up my mind not to remain in the world, there was a gathering of people at Higashiyama and poems were composed on the theme of ‘relating one's griefs in terms of mist.’” Higashiyama referred to the hills in the east of Kyoto where there were (and still are) many Buddhist temples; “mist” was an image associated with spring, but it was sometimes used also with the melancholy overtones of the “mist” rising into the sky after someone has been cremated.

<i>sora ni naru</i>	My mind, uncertain,
<i>kokoro wa haru no</i>	Rises like the mists of spring
<i>kasumi nite</i>	Up into the sky;
<i>yo ni araji to mo</i>	It seems it has decided
<i>omoiatsu kana</i> ¹³⁸	Not to remain in this world.

The third poem of the sequence bears the preface, “A long time ago, when I visited the retreat on Higashiyama of the holy man Amida-bō, I composed this poem, feeling moved somehow.”

<i>shiba no io to</i>	A hut of brushwood—
<i>kiku wa kuyashiki</i>	The term is unappealing
<i>na naredomo</i>	To hear, but in fact
<i>yo ni konomoshiki</i>	I discovered a dwelling
<i>sumai narikeri</i> ¹³⁹	That was truly to my taste.

It is likely that the life of a hermit, secluded from the world in a lonely hut, attracted the young Saigyō (still known as Satō Norikiyo) more than any religious teaching, and induced him to “leave the world.” From this time on, the writings of recluses (*inja*) form an important genre, and in this sense Saigyō is closer to the literature of the medieval era than any other *Shin Kokinshū* poet.¹⁴⁰ The particular qualities of his poetry are known by a term that is often mentioned as being characteristic of all Japanese literature and even of all Japanese artistic creation, though it evolved as a touchstone of poetry about this time, and is less typical of Heian civilization—*mujō*, the awareness of the impermanence of all things, a basic Buddhist doctrine. For people of Saigyō's and later times *mujō* referred especially to the perishability of the works of man; an awareness of this sad truth impelled people to flee human society and take refuge in the mountains and forests where they lived in her-

mitages. Some, like Saigyō, refused even the comfort of a familiar hut, and spent much of their lives traveling as mendicants to distant parts of the country. Yet even the loneliness of such an existence afforded the possibility of finding beauty, especially in nature. This beauty was often called by another term, wabi,¹⁴¹ a word related to sabi—the discovery of beauty within the old, the faded, the forlorn.¹⁴² The following poem by Saigyō suggests the quality of wabi:

<i>tou hito mo</i>	A mountain village
<i>omoitaetaru</i>	Where there is not even hope
<i>yamazato no</i>	Of a visitor—
<i>sabishisa nakuba</i>	If not for the loneliness,
<i>sumiukaramashi</i> ¹⁴³	How painful life here would be!

Saigyō was a Shingon priest and spent considerable time on Mount Kōya, but he was not attached to any temple; he appears to have lived as a hermit even in such surroundings, rejecting the comfort of joining with others in prayer or of studying together the sacred texts.¹⁴⁴ Kōya seems to have attracted Saigyō especially because of its remoteness from the cities. Each of the ten poems in a series he composed on Kōya and sent to his friend, the priest and poet Jakuzen,¹⁴⁵ opens with the words *yama fukami*, “deep in the mountains.” The second of the series is perhaps the most memorable:

<i>yama fukami</i>	The mountains are so deep
<i>maḱi no ha wakuru</i>	The moonlight as it pierces
<i>tsukikage wa</i>	The black pine needles
<i>hageshiki mono no</i>	Has a fierce intensity
<i>sugoki narikeri</i> ¹⁴⁶	So cold it sends chills through me.

Saigyō seems not to have been interested in the doctrinal differences that separated Shingon from other varieties of Japanese Buddhism; but it was perhaps because of an equation he made in his mind between Dainichi, the central divinity of Shingon Buddhism, and Amaterasu, the chief Shintō goddess, both sun deities, that he was attracted to Ise, where he spent over five years. His first visit to Ise took place soon after he entered the priesthood, and there are scattered references to conversations with Shintō priests in his later poems. Saigyō lamented the sadly deteriorated state of the shrine buildings and the failure of the court for many years to send a princess to serve as the high priestess. His identification with the two religions is most clearly conveyed in a poem

that bears the preface, “Composed at the Great Shrine when I visited Ise”:

<i>sakakiha ni</i>	By sakaki leaves
<i>kokoro wo kaken</i>	I offer a heartfelt prayer
<i>yū shidete</i>	With cotton streamers,
<i>omoeba kami mo</i>	And the thought occurs to me,
<i>hotoke narikeri</i> ¹⁴⁷	The gods were also buddhas.

In other poems Saigyō revealed even more openly his conviction that the gods of Ise were manifestations in Japan of Dainichi, or Vairochana, the cosmic Buddha. A poem included in the *Senzaishū* bears the preface, “I had grown restless living on Mount Kōya, and went to stay at the Futami Bay in Ise. I was told that the mountain behind the Great Shrine is known as Kamiji, the Path of the Gods. I composed this poem, bearing in mind that the god here is the manifested trace of Dainichi.”¹⁴⁸

Saigyō is known as a great traveler.¹⁴⁹ His journeys seem to have been inspired mainly by the desire to see utamakura, the places that had been described in old poetry, rather than (as one might expect of a priest) the celebrated temples of the country. One journey stands out because it was inspired by a different reason. In 1168, as we have seen, he traveled to the island of Shikoku, mainly to pay his respects at the grave of the former emperor Sutoku. The opening story of Ueda Akinari’s celebrated collection *Tales of the Rain and Moon* recounts how Saigyō made his way to the grave and attempted to mollify the ghost of the emperor, still furious over the indignities to which he had been subjected. This story was an invention, but it is true also that for Saigyō, who was close to the exiled emperor, the rebellion marked the end of the world of the Heian aristocrats and the beginning of the domination by the military; when he spoke of the past (*mukashi*), he normally meant the happy days before the rebellion.¹⁵⁰

Saigyō is known especially for his many poems on cherry blossoms and on the moon,¹⁵¹ and for his famous last wish (which was ultimately granted) that he might die on a night of the full moon when the cherry blossoms were in bloom. Although both cherry blossoms and the moon were sometimes used allegorically in his poems, it can hardly be doubted that Saigyō delighted in their beauty, and in this respect he may seem disappointingly like the mass of court poets who praised cherry blossoms and the moon as if there were no other attractive sights of nature. However, some of Saigyō’s finest poems describe the winter, a season especially conducive to expressions of sabi because its beauty is not of

the conventionally admired kind. The following poem appears in the *Shin Kokinshū*:

<i>Tsu no kuni no</i>	Spring in Naniwa
<i>Naniwa no haru wa</i>	In the province of Tsu—
<i>yume nare ya</i>	Was it just a dream?
<i>ashi no kareha ni</i>	The wind crosses over
<i>kaze wataru nari</i> ¹⁵²	The withered stalks of rushes.

The desolate wintry scene made Saigyō wonder if this could be the same landscape he had seen in spring sunlight. The scene is lonely, epitomized by the withered stalks, not at all like the fresh green of the reeds for which Naniwa was famous, but it is not devoid of a melancholy beauty. What may be Saigyō's most famous poem describes a lonely scene in autumn:

<i>kokoro naki</i>	Even to someone
<i>mi ni mo aware wa</i>	Free of passions, this sadness
<i>shirarekeri</i>	Would be apparent;
<i>shigi tatsu sawa no</i>	Evening in autumn over
<i>aki no yūgure</i> ¹⁵³	A marsh where a snipe rises. ¹⁵⁴

The “someone free of passions” of the poem is probably Saigyō himself, a man who has renounced worldly passions; and the moment when the snipe rises from the marsh, though meaningless in itself, stirs within him a profound emotion that is a response to the essential nature of the scene.

Saigyō himself believed that this was his finest poem, but it was not recognized as such in his time. Fujiwara Shunzei refused to include it in the imperial collection he edited, the *Senzaiishū*, to Saigyō's great disappointment. When Saigyō later asked Shunzei to judge a series of thirty-six pairs of his poems, arranged in the form of a poem competition, Shunzei decided that the “rival” poem was superior to this masterpiece.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps the expression of *sabi* was too far in advance of the tastes of the time; it was not until the commentary on the *Shin Kokinshū* by Tō no Tsuneyori (1401?–1484?) that the deeply moving nature of the poem was fully appreciated,¹⁵⁶ but from that time on it was ranked at the top of Saigyō's oeuvre.

Although his poetry may not have been fully understood in his lifetime, Saigyō's reputation at the time of the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū* is attested to by the inclusion of more poems by him than by any other poet. Early in his career Teika was encouraged and influenced

by Saigyō, and Gotoba praised him more than any other recent poet. Saigyō was also blessed with friends, especially the priests Saiju and Jakuzen. Poems on friendship, so common in China, were rare in Japan, but Saigyō, though at times obsessively desirous of solitude, needed friends, as we can infer from a well-known poem:

<i>sabishisa ni</i>	I wish there were a man,
<i>taetaru hito no</i>	Someone else who can endure
<i>mata mo are na</i>	Loneliness, nearby—
<i>iori naraben</i>	I would build my hut beside his:
<i>fuyu no yamazato</i> ¹⁵⁷	A mountain village in winter.

Saigyō kept acquiring new friends in the centuries that followed. When Bashō in *Oi no Kobumi* (Manuscript in My Knapsack) chose one waka poet to represent the genius of the genre, it was Saigyō; and his journey to the north of Japan in 1689, immortalized by his *Narrow Road of Ōku*, was inspired by the travels of Saigyō to that part of the country.¹⁵⁸ All during the journey, Saigyō was never far from Bashō's mind, and he did not overlook a sight mentioned in his poetry. Saigyō's reputation has continued to grow, and many books have been devoted to an appreciation of his poetry and, above all, of the man. The technical excellence of his poetry is generally passed over in silence, as if it were too obvious to merit consideration or else irrelevant to the true importance of Saigyō.¹⁵⁹ His poetry is not typical of the *Shin Kokinshū* as a whole, and admirers of Teika sometimes express no more than condescending interest in Saigyō,¹⁶⁰ but he unquestionably contributed to making the *Shin Kokinshū* the finest of the imperially sponsored collections of poetry.

Notes

1. Kibune Shigeaki, in the afterword to his *Shoku Gosen Waka Shū Zenchū-shaku*, p. 458, stated that there were absolutely no commented editions of the chokusenshū between the *Shin Kokinshū* and the thirteenth. His edition marked a first step at remedying this deficiency. The second to seventh chokusenshū were almost as badly neglected, but the Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikai series has conspicuously changed this situation.
2. I shall refer from this point on to members of the aristocracy without the particle *no* between the surname and the personal name. In the case

of Teika and his father, Shunzei, there is a further problem, the rendition of the name in romanized form. Teika probably referred to himself as Sadaie, and his father probably called himself Toshinari, but the Sino-Japanese versions of their names were used by their contemporaries, and this practice is still observed.

3. Kubota Jun, in *Shin Kokin Kajin no Kenkyū*, pp. 4–5, related why he decided to devote his lengthy book on the *Shin Kokinshū* poets to six men—Fujiwara Teika, his father Shunzei, Fujiwara Ietaka, the priests Saigyō and Jien, and Fujiwara Yoshitsune, the regent and prime minister. He recognized that the Retired Emperor Gotoba, the priest Jakuren, the daughter of Shunzei, and others should not be ignored, but believed that the six poets he had chosen deserved prior treatment. Most other critics who have treated the *Shin Kokinshū* have included Gotoba among the chief poets, but presumably Kubota was evaluating his importance only as a *Shin Kokinshū* poet and not taking into consideration the poems he wrote in exile, his best.

Princess Shokushi (or Shikishi), though certainly celebrated, figures in surprisingly few of the lists of the “best poets” of the *Shin Kokinshū*.
4. See Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 277–85, for a discussion of rhetoric and syntax in the *Shin Kokinshū*. On p. 278 they give statistics: “only 19 poems in the *Kokinshū* have full stops at the end of the first line and 160 at the end of the third, whereas the *Shinkokinshū* has 108 poems with full stops at the end of the first line and 476 at the end of the third.” Even allowing for the fact that the *Shin Kokinshū* contains 1,981 poems as opposed to the 1,111 poems in the *Kokinshū*, the tendency of the former to have breaks at the ends of the first and third lines is unmistakable.
5. See *ibid.*, p. 274.
6. This was true of Chinese poetry too. A poem that lacked the extra dimension provided by allusions to the poetry of the past was likely to be criticized for this reason.
7. See above, pp. 303–4.
8. *Kokinshū* 770. Text in Okumura Tsuneya, *Kokin Wakashū*, p. 262; other English translations by Laurel Rasplica Rodd, *Kokinshū*, p. 270, and by Helen Craig McCullough, *Kokin Wakashū*, p. 169.
9. *Shin Kokinshū* 534. Kubota Jun, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 185.
10. Ōsone Shōsuke and Horiuchi Hideaki, *Wakan Rōei Shū*, p. 119. In the poem by Po Chū-i the leaves are identified not as *tung* (*hīri* in Japanese), the paulownia, but as *wu-tung* (*aogiri* in Japanese), the Chinese parasol tree. However, the association between *hīri* and *aogiri* would have been clear to Japanese of the time.
11. *Kokinshū* 171. Okumura, *Kokin*, p. 80. Other translations of the poem may be found in Rodd, *Kokinshū*, p. 47, and McCullough, *Kokin Wakashū*, p. 97.

12. *Shin Kokinshū* 1305. Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, II, p. 108.
13. The poet Tsukamoto Kunio (in his *Teika Hyakushū*, p. 93) noted that although many commentaries had explained the honka-dori in one of Teika's poems (*Samushiro ya / matsu yo no aki no / kaze fukete / tsuki wo katashiku / uji no hashihime*), he had yet to come across a commentary that took cognizance of the extraordinary inversions in language (such as *yo no aki* instead of the usual *aki no yo*), and the ellipses that make this poem memorable.
14. The term used to describe borrowing from works of prose (as opposed to borrowing from earlier poetry) was *honsetsu*, meaning “original version.”
15. See, for example, Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, pp. 376–77.
16. Teika also stressed the importance to poets of his time of *Tales of Ise*, *Sanjūrokkasen* (Poems of the Thirty-six Immortals), and the first two fascicules of *The Collected Works of Po Chū-i*. See his *Eiga no Taigai* (Essentials of Poetic Composition, c. 1216), p. 115, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, *Karon Shū, Nōgakuron Shū*. See also Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time*, p. 44, where Teika says, “With regard to preferring the old, the practice of taking the words of an ancient poem and incorporating them into one's own composition without changing them is known as ‘using a foundation poem.’ However, I feel that if one uses, say, the second and third lines of such a foundation poem, just as they are, in the first three lines of one's own poem, and then goes on to use the last two lines of it in the same fashion, it will prove impossible to make something that sounds like a new poem. Depending on the style, it may be best to avoid using the first two lines of the foundation poem.”
17. Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, pp. 376–77. Teika's original text is given in *Essentials of Poetic Composition*; see Hisamatsu and Nishio, *Karon*, pp. 114–15. The relevant passage from *Eiga no Taigai* is translated by Brower and Miner in *Superior*, p. 44, note 10.
18. Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 377. The original statement is found in Teika's *Superior Poems of Our Time*, included in Hisamatsu and Nishio, *Karon*, pp. 102–3. The manner in which these rules were interpreted by later poets and theorists of poetry is the subject of an exceptionally interesting article by Kubota Jun, “Honka-dori no Imi to Kinō.” A similar statement is found in Teika's *Superior Poems*; for a translation, see Brower and Miner, *Superior*, pp. 45–46.
19. For a description in English of the early uta-awase, see Setsuko Ito, “The Muse in Competition,” pp. 204–6.
20. See Minegishi Yoshiaki, *Uta-awase no Kenkyū*, p. 15. Minegishi states that the Heian-style uta-awase came to an end during the reign of Horikawa. I have adopted his term *chūseiteki* (“medieval”) to describe the literary variety of uta-awase that developed in the twelfth century.

21. Taniyama Shigeru, "Kaisetsu," in Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, *Uta-awase Shū*, pp. 286–87.
22. Minegishi, *Uta-awase*, p. 115. This is the total number of *Shin Kokinshū* poems that were derived from *uta-awase*. However, only 233 of these poems are specifically identified within the collection itself as having originated in *uta-awase*.
23. Takahashi Kazuhiko, *Mumyōshō Zenkai*, pp. 171–73.
24. An example is the book of poetic theory *Kenshō Chinjō*, in which Kenshō expressed his dissatisfaction with the judgments pronounced by Shunzei at the *Ropyyakuban Uta-awase* (Poem Competition in Six Hundred Rounds) of 1194. Most of the points of disagreement are trivial (at least to a modern reader) and are involved with such matters as the correct pronunciations for ancient words. See the article in *Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten*, II, p. 446.
25. It is known in Japanese as *Sengohyakuban Uta-awase*.
26. For example, the left poem of round 186 was criticized because the first line, *hana zo miru*, was difficult to understand, but as Taniyama pointed out, it was easily intelligible as an example of poetic inversion. The poem, by Fujiwara Sueyoshi (1153–1211), was subsequently included in the *Shin Kokinshū* (poem 97), despite the unfavorable criticism during the competition. See Hagitani and Taniyama, *Uta-awase Shū*, p. 484; also Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, pp. 50–51.
27. I have translated *asaji* as "cogon," the name of a tropical grass used for thatching.
28. Hagitani and Taniyama, *Uta-awase Shū*, p. 484. For Ariie's poem (*Shin Kokinshū* 98), see Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 51. For Teika's poem, see Kubota Jun, *Yakuchū Fujiwara Teika Zenkashū*, I, p. 156. Teika's poem also appeared in the imperial anthology *Shoku Kokinshū*, compiled in 1265.
29. The source poem (honka) is *Man'yōshū* IV, 495: *Asahikage / nioeru yama ni / teru tsuki no / akazaru kimi wo / yamagoshi ni okite*. It is one of four poems composed by Tabe no Imiki Ichihiko when he was appointed to a post at the Dazaifu in Kyūshū. The four poems are written in two voices: the first and fourth are a woman's and the second and third a man's. Poem 495 is the fourth of the sequence. The first three lines (including the two borrowed by Ariie) are usually considered to constitute a more or less meaningless *jo* (preface) to the remainder of the poem, and as such are often omitted from modern-language versions. The expanded meaning of the poem is: "On the mountains the early morning sunlight is bright, and the shining moon, though it would linger, must disappear behind the mountain, even as I, who have never tired of you, must leave you and go beyond the mountain." See the translation by Ian Hideo Levy in *Man'yōshū*, I, p. 248–49.
30. Shunzei did not call Shigeie by name or title. Instead, he referred to him

- as "the evening crane of long ago," a reference to a line from a poem by Po Chū-i: "The evening crane remembers the little crane chirping in the nest." See Hagitani and Taniyama, *Uta-awase Shū*, p. 484.
31. In principle, the names of the authors of the poems submitted to an *uta-awase* were concealed, but the judges generally knew who the poets were; otherwise they might commit the grave lapse of giving bad marks to compositions by members of the imperial family. See Kubota Jun, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 28. In this instance, Shunzei made no pretense of being ignorant of the identity of the poets.
 32. The allusion is to a poem of Oborozukiyo in the "Hana no En" chapter of *The Tale of Genji: Ukimi yo ni / yagate kienaba / tazunete mo / kusa no hara woba / towaji to ya omou*. (Text in Ishida Jōji and Shimizu Yoshiko, *Genji Monogatari*, II, p. 58.) The poem means something like: "If I, the unfortunate woman, were to disappear, even if you searched for me, would you look in these fields of grass?" The words *kusa no hara*, repeated in Yoshitsune's poem, meant not only "fields of grass" but also a grave. The poem is rendered in Edward Seidensticker's translation (*The Tale of Genji*, I, p. 153):

*Were the lonely one to vanish quite away,
Would you go to the grassy moors to ask her name?*
 33. The meaning of this passage has been disputed. I have followed the interpretation of Taniyama Shigeru, but he admitted that it was also possible to construe the passage as meaning "Murasaki Shikibu was more accomplished as a writer than any poet." See Hagitani and Taniyama, *Uta-awase Shū*, p. 539.
 34. Hagitani and Taniyama, *Uta-awase Shū*, p. 442. The poem was in the thirteenth round of the first book of winter poems.
 35. For an account of the background of the hundred-poem sequence of 1200, the most important in terms of its contribution to the *Shin Kokinshū*, see Robert H. Brower, *Fujiwara Teika's Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era, 1200*, pp. 3–8.
 36. See Brower, *Fujiwara*, p. 4, for a complete list of the twenty spring topics found in the Horikawa sequence.
 37. Konishi's "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry," translated by Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, pp. 67–127.
 38. Konishi, "Association," p. 111. In later poetic criticism, especially of *renga*, a distinction was made between *ji no uta*, or background poems of lesser intensity, and *mon no uta*, or "design" poems of greater intensity.
 39. See Helen Craig McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, p. 258. The official was Norimitsu, the governor of Kii. Gotoba was being taken from the capital by the wife of Nōen, who was the second brother of Kiyomori's

- wife, Nii-dono. Nōen's wife was Norimitsu's sister. Text in Takagi Ichinosuke et al., *Heike Monogatari*, II, p. 122.
40. McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, p. 257.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 354. The Three Sacred Treasures were the sacred mirror, the *magatama* jewels, and the sacred sword. The sword was lost when the Emperor Antoku drowned in the sea at Dannoura.
 42. Michichika left two diaries, one describing the Emperor Takakura's visit to Itsukushima (*Takakura-in Itsukushima Gokō Ki*), and the other relating the death of the same emperor (*Takakura-in Shōka Ki*). His poetry is not highly rated, but six of his poems were included in the *Shin Kokinshū*. He is remembered chiefly because of his bad relations with Teika, but also because he was the father of the great Zen monk Dōgen. For Michichika's diaries, see Keene, *Travelers of a Hundred Ages*, pp. 107–13.
 43. See Higuchi Yoshimaro, *Gotoba-in*, p. 23, for a list of Gotoba's favorite diversions. An entry for 1214 in Teika's *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* mentions Gotoba's continued interest in kickball, horse racing, and cock-fights. Teika reported that Gotoba went day and night, incognito, to places where such entertainments were held.
 44. Higuchi, *Gotoba-in*, p. 21, quotes Jien's *Gukanshō* and also *The Clear Mirror*, both of which state that this was why Gotoba yielded the throne.
 45. There is some disagreement about the dating: the diary of Minamoto no Ienaga dates Gotoba's visit to the imperial palace and his poem as 1200, but Teika's *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* and other sources make 1199 seem more probable. See Higuchi, *Gotoba-in*, p. 28. However, Kubota Jun in his "Kaisetsu" (*Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 353) states that Gotoba's earliest poems were three composed in 1200.
 46. Imagawa Fumio, *Kundoku Meigetsuki*, I, p. 209.
 47. The term used by Teika's enemies to describe his poems was *shingi hisho daruma uta*. *Shingi* meant "new," in the sense of newfangled; *hisho* meant "without sources," an offense in a society governed by precedents; *daruma* was the Buddhist dharma or law, but was used in this instance to signify something incomprehensible. See Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 126.
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
 50. Fujiwara Takafusa (1148–1209) was not an important poet, but forty-three poems by Fujiwara Ietaka (1158–1237) were included in the *Shin Kokinshū*.

Robert Brower wrote of Gotoba's change of heart: "The decision was vital to the position and future status of Teika in particular, affording an opportunity to establish contact and ingratiate himself with the powerful ex-sovereign and to demonstrate his poetic prowess to the discomfiture of his enemies. One hesitates to make such a sweeping statement as that the course of Japanese classical poetry would have been forever altered had Teika been shunted aside at this juncture to eke out the remainder

- of his days in wretched obscurity." (Brower, *Fujiwara*, p. 10.) Brower goes on to indicate why "one may be excused for thinking his [Teika's] inclusion in the Shōji sequences more than a mere ripple on the surface of literary history."
51. Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 127. See also Brower, *Fujiwara*, p. 15.
 52. Translation by Brower in *Fujiwara*, p. 16. The entry is from *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200) 8/26. For text, see Imagawa, *Kundoku Meigetsuki*, I, p. 215.
 53. Ninety poems came from *Sengohyakuban Uta-awase*, and seventy-nine from *Shōji Ninen Shodo Hyakushu*. See Kubota Jun, "Shōji Ninen Shodo Hyakushu ni tsuite," p. 235.
 54. Brower's *Fujiwara* gives a complete translation of all one hundred poems, together with translations of the honka on which many were based. His translation of the sequence was based on "a completely bare, unannotated text of the poems," an indication of the extent of his achievement but also of the relative indifference of Japanese scholars to this important sequence.
 55. Such sessions were known as *eigu uta-awase*. *Eigu* meant an offering placed before the portrait of a god or of a deceased person; Hitomaro was honored in this manner because of his reputation.
 56. He also appointed fifteen poets as *yoryūdo*, or contributing members, including Fujiwara Yoshitsune, Minamoto Michichika, Jien, Shunzei, Teika, and Jakuren. Minamoto Ienaga was chosen to be the secretary of the committee. Later, three poets (including Kamo no Chōmei) were added to the original members.
 57. *Shin Kokinshū* 18. The topic of the poem is *sekiji no uguisu*, or "uguisu on the barrier road," but instead of mentioning the barrier (*seki*) of Ausaka (Ōsaka) in the usual manner, Gotoba spoke instead of the mountain (*yama*) at the barrier. Maruya Saiichi, in an interesting analysis of the poem and its relation to the honka in the *Kokinshū*, suggested that Gotoba concluded the poem with the word *yama* because he wished to avoid having too many words begin with the sound of s. If he had ended the poem with *seki*, the key words *sugi*, *shiroki*, *Ausaka*, and *seki* would all have contained the sound. (Maruya Saiichi, *Gotoba-in*, p. 29.)
 58. The poem is the anonymous fifth poem of the collection: *Ume ga e ni / kīru uguisu / haru kakete / nakedomo imada / yuki wa furisutsu*. The second line of Gotoba's poem is the same as the fourth line of the *Kokinshū* poem. His mention of snow lying on the bare cedar boughs is more effective than the more conventional snow on the bare branches of the plum trees.
 59. Minamoto Ienaga (1170?–1234) was a statesman who participated in various poetry gatherings associated with Gotoba, such as the second of the two hundred-poem sequences of 1200. He was chosen to take charge of the secretarial work connected with the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū*, and was therefore privy to the discussions. His diary, kept from 1197 to 1207, is an invaluable source of information about the activities of the court at this time. The text of the diary is given, together with good notes,

- had expressed the hope that he would die when there was a full moon in the sky; hence, the reference to the full moon in the poem.
84. Seven of the one hundred poems by Teika discussed in Tsukamoto, *Teika Hyakushu*, were from *Kagetsu Hyakushu*.
85. However, Yoshida Hajime began his discussion of the poem with, "There surely is no special need to attempt an explication of the poem. The language presents no problems worth mentioning. It is the kind of poem for which it is quite sufficient to savor quietly, slowly, after one's own fashion." Yoshida Hajime, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 66.
86. Both Tsukamoto Kunio (in *Teika Hyakushu*, p. 89), and Yoshida (in *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 66) state that Teika was writing about plum blossoms, though Tsukamoto immediately afterward expressed a preference for a general "fragrant thing" as an explanation of *hana*, rather than any particular blossom. Kubota (in *Yakuchū*, I, p. 97) did not commit himself on the identity of the blossoms, but perhaps he assumed that readers would understand without his help that *hana* meant cherry blossoms, as so often in Japanese poetry.
87. Andō Tsuguo, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 102.
88. This was the view of Tsukamoto, expressed in his *Teika*, pp. 28–29; but Konishi Jin'ichi, in "Teika wa Shōchō Kajin ka," expressed doubts about the appropriateness of referring to Teika as a symbolist poet.
89. Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 77.
90. Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, p. 117.
91. *Ibid.* Yoshitsune was at the time *sakon'e no daishō* (general of the left bodyguard), a position of considerable importance normally filled only by nobles of the highest rank. Kubota pointed out in a note that in China generals were sometimes likened to *ryōko* (dragon-tigers); hence, the "tiger cub." Teika was correct in his prophecy: Yoshitsune was destined to climb to the very top of the mountain—in other words, to become the regent and prime minister, the highest position to which a noble could attain.
92. Teika composed several sets of poems that began with each of the forty-seven syllables of the *iroha* poem. The texts are given in Kubota, *Yakuchū*, II, pp. 36–49. Teika not only observed the order of the *iroha* poem but imposed a second kind of order, that of the *chokusenshū*, with seasonal poems followed by love poems. It was a remarkable feat, but the poems have only minor intrinsic importance.
93. Sosei's poem (*Kokinshū* 691) was irregular, consisting of thirty-three rather than the standard thirty-one syllables.
94. The poems are given in Kubota, *Yakuchū*, II, pp. 56–60.
95. The 128 "rhyme poems" are given in Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, pp. 235–52. They are arranged in order of the seasons, followed by *jukkai* poems, poems on mountain dwellings, and poems on travel. The Chinese rhymes are given in Japanese pronunciations; thus, the *feng*, *k'ung*, *lung*, *meng*,

- etc. of the Chinese rhymes turn in Teika's poems into *kaze*, *sora*, *komoreru*, and *yume*.
96. For further details, see Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 93; also Andō, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 130–44.
97. Fujiwara Kanezane (1149–1207) was also known as Kujō Kanezane. His brother, Jien, was not only a prominent Tendai abbot but an important poet and the author of *Gukanshō*. Fujiwara (or Kujō) Yoshitsune was his son. Kanezane had been appointed kampaku in 1186 because his candidacy was supported by Minamoto Yoritomo.
98. Quoted in Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 111. A somewhat different *kundoku* (kambun punctuated for reading as Japanese) version of the kambun text (the entry in *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* for the fifth day of the twelfth month of 1197) is given in Imagawa, *Kundoku*, I, p. 72. There are only two entries in the diary for the year 1197 (the eighth year of Kenkyū).
99. The poem is number 40 in the *Shin Kokinshū*. See Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 33. The honka by Ōe no Chisato, a poet of the *Kokinshū* era, is also found in the *Shin Kokinshū* (poem 55): *Teri mo sezu / kumori mo hatenu / haru no yo no / oborozukiyo ni / shiku mono zo naki*. (Nothing can compare with a misty moon on a spring night when it is neither shining nor completely clouded over.) Chisato's poem was in turn based on lines by Po Chū-i: "A misty moon that is neither bright nor dark, / A gentle wind that is neither warm nor cold." Kubota states, further, that a similar description occurs in Teika's work of fiction, *Matsuranomiya Monogatari* (The Tale of the Matura Palace), and suggests (in *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 112) that Teika had in mind a romantic passage in the "Hana no En" chapter of *The Tale of Genji* where Oborozukiyo quotes part of Chisato's poem. Teika probably expected that people would recognize the antecedents of his poem but also his particular contribution, the explanation of the mistiness of the moon in terms of the scent of plum blossoms, a superb example of synesthesia.
100. *Shin Kokinshū* 63. Teika contrasts the wild geese's painful flight south through the frosty sky of late autumn with their present appearance as they head back north through the warm spring rain. Andō (*Fujiwara Teika*, p. 157) suggested that the poem may be a prayer for the revival of the fortunes of Teika's family, now in sad decline.
101. Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 165.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 175. Kubota, trying to guess why Teika failed to mention his father's death in his poetry, suggested it might be because he thought of Shunzei with awe, rather than affection.
103. Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, p. 454. See also Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 182. Although the poem does not specifically refer to Yoshitsune's death in the third month, surely it must be the "dream" to which he alludes. The poem was written in the third month of 1206. It bears the title "Nostalgic Remembrances of the Past Addressed to the Moon." There is a pun in

- the last line between *furu*, "to fall" (as of leaves), and *furu*, "to grow old."
104. Later in his life, while in exile on the island of Sado, he compiled one of the important works of medieval poetic criticism, *Yakumo Mishō*.
 105. The work was translated by Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner under the title *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time: A Thirteenth-Century Poetic Treatise and Sequence*.
 106. Two poems by Minamoto Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura shogunate but not an important poet, were included in the *Shin Kokinshū*. Further evidence of the good relations prevailing between the court in Kyoto and the Kamakura shogunate may be found in Yoritomo's choice of Gotoba as Sanetomo's godfather (*nazuke no oya*).
 107. Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 203.
 108. It was usual to twist two threads together; only one (*kataito*) would have been considered likely to break.
 109. *Man'yōshū* 1316. See Aoki Takako et al., *Man'yōshū*, II, p. 251.
 110. For a discussion of Teika's poem, see Andō, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 220–21; also Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 203–4.
 111. The poem, VI:935, is by Kasa no Kanamura. For an English translation, see Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, *The Manyōshū*, p. 102.
 112. Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, p. 404. See also Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 208–9; also Andō, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 232–33. There is a *kakekotoba* on *matsu*, "to wait," and the place-name Matsuhō. The burning of the seaweed (to obtain salt) is at the same time the burning anguish the woman feels at the thought her lover has deserted her.
 113. Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, p. 437. See also Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 214; also Tsukamoto, *Teika Hyakushu*, pp. 219–21.
 114. Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, p. 438. See also Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 214–16.
 115. *Shin Kokinshū* 1448. See Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, II, p. 152.
 116. Translated by Helen Craig McCullough in *Ōkagami*, p. 97. She also gives another version of Michizane's poem.
 117. Quoted by Kubota, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 214.
 118. Maruya, *Gotoba-in*, pp. 225–29.
 119. Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, p. 218. See also Andō, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 270–71, and Tsukamoto, *Teika Hyakushu*, pp. 145–47. Tsukamoto wrote (p. 146) of this poem that it was vibrantly alive, quite unlike the other poems on the yamabuki found in the *Shin Kokinshū*, "eight or nine out of ten of which are empty poems intended to be inscribed on screens depicting the celebrated Tama River of Ide, dead descriptions of nature in the manner of picture postcards. The use of personification is not in the least offensive."
 120. The major contributors included Ietaka (47 poems), Yoshitsune (36 poems), Shunzei (35 poems), Saionji Kintsune (30 poems), Jien (27 poems), and Sanetomo and Michie (25 poems each). The conservative manner of the collection appealed to the Nijō school of poets, who considered that it (rather than the *Shin Kokinshū*) represented the finest flowering of Teika's

- genius as a compiler. The *Shin Chokusenshū*, together with Shunzei's *Senzaishū* and *Shoku Gosenshū* (compiled by Teika's son Tameie) were especially admired as the work of three generations of poets of conservative tendencies.
121. Both Ienaga's poem and Teika's response are given in Kubota, *Yakuchū*, I, p. 474.
 122. In this connection, there is special significance in the note Teika appended to the manuscript of the *Gosenshū* he was copying in 1221, when the Jōkyū Rebellion broke out; he wrote that, despite the infirmities of old age, he continued to copy manuscripts for the sake of future generations. (Maruya, *Gotoba-in*, p. 230; Maruya was quoting Ishida Yoshisada, "Shin Kokin Kadan to Kafū no Bunretsu.")
 123. A scholarly account of the various theories relating to the compilation of the *Hyakunin Isshu* (also known as the *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu*) is found in Shimazu Tadao's "Kaisetsu" to his edition of *Hyakunin Isshu* in the Kadokawa Bunko series. There is reason to think that the poems of Gotoba and Juntoku included in the hundred were added after Teika's death.
 124. The word *karuta* is of Portuguese origin, and was introduced to Japan along with Portuguese card games in the late sixteenth century, but the New Year's game, though played with foreign-inspired cards, much resembled the traditional game of *kai-oi*, or matching shells. A reader intones the first part of one of the hundred poems, and the two players (sometimes more), who have memorized all hundred poems, search on the board for a card inscribed with the second part of the same poem, eager to sweep the card off the board before the other player. An accomplished player will recognize a poem from the first couple of syllables.
 125. Arthur Waley, early in his career as a scholar of Japanese literature, said of *Hyakunin Isshu*: "It is so selected as to display the least pleasing features of Japanese poetry. Artificialities of every kind abound, and the choice does little credit to the taste of Sadaiye [Teika] to whom the compilation is attributed. These poems have gained an unmerited circulation in Japan, owing to the fact that they are used in a kind of 'Happy Families' card-game." (Arthur Waley, *Japanese Poetry*, p. 7.)
 126. See Kubota, "Kaisetsu," in his *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 367, for the original text (in extremely convoluted language) and for a modern-language paraphrase.
 127. Higuchi, *Gotoba-in*, p. 191.
 128. *Ibid.*, p. 197. The expression *ho ni idete* means something like "revealing on one's face," but *ho* means literally an ear (of rice or other grain), and *ashi* a reed. There is thus a double set of meanings, one describing the speaker's grief, the other a desolate scene by the shore.
 129. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
 130. A generous selection of poems by Ietaka is found in Steven D. Carter, *Waiting for the Wind*, pp. 32–42.

131. The *Shin Kokinshū* contains 94 poems by Saigyō, 92 by Jien, 79 by Yoshitsune, 72 by Shunzei, 49 by Princess Shokushi, 46 by Teika, 43 by Ietaka, 35 by Jakuren, and 34 by Gotoba.
132. The original description of this encounter is found in *Azuma Kagami* (Mirror of the East). (See Ozawa Akira, *Shinshaku Azuma Kagami*, II, pp. 59–62, for a modern-language version of the account in *Mirror of the East*.) Saigyō's answers to Yoritomo's questions were curt to the point of rudeness, and *Mirror of the East* relates that he gave the present he had received from Yoritomo, a cat made of silver, to some children he saw playing by a bridge. See Takagi Kiyoko, *Saigyō no Shūkyōteki Sekai*, p. 107; Yasuda Ayao, *Saigyō*, p. 15; also Burton Watson, *Saigyō*, p. 6.
133. I am thinking, for example, of the popular explanations for the decision of Kenkō to become a priest, or of Bashō to leave the domain of the Tōdō family for Edo.
134. The relevant passage is quoted by Kubota Jun in *Sankashū*, pp. 72–73. It opens quite unambiguously: "If one looks into the reasons why Saigyō had an awakening of faith, one will discover that it originated in love." See also Yasuda, *Saigyō*, pp. 21–22.
135. Kubota (in *Sankashū*, p. 72) indicates that he is unwilling to discard this theory out of hand, and in fact produces evidence that suggests that the theory is tenable. Yasuda (*Saigyō*, p. 27) seems to believe that the person (*yukari no hito*) to whom Saigyō sent a poem just before entering orders may have been a woman he loved.
136. Yasuda, *Saigyō*, p. 22. The story is related in *Saigyō Monogatari*, a fictionalized account of Saigyō's life written in the late Kamakura period.
137. Kubota, in *Sankashū*, pp. 78–79, gives evidence from Saigyō's poetry of his disenchantment with the world. See Yasuda, *Saigyō*, p. 23, for the opinion that he sympathized with Sutoku. (Sutoku abdicated two years after Saigyō took Buddhist vows.) It is clear that Saigyō was eager to free himself from the dust of the world, but he himself does not indicate whether this was because he was upset over some specific matter or if he was moved by the usual Buddhist rejection of the world.
138. *Sankashū* 723. I have in general followed the interpretation of the poem given by Kubota in *Sankashū*, pp. 90–91. The poem was quite differently explained by Gotō Shigeo (in *Sankashū*, pp. 194–95). He took *sora ni naru* to mean that the speaker's mind was traveling up into the sky out of yearning for the Pure Land. Kubota gave examples of the use of *sora ni naru* in the *Man'yōshū* and *Kokinshū* with the meaning of "to be distracted" or "to be absentminded." The mist is only barely perceptible, but it rises into the sky, leaving this world behind; in a similar manner, the speaker's mind, uncertain precisely what it wants to do, rises into the sky, now that it is sure it does not wish to remain in this world. Another translation (including the preface) by William R. LaFleur in *Mirror for the Moon*, p. 34.

139. *Sankashū* 725. Gotō, *Sankashū*, p. 195.
140. See Ishida Yoshisada, *Inja*, p. 12.
141. See Varley and Kumakura, *Tea*, p. 76, where the use of wabi as an aesthetic ideal is said "to express religious discipline as a life on the bare edge of survival in a thatched hut in the midst of nature."
142. See above, note 73.
143. *Sankashū* 937. Text in Kazamaki Keijirō and Kojima Yoshio, *Sankashū, Kin'ai Waka Shū*, p. 167. Other translations by Watson (*Saigyō*, p. 144), LaFleur (*Mirror*, p. 47), and Brower and Miner (*Japanese*, p. 261).
144. Takagi Kiyoko, *Saigyō*, p. 104. Takagi gives on pp. 99–102 many of the poems composed by Saigyō on Mount Kōya.
145. For Saigyō's relations with Jakuzen (whose name is read as Jakunen by some scholars), see Kubota, *Sankashū*, pp. 123–31.
146. *Sankashū* 1199. I have followed Gotō's interpretation of this difficult poem, given by him in *Sankashū*, p. 342. For translations of other poems of this series, see Watson, *Saigyō*, pp. 169–74; also LaFleur, *Mirror*, p. 56.
147. *Sankashū* 1223. See Kubota, *Sankashū*, p. 255, and Gotō, *Sankashū*, p. 349, for different interpretations of this poem.
148. Kubota, *Sankashū*, p. 257. The poem does not appear in *Sankashū* itself, but is found in other collections of Saigyō's poetry.
149. Yasuda (in *Saigyō*, p. 37) lists the places to which Saigyō traveled; they include the provinces of Michinoku, Dewa, Sanuki, and Awa, as well as places closer to Mount Kōya.
150. Kubota, *Sankashū*, p. 60. For Saigyō's relations with the unhappy Sutoku, see *ibid.*, pp. 56–57.
151. Some of these poems are translated by LaFleur in *Mirror*.
152. *Shin Kokinshū* 625. Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 213. Other translations by Watson (*Saigyō*, p. 90) and LaFleur (*Mirror*, p. 88).
153. *Shin Kokinshū* 362. It is preceded by a poem by the priest Jakuren and followed by a poem by Teika, each ending with the same last line, *aki no yūgure*. All three poems are considered to be masterpieces. Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 133.
154. I have followed the interpretation of Kubota, but there is another tradition concerning the meaning of the verb *tatsu* (which I have translated as "rises"). Gotō (in *Sankashū*, p. 129) interprets *tatsu* as meaning "stands." Other translations by Watson (*Saigyō*, p. 81) and LaFleur (*Mirror*, p. 24).
155. See Ishida, *Inja*, p. 90; also Takagi Kiyoko, *Saigyō*, p. 165. The poem by Saigyō that Shunzei preferred (*Sankashū* 294) is an unimpressive example in the manner of the *Kokinshū*; the speaker asks what the source might be of the dew that covers the landscape and decides it must be the tears he has shed into his sleeve. Gotō, *Sankashū*, p. 86.
156. Ishida, *Inja*, pp. 90–91, gives the text of Tō no Tsuneyori's evaluation of the poem.
157. *Shin Kokinshū* 627. Kubota, *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, I, p. 213; it is also

- poem 513 in *Sankashū*. See Yasuda, *Saigyō*, pp. 63–64, for other poems in which Saigyō expressed the wish he had friends with whom to share the pleasures of solitude.
158. Saigyō made at least two journeys to Michinoku, the provinces at the northern end of Honshū. His poems on such sites as the Shirakawa Barrier seem to have been inspired by the priest Nōin, who visited the same places about 1025. See Kubota, *Sankashū*, pp. 210–16.
159. An interesting exception to this generalization is found in Yasuda, *Saigyō*, where he discusses such matters as the vowel patterns in Saigyō's poetry, notably on pp. 57, 61, 66, 68–69.
160. See, for example, Tsukamoto, *Teika Hyakushu*, p. 24.

Bibliography

Note: All Japanese books, except as otherwise noted, were published in Tokyo.

- Andō Tsuguo. *Fujiwara Teika*. Chikuma Shobō, 1977.
- Aoki Takako, Ide Itaru, et al. *Man'yōshū*, 4 vols., in Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei series. Shinchōsha, 1976.
- Brower, Robert H. *Fujiwara Teika's Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era, 1200*. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1978.
- Brower, Robert H., and Earl Miner. *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967.
- . *Japanese Court Poetry*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961.
- Carter, Steven D. *Waiting for the Wind*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Gotō Shigeo. *Sankashū*, in Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei series. Shinchōsha, 1979.
- Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru. *Uta-awase Shū*, in Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei series. Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
- Higuchi Yoshimaro. *Gotoba-in*. Shūeisha, 1985.
- Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru. *Karon Shū, Nōgakuron Shū*, in Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei series. Iwanami Shoten, 1961.
- Imagawa Fumio. *Kundoku Meigetsuki*, 6 vols. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1977–79.
- Ishida Jōji and Shimizu Yoshiko. *Genji Monogatari*, II, in Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei series. Shinchōsha, 1977.
- Ishida Yoshisada. *Inja no Bungaku*. Hanawa Shobō, 1969.
- Ishida Yoshisada and Satsugawa Shūji. *Minamoto Ienaga Nikki Zenchūkai*. Yūseidō, 1982.
- Ito, Setsuko. "The Muse in Competition," *Monumenta Nipponica* 37:2, Summer 1982.

- Katagiri Yōichi (ed.). *Ōchō Waka no Sekai*. Kyoto: Sekai Shisō Sha, 1984.
- Kazamaki Keijirō and Kojima Yoshio. *Sankashū, Kinkai Waka Shū*, in Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei series. Iwanami Shoten, 1961.
- Keene, Donald. *Travelers of a Hundred Ages*. New York: Henry Holt, 1989.
- Kibune Shigeaki. *Shoku Gosen Waka Shū Zenchūshaku*. Kyoto: Daigakudō Shoten, 1989.
- Konishi Jin'ichi. "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21, 1958.
- . "Teika wa Shōchō Kajin ka," *Kokubungaku Gengo to Bungei* 43, November 1965.
- Kubota Jun. *Chūsei Bungaku no Sekai*. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1972.
- . *Fujiwara Teika*. Shūeisha, 1984.
- . "Honka-dori no Imi to Kinō," *Nihon no Bigaku* 3:12, 1988.
- . *Sankashū*. Iwanami Shoten, 1983.
- . *Shin Kokin Kajin no Kenkyū*. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973.
- . *Shin Kokin Waka Shū*, 2 vols., in Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei. Shinchōsha, 1979.
- . "Shōji Ninen Shodo Hyakushu ni tsuite," in Akiyama Ken (ed.), *Chūsei Bungaku no Kenkyū*. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1972.
- . *Yakuchū Fujiwara Teika Zenkashū*, 2 vols. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1985.
- Kuriyama Riichi. *Teika Den*. Furukawa Shobō, 1974.
- LaFleur, William R. *Mirror for the Moon*. New York: New Directions, 1978.
- Levy, Ian Hideo. *Man'yōshū*, I. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Maruya Saiichi. *Gotoba-in*. Chikuma Shobō, 1973.
- McCullough, Helen Craig. *Kokin Wakashū*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- . *Ōkagami, The Great Mirror*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- (trans.). *The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- McCullough, William H., and Helen Craig McCullough (trans.). *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 2 vols. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1980.
- Minegishi Yoshiaki. *Uta-awase no Kenkyū*. Sanseidō, 1954.
- Miya Shūji. *Saigyō no Uta*. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1977.
- Mizukawa Yoshio. *Minamoto Michichika Nikki Zenshaku*. Kasama Shoin, 1978.
- Morris, Ivan. *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten*, 6 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1983–85.
- Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai (trans.). *The Manyōshū*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.

- Okumura Tsuneya. *Kokin Wakashū*, in Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei series. Shinchōsha, 1978.
- Ōsone Shōsuke and Horiuchi Hideaki. *Wakan Rōei Shū*, in Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei series. Shinchōsha, 1983.
- Ozawa Akira. *Shinshaku Azuma Kagami*, 2 vols. Senjūsha, 1985.
- Rodd, Laura Rasplica, with Mary Catherine Henkenius (trans.). *Kokinshū*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Seidensticker, Edward G. *The Tale of Genji*, 2 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.
- Shimazu Tadao. *Hyakunin Isshu*, in Kadokawa Bunko series. Kadokawa Shoten, 1969.
- Takagi Ichinosuke et al. *Heike Monogatari*, 2 vols., in Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei series. Iwanami Shoten, 1959–60.
- Takagi Kiyoko. *Saigyō no Shūkyōteki Sekai*. Taimeidō, 1989.
- Takahashi Kazuhiko. *Mumyōshō Zenkai*. Sōbunsha, 1987.
- Tsukamoto Kunio. *Teika Hyakushū*. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1977.
- Varley, Paul, and Kumakura Isao. *Tea in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989.
- Waley, Arthur. *Japanese Poetry: the Uta*. London: Lund Humphries, 1946.
- Watson, Burton. *Saigyō: Poems of a Mountain Home*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Yasuda Ayao. *Saigyō*. Yayoi Shobō, 1973.
- Yoshida Hajime. *Fujiwara Teika*. Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1986.

18. WAKA POETRY OF THE KAMAKURA AND MUROMACHI PERIODS

The *Shin Kokinshū* was by far the finest collection of poetry compiled during the Kamakura period, and many of its poets remained active during the first decades of the new era, but its roots were in the past. The fusion of nostalgia for the golden age of the *Kokinshū* and awareness of the dark uncertainty of the present gave the poetry particular depth and resonance. More characteristic poetry of the age of the Kamakura shoguns is not found until the court anthologies of the 1220s, as well as in contemporary private collections.

The poetry that faithfully conveys the special atmosphere of the Kamakura period may strike Western readers as being less memorable and certainly less beautiful than the poetry of the *Shin Kokinshū*. It is true that the poems of the third Kamakura shogun, Minamoto Sanetomo, have been accorded extraordinary praise by Japanese critics, especially since the Meiji period. The qualities most often admired in Sanetomo's poetry—the unaffected simplicity or the masculinity in the vein of the *Man'yōshū*—appealed especially to those who deplored what they consider to be artificiality or overrefinement in earlier waka poetry.

The Kamakura period is otherwise important in the history of the waka because of the emergence at this time of bitterly opposed schools of poetry. The differences between these schools are likely to seem, at our distance from the protagonists and their concerns, somewhat less than cataclysmic; the most “conservative” and the most “radical” waka poets used essentially the same vocabulary to evoke essentially the same scenes or states of mind, and all paid homage to Teika. But to members of the court in Kyoto (and their pupils everywhere) even slight differences in literary principles seemed enormously important, and the various schools fought for supremacy, especially for recognition in the form of a command to compile a chokusenshū. Poetry became by default the

travels to various shrines. One especially celebrated travel poem bears this prefatory note: "When I crossed over the Hakone mountains and surveyed the scene, I could see a small island where the waves broke. I asked my companion the name of this bay, and he replied that it was the Izu Sea. Hearing this, I wrote:

<i>Hakone-ji wo</i>	When I crossed the pass
<i>wa ga koekureba</i>	By the road through Hakone,
<i>Izu no umi ya</i>	There was the Izu Sea;
<i>oki no kojima ni</i>	I could see the waves approach
<i>nami no yoru miyu</i> ²⁰	A little offshore island.

The poem was awarded two stars by Mabuchi, who commented, "I never cease to wonder how anyone could have composed such a poem. In the *Man'yōshū* there is the poem 'When this morning I crossed over Ōsaka Pass, in the Sea of Ōmi waves were rising like cotton flowers,' but this poem is even better."²¹ Sanetomo's poem will probably strike most contemporary readers as a pleasant evocation of an actual experience, but not as a poem of such extraordinary beauty as to make one wonder how it could have been created with merely human powers. Yet even Japanese critics who are known for their high standards have expressed particular admiration for this poem,²² seeing in the lonely little island a symbol for Sanetomo himself.

The greatest disappointment that Western readers experience with Sanetomo's poetry comes not from inadequacies in his collection but from the absence of poems that suggest his life as a shogun. Only a few, like the following, reveal that he was a military man:

<i>mononofu no</i>	As the warrior
<i>yanami tsukurou</i>	Rearranges his arrows,
<i>kote no ue ni</i>	Hail falls and bounces
<i>arare tabashiru</i>	Off his upraised sleeve of mail,
<i>Nasu no shinohara</i> ²³	In the bamboo plain of Nasu.

This poem seems to present a personal recollection of Sanetomo, not filtered through the images of other people's poetry. And even if Sanetomo himself was not the warrior described, the poem surely was based on an actual experience. This kind of direct involvement with his subject is so rare in Sanetomo's poetry as to lend special interest to the poem. If the scene had been written in the *Shin Kokinshū* style, unspoken implications might have added complexity; but although the poem lacks

depth, it is exceptionally effective. The reader will search in vain for other poems that so memorably evoke the life of the third of the Kamakura shoguns, the last of Yoritomo's line.

THE SHIN CHOKUSENSHŪ

In 1232 the Emperor Gohorikawa commanded Fujiwara Teika to compile the ninth chokusenshū. Teika had of course played a prominent role in the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū*, but he had been obliged to accommodate himself to the views of the other compilers, especially those of the Emperor Gotoba. It might have been expected that the new collection, of which Teika was the sole editor, would, even more than the *Shin Kokinshū*, embody his aesthetic preferences, especially his advocacy of the principle of *yūgen*, or mysterious depths, something that cannot be expressed in words; but the *Shin Chokusenshū* (New Imperial Collection) contains few poems comparable to those in the *Shin Kokinshū*, and suggests that the court in Kyoto had lost its self-assurance after the ill-fated Jōkyū Rebellion. If the *Shin Chokusenshū* truly reflected Teika's tastes, one can only conclude that they had changed conspicuously since the time of the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū*.²⁴

The compilation of the *Shin Chokusenshū* did not go smoothly, even though Teika was not obliged to take other people's views into consideration. Toward the end of 1232 he formally presented for imperial approval a preface in kana and a table of the proposed contents. Two years later he offered the court a fair copy of the anthology, but soon afterward the Emperor Gohorikawa unexpectedly died. Teika, grieved by this loss, burned his copy of the manuscript. Fujiwara Michiie later found the copy that had been presented to Gohorikawa and returned it to Teika, who was induced to re-edit the work. The final draft was delivered to Michiie in 1235.²⁵

The *Shin Chokusenshū* has sometimes been praised as the "fruit" of which the *Shin Kokinshū* was the flower, but if this is so, the fruit has never been enjoyed as much as the flower.²⁶ When the contents first became known, the prominence of poems by members of the military gave rise to sarcasm and even hostility at the court in Kyoto.²⁷ Teika had been friendly with Sanetomo ever since the latter sent him poems to correct, and his bitter quarrel with Gotoba strengthened his ties to the shogun's court.²⁸ Gotoba's defeat and exile in 1221 had enabled Teika to regain his eminence in the world of poetry. Not surprisingly, political considerations affected his choice of poems for the new collection. But

although Teika included poems by Sanetomo and others of the shōgunate, the collection as a whole was dominated as before by the poets of the aristocracy.

Fujiwara Ietaka was the most generously represented contributor to the *Shin Chokusenshū* with forty-four poems, two more than in the *Shin Kokinshū*. However, most other well-known poets of the *Shin Kokinshū* were represented by a drastically reduced number of poems—Saigyō with fourteen instead of ninety-four, Jien with twenty-seven instead of ninety-one, and Teika himself with fifteen instead of forty-seven.²⁹ Twenty-five poems by Sanetomo (whose poems do not appear in the *Shin Kokinshū*) were chosen. Even if Sanetomo had not happened to be a good poet, some of his poems would probably have been included anyway;³⁰ but apart from Sanetomo, the military men were represented with two or three poems each, rather in the manner that a few poems by Minamoto Yoritomo had appeared in the *Shin Kokinshū*.

Not all of the changes in the representation in the new anthology can be explained in terms of politics. Ietaka and Teika were friends, but Ietaka remained faithful to Gotoba even after he was sent into exile, and if Teika had invariably punished people who were sympathetic to Gotoba by reducing the number of their poems in the *Shin Chokusenshū*, Ietaka should have been the first to suffer. No doubt it was the notably clear and pure expression of Ietaka's poems that won them such generous representation despite his political unreliability. In place of his ideal of *yōembi*, or "ethereal beauty," Teika now preferred a simpler style that was exemplified by Ietaka's poems.

The blandness of the poems in the *Shin Chokusenshū* distressed poets who still clung to the typical *Shin Kokinshū* style. The daughter of Shunzei, one of the most accomplished poets of the *yōembi* style, complained that the collection was artistically inferior, and declared that if it had not been compiled by Teika she would have refused even to take it in her hands.³¹ There was from the outset a division of opinion concerning the worth of the collection: Fujiwara Tameie (1198–1275), who would compile two imperial anthologies, praised the "unaffected configuration and felicitous conception" (*sugata sunao ni kokoro uru-washiki uta*) of the poems in the *Shin Chokusenshū*;³² and his high opinion was shared by his wife, the nun Abutsu, in her work of poetic criticism *The Crane at Night*.³³

Tameie was a scholar of Heian literature and a not inconsiderable poet. Over three hundred of his poems were included in the imperial collections, beginning with the *Shin Chokusenshū*. The following poem is typical:

<i>oto tatete</i>	With a mournful sound
<i>ima hata fukinu</i>	It is blowing once again—
<i>wa ga yado no</i>	The first autumn wind
<i>ogi no uwaba no</i>	Over the upper leaves of
<i>aki no hatsukaze</i> ³⁴	The <i>ogi</i> by my dwelling.

There is nothing wrong with this poem, but it fails to produce much of an impression. The upper leaves of the *ogi*, a reedlike plant, were the first to change color in the autumn, a fact that had been duly noted by innumerable poets before Tameie. If Tameie had mentioned some normally overlooked plant, or had situated the blowing wind in a somewhat more unusual place than his own garden, the poem might linger a bit longer in the memory, but as it is, nothing distinguishes it from countless other poems on the upper leaves of the *ogi* in the first autumn wind, save perhaps the rather unusual words *ima hata* for "again." But it should be noted, poets of the age were quite content if their waka were free of faults (*yamai*) of the kind that might be reproved by the judge of an *uta-awase* session or the author of a text of poetic criticism.

Regardless of its absolute merits, the *Shin Chokusenshū* never attained anything like the popularity of the *Shin Kokinshū*. Even its excellent poems, by masters of the waka, have been largely forgotten. Motoori Norinaga, as always a model of sound judgment, attributed the relative failure of the collection to the fact that the best poems by the poets of the previous generation had already appeared in the *Shin Kokinshū*, and there simply were not any outstanding poets in the next generation.³⁵

FOUR NIJŌ SCHOOL COLLECTIONS

Four imperially sponsored collections were compiled between the *Shin Chokusenshū* of 1235 and the *Gyokuyōshū* of 1313. These collections all have titles beginning with either *shin* (new) or *shōku* (sequel), suggesting in a depressingly accurate manner that the compilers looked back to past glories rather than ahead to new developments in poetry. The central figures behind these collections were all poets of the conservative Nijō school.

The creation of schools of waka poetry began with the sons by different wives of Tameie, who contested the possession of Teika manuscripts that were believed to embody the true traditions of the waka. The eldest son, Tameuji (1222–1286), founded the Nijō school (named like the other schools, after his place of residence in the capital); another

son, Tamenori (1226–1279) established the more innovative Kyōgoku school; and a much younger son named Reizei Tamesuke (1263–1328) founded the Reizei school which, though generally on good terms with the Kyōgoku poets, had its own horde of manuscripts and poetic traditions.

The style of Tameie's most characteristic poetry was perpetuated by the conservative Nijō school, and the tenth and eleventh chokusenshū, which he compiled, represented this school at its most typical. Naturally, there were good poems among the thousands in the four collections, but to read all the poems in these collections might persuade one that they contained not one individual voice or original image in this poetry. This is not true, but much poetry was composed in the manner of a virtuoso spinning out variations on established themes—not attempting to surprise but to impress the reader with some slight modification of a honka that came closer, even very slightly closer, than the original poem to the heart of the perception or emotion described.

THE GYOKUYOŚHŪ

The next major imperial collection, the fourteenth, was called the *Gyokuyōshū* (Jeweled Leaves Collection).³⁶ The name itself, probably an allusion to the *Man'yōshū*, was a departure from the dreary titles of the four previous collections, and indicated the desire of the compiler to return to the roots of Japanese poetry in the *Man'yōshū*, rejecting the normal insistence on fidelity to the orthodox line of descent of waka composition from the *Kokinshū*.³⁷ The *Gyokuyōshū* and the *Fūgashū* (Collection of Elegance), the seventeenth anthology, were the only two compiled by poets of the Kyōgoku-Reizei school; Nijō school poets edited all the other Kamakura and Muromachi period chokusenshū down to the twenty-first, the *Shin Zoku Kokinshū* (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times Continued) of 1439.

The background to the compilation of the *Gyokuyōshū* was as much political as literary. The division between the two main schools of poetry paralleled the division in imperial authority from the middle of the thirteenth century until late in the fourteenth century. In 1246 the Emperor Gosaga abdicated in favor of his elder son Gofukakusa, who reigned from 1246 to 1259. Gofukakusa was in turn obliged by his father, the *in* (cloistered emperor), to abdicate in favor of his younger brother Kameyama, his father's favorite son. Gosaga lived on until 1272,

acting as long as he lived as the power behind the throne, insofar as it is possible to speak of imperial "power" at a time when the Hōjō family ruled the country as regents for the shoguns, who at this time were themselves merely figureheads. Relations between Gofukakusa and Kameyama remained friendly, at least on the surface,³⁸ until the death of Gosaga. Two years later, in 1274, Kameyama abdicated in favor of his son, the Emperor Gouda, much to the annoyance of the partisans of Gofukakusa, who believed that the throne should have gone to the senior line of the older brother. Open antagonism over the succession broke out between followers of the two retired emperors, and it could be subdued only by the shogunate.

State policy was controlled in almost every instance by the shogunate officials. It was by their decree that the crown came to alternate more or less regularly between the senior line (Gofukakusa) and the junior line (Kameyama), beginning with the successor to Gouda, who abdicated in 1287, and continuing until the accession to the throne of Godaigo in 1318.³⁹ In the capital the *in* continued to exercise greater authority than the reigning emperor, leading to further conflicts between senior and junior lines. The office of *in* was discontinued by Gouda in 1321, but the dynastic dispute, far from subsiding, soon erupted into open warfare.

It may seem surprising that these political events should have had a direct bearing on the composition of poetry. It was not that poets used the waka for obviously political ends, composing poetry that would in some way further the cause of whichever branch of the imperial family they supported. Regardless of the faction, the poets continued to celebrate in their poetry not some political cause but the first mist of early spring or the first cool breeze of autumn. The permissible subjects of waka had been established at the time of the *Kokinshū*, and no one was so indecorous as to compose a waka with openly political content.

All the same, a connection was established between the political and poetic factions. The bitter disputes among the sons of Tameie for his estates and treasured documents of poetic lore resulted, as we have seen, in the creation of schools of poetry. Tameie was of a naturally conservative bent, although his poetic stance apparently changed in late years under the influence of his wife Abutsu. She was not only a diarist and poet,⁴⁰ but a resolute woman who was unwaveringly determined to obtain the inheritance from Tameie for her son Reizei Tamesuke.⁴¹ Her suit for possession of two of Tameie's estates, placed before the courts in Kamakura, was eventually successful (in 1289, after her death) and Reizei Tamesuke subsequently established close relations with the shogunate.

The Nijō school, headed by Nijō Tameyo (1251–1338), supported the junior line (Kameyama's), and both the Reizei and Kyōgoku schools the senior line (Gofukakusa's).

The command for the compilation of a new imperial collection—the future *Gyokuyōshū*—was issued in 1293 by the Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317), a member of the senior line and a gifted poet who had been impressed by the poetry and poetic theory of Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254–1332). Fushimi chose four poets of different schools to compile the collection, but clashes between Kyōgoku Tamekane and Nijō Tameyo, over such matters as whether or not *Man'yōshū* poems should be included, made it almost impossible for the editors to collaborate.

In 1296 Tamekane, who then held the office of acting middle counselor, suddenly resigned. He had been accused by rivals of having used his poetry as a means of insinuating himself into political activity. The shogunate, accepting the truth of these rumors, placed Tamekane under house arrest.⁴² In 1298 he was imprisoned at the shogunate headquarters in Kyoto, and two months later was sent into exile on the island of Sado. In the following month the Emperor Fushimi abdicated in favor of his son, Gofushimi. The cause of his abdication is not known, but it may be that he felt chagrined over his inability to prevent the shogunate from exiling the poet he so much admired.

The Nijō poets were delighted to learn of the exile of Tamekane and abdication of Fushimi. Although Tamekane had made considerable progress with the compilation of the *Gyokuyōshū*, this project was dropped, and the Nijō poets, by command of the Cloistered Emperor Gouda (and not Gofushimi, the reigning emperor), set about preparing an imperial collection that accorded with their conservative preferences, the *Shin Gosenshū*, the fourth of the Nijō collections that immediately preceded the *Gyokuyōshū*. This collection, compiled by Nijō Tameyo, has so dismal a reputation that critics claim that the poems of his own that Tameyo chose for the *Shin Gosenshū* are inferior to those in the *Gyokuyōshū*, proof that he not only lacked poetic talent but was incapable of judging even his own work.⁴³

Once again, however, it is necessary to stress that not all the poems even in a collection with as poor a reputation as the *Shin Gosenshū* were inept. Here is one on a spring day by Tameyo, composed on the theme of “dawn moon in late spring”:

*tsurenakute
nokoru narai wo
kurete yuku*

O moon at dawn,
prolonging your stay in the sky
with such indifference—

haru ni oshie yo won't you teach your ways to spring
ariake no tsuki before it draws to a close?⁴⁴

Perhaps this poem shows no great originality, but the personification of the moon and the spring makes it appealing. Other examples of agreeable Nijō poetry are easily found,⁴⁵ but ultimately, the value of a waka lies in the individual voice of the poet and not in undifferentiated charm.

In 1301 Gofushimi abdicated and was succeeded by Gonijō of the junior line. This development boded even worse days ahead for the Kyōgoku school; but although the change led immediately to the compilation of the *Shin Gosenshū* by the Nijō school, it did not result in any diminution of activity by the Kyōgoku poets. At the time there were five retired emperors,⁴⁶ each with a small court of his own. Gouda, as the *in*, had the greatest power, but Fushimi, the best poet among the retired emperors, gathered around him poets of the Kyōgoku school and frequent uta-awase sessions were held at his palace.⁴⁷

The shogunate relented in 1303 and allowed Tamekane to return to the capital from his place of exile in Sado. This heralded a period of even greater activity by the Kyōgoku school poets, and when Gonijō died in 1308 and was succeeded by Hanazono of the senior line, the stage was set for the Kyōgoku poets to compile an imperial collection of their own. But first there was a clash between Nijō Tameyo and Kyōgoku Tamekane. It will be recalled that Fushimi in 1293 had asked four poets to compile a new imperial collection. During the years of Tamekane's exile, two of the other poets died, and Tameyo himself had withdrawn. It seemed that the *Gyokuyōshū* had died a natural death, but Tamekane, back from exile, insisted that he still had a mandate to compile the collection. The rumor spread at the court that Tamekane had been appointed as the sole compiler. Tameyo, much upset by the rumor, sent his son to ask Tamekane his intentions. Tamekane replied that he did indeed consider himself to be the only one in a position to make the compilation, and he suggested that if Tameyo did not like this arrangement he should make representations at once to the shogunate.⁴⁸

When Tameyo received this news, he was furious. He sent a messenger to the shogunate and also formally protested to the court alleging that Tamekane was not fit to be the compiler because he had been exiled and, further, was an illegitimate son. Tamekane responded in equally acrimonious terms. He admitted that he was illegitimate, but gave precedents for illegitimate sons' having been designated as the compilers of imperial collections; moreover, he insisted, he had received personal

instruction from Tameie (the grandfather of both men), unlike Tameyo, who had been taught by another man and had received neither written nor oral instruction from Tameie. He declared that it would be intolerable if a man of no poetic ability were chosen to edit a collection, solely on the basis of his seniority.⁴⁹

The recriminations continued between the two men. During the course of these heated exchanges there was hardly a mention of poetic practice. Fushimi, in his capacity as the original sponsor of the collection, was the recipient of these letters. His inclination was to appoint Tamekane as the sole compiler, but he feared this might upset the shogunate: Tameyo was the poetry tutor of both the shogun and the Hōjō regent. However, word was received from Kamakura in the summer of 1311 that there was no objection to Tamekane's compiling the collection by himself.⁵⁰

The *Gyokuyōshū* was presented to the ex-Emperor Fushimi by Kyōgoku Tamekane in 1312.⁵¹ Of all the imperially sponsored collections, it contains the largest number of waka, 2,796 in all. Perhaps, as has been suggested,⁵² Tamekane feared that the Kyōgoku and Reizei poets might never again have the chance to compile a collection, and for this reason included as many poems from these schools as possible.

The choice of poets for inclusion in the *Gyokuyōshū* provided a clear indication of the change in the poetical preferences of the editors: of the 182 poets, 113 were published in an imperial collection for the first time.⁵³ Among the poets most generously represented, the majority were affiliated with the Kyōgoku school, including the Retired Emperor Fushimi with 93 poems, Saionji Sanekane (1249–1322) with 62 poems, Tamekane's sister Kyōgoku Tameko (1252?–1316?) with 60 poems, the Empress Eifukumon'in (1271–1342) with 49 poems, and (modestly) Tamekane with 36 poems. Teika, Shunzei, and Saigyō were also favored, but there was only a token selection of poems of the Nijō school.

The *Gyokuyōshū* has never been studied with the care accorded the *Kokinshū* or the *Shin Kokinshū* or even the *Gosenshū*, but it has had its admirers. Toki Zemmaro (1885–1980), an important tanka poet⁵⁴ who published several studies devoted to Kyōgoku Tamekane, wrote about the *Gyokuyōshū*:

Seen against the background of the history of the waka from ancient times to the middle ages, there is something truly startling about the freshness of the *Gyokuyōshū*. A desire to break through the traditional methods of the *chokusenshū* is apparent at every turn. It is distinguished among the twenty-one collections by its rare pas-

sion, evidenced by the number of the poems (the largest of any collection), the grandness of its scale, the abundance and vividness of its nature poetry, the respect offered the *Man'yōshū* in both quality and quantity, its unique manner of carrying on the *Shin Kokinshū* traditions; and again, by the boldness of its selection of works by unknown poets and its policy of excluding compositions on stereotyped set topics. With respect to the division of the collection into books, love poems (always difficult for Kyōgoku poets) have been reduced to five books, while the miscellaneous poems have been increased to five books, in place of the traditional four books or fewer, making it possible to include many poems on freely chosen topics. Again, the category of travel poems was freshly considered. A great many poems devoted to the contemplation of nature—about twice the number of poems on love—were selected with the intent of employing the vivid Kyōgoku style of portraying nature as the framework for a new and real fusion between place and nature.⁵⁵

It may be wondered why, if this praise is to be believed, the *Gyokuyōshū* has left so little impression on the history of Japanese literature. In part this can be explained in terms of the overwhelming strength of the Nijō school during the following centuries. Not only were all but one of the subsequent imperial anthologies compiled by Nijō poets but most of the important waka poets of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were conservative in their poetic tastes even if not formally associated with the Nijō school. Again, the innovations of the Kyōgoku poets, though important historically, have long since ceased to startle readers, and it takes a certain effort to remember that some poems that today seem innocuously attractive were interpreted in their day as acts of defiance.

The lasting attraction of the *Gyokuyōshū* can be measured in terms of the successful works composed by a very few poets. Three of the many poets were outstanding—Kyōgoku Tamekane, the Emperor Fushimi, and Fushimi's consort, the Empress Eifukumon'in.

Of all the *Gyokuyōshū* (and *Fūgashū*) poets, surely Kyōgoku Tamekane was the best. He not only excelled in poetic composition but his book of criticism, *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* (Lord Tamekane's Notes on Poetry),⁵⁶ was the most important expression of the theoretical basis of Kyōgoku school poetry. In this work Tamekane insisted above all on the *kokoro*, or feeling, expressed by a poem, and he accorded less importance to the diction. As a matter of fact, most of his poems were on topics that had claimed the attention of waka poets ever since the

The Middle Ages

rays of the *Kokinshū*, and his poetic vocabulary hardly differed from *Surayuki's*, but his close observation of nature enabled him to impart freshness even to hackneyed themes:

<i>eda ni moru</i>	Sifting through branches,
<i>asahi no kage no</i>	the rays of the morning sun
<i>sukunaki ni</i>	are still very few—
<i>suzushisa fukaki</i>	and how deep is the coolness
<i>take no oku kana</i>	back among the bamboos! ⁵⁷

There is nothing startling in the material of the poem, but two words stand out: *sukunaki* (few) and *fukaki* (deep). These ordinary adjectives are peculiarly effective because unexpected: it was unusual to speak of morning sunlight as *sukunaki*, and evokes an image of a bamboo grove so thickly overgrown that only a few rays of sunlight find their way inside. Because the sunlight cannot penetrate very far into the bamboos, the coolness has a “depth” that is not easily dissipated. The adjective *fukaki* is used with both what it follows and precedes: “the cool is deep” deep within a bamboo grove.” The poem as a whole conveys with a minimum of words and images a convincing picture of an early morning scene that suggests actual observation. Another outstanding poem by Tamekane has even more vivid imagery:

<i>neya no ue wa</i>	It makes no sound
<i>tsumoreru yuki ni</i>	On the snow piled on the roof
<i>oto mo sede</i>	Of my bed chamber;
<i>yokogiru arare</i>	But the hail, slashing sideways,
<i>mado tataku nari</i> ⁵⁸	Rattles against the window.

The poem creates an impression of novelty with two words, the first the verb *yokogiru*, meaning to cut slantwise, and the second *mado*, a window—words that were unexpected in the context of Kamakura poetry.⁵⁹ The contrast between the heavy blanket of snow on the roof, absorbing every sound, and the volatile hail beating against the window exemplifies the antithesis between the still and the moving often found in *Gyokuyōshū* poems.⁶⁰ Mention of snow, needless to say, was in no way unusual in a winter poem, but snow at night (indicated by the mention of the bed chamber) is typical of the attention given to dawn, twilight, and night by the Kyōgoku poets.⁶¹

One other feature of this poem is worthy of note: the extra syllable in the first line. Poets as far back as the *Kokinshū* had occasionally

written lines containing an extra syllable (though never a line with one syllable too few), but the Kyōgoku poets wrote such lines so often as to make *ji-amari*, as the practice is known, a typical feature of their school.⁶² To add a single syllable to a poem is hardly revolutionary, even when measured by the yardstick of traditional court poetry, but it serves to distinguish Kyōgoku poetry from the poetry of the Nijō poets, who rarely permitted themselves such liberty.

The most interesting poems in the *Gyokuyōshū* are complex and sometimes obscure, in contrast to the easy intelligibility of the poems by the Nijō poets. Even when a poem seems to be no more than a straightforward description of a natural scene, it may “conceal” a Buddhist text, as various allegorical poems (more in the *Fūgashū* than in the *Gyokuyōshū*) demonstrate. Again, Chinese poetic practice of the Sung dynasty seems to have inspired the preference for hazy or dimly lit landscapes, rather than for the more conventionally admired brilliance of cherry blossoms or tinted maple leaves. In the following poem by Kyōgoku Tamekane the brightness of the crimson plum blossoms is seen through the mistiness of spring rain:

<i>ume no hana</i>	On an evening
<i>kurenai niou</i>	glow with the crimson
<i>yūgure ni</i>	of plum flowers,
<i>yanagi nabikite</i>	the willow boughs sway softly;
<i>harusame zo furu</i>	and the spring rain falls. ⁶³

Tamekane was arrested again in 1315. He had been denounced to the shogunate by Saionji Sanekane, formerly his disciple in waka poetry. This time Tamekane was accused of having flaunted his wealth and prosperity during a visit to Nara, where he conducted himself like a reigning emperor, surrounded by a great entourage of nobles, court ladies, and priests. A passage in *Essays in Idleness* recalls the scene of his arrest:

When the Major Counsellor and Lay Priest Tamekane had been arrested and led off to Rokuhara surrounded by soldiers, Lord Suketomo saw him near Ichijō. He exclaimed, “How I envy him! What a marvellous last remembrance to have of this life!”⁶⁴

Suketomo's envy would be ironically satisfied in 1324 when he was exiled to Sado and put to death. Tamekane also died in exile, but the

Kamakura period are for this reason often referred to as *giko monogatari* (archaic fiction), though the appropriateness of this term has been questioned.²

The establishment of the shogun's court in Kamakura deeply affected the nobility, whether they remained behind in the old Heian capital or attempted to improve their situation by going elsewhere. Power was now in the hands of the military, and there are descriptions in writings of the time of how the aristocrats were obliged to fawn on their erstwhile servants. The nobles experienced severe economic hardships especially during the warfare of the late twelfth century; but little in the traditional fiction produced at the court indicates what important political changes had occurred in the lives of the authors. It is quite possible, however, that some of the lost works whose titles we know from *Story Without a Name* or the *Fūyōshū* more clearly revealed than any surviving work that a new age had begun in literature as well as in the domain of politics.³

Works in the courtly tradition of the Kamakura period are for this reason, perhaps even more than for their old-fashioned style, considered to be pseudoclassical. The term is used to mean that the authors were pretending to be writing in an earlier (and happier) age. Not even the Heian courtly fiction had been really faithful to its time. Who would guess when reading *The Tale of Genji* or *Wakefulness at Night* that while their authors were evoking the beauty of a society free from any hint of disorder and ruled by canons of taste rather than by laws, the capital was overrun by bandits who threatened the property and even the lives of the aristocrats?⁴ All the same, the Heian writers persuade us of the truth of their romanticized portrayal of their society. The Kamakura writers, despite their lavish descriptions of the beauty of the world they portray, were not so successful. Indeed, the feature that most clearly distinguishes the court fiction of the Kamakura period is the prominence of deviations—conscious or otherwise—from the cult of beauty that had characterized the Heian literature during its heyday.

The decline in the morals of the Heian aristocracy, a conspicuous element in this loss of beauty, began long before the shogunate capital was established in Kamakura.⁵ Yet it is hard to escape the impression that signs of decadence among the aristocrats, evident much earlier, grew increasingly pronounced. *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, a diary written toward the close of the Kamakura period, is evidence of the degree of promiscuity that existed at the court. The nobles were deprived by the rising power of the military of almost everything but their titles, and in inverse proportion to the court's loss of importance as the central

organ of administration, ceremony and precedents became not merely guides to the correct performance of court activities but matters of the most intense concern.

For many aristocrats of this period, especially the women, *The Tale of Genji* was not only a beautiful novel but a faithful portrayal of a glorious age of the court, which they sadly contrasted with their own reduced circumstances. In their attempt to preserve the culture of their ancestors, these nobles consecrated themselves to waka poetry with such fervor that it became all but a religion. But it was in the fiction, rather than the poetry, that the pervasive decadence is most clearly revealed.

With a very few exceptions, the writers of the Kamakura courtly fiction are unknown, but we know from the example of Fujiwara Teika that men not only read but composed monogatari. The intended readers, however, were probably still ladies of the court, and the loving evocations of the Heian past were for their delectation. Repetitions of thematic materials from *The Tale of Genji* would not have distressed such readers; on the contrary, they probably gave the kind of pleasure they knew in poetry from *honka-dori*. One critic wrote of the Kamakura period monogatari *Koke no Koromo* (The Moss-Colored Robe), a work usually dismissed as being wholly derivative, "It was definitely not that the author of this monogatari copied earlier monogatari in the hope of giving form to his work; rather, it is clear that he strongly hoped that readers would, as they read, perceive both the links with and the differences that separated it from the existing body of monogatari."⁶ The same is true of many other monogatari of the period, notably Teika's.

THE TALE OF THE MATSURA PALACE

Teika's sole surviving work of fiction is the unfinished *Matsuranomiya Monogatari* (The Tale of the Matsura Palace), though he probably wrote others. Our best clues to the authorship and dating come from a brief passage in *Story Without a Name*, where it states, "The many works composed by Teika, the lesser captain, are so exclusively concerned with creating atmosphere that they are utterly lacking in verisimilitude. The poems in *The Tale of the Matsura Palace* are exactly like those in the *Man'yōshū*, and the plot brings to mind *The Hollow Tree*."⁷ We know that *Story Without a Name* was written in 1200 or 1201, and Teika held the office of *shōshō* (lesser captain) from 1189 to 1202, strong evidence that he wrote *The Tale of the Matsura Palace* between 1189 and 1201.⁸

It might seem that an extended work by a recognized, even wor-

shipped master of Japanese poetry would command wide attention, but *The Tale of the Matsura Palace* has been little studied. The unfinished state of the work undoubtedly has contributed to the neglect, but interest in Teika's writings is largely restricted to his poetry and criticism, and his novel has therefore been as little read as the plays of Browning or Tennyson. The work has been described as an exercise in literary composition: the poems (as the lady of *Story Without a Name* stated) recall those in the *Man'yōshū*, at least in the first book, though elsewhere Teika experimented with later styles of waka. He borrowed directly from *The Tale of the Hollow Tree* when creating his hero and in the emphasis he gave to music as a central element of the plot. He was probably indebted also to *The Tale of the Hamamatsu Middle Counselor* for setting much of the story in China. It is clear that Teika was not merely recounting an entertaining tale but demonstrating his familiarity with the literature of the past and his ability to write in a variety of styles.

One influence is conspicuous by its absence—that of *The Tale of Genji*. Teika deliberately set his work in the distant past, before the capital was established at Nara (and, naturally, before *The Tale of Genji*). It opens, "Long ago, when the capital was at Fujiwara, Tachibana no Fuyūaki, a major counselor of the Senior Third Rank who also served as general of the Palace Guards, had an only son by the Imperial Princess Asuka."⁹ The Fujiwara capital lasted for three reigns, from 694 to 710, immediately before Nara was made the first permanent capital. The title *chūe no taishō* (rendered here as "general of the Palace Guards") is found in the *Man'yōshū* and other early documents, but no longer existed in the Heian period; it served to confirm the period of the work.¹⁰

Teika, by going back to the *Man'yōshū* and *The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, was in effect refusing the possibility of influence from the later *Tale of Genji*. Perhaps Teika was attempting to return in his work to a more vigorous period of Japanese history; it certainly stands apart from more typical examples of archaic fiction which insist on the beauty and sensitivity of the heroes to the exclusion of specifically masculine traits. But, of course, even the act of refusing influence revealed how profoundly conscious Teika was of *The Tale of Genji* at every stage of writing his book.

Ben no Shōshō, the hero of *The Tale of the Matsura Palace*, displayed outstanding qualities even as a small boy. We are told that he excelled others in his looks and, as he grew up, it became apparent that he was no less remarkable in intelligence and disposition. When the boy was seven, he demonstrated his proficiency at composing poetry in Chinese. The emperor, hearing of this prodigy, summoned him and set a topic

for a poem as a test of his ability; the boy, without the least hesitation, composed a splendid poem on the assigned topic. He later studied stringed and wind instruments, and soon was able to play even the most difficult pieces better than his teacher.

Thus far, we have been given more or less the standard description of the hero of a Heian monogatari. The first departure from convention comes with the statement that Ben no Shōshō, unlike most young men, was severely disciplined in his habits and seemed uninterested in romance. The self-discipline would serve him well later in the novel, when he (in contrast to the heroes of Heian court fiction) is required to demonstrate his prowess on the battlefield; but the lack of interest in romance is only apparent. As a matter of fact, he is deeply in love with the Princess Kannabi, and desperately wants to make her his wife. The princess offers no encouragement. When he summons up the courage to reach inside her screen-of-state and take her hand, she tries to escape, and to the poem he sends describing his burning love she sends a frosty reply in which she expresses doubt that he is really consumed in the flames of passion for her.

Soon afterward Shōshō is ordered by the emperor to proceed to China as second in command of an embassy. (This has the effect of confirming that the tale took place prior to 838, when the last embassy to China was sent.) His parents worry about the dangerous journey, but are aware also that it is a signal honor that their son has been chosen. Shōshō is unhappy because Princess Kannabi has been taken into the palace, and has quickly become the emperor's favorite; but at the farewell banquet for members of the embassy, he receives a poem from Kannabi urging him to return safely to Japan. She says her heart will go with him, the first kind words he has received.

He departs for the "border"—the harbor of Matsura in Kyūshū from which the embassy is to sail for China. His mother insists on accompanying him, and declares that she will stay there until he returns. Although the mother's decision to remain in Matsura is not one of the central incidents of the work, for some reason the palace (*miya*) she built at Matsura appears in the title.

After a voyage lasting just a week, the ship bearing the Japanese embassy arrives at Ningpo,¹¹ the traditional port through which Japanese visitors entered China. They are welcomed by local officials with whom they exchange poems in Chinese. Apart from poetry, everything in China is unfamiliar, but the Japanese are impressed by the quality of the officials even in a place so remote from the capital; China is evidently a country of great culture.¹²

When the Japanese reach the capital, they are granted an audience by the emperor. The members of the Japanese embassy join their hosts in making music and composing poetry. The emperor is pleased with Shōshō, and insists that the young man (he was then seventeen) remain by his side. Some at the court are annoyed by Shōshō's mastery of every art, which quite puts the Chinese to shame, and others remonstrate with the emperor, pointing out how unusual it is for a foreigner, especially one so young, to be admitted to the presence of the emperor; but the emperor puts an end to the discussion by citing the instance of a foreigner favored by the ancient Emperor Han Wu-ti.

No less than *The Hamamatsu Middle Counselor*, this tale insists on the Japanese mastery of Chinese culture: there was no diminution of Japanese esteem for China as the source of their higher culture, even though diplomatic contacts had long been broken, but they evidently liked to believe (at this time as much later) that they, rather than the Chinese themselves, were the heirs to the great traditions of the past.

Shōshō also reveals his moral superiority. The emperor arranges for beautiful dancing girls to entertain Shōshō, but the latter, showing no sign of being tempted, spends his nights alone. The emperor is impressed: he had not expected a Japanese to display such self-control.¹³

Although Shōshō is resolved not to commit any lapses while in China, he is finally led into temptation, not by a beautiful face but by music. He hears the sound of a *kin* (Chinese zither) being played, so magnificently that he searches until he finds the player, an old man of eighty. The old man expresses joy over seeing a Japanese, and in a scene that recalls Kūkai's account of his first meeting with Hui-kuo, his teacher, declares that he knew Shōshō would visit him that night.¹⁴ He also reveals that there is a kin player even superior to himself, the Princess Hua-yang, and he urges Shōshō to study with her.

Shōshō finds his way to the princess's mountain retreat, guided by the sound of her music. He is dazzled by his first glimpse; compared to her, the dancing girls who had entertained him look like so many clay dolls, and even Princess Kannabi seems no more than a country wench.¹⁵ Princess Hua-yang teaches him a secret piece, and they commemorate the occasion by exchanging poems, both in Chinese (not quoted) and Japanese. Her waka is:

<i>kumo ni fuku</i>	That man who has come
<i>kaze mo oyobanu</i>	To visit over the waves
<i>namiji yori</i>	Unreached even by

<i>toikon hito wa</i>	The winds that blow in the clouds—
<i>sora ni shiriniki</i>	I knew of him in heaven.

Ben no Shōshō replies:

<i>kumo no hoka</i>	Did I ever know
<i>tō tsu sakai no</i>	Parting of such great sorrow
<i>kunibito mo</i>	Even when I left
<i>mata ka bakari no</i>	Someone from that far-off land
<i>wakare ya wa seshi</i> ¹⁶	Far beyond the realm of clouds?

The princess tells Shōshō how she was taught to play the kin by an immortal who descended from heaven the night of the harvest moon. At their second meeting she teaches him the remainder of the secret pieces, but reveals she has not long to live. In the meantime, the emperor falls ill. He predicts his own death and unrest in the country, but takes comfort from Shōshō's physiognomy, which bears the signs of one who will calm disorder in the country. He also foresees Shōshō's safe return to Japan. Shōshō has a final meeting with Princess Hua-yang. She promises that if he really loves her and never forgets her she will join him in her next life. She gives him a crystal bead, urging him never to let it out of his possession. Once back in Japan, he should go to the Hatsuse Temple and for twenty-one days perform the customary observances before the statue of Kannon. If he does exactly as she describes, they will be reunited.

Soon afterward the princess dies. Her kin soars into the sky, returning to its source. The death of the emperor follows the princess's. The country is grief-stricken, but soon a quarrel breaks out over the succession to the throne between adherents of the infant crown prince and those of Prince Yen, the younger brother of the late emperor. The forces of Prince Yen are so much stronger that many at the court desert the crown prince. Various plotters are exposed and executed. (This may be another attempt on Teika's part to confirm the period of the tale; no one is put to death in a Heian monogatari.) The empress mother flees with the crown prince, but desertions swell the forces of Prince Yen day by day, and there is nowhere to hide but an abandoned temple. Teika's experiences during the fighting of the 1180s may have inspired these descriptions of warfare, but it has been suggested that he was also influenced by accounts he had read of the rebellion of An Lu-shan in 756.¹⁷

The empress mother assembles the few ministers who are still loyal

and asks for their counsels, but they are all terrified by the prospect of encountering the enemy general, Yü-wen Hui,¹⁸ who is described as looking like a man but having the heart of a tiger. In desperation, the empress asks the help of Ben no Shōshō: she has heard that although Japan is a small country its men are brave and it enjoys the protection of the gods.¹⁹ Shōshō has had absolutely no experience of war, but he cannot abandon the empress; he agrees to defend China.

Shōshō's army numbers only some fifty or sixty men, but he prays for help to the buddhas and gods of his country. He really needs help: the enemy numbers some thirty thousand men. There follows an account of the fighting quite without precedent in courtly fiction. Shōshō orders his men to set fires on all sides of the enemy; caught by surprise, the traitors flee toward the sea, where Shōshō confronts the enemy general. He fires an arrow that passes through Yü-wen Hui's armor, but this tiger of a man not only continues to fight but surrounds Shōshō with his men. It seems as if the Japanese will surely perish, but suddenly four men who look exactly like Shōshō and are mounted on identical horses with identical fittings come to protect him. Yü-wen Hui falls back only to be surrounded by five more identical men who slash him down.²⁰ His army of thirty thousand men, intimidated by this prodigy, loses its will to fight.

Several other battles, described in some detail, bring complete victory to the loyalist forces. Shōshō, having accomplished his mission, deferentially returns to the empress his office of commanding general, saying he is young, inexperienced, and a foreigner.²¹ The empress refuses his resignation. The whole country is now at peace. The traitors have been punished and prosperity has returned. The empress feels that she should really turn over state affairs to Shōshō, but she knows that he desires to return to Japan. He agrees to allow the empress, who is most reluctant to let him go, to fix the time of his departure.

At first the empress makes Shōshō nostalgic for his mother, but their relationship imperceptibly changes. She sings him a Japanese poem about the moon, eliciting from the author the query, "Granted she was very intelligent, how did she happen to learn an old Japanese poem? He must have only *thought* he heard the words."²² This curious aside seems to anticipate a question from the reader, but it also enhances the mysterious charm of the empress.

It does not come as a surprise that at the outset of Shōshō's next affair, with a mysterious woman who lives in the mountains, music once again serves as a go-between, but even more than music, her marvelous fragrance characterizes the woman. He spends the night with her, but

she does not vouchsafe a word, and she will not permit him to see her clearly. The only clue is her fragrance, which reminds him of the empress's. Shortly before he is to return to Japan, the lady explains the mystery: all that has happened, including the revolt of Yü-wen Hui, was foreordained in heaven. She herself was sent from heaven, charged with reestablishing peace, but she could not do this unaided. It was arranged in heaven that a martial man, born in Japan, and protected by the god Sumiyoshi, would come to her rescue. All went well, she says, until she fell in love with Shōshō, with whom she had been intimate in a previous life. Now she not only resembled a mortal woman but shared a mortal woman's feelings. Her lapse would surely be punished when she returned to heaven.²³

Soon afterward Shōshō takes a tearful leave of the empress. Teika, having decided perhaps that he had written long enough in this vein, resorted to a device familiar to him from his work as the editor of old manuscripts: he provided a note, supposedly in the original manuscript, to the effect that at this point some pages had been lost because the string of the binding got broken.²⁴ The homeward journey is briefly described. True to her word, Shōshō's mother is still waiting for him at Matsura. The Japanese emperor is overjoyed to have Shōshō back, and bestows on him a title equivalent to the one he received in China.

Shōshō hurries to the Hatsuse Temple, fulfilling his promise to Princess Hua-yang. She reappears, and his love is rekindled. He does not forget the empress, but he has unfortunately lost all interest in Princess Kannabi, who is puzzled by his lack of ardor. He and Hua-yang are happily joined in love, but the empress makes another appearance, and one day Hua-yang not only catches a whiff of the empress's scent but notices his eyes are red with weeping. Her suspicions are aroused. He attempts to reassure her, but she seems inconsolable.

At this point the novel ends. Teika appended an additional note explaining that pages had been lost, and two false postscripts, one dating the manuscript the third year of Jōkan (A.D. 861) and quoting a poem by Po Chū-i, the second (supposedly by a later person) questioning the authenticity of the poem. These pedantic touches are not without interest in themselves, but, more than anything else, they suggest that Teika was at a loss how to finish his story. Ben no Shōshō has three women in his life, and it is clear that each expects to be his only love. How will he console poor Kannabi? Will Hua-yang settle down in Japan? Is the empress waiting for him in heaven? These questions were fated never to be answered.

Teika's work in its unfinished state cannot be called a success, but

he was able to write a monogatari that avoided influence from *The Tale of Genji*. It is not clear, however, *why* he was so determined to escape this influence. Perhaps an aggressively masculine temperament made him impatient with the delicacy of Murasaki Shikibu. Perhaps also distaste for the prevailing ways of the aristocracy of his day made him nostalgic for the distant past when courtiers excelled not only with their writing brushes but with bows and arrows. *The Tale of the Matsura Palace* stands outside the mainstream of Kamakura court fiction. The style is that of the Heian monogatari, an impression strengthened by the many poems scattered through the text, but the story itself provides incontestable proof that not all monogatari written after *The Tale of Genji* conformed to its manner or contents.

PARTING AT DAWN

Ariake no Wakare (Parting at Dawn) seems a more typical example of court fiction of the Kamakura period, but perhaps it belongs to the late Heian rather than the Kamakura period: we have virtually no information concerning either the time of composition or the author. It is discussed in *Story Without a Name* as a “contemporary tale” (*ima no yo no monogatari*), suggesting that it had been written not long before 1200. The same work praised the easy-to-read style, but disapproved of the supernatural events in the narration.²⁵ The high regard for *Parting at Dawn* in the eyes of the thirteenth-century critics is indicated by the inclusion in the *Fūyōshū* of twenty of its poems, next in number after *Wakefulness at Night*. A modern critic praised its “fresh, literary fragrance,” which he contrasted with the “lifeless imitations” found in other monogatari of the period.²⁶

The title of the work is derived from the celebrated waka by Mibu no Tadamine (fl. 898–920) in the *Kokinshū* (and in the popular collection *Hyakunin Isshu*):

<i>ariake no</i>	Ever since parting
<i>tsure naku mieshi</i>	When the daybreak moon appeared
<i>wakare yori</i>	Heartless in the sky,
<i>akatsuki bakari</i>	Nothing has been so gloomy
<i>uki mono wa nashi</i>	As the hour before the dawn.

This poem is quoted five times in the course of the work, but it is not clear to which parting it refers.²⁷ One commentator, on the basis of the

quotation of a poem as the title, suggested that the unknown author was someone close to Teika.²⁸ Mention in the text of “somebody who climbed a mountain in the moonlight”²⁹ in order to obtain instruction in secret works of music may be a reference to Ben no Shōshō in *The Tale of the Matsura Palace*, a further link to Teika. Connections also suggest themselves with *If I Could Only Change Them*; both works have for the central character a person who pretends to be of the opposite sex. But *Parting at Dawn* also contains supernatural elements—the ones criticized in *Story Without a Name*—that seem to belong to folk traditions rather than those of the court.

The story opens in a manner familiar ever since *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*: a husband and wife, long childless, pray to the gods (and consult doctors of yin-yang divination) in the hopes that a child will be born to them. Their prayers are answered, but a daughter, rather than a son, is born, and this is a disappointment because a daughter cannot continue the family line. The couple decides, in response to an oracle sent by the gods, to raise the daughter as a son. As the story opens the “son” is sixteen or seventeen and has just been promoted to the position of *udaishō*, or general of the Right, and is known by that name. Like the other heroes of court romances, he is extremely beautiful and plays various musical instruments superbly. His only fault (apart from his rather short stature) is his apparent lack of interest in women. His father, Sadaijin, gives out that Udaishō has a younger sister who remains at home because she is too shy to appear before people. The emperor, though he has a consort and various concubines, has not had a child. He thinks that perhaps another wife is needed, and asks Sadaijin to send his daughter to court. Sadaijin refuses, alleging the extreme shyness of the girl.

Thus far we have the making of a court romance along the lines of *If I Could Only Change Them*, and it does not require a literary detective to predict that sooner or later Udaishō will resume his rightful sex and become his own sister. But we are at this point confronted with an unfamiliar element: the young general is gifted with the power to make himself invisible, and has a habit of visiting people without their knowledge.³⁰ His ability to pass freely into other people’s bedrooms leads to the discovery that his uncle, Sadaishō, has conceived an improper love for his stepdaughter. Udaishō also peeps in on several other bedrooms. In one he sees a repulsive old prince who has been admitted by the father of the young lady whose favors he craves, in another bedroom the same prince’s wife is lying with the profligate Sammi no Chūjō.

Udaishō also takes advantage of his invisibility to eavesdrop on a

Notes

This chapter is a somewhat revised version of an article that originally appeared in *Monumenta Nipponica* 44:1 (1989), under the title "A Neglected Chapter: Courtly Fiction of the Kamakura Period."

1. For *Story Without a Name*, see above, pp. 517–18. The compilation of the *Fūyō Waka Shū* (to give the work its full title) was ordered in 1271 by the consort of the Emperor Gosaga, and was probably completed not long afterward. It consists of 1,410 poems, all drawn from monogatari. Of the two hundred monogatari from which it quotes poems, only about twenty survive. (For more information in English, see Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morell, *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*, p. 156.)
2. See, for example, Ogi Takashi, *Kamakura Jidai Monogatari no Kenkyū*, p. 51, where he insists that the term *giko monogatari* is used properly only of works written in archaic language by scholars of National Learning during the Tokugawa period. Ogi quotes on the same page Kazamaki Keijirō's statement that it is impossible to distinguish between monogatari of the Heian and Kamakura periods.
3. Imai Gen'e (in "Ōchō Monogatari no Shūen," pp. 20–21) cited various scholars who had expressed the belief that Fujiwara Teika's novel *The Tale of the Mutsu Palace* contained political criticism, the result of his experiences during the warfare of the 1180s; but Imai considered that such passages were incidental to the basic *mugen* (dream-fantasy) tone of the work.
4. Ogi (*Kamakura*, pp. 54–55) quotes Hara Katsurō's description of the real appearance of the city of Heian. Robbers roamed the street not only at night but in broad daylight and sometimes penetrated even into the Imperial Palace.
5. See above, pp. 515–16.
6. Kannotō Akio, "Kamakura Jidai no Monogatari," in *Nihon Bungaku Kyōkai* (ed.), *Nihon Bungaku Kōza*, IV, p. 171.
7. Kuwabara Hiroshi, *Mumyō Zōshi*, p. 98. See also Michele Marra, "Mumyōzōshi," p. 418. The statement that the poems were "exactly like" those in the *Man'yōshū* is evidence that the author of *Story Without a Name* thought the poems did *not* resemble those in *The Tale of Genji*; similarly, the resemblances noted with *The Tale of the Hollow Tree* meant that the plot seemed unlike that of *Genji*. *The Tale of the Mutsu Palace* is the only work so clearly differentiated from *Genji*.
8. At one time doubts were expressed about the authorship, but it is not seriously questioned any longer. See Hagitani Boku, *Matsuranomiya Monogatari*, p. 293.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

10. *Ibid.* Hagitani states that this title was in fact not used during the Fujiwara period; but in any case it suggested a bureaucracy unlike that of the Heian period. The other indications of when the work took place are vague and sometimes contradictory, but they always point to a period prior to the beginning of the tenth century.
11. Teika, once again insisting on the antiquity of his tale, uses the old name for the port, Ming-chou.
12. Hagitani, *Matsuranomiya*, p. 23.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 26. The original reads: "Kano kuni no hito wa omoishi yori mo mame narikeri."
14. It is unlikely Teika had read Kūkai's *Shōrai Mokuroku*, in which the meeting is described, but he was surely aware that other Japanese priests (including Jōjin) had so favorably impressed the Chinese that they were never allowed to return to Japan.
15. Hagitani, *Matsuranomiya*, p. 32.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 48. Yu-wen Hui is not a historical personage but, as Hagitani points out, several men with the same surname appear in Chinese histories. All of them were foreigners who were naturalized as Chinese; this may be an indication that the intended model was An Lu-shan.
19. Needless to say, the Chinese in real life (or in their own literature) did not often praise the Japanese in these terms.
20. We later learn that Shōshō's mysterious clones have been sent by the Japanese gods.
21. Hagitani, *Matsuranomiya*, p. 62.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 107–9.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
25. Kuwabara, *Mumyō Zōshi*, pp. 98–99. The ladies of *Story Without a Name* consistently found fault with works that contained supernatural or implausible events. They also disapproved of scenes of violence, discussions of political matters, or irrelevant language.
26. Ishikawa Tōru, quoted by Ōtsuki Osamu in *Ariake no Wakare*, p. 489.
27. See Ōtsuki, *Ariake*, p. 49. He suggests it might refer to the parting of the emperor and the lady general.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 499.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13.
30. For a brief study of the ability of characters in Heian fiction to make themselves invisible or transform themselves, see Inaga Keiji, "'Kakuremi' to 'Henkei' Josetsu," in Chūko Bungaku Kenkyūkai (ed.), *Heian Kōki*, pp. 1–16.
31. Ōtsuki, *Ariake*, p. 69.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

prepared himself spiritually. She herself considered taking a nun's vows, or even committing suicide, but decided against such precipitate actions. However, in the next spring she heard terrible reports after the battle of Ichinotani that "great numbers of my friends had been killed, and that their heads were being paraded through the streets of the capital."⁸ Taira no Shigemori, the father of her lover, had earlier figured in the diary as an amusing man who entertained the ladies of the palace with his stories. Now he had been taken prisoner at Ichinotani and brought back to the capital, to be turned over to the Nara monks for execution as punishment for having led the forces that burned the Tōdai-ji. One after another the Taira perished in the warfare. She wrote, "Whenever I meet anyone these days, I can only think what truly superior figures the Taira were."⁹ Finally, in the spring of 1185, she learned that Sukemori was dead.

Several years later Lady Daibu, who had left the court after the defeat of the Taira, was persuaded to return, though it was now dominated by the Minamoto family, who had killed the Taira men she loved. She could not keep from contrasting unfavorably the Minamoto nobles to the Taira nobles she remembered: "Those whom I had known in the old days as courtiers of no great eminence were now in the highest ranks, and I could not help imagining how things might have been if Sukemori had only lived."¹⁰

The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu conveys more poignantly than any other work of its period the pathos of defeat. The reader may find himself skipping the rather conventional waka to reach the continuation of the narrative, but the work as a whole lingers in the memory.

CHRONICLE OF THE BRIGHT MOON

No diary of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods is as rich in literary and historical materials as *Meigetsuki* (Chronicle of the Bright Moon), kept by Fujiwara Teika between the years 1180 and 1235.¹¹ Even in its present state, marred by many gaps in the entries, some extending for years, it is an invaluable day-to-day account of life at the court during a period of dramatic changes in some of which Teika himself participated. Teika kept the diary in Chinese, as we might expect of a courtier, though perhaps not of one whose life was so closely involved with Japanese poetry. The original text is not easy to read, and many entries are of little interest except to those especially intrigued by matters of court routine; this adverse combination of language and content no doubt

explains why such an important work has been so little studied.¹² A few oft-quoted entries are all that most readers know about the diary, despite Teika's exalted reputation as a poet and arbiter of poetic taste.

The literary value of *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* is impaired by the same factors that account for the restricted interest of the work. Teika's Chinese is not only difficult but is likely to cause the reader to imagine with irritation how much more enjoyable as literature the diary would have been if only Teika had kept it in Japanese. Occasionally, when he is particularly irritated over some rebuff or pleased by some gesture of recognition of his talent, Teika's emotions are so powerful that they transcend the barrier of the artificial language with its special rhetoric. It sometimes happens, too, that an entry which is as a whole of considerable interest may be weakened by unnecessary information. Teika was clearly not attempting to achieve literary elegance when he set down his account of each day.

Perhaps the worst fault of his diary as far as a modern reader is concerned is that Teika tells us so little about his private life. Unlike the court ladies who described their emotions so poignantly that we have no trouble in empathizing with them, or unlike Teika himself in his poetry, he is niggardly of words when it comes to feelings other than rage or satisfaction. We know from historical sources the name of his official consort, and we know also that he had twenty-seven children, but the various women in his life—the mothers of all those children—are not mentioned in his diary.

The nature of his relations with the celebrated poet Princess Shokushi, the relationship we would most like to know about, is never disclosed. In an entry for the third day of the first month of 1181 he mentions in the course of an account of people he called on that day, "I visited the former high priestess at Sanjō. (Today was my first visit. It was at her request. The fragrance of incense was pervasive.)"¹³ Princess Shokushi had served as the high priestess of the Kamo Shrine, and it is clear that she was the person Teika visited. But only the mention of the fragrance suggests that it might have been more than a formal visit. Most of his subsequent visits to Princess Shokushi over the following years state no more than that he called at her residence. But in 1200, the year before Shokushi died, he visited her thirty-six times, and on two occasions noted in his diary that he did not leave until late at night.¹⁴ It is tempting to imagine that, as in the Nō play *Teika*, these two great poets were lovers, but if they were, it makes it all the more disappointing that Teika had not a word to say about their affair. Perhaps he feared that others might read the diary; an affair between a noble not of the

highest rank and an imperial princess might have reflected adversely on her virtue. On the other hand, Teika's utter recklessness when denouncing his enemies among the powerful statesmen makes it seem improbable he would have exercised such caution in the case of a love affair. We shall probably never know much more about Teika's personal life than what he chose to describe in *Chronicle of the Bright Moon*.

By far the best-known passage in the entire diary occurs in an entry dated the fourth year of the Jishō era (1180), when Teika was eighteen: "Reports of disturbances and punitive expeditions fill one's ears, but I pay them no attention. The red banners and the expeditions against the traitors are no concern of mine."¹⁵ Even if, as has been suggested, this entry was actually written many years later, it reflects Teika's chosen indifference to the mundane matters that occupy most men. This, inevitably, was something of a pose: he could not escape involvement in the power struggles at the court, as we know from his relations with the Cloistered Emperor Gotoba.

Teika's diary covering the period when the two men saw each other regularly declared in unconditional superlatives his high opinion of the quality of Gotoba's poetry, though of course his praise must have been affected in some degree by the poet's exalted station. But for a rank amateur—unlike Teika, a professional poet who had been composing waka ever since he was a child—Gotoba was extraordinarily talented, and Teika in his diary again and again expressed his admiration: "Summoned early this morning, I entered His Majesty's presence, where I was commanded to examine his recent poetic compositions. When I opened the manuscript, it brought me a voice of gold and jade. At present there is absolutely nobody, high or low, who can touch him. Each and every poem is astonishing. I could not hold back the tears of joy."¹⁶

In 1201 Gotoba asked Teika to accompany him on a pilgrimage to Kumano. Teika was ecstatic that of all the many courtiers he had been selected to accompany the former sovereign. He declared in his diary that this was an honor beyond his deserts, though he also worried that his physical condition might not be equal to the difficult journey. (Two years earlier, when Gotoba had made one of his over thirty pilgrimages to Kumano, many of those in his party had fallen ill on the way, and courtiers were wary of invitations to accompany Gotoba, who seems to have had an unusually robust constitution, on subsequent pilgrimages.)¹⁷ The journey involved not only worship at Kumano, at the time more favored even than Ise as a destination for an imperial pilgrimage, but at the many small shrines on the way. The party set out at dawn each

day and traveled all day long for some twenty days. At some places the pilgrims were entertained by biwa hōshi, by bouts of sumo, and by shirabyōshi. There were many occasions for composing poems, as we know from the quotations in Teika's diary.

Teika described the same journey in another diary, *Gotoba-in Kumano Gokō Ki* (Account of the Visit of the Cloistered Emperor Gotoba to Kumano), also written in Chinese. This diary lacks the numerous outbursts of admiration for Gotoba's poems found in *Chronicle of the Bright Moon*, and Teika expressed no pleasure in the sights along the way, suggesting that the hardships of the journey had affected his spirits. Or perhaps the diary was composed later, after relations between the two men had cooled. They seem to have been on excellent terms at the time of the journey, despite Teika's silence; and in 1203, on the occasion of the ninetieth birthday¹⁸ of Teika's father, Shunzei, Gotoba staged a huge birthday party at the Poetry Bureau he had established by way of preparation for compiling the *Shin Kokinshū*. This event is described in various other diaries,¹⁹ but Teika wrote nothing in his diary that day, perhaps because he found the sight of his tottering old father too painful to describe. All the same, the lavishness of the celebration was proof of Gotoba's special respect not only for Shunzei but for Teika.

The first signs of a break between Gotoba and Teika did not surface until 1207, when Gotoba rejected one of the poems Teika had composed to be inscribed on a screen. By this time Teika had become fully aware of his own importance as a poet, and he was not accustomed to having his poems rejected. Years later Gotoba, after explaining why he had rejected the poem, mentioned that Teika had gone about mocking his judgment. From this point on their once-cordial relations continued to deteriorate until the final break in 1220, when (as we have seen) Teika, in response to importunate demands that he appear at court on the anniversary of his mother's death, composed two waka that indirectly expressed his resentment.²⁰

There is a gap in the extant text of *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* between 1219 and 1225. This means we lack Teika's account of his break with Gotoba. We also lack his account of an even more important event, the Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221, when Gotoba and his son Juntoku unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the Hōjō regents.²¹ Gotoba was subsequently exiled to the Oki islands. Teika, who enjoyed friendly relations with the shogunate, had at one time served as a tutor in poetry to the third shogun, Sanetomo. When the extant diary resumes in 1225, Teika was back in the imperial favor, but the emperor this time was a prince chosen by the shogunate to replace Gotoba and his sons. On New Year's

Day of 1225 Teika joyfully wrote that "ignorant monarchs had been succeeded by a sage king," referring to an example in ancient China.²² But if he expected peace and prosperity would follow, he was sadly deceived. The next years were marked instead by epidemics and famine. In 1230, after a summer so cold that snow fell in several provinces, Teika wrote in his diary, "Today I had my servants dig up the garden (the north one) and plant wheat. Even if we only grow a little, it will sustain our hunger in a bad year. Don't make fun of me! What other stratagem does a poor old man have?"²³

The famine continued into the next year. Teika's diary mentions the dead bodies that filled the streets, and the stench that had gradually reached his house. It is small wonder that he wrote little poetry, but writing the diary must have been his most important activity. He nowhere stated why he kept writing day after day, despite his many ailments, but presumably it was to benefit his descendants by providing them with a detailed record of what happened in the past, and enabling them in this way to serve with authority at the court. The title *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* is something of a puzzle, considering the generally dark tone of the diary. The word *meigetsu* (bright moon) appears again and again in the entries for 1180 and 1181.²⁴ If these were in fact added much later, as scholars have suggested, mentions of the bright moon may have been intended to explain the title. However, in his *Maigetsushō* (Monthly Notes) Teika mentioned having given the same title, *Meigetsuki*, to a work of poetic criticism inspired by an auspicious dream he had of the spring moon while staying at the shrine of Sumiyoshi, the god of poetry.²⁵ Such a title would serve equally well for this diary in which he recorded the experiences of a lifetime of poetry.

JOURNEY ALONG THE SEACOAST ROAD

Of the other surviving diaries by men of the Kamakura period, whether written in Chinese or Japanese, only one is of such exceptional literary value that it must be discussed, though the others all contain at least a few passages of interest.²⁶ The exception is *Kaidōki* (Journey Along the Seacoast Road), the account by an unknown man of his journey from Kyoto to Kamakura in 1223. The author states at the outset why he decided to make the journey: he had heard many glowing reports of the wonders of the new city of Kamakura, and he decided, when a favorable opportunity arose, to see the sights for himself. Although he tells us that he became a Buddhist priest shortly before leaving Kyoto,

his motivation in traveling to Kamakura was by no means as serious as that of people of the same era who, as acts of penance or thanksgiving, made journeys to distant places that could be reached only after experiencing many hardships on the way.²⁷ All the same, this was no mere excursion: the author confesses that his despair over the failure of his life (he was about fifty at the time) had been so intense that he had considered suicide, and only his inability to throw himself into a pond had kept him from dying. Travel in his case was not a diversion, but an escape.

He was eager to get away from Kyoto not merely because he was curious about Kamakura but because his mother had lapsed into second childhood. It must have been painful to be with her, but hardly had he reached Kamakura than he felt obliged to rush back to Kyoto. He wrote, "I have an old mother in the capital. She has returned to infancy and longs for her foolish son."²⁸ His relations with his mother constantly preyed on his mind. He wondered if his neglect of his mother was the result of some sin committed in a previous existence: "Long ago, in my prime, I trusted in the future and prayed to heaven, but now, in my declining years, I think of the retribution from former lives and I hate myself."²⁹ He seems to have made the journey to escape for a while the heartrending spectacle of his mother reduced to senescence, but his conscience would not let him remain in the city that was the object of his journey.

The most striking feature of *Journey Along the Seacoast Road* is its style. It is a new kind of Japanese known as *wakan konkō*, or "mixed Japanese and Chinese."³⁰ Although the language is basically Japanese, a large proportion of the words are of Chinese origin, and sometimes the sentence structure also shows marked Chinese influence. This gives a ponderous tone to the sentences, rather like English written with a heavy admixture of words of Latin origin; but the tone is appropriate to the somber content. The most affecting parts of the narrative refer to places along the way to Kamakura associated with the ill-fated Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221. The author professed admiration for the victors, the Hōjō regents, but he commiserated with those who had died in the effort to overthrow the rule of the regents, especially Nakamikado Muneyuki, the most brilliant member of Gotoba's entourage, who was captured and carried off toward Kamakura. At various stops he expected to be killed, and he composed a poem at each that he left on a pillar of the house where he stayed. The author of the diary, following Muneyuki's path, imagined his agony at each stop, until at last he reached the place where Muneyuki was actually put to death.

On the seventh day of the fifth month the Southern Court army surrounded Rokuhara and set the place afire. Nako's house was nearby, and she could all but see her lover trying to escape in the smoke. She learned that he had succeeded in making his way to the east. Two weeks later the Emperor Kōgon and the others of the Northern Court were brought back to Kyoto. Nako discovered that her father and eldest brother were now wearing priests' robes. Kimmune also wished to become a priest, but the retired emperors ordered him to abandon this thought. At the end of the first book Nako and Kimmune are at a loss what to do. She wrote, "I wonder if there is still anything left for me to relate in this pointless account that nobody asked to hear."⁵⁸

The second volume opens with a description of the ceremony during which her son, Sanetoshi, ate fish for the first time. He was two years old, and the diary takes him up to the age of fourteen, when he had already received the title of middle captain and middle counselor of the Third Rank. The second volume is far less dramatic than the first. Kimmune is already dead, but the manner of his death, related in the *Taiheiki*, is not given in the diary, understandably, considering the dreadful circumstances. Kimmune was betrayed by his younger brother and arrested in the sixth month of 1335. The Southern Court officials decided to exile him to the province of Izumo. The night before his departure Nako secretly went to his place of confinement. She found him in a tiny cell, trussed and unable to move. He gave her for their unborn child, as a memento of the father the child would never see, some secret pieces for the biwa and an amulet. Kimmune was then turned over to Nawa Nagatoshi, the governor of Hōki, in preparation for his departure the next morning at dawn. Nako watched from behind a fence as Kimmune was dragged to the central gate. Just as he was about to be shoved into a palanquin, an official called out, "Quickly [*hayā!*]" and Nagatoshi, supposing this meant he should dispose of Kimmune quickly, forced him to the ground, drew his sword, and cut off Kimmune's head, all within sight of Nako.⁵⁹

We are likely to regret that Nako in her diary did not describe this and other tragic sights she witnessed, but perhaps the vocabulary and manner she inherited from the Heian diarists did not permit her to describe such violence. Probably she wrote the diary not for posterity but for her son Sanetoshi, to tell him about his parents before he was born. Regardless of the literary value of this diary, it powerfully suggests what it was like to live in an age of great turbulence. But the absence of diaries by women of the following two centuries suggests that worse was yet to come. The kind of education and leisure that even an unhappy

woman like Nako enjoyed would be denied to most women during the age of warfare.

Notes

1. The title means literally, "Collection of the Kenreimon'in Superintendent of the Right-hand Half of the Capital." Kenreimon'in was the name given to the Empress Tokuko, the consort of the Emperor Takakura, after she entered Buddhist orders; the author of the diary served Kenreimon'in and was therefore known by her name. It has been suggested that her father was the superintendent of the Right-hand Half of the Capital, and she took his title, a not uncommon practice, but there is no record of his ever having held this office.
2. Translation by Phillip Tudor Harries in *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu*, p. 285; text in Itoga Kimie, *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu no Shū*, p. 16.
3. Translation by Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, p. 79; text in Itoga, *Kenreimon'in*, pp. 9-10.
4. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, p. 111; Itoga, *Kenreimon'in*, p. 33.
5. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, p. 141; Itoga, *Kenreimon'in*, p. 57.
6. For further information on dating (and on many other matters concerning the work), see the introduction by Harries to *Poetic Memoirs*. The dating of the diary is discussed on pages 20-27 of the introduction.
7. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, p. 191; Itoga, *Kenreimon'in*, p. 98.
8. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, p. 197; Itoga, *Kenreimon'in*, p. 103.
9. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, p. 199; Itoga, *Kenreimon'in*, p. 105.
10. Harries, *Poetic Memoirs*, p. 261; Itoga, *Kenreimon'in*, p. 151.
11. The authenticity of the early entries was questioned by Tsuji Hikosaburō who, on the basis of the study of the handwriting, concluded that Teika added these entries late in life. See Tsuji Hikosaburō, *Fujiwara Teika Meigetsuki no Kenkyū*, pp. 94-99. If this opinion is accepted, the earliest entries date from 1188.
12. Two volumes of a more or less popular nature have appeared in recent years, *Teika Meigetsuki Shishō* and *Teika Meigetsuki Shishō Zokuhen*, both by Hotta Yoshie. (I shall refer to these books as Hotta I and Hotta II.) Hotta, in I, p. 15, gave a typical entry from *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* (for the eleventh day of the third month of 1202) and followed it with the comment (p. 16) that except for the mention of the bright moonlight at the opening, the entry is unmitigatedly dreary and prolix. But even such an entry, for all its lack of literary interest, effectively conveys how frantically busy Teika was that day, and his detailed descriptions of costumes suggest the brightness of colors at the court.

13. Imagawa Fumio, *Kundoku Meigetsuki*, I, 21. See also Hotta I, pp. 29–51. This entry is from the period whose dating Tsuji Hikosaburō found suspect; but it is perhaps even more affecting if Teika in old age recalled his first meeting with Shokushi in these terms.
14. See Hotta I, p. 153. Shokushi died in the first month of 1201, but this month is missing from the present text of *Chronicle of the Bright Moon* and Teika did not later refer to her death.
15. Text in Imagawa, *Kundoku*, I, p. 19. For further discussion of this passage, see Keene, *Travelers of a Hundred Ages*, p. 95.
16. Imagawa, *Kundoku*, I, p. 263. See also Hotta I, p. 154.
17. See Hotta I, p. 160. Text in Imagawa, *Kundoku*, I, pp. 144, 267.
18. Only eighty-nine by Western count; Shunzei was born in 1114.
19. For example, the diary of Minamoto Ienaga. See my *Travelers*, p. 106.
20. See above, pp. 670–71. Hotta II, pp. 112–15, gives a good explanation of why Gotoba was so annoyed with the poems.
21. See above, p. 672.
22. Imagawa, *Kundoku*, IV, p. 73.
23. *Ibid.*, V, p. 192.
24. Hotta I, p. 38, considers the title, but comes to no conclusion as to why Teika called his diary by that name.
25. For a translation, see Robert H. Brower, “Fujiwara Teika’s *Maigetsushō*,” p. 422. Brower translated *meigetsu* as “full moon.” See also Brower’s comments (p. 405) on the poetic treatise *Meigetsuki*. Text of *Monthly Notes* in Hisamatsu Sen’ichi and Nishio Minoru. *Karon Shū, Nōgakuron Shū*, p. 136. See also *ibid.*, p. 258.
26. The diaries in Japanese are discussed in my *Travelers*, pp. 103–28 and 141–44.
27. Interesting European parallels to the medieval Japanese pilgrimages are described in Donald R. Howard’s *Writers & Pilgrims*. There was, however, no Japanese holy site that had quite the authority of Jerusalem as a destination for a pilgrimage.
28. Quoted in my *Travelers*, pp. 116–17. Text in Noro Tadasu, *Kaidōki Shinchū*, p. 208.
29. Keene, *Travelers*, p. 117. Text in Noro, *Kaidōki Shinchū*, p. 205.
30. A detailed discussion of the style, especially its indebtedness to the Chinese *shiroku benreitai* or “parallel prose” of the Six Dynasties, is given by Tamai Kōsuke in *Nikki Bungaku no Kenkyū*, pp. 460–65.
31. Keene, *Travelers*, p. 127. Text in Kasamatsu Yoshio, *Tōkan Kikō Shinshaku*, pp. 5–6.
32. Translation in Keene, *Travelers*, p. 135. Text in Tsugita Kasumi, *Utatane Zenchūshaku*, p. 121.
33. There is a complete translation of the diary by Edwin O. Reischauer in Edwin O. Reischauer and Joseph K. Yamagiwa, *Translations from Early Japanese Literature*.

34. Translation in Keene, *Travelers*, p. 138. Text in Morimoto Motoko, *Izayoi Nikki, Yoru no Tsuru*, p. 15.
35. Text in Morimoto, *Izayoi*, p. 73. See Reischauer and Yamagiwa, *Translations*, p. 74.
36. Translation in Keene, *Travelers*, pp. 141–42. Text in Mizukawa Yoshio in *Asukai Masaari Nikki Zenshaku*, pp. 43–48.
37. Keene, *Travelers*, p. 142; Mizukawa, *Asukai*, pp. 44–49.
38. The possession of scrolls that reveal secret information on techniques of performance still contributes to the authority of the *iemoto* (head) of some schools of Nō.
39. Translation from Keene, *Travelers*, p. 144. Text in Mizukawa, *Asukai*, pp. 61–65.
40. See Keene, *Travelers*, p. 146. Text in Tamai Kōsuke, *Ben no Naishi Nikki Shinchū*, p. 24.
41. Keene, *Travelers*, p. 148. Tamai, *Ben no Naishi*, pp. 230–32.
42. Keene, *Travelers*, pp. 149–50; original text in Tamai Kōsuke, *Nakatsukasa no Naishi Nikki Shinchū*, p. 8. The statue of Shakyamuni Buddha at a temple in Saga (or Sagano), to the northwest of Kyoto, was believed to be of Indian origin and the closest approximation of the historical Buddha’s appearance. The jewel, here called *nyoihōju*, could bring the possessor whatever he desired.
43. See below, pp. 859–60.
44. This is the name Karen Brazell gave her translation, first published in 1973. The translation by Wilfrid Whitehouse and Eizo Yanagisawa is equally free: *Lady Nijo’s Own Story*.
45. It was discovered by Yamagishi Tokubei, a scholar of Japanese literature. The stringencies of wartime publication delayed the appearance of a printed version of the text until 1950, and an annotated edition was not published until 1966.
46. Gofukakusa (1243–1304; reigned 1246–59) abdicated in favor of his brother Kameyama (1249–1305; reigned 1259–74). In 1271, when the work opens, Gofukakusa was twenty-eight.
47. Brazell, *Confessions*, p. 8; text in Tomikura Tokujirō, *Towazugatari*, p. 210.
48. Brazell, *Confessions*, p. 9; Tomikura, *Towazugatari*, p. 210.
49. Brazell, *Confessions*, p. 118; Tomikura, *Towazugatari*, p. 284.
50. Brazell, *Confessions*, p. 120; Tomikura, *Towazugatari*, p. 284.
51. Brazell, *Confessions*, p. 80; Tomikura, *Towazugatari*, p. 258.
52. Brazell, *Confessions*, p. 124; Tomikura, *Towazugatari*, p. 287.
53. Tomikura, *Towazugatari*, p. 210. See also Brazell, *Confessions*, pp. 8–9.
54. The reading of her name is not certain. Scholars tend to call her Meishi, using the Sino-Japanese pronunciation of the characters; but we can be quite sure she was *not* called Meishi, and she *might* have been called Nako.
55. The occasion is described in quite other terms in *The Clear Mirror*; see below, pp. 902–3.

have been reluctant to make one more journey; perhaps by this time he had become weary of being the companion of anyone, even a revered teacher, who was so obsessed with travel.

Sōgi had always enjoyed robust good health, and this was what made his incessant journeys possible. Ironically, his final, serious illness started while he was taking a cure at the hot springs in Ikaho. He was unaccustomed to being ill and this seems to have made him a bad patient, but the stops on the journey became more frequent and longer. His physical condition, however, did not prevent Sōgi from composing renga wherever he and Sōchō went, but a gloomy tone pervades many of his verses.

In the seventh month of 1502 Sōgi suffered a rheumatic seizure, and the alarmed Sōchō arranged for a palanquin to bear him to the next inn. They continued their journey to Yumoto, at the foot of the Hakone mountains. That night Sōgi seemed to be suffering in his sleep, and Sōchō awakened him. Sōgi said he had been dreaming of Teika. He murmured a verse from a sequence composed not long before:

nagamuru tsuki ni Along with the moon I gaze on,
tachi zo ukaruru I rise and float in the sky.

Sōgi then said, "I have trouble adding a link. All of you, try to supply one." Sōchō continued, "Even as he spoke in these jesting tones, his breathing ceased, like a lamp that goes out."²⁶

Sōchō's most characteristic work is his diary *Sōchō Shuki* (Sōchō's Notebook), written between 1522 and 1527.²⁷ It is obvious from its pages how temperamentally dissimilar he and Sōgi were. Sōgi's humor, rarely displayed in surviving texts, is not an important element in our appraisal of the man, but of all the materials included in Sōchō's grab bag of a diary, those of greatest literary interest are the humorous poems composed by himself and his friends.²⁸ These verses have no merit if judged by the lofty ideals of renga as expounded by Shinkei and Sōgi; they are entirely comic in conception, and rely for effect not on richness of overtones but on the crude humor of the double entendre.²⁹

Sōchō's Notebook is by no means devoted solely to amusing poetry. There are many descriptions of warfare and fortifications, some so detailed as to suggest that Sōchō may have taken advantage of the freedom with which Buddhist priests could travel even in time of war to act as a spy for the daimyo of his native province, Suruga. The style throughout is resolutely prosaic in the manner of a real diary, rather than in the literary manner more typical of the diaries of earlier poets. Sōchō does

not seem to have had any particular readers in mind, and that may be why he seldom indicates why a man of his age felt impelled to travel so often in a country that was torn by warfare. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that he never lost his interest in people and landscapes. He evinced to the end a joy in living, despite his constant insistence that he longed for death. Writing early in the sixteenth century, he anticipated the writers of a hundred years later in his absorption with the floating world.

RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR TALES

The principal collection of religious tales of the Muromachi period was the *Shintōshū* (Collection of the Way of the Gods), compiled in the late fourteenth century.³⁰ One might expect from the title that these tales would all deal with the Shintō gods, but in fact the prevailing religious belief is the medieval fusion of Shintō and Buddhism. The earliest mention of the Shintō gods being given titles as *bosatsu* (bodhisattvas) goes back to 782 when the deity Hachiman acquired a "bosatsu name." In 937 the deity of the Kasuga Shrine, speaking through an oracle declared, "I am already a bosatsu, but the Court has not yet given me any bosatsu name." When asked what bosatsu name he should be given, he replied, "Jihi Mangyō Bosatsu," or "Bodhisattva Complete in Mercy's Works."³¹ In this way he proclaimed himself to be a manifestation in Japan of the "original substance" of a Buddhist divinity.

During the Kamakura period the identifications between Japanese deities and their prototypes in India were carried out mainly by Shingon priests. Sometimes the identifications were almost automatic: for example, Dainichi (Vairochana Buddha), whose name is written with characters meaning "great sun," was naturally associated with the sun goddess Amaterasu.³² The identification of Amida Buddha as the "original substance" of the Shintō god of war Hachiman was not quite so obvious, and the reasons for associating other Shintō deities with the various bodhisattvas were often equally unconvincing.³³ By the end of the Kamakura period twelve Buddhist divinities³⁴ had been identified as the "original substances" of the Shintō gods enshrined at such centers of Shintō belief as Kumano, Usa, and Hiyoshi, and they became the objects of popular worship.³⁵

The first important collection of tales based on the combined faith of Shintō and Buddhism was *Kasuga Gongen Genki* (The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity). It was compiled at the end of the Kamakura period by Kakuen (1277-1340), a monk at the Kōfuku-ji, the great temple that