T28992

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DATE 17 May 1984

Roselee Bundy — Author

July 28, 1952 — Birth Date

The Uses of Tradition: The Poetry and Poetics of the Shinkokinshū — Title of Dissertation

Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations Ph.D — Department or School / Degree

Spring 1984 — Convocation

Permission is herewith granted to the University of Chicago to make copies of the above title, at its discretion, upon the request of individuals or institutions and at their expense.

Roselee Bundy
Signature of writer

Extensive Quotation or Further Reproduction of This Material by Persons or Agencies Other than the University of Chicago May Not Be Made without the Express Permission of the Writer.

17-6-84 — Date filmed

_____ — Number of pages

NOTE:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE USES OF LITERARY TRADITION: THE POETRY AND POETICS OF THE SHINKOKINSHU

VOLUME ONE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF FAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

ROSELEE BUNDY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE, 1984

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CITATION OF POEMS iv

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

The Classical Period of Waka
The Mid-Classical Period: Crisis and Change
The compilation of the Shinkokinshū

II. THE POETICS OF THE SHINKOKINSHŪ 77

Shunzei's hon'i: The Re-Unification of Self and Poetic Tradition
Shunzei's sugata, omokage, yūgen: Descriptions of a New Poetry
Chomei and Teika: Defense of the New Poetic Style

III. THE SHINKOKIN STYLE I: POETIC DICTION 178

Old Words, New Meaning: Enchancing the Implications of the Classic Diction
The daruma-uta: The Search for New Connections Between Words

IV. THE SHINKOKIN STYLE II: POETIC STRUCTURE 223

Third Line Caesuras
First Line Caesuras
Second and Fourth Line Caesuras

TABLE OF CONTENTS.--Continued

VOLUME TWO

Chapter		Page
V.	THE SHINKOKIN STYLE III: ALLUSIVE VARIATIONS . . .	281
	Category 1 Category 2 Category 3 Category 4 Category 5	
VI.	THE VISION OF THE SHINKOKIN POETS: THE REEMERGENCE OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIOUSNESS	346
	Teika and the Innovative Poets: All the World as the Mind Shunzei and Saigyo: New Realms of Personal Poetry	
VII.	THE SHINKOKINSHU AS A POETIC SEQUENCE	417
	Poems of the Manyo Period Poems of the Sandaishu Period Poetic Sequences in the Shinkokinshu	
VIII.	TRANSLATION: THE FOURTH VOLUME OF LOVE POEMS . . .	474
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY		542

CITATION OF POEMS

All poems cited in this study from the Manyōshū and the imperial anthologies are identified by the numbers assigned to them in Matsushita Daizaburō and Watanabe Fumio, eds., Kokka taikan, 7th ed., 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974). This numbering system corresponds to that used in all major, modern texts and commentaries.

Unless otherwise indicated, poems cited from poets' private collections, from monogatari, and from nikki are identified by numbers assigned to them in Matsushita Daizaburō, ed., Zoku kokka taikan, 6th ed., 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974). Where it was relevant for poems from monogatari and nikki, appropriate page numbers from either an English translation of the work or from a standard Japanese text have been provided in a footnote.

Poems cited from the Roppyakuban utaawase are identified by numbers assigned to them in Konishi Jin'ichi, ed. (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase (Tokyo: Yūseido, 1976).

The following abbreviations have been used in citing poems from the imperial anthologies and the Manyōshū.

MYS	Manyōshū	(completed late eighth century)
KKS	Kokinshū	(completed c. 905)
GSS	Gosenshū	(compiled c. 950)
SIS	Shūishū	(completed c. 1006)
GSIS	Goshūishū	(completed in 1086)
KYS	Kinyōshū	(drafts completed 1124-27)
SKS	Shikashū	(completed c. 1151-54)
SZS	Senzaishū	(completed in 1188)
SKKS	Shinkokinshū	(officially completed in 1206; later revisions made)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the tenth month of 1201, Ex-emperor Gotoba commanded five members of his poetry bureau to begin a preliminary selection of poems, the thirty-one syllable waka, for the compilation of an imperial anthology. Six leading poets of the day were engaged in this work: Fujiwara Teika, Fujiwara Ietaka, Fujiwara Masatsune, Fujiwara (Rokujō) Ariie, Minamoto Tomochika, and the priest Jakuren. Of these men, Jakuren passed away within a year, and the compilation was continued by the remaining five poets. Four years later, in the spring of 1205, Gotoba hosted a banquet commemorating the compilation of his anthology. When completed, this work contained nearly two thousand poems in twenty volumes. Six volumes were devoted to seasonal poems, five to love poems, three to miscellaneous topics, and one volume each to poems of lament, celebration, parting and travel. Poems of Buddhist and Shinto subject matter were also given one volume each. Roughly one-half of the poems were from the contemporary period, late twelfth century to the time of the compilation, and the other half from earlier periods going back as far as the eighth century. Gotoba's collection was in the eighth imperially commissioned anthology of Japanese poetry. In honor of the Kokinshū, the "Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems," that had been commissioned in 905 by Emperor Daigo as the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, Gotoba named his collection the Shinkokinshū, or the "New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems."

Over the centuries, the Shinkokinshū has been regarded as one of the three most distinctive and significant collections in the history of waka. (The other two are the Manyōshū, compiled in the late

eighth century, and the Kokinshū.) Among these three works, the Shin-kokinshū style of poetry, that is, the style of the poems composed in the contemporary period, reveals a breath-taking glitter of diction and great depth of conviction in the portrayal of the essence of human experience. This style is exemplified by the innovative works of poets such as Fujiwara Teika and Fujiwara Ietaka, which, even as late as the 1190s, had been criticized by more conservative poets as the non-sensical verse of the "Daruma" (i.e., Zen) sect. We can observe their most flamboyant experiments with innovative diction in works such as the Roppyakuban utaawase ("The Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds") of 1194. However, anthologized among older, more conservative poems this style is granted official recognition for the first time in the Shinkokinshū. In addition, the collection itself is admired for its efforts to create harmony between poems of vastly different ages and styles. The compilers carefully integrated the poems through associations of language, style, and mood, in order to insure a pleasing and varied progression throughout the work, and furthermore, to highlight the culminating artistry of the newest poems.[1] The Shinkokinshū is the final achievement of the Heian court-poetic, a legacy that preserved for later waka and renga poets the beauty of a brighter, gentler age.

What further distinguishes the Shinkokinshū from other works of perhaps comparable quality is its relation to poetic tradition. Both as a collection and as a style of poetry, the Shinkokinshū reveals, on the one hand, the constraints imposed by tradition, and on the other, conscious exploitation of these very constraints. Within a shared heritage, the Shinkokin poets convey ever more subtle allusions and shadings of emotions. Further, the Shinkokinshū style demonstrates a new concept of poetic expressiveness, born of the need to create fresh poetry within an old poetic lexicon. The style subsumes the linear transmission of thought under the creation of thought under

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900-1350," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 21 (December, 1958): 67-127.

the creation of multiple, interlacing textural effects of meaning, sound, image, and association, which each work in a poem carries with it. Lexical meaning is only one of the many resonances that contribute to the total effect of a poem. Finally, we discover the re-individualization of tradition, the restoration of a primary link between tradition, the restoration of a primary link between tradition and the personal expressive needs of an individual poet. The result is the redefinition of poetry; it is no longer merely the spontaneous expression of personal emotion nor merely a professional endeavor but a realm of transcendent truths. The Shinkokinshū is a bridge, constructed in hopes of restoring a venerated past, which however, ultimately carried waka and the tradition of court poetry into a new age.

The Classical Period of Waka

At given historical times, certain literary or artistic forms become central to the cultural life of a society. The society does not necessarily neglect other forms but gives the highest recognition to one or a cluster of closely related forms. Even by metaphorical extension, such forms may furnish the qualitative and critical standards for all other arts. In Heian period Japan (794-1085), and perhaps through the Muromachi period (1392-1573), such a role was filled by poetry, in particular the thirty-one syllable waka. Waka means literally, "Japanese poetry." Although the number of people concerned with waka was always very small, the members of the Imperial court and those such as Buddhist and Shinto clergy on its fringes, it occupied a central place within the court society that created classical Heian culture. During this period, the court commissioned seven imperial anthologies of waka, and one cannot begin to count the number of private collections and poetry contests that were undertaken by courtiers. The waka also formed the core of other literary forms such as the monogatari (romances), uta nikki (poetic diaries) and even certain forms of painting, exerting strong influence on organization and themes. Japanese scholars have traditionally attributed the origin of monogatari and these other forms to the desire to expand the context

of poetry either through prose or by means of pictorial illustration.[1] The presence of waka makes possible that unique interplay of forward motion in time and moments of stillness encapsulating heightened emotion, which we find so characteristic of Heian literary prose.

What is more, the courtiers, from early on, regarded the practice of poetry as an indispensable social grace both in the public and personal spheres of life. Heian courtiers and ladies were expected to attain a certain competence in putting together thirty-one syllables expressive of their enjoyment of the seasons, likewise of congratulations or condolences on appropriate occasions. Such social skills could easily be called upon at any gathering in the court and were not without their uses in furthering one's career. Numerous anecdotes of the times record well-turned poetic messages that sought and gained consideration from a poet's superiors. In the private sphere of life, both courtier and lady would seek to win the favor of a lover by sensitive poetic missives and also would record in poetry the emotional unfolding of a love affair.

We can see the beginnings of Japanese poetry in the mytho-historical accounts of the formation of the court and nation, the Kojiki and Nihongi. These works include primarily primitive verse and songs that had been passed down orally for generations. The first true flowering of Japanese poetry occurred in the Manyōshū, which, though compiled around 759, includes poetry purportedly composed as early as the reign of Nintoku in the fourth century. In the Manyōshū, one finds three types of poems; the sedōka or irregular verse with lines of 5-7-5-7-7-7 syllables, the chōka, or long poem, and the tanka or short poem with lines of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables. In addition, the hanka (envoys to chōka) were in the same form as the tanka. In the Heian period, this 5-7-5-7-7 form would come to be called waka.

In comparison with much of later Japanese poetry, the Manyōshū displays a wide range of subject matter. Further, the length of the

---

[1]See Ienaga Saburo, Jōdai Yamatoe zenshi (Tokyo: Kōdō Shoin, 1946); Ienaga Saburo, Jōdai Yamatoe nenpyō (Tokyo: Bokusui Shobō, 1966); and Katagiri Yōichi, Ise monogatari no kenkyū, Kenkyū hen (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1968).

chōka and the still fresh poetic language allowed for complex development of thought and, consequently, for the sustained treatment of themes of some magnitude. In particular, the poet Hitomaro achieved an unparalleled style of grandeur and narrative force; in many of his chōka, he acts as a spokeman for public sentiment, conveying at times the cosmic significance of earthly events. It should be remembered, however, that of the more than 4,500 poems in the Manyōshū, only 260 are chōka, that less than fifteen are sedōka, and that the rest are the short tanka or hanka. In addition, the poets themselves made distinctions between the subjects and manners of treatment that were suited to each form. Hitomaro, for example, used the hanka that followed the main body of a chōka to express the more personal reflections and sentiments that stand in counterpoint to the grand, public stance of the chōka.[1] We can already see in the Manyōshū, the circumscribed, lyrical direction that Japanese poetry was to take.

In 751, the reigning emperor commissioned the first imperial anthology of poetry. This work, the Kaifūsō, comprised not Japanese poetry, but Chinese verse composed in the Japanese court. It was followed by three more imperial anthologies of Chinese verse: the Ryōunshu of 814, the Bunkashūreishū of 818, and the Keikokushū of 882. This was the period in which Chinese poetry and poetics exerted their strongest influence upon the Japanese court, and for a time, Japanese poetry seemed to lose prestige and support.[2] Even the origin of these anthologies of Chinese verse rested at least in part in the ancient Chinese conception that a ruler could discover the feelings of his people in their poetry and thus govern them more effectively.[3] In addition, the Chinese regarded literary production as a sign of the

---

[1]Itō Hiroshi, Kodai wakashi kenkyū, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1974-76), 3:205-39.

[2]The waka in the Shinsen Manyōshū were even written in Chinese, and as described in the Kokinshū preface, waka compositon was considered a pastime for women. See Takano Taira, Shinsen Manyōshū ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1970).

[3]James Liu, Chinese Theories of Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 106-16.

worthiness of an imperial reign. An emperor who wished to be thought a benevolent, enlightened ruler would cultivate poetry as a sign of his mandate. These conceptions of the cultural, even political role, of poetry remained an undercurrent in the thinking of the Heian court, especially in relation to the compilation of imperial anthologies.

In 905, Emperor Daigo ordered the compilation of the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry. With few exceptions, this work, the Kokinshū, comprised thirty-one syllable waka. For the purpose of the compilation, the emperor established the wakadokoro (the Poetry Bureau), the members of which were Ki no Tsurayuki (868-945), Ōshikōchi no Mitsune (?-?), Mibu no Tadamine (?-?), and Ki no Tomonori (died before Kokinshū completed). The Kokinshū firmly established the realm of Japanese poetry as one of concentrated lyrical expressions dealing with carefully selected emotions and events.

It is often said that with the Kokinshū Japanese poetry moved indoors. In other words, it abandoned, at least for a time, the cosmic vision of the best poems of the Manyōshū as well as the direct engagement with the world and nature that we find in that work. In the years which intervene between the Manyōshū and the Kokinshū, Japanese poets learned a great deal from Chinese poetic techniques and styles.[1] From the Chinese, they acquired what is the most basic characteristic of the Kokinshū manner: the strong sense of the speaker's intellect. In Kokinshū poems, man is no longer perceived primarily as part of a larger whole, either society or nature, but has become an individual perceiving center. The poets' tendency to compare that which is with that which seems to be or ought to be has been termed "metaphysical wit" and extends to the precise manner in which interior, subjective feelings and moods are reflected in language.[2] Poets such as Ariwara

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, "The Genesis of the Kokinshū Style," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 38 (June, 1978): 61-170. Also see, Kojima Noriyuki, Jōdai Nihon bungaku to Chugōku bungaku, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1962-65); and Kaneko Hikojirō, Heian jidai bungaku to Hakushi monjū, Kudai waka Senzai kaku kenkyu hen (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1955).

[2]Robert Brower and Earl Miner, Japanese Court Poetry (Stanford: University Press, 1961), pp. 157-223.

no Narihira (825-880), Ono no Komachi (?-?), Ki no Tsurayuki, and Ki no Tomonori create a rich lyricism through the careful balance of emotion, judgment, and language.

This collection of poetry emphasizes the life of the courtier and his lady. The large divisions of subject matter, which are also the volumes of the anthology, are the seasons (six volumes), love (five volumes), lament (one volume), parting (one volume), travel (one volume), and congratulations (one volume). We also find volumes of miscellaneous poems, Poetry Bureau poems, and acrostic poems. In all, the Kokinshū comprises twenty volumes. In congratulatory poems, courtiers offer ceremonial praise of the emperor or of the court. In travel poems, they express the sorrow of leaving the court, which for the courtiers was the center of the world. In poems of parting, they bid farewell to those who must leave the safe confines of the capital. Love, death, the major changes of life, and the revolving seasons are the focus of the anthology, which in general, describes a life pared down to what the courtiers felt was its most significant form. The format of the anthology developed by the compilers of the Kokinshū became the model not only for all subsequent imperial anthologies but also for such lesser vehicles as poetry contests and private collections. And so this first imperial anthology, the Kokinshū, defined the central poetic concerns of the Heian court.

Just as importantly, the Japanese preface to the Kokinshū is the first and one of the most crucial statements concerning the nature of Japanese poetry both as a literary form and as part of the cultural and emotional life of the court. Ki no Tsurayuki, who wrote the Japanese preface, was very conscious of the significance of the Kokinshū for the legitimization of Japanese poetry as opposed to Chinese verse. Some parts of his preface are taken up with critical matters, for example the judgment of specific poets, but he also places great emphasis upon delineating his vision of the natural, personal expressiveness of Japanese poetry and of its role in the courtiers' lives. Tsurayuki begins his preface with the famous words:

> Japanese poetry has its seed in the heart of man and has flourished as a myriad leaves of words. In this world, human beings are assailed by countless events, and it is in poetry that they

> express their deepest feelings, speaking of what they feel in their hearts in terms of what they see and what they hear. Upon hearing the warbler singing among the blossoms or the frog chirping in the water, which of all living things does not express itself in a poem? It is poetry that, without applying force, moves heaven and earth, causes unseen spirits and demons to look upon us with pity, softens the relations between men and women, and soothes the hearts of fierce warriors.[1]

Tsurayuki's words have so often been echoed by poets and scholars who came after him that we often fail to acknowledge the calculated care with which Tsurayuki originally expressed his vision of Japanese poetry. First, Tsurayuki based his comments on the preface of the Shih Ching (Book of Songs), a work highly revered even in the Japanese court, thereby elevating Japanese poetry to a stature equalling that of Chinese verse.[2] He avoids all comparison between Chinese and Japanese poetry, but rather, wholly supplants the one with the other. Second, within his borrowing from Chinese ideas, Tsurayuki emphasizes, in a manner his sources do not, the nature of poetry as a universal response (on the part of all sentient beings), and also the relation between response and the vehicle by means of which it is expressed. The songs of the warbler and frog are themselves forms of poetry. However, they are also the stimuli to which other living beings respond and themselves compose poetry. Likewise, in the rather ambiguous second sentence, Tsurayuki suggests not only that people spontaneously resort to poetry but that in this poetry the exterior objects that people hear and see around them act as the counterparts or vehicles of emotion.

The changes in phraseology that Tsurayuki makes from the Chinese are so slight they do not call attention to themselves. In this subtle way, he invests his own views with a canonical aura. That he

---

[1]Saeki Umetomo, ed., Kokin wakashū, Vol. 5 of Nihon koten bungaku taikei (henceforth abbreviated NKBT) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 93.

[2]James Legge, The Chinese Classics, 5 vols. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1893-95), 4:34-55. Also see, James Liu, Chinese Theories of Literature, pp. 67-77; and E. B. Ceadal, "The Two Prefaces of the Kokinshū," Asia Major 7 (December, 1959): 40-51.

accomplished his aim can be gleaned from the fact that poets who came after him largely forgot the Chinese origin of his words and inherited only his deep reverence for Japanese poetry. Later in the preface, Tsurayuki goes on to illustrate more concretely what he means by response and how poetry brings together feeling and exterior object.

> On mornings of spring blossoms and evenings of the autumn moon, the emperors of the ancient reigns summoned their retainers and called for the composition of poetry. Some among them, saying they would seek for blossoms, wandered to unknown places, while others, longing for the moon, came upon uncharted darkness. And the emperor looked into their hearts and knew who was wise and who was foolish. Nor was this all. Men expressed their fondness for the emperor, likening his reign to the pebbles that grow into boulders and to the radiance of Tsukuba mountain.[1] Thus, from the past, when one met happiness beyond one's station;[2] when pleasure welled up in one's heart; when one yearned for a lover, comparing one's thoughts to the risng smoke of Mt. Fuji;[3] when one grieved for a departed friend, listening to the sad cries of

---

[1]Waga kimi wa
chiyo no yachiyo ni
sazare ishi no
iwaho to narite
koke no musumade
KKS 343, Anon.

Let my lord's reign
Last for a thousand years, ten thousand years,
Until the tiny pebbles
Grow to massive boulders
Covered with moss.

Tsukubane no
kono mo kano mo ni
kage wa aredo
kimi ga mikage ni
masu kage wa nashi
KKS 1095, Anon.

On Tsukuba mountain,
One can find shelter under the trees
Here and there.
Yet none can compare
To the shelter of my lord's benevolence.

[2]Ureshiki wa
nani ni tsutsumamu
karagoromo
tamoto yutaka ni
tate to iwamashi wo
KKS 865, Anon.

In what shall I conceal
This joy that wells up in my heart.
Oh, my Chinese gown,
Would that I had bade them sew
More capacious sleeves!

[3]Hito shirenu
omoi wo tsune ni
Suruga naru
Fuji no yama koso
waga mi narikere
KKS 534, Anon. Also see KKS 1028.

Unknown to him,
I am consumed by ceaseless longing,
Just as, in the province of Suruga,
Smoke rises from Fuji mountain
Although no one sees the flames.

the pine crickets;[1] when one saw the pines of Takasago and Suminoe grown old together;[2] when one recalled the romance of Otokoyama;[3] and when one lamented the brevity of the life of the flowering pink,[4] it was by reciting poetry that one was consoled. Again, on spring mornings we saw the blossoms scatter; on autumn evenings we heard the leaves fall. We saw the dew upon the grass and the foam upon the waters and were awakened to the ephemerality of our own lives.[5] We saw men who yesterday were among the proud and mighty lose the blessings of fate and grow pitiful, shunned by those with whom they were once intimate.[6] Or again, we pledged

---

[1]Momijiba no
chirite tsumoreru
waga yado ni
tare wo matsumushi
kokora nakuramu
KKS 203, Anon.

There in my garden,
Where the crimson leaves of autumn scatter
And lie thick upon the ground,
Whom do they await, the pine crickets
They they cry so shrilly?

[2]Wage mite mo
hisashiku narinu
Suminoe no
kishi no hime matsu
ikuyo henuran
KKS 905, Anon. See also KKS 906, 909.

Much time has passed
Even from that time I first saw them.
These ancient pine trees.
How many ages have they endured
Here on the beach at Suminoe.

[3]Ima koso are
ware mo mukashi wa
Otokoyama
sakayuku toki mo
arikoshi mono wo
KKS 889, Anon.

You see me old now
And decrepit. Yet in the past
There was a time
When I was vigorous and prospered
Like the mighty Otoko mountain,.

[4]Aki no no ni
namamekitateru
ominaeshi
ana kashigamashi
hana mo hito toki
KKS 1016, Henjō

In the autumn fields,
How bewitching are the flowering pinks,
Like so many lovely ladies,
Who chatter noisily
Though their bloom lasts but for a moment.

[5]Tsuyu wo nado
ada naru mono to
omoiken
waga mi mo kusa ni
okanu bakari wo
KKS 860, Koremoto

Why did I once think
That only the dew was ephemeral?
For, no less so is my life,
Although unlike the dew, my body
Does not scatter upon the grasses.

[6]Inishie no
shizu no odamaki
iyashiki mo
yoki mo sakari wa
arishi mono nari
KKS 888, Anon.

I am old
And my rank is low,
But in the past,
Like those high-born men you see,
I, too, was once at my prime.

that our love would last until waves from the sea rose up to cover Matsuyama,[1] and we vowed lasting friendship drawing up the water from the well in the field.[2] We felt loneliness as we gazed upon the dew-laden branches of the autumn bush clover,[3] or we waited sleeplessly for a lover who did not come and counted the wing flaps of the snipe at dawn.[4] We spoke of the miseries of the world, numerous as the nodes of bamboo, and lamented human relations, calling upon Yoshino River.[5] And now, when we hear that the smoke

---

[1]Kimi wo okite
Adashi kokoro wo
Waga motaba
Sue no Matsuyama
nami mo koenan
KKS 1093, Anon.

If I leave you,
And my heart prove untrue
And betray you,
Then shall the waves of the sea
Rise and billow over Matsu mountain.

[2]Inishie no
Nonaka no shimizu
nurukeredo
moto no kokoro wo
shiru hito zo kumu
KKS 887, Anon.

The water that wells
From the ancient spring in Nonaka Field
Is tepid now,
But those who remember its cooling freshness
Still come to drink of it.

[3]Aki hagi no
shitaba irozuku
ima yori ya
hitori aru hito no
inegate ni suru
KKS 220, Anon.

Now in this season
When the lower leaves of the hagi
Turn to an autumnal hue,
Will those who are alone like me
Find it difficult to sleep?

[4]Akatsuki no
shigi no hanegaki
momo hagaki
kimi ga konu yo wa
ware zo kazu kaku
KKS 761, Anon.

As day breaks,
The snipes groom their feathers
Moving their beaks again and again,
On the nights my love does not call
I, too, lie restively turning this way and that.

[5]Yo ni fureba
koto no ha shigeki
Kuretake no
ukifushi goto ni
uguisu zo naku
KKS 958, Anon.

When one lingers in the world,
Rumors grow as numerous as the leaves
Of the Chinese bamboo.
And each time I hear of them
I weep, like the warbler in a thicket.

Nagarete wa
Imose no yama no
naka ni otsuru
Yoshino no kawa no
yoshi ya yo no naka.
KKS 828, Anon.

The tears one sheds
Only swell the stream of Yoshino River
That flows between the Husband and Wife peaks.
Thus it will always end in parting,
The relation of men and women in this world.

no longer rises from Mt. Fuji and that the ancient bridge of Nagara has been rebuilt,[1] it is only poetry that can console our hearts.[2]

This passage, in which Tsurayuki has skillfully interwoven poems from the Kokinshū itself, is a catalog of poetic occasions. It was part of Tsurayuki's purpose in writing the preface to try to gain imperial patronage for Japanese poetry, and the first several examples in the passage point to a rather official and ceremonial role for poetry. In these cases, poetic composition is part of the conduct of state. The rest, however, are personal occasions when people are moved to the composition of poetry. The changes of the seasons, joy, grief, love, and the loss of love all call forth poetry. These are the countless events which, in Tsurayuki's words, assail all human lives.

Further, Tsurayuki defines the efficacy of poetry on these occasions as consolation, consolation that one feels cannot be obtained through any other source. No doubt, we can take him to mean no more than that emotional expression offers consolation. However, more likely, the consolation of which Tsurayuki speaks derives from the satisfaction of crystallizing one's emotions in the best words and the most appropriate shape. In the passage quoted above, Tsurayuki has selected poems that exemplify the manner in which natural imagery can be woven into a poem as metaphor. Poetry is not the naive outburst of emotion but rather involves calculated artistry. Tsurayuki

---

[1]Fuji no ne no — Like Fuji mountain,
naranu omoi no — Let me then be utterly consumed
moeba moe — By this unrequited love,
kami dani ketanu — For even the gods cannot extinguish
munashi keburi wo — This smoke that rises to no avail.
KKS 1028, Ki no Menoto

Yo no naka ni — The things
furinuru mono wa — That have grown ancient
Tsu no kuni no — In this world
Nagara no hashi to — Are the bridge of Nagara River
ware to narikeri — And this body of mine.
KKS 890, Anon. See also KKS 826.

[2]Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, pp. 97-98.

expresses no fear that the necessity of fitting one's emotions into thirty-one syllables might alienate the emotion from oneself. He is adamant that words carefully chosen to convey emotions in their most expressive form provide the consolation of formal beauty and art.

Finally, poetry so defined involves the question of the relationship between the particular and the universal. At its best, in Japanese waka these are uniquely fused. Implicitly, to fulfill Tsurayuki's definition, a poem must be both an expression of common truths and a spontaneous outflow of emotion. If the realm of poetry were merely defined as certain basic events of life perceived as common to all, poetry could become the expression of commonplaces and platitudes. Poetic practice itself would be no more than an academic exercise in manipulating words. Yet such tendencies are checked by the very emphasis upon spontaneity and naturalness and their demand for individual truth. Having its source in the human heart, poetry must involve a certain qualitative standard, a natural seeking for depth of expression. Similarly, poetry must be grounded in the real and particular. Tsurayuki maintains that a poem is born of actual, individual experience and incorporates, as images and metaphors, those things from the poet's surroundings that are suggestive of his emotions. The Kokinshū sets the direction for the best of Japanese poetry to seek in common occurrences a deeper, universal truth.

The Heian court accepted Tsurayuki's asseretions concerning the universality of poetic expression as well as its role in personal and public life. Tsurayuki himself illustrated the ideal role of poetry in life in his fictional diary, the Tosa nikki, and it remained the basic assumption of the Genji monogatari and lesser romances. Further, the imperial anthology continued both to reflect and to nurture this ideal. For a poet, to be chosen to compile an anthology or even to have his work included, was the highest possible poetic recognition and assured his literary immortality. Similarly, for those who regarded themselves as serious poets, knowledge of the contents of the successive imperial anthologies became both a social and professional necessity. Yet despite the growing emphasis on the literary aspect of the imperial anthology, the court never lost sight of the

anthology's social and cultural role. The compilers of imperial antheologies and their audience always regarded them in relation to the specific reign in which they were produced. The successive anthologies were indications of the continued cultural and literary accomplishments of court society.

After an interval of less than fifty years after the Kokinshū, Emperor Murakami (r. 946-967) commissioned the second imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, the Gosenshū, literally the "Later Collection." Among its twenty volumes, this anthology contains six of love poetry; and it is further characterized by particular attention to headnotes, often fictional, with which the compilers created settings for the individual poems. As a result, it is the most monogatari-like of the anthologies. The five compilers of the work, Ōnakatomi Yoshinobu (921-991), Kiyowara Motosuke (908-990), Minamoto Shitagō (911-983), Ki no Tokibumi (?-?), and Sakanoue Mochiki (d. 975?), who were also known as the Five Poets of the Pear Jar Room, undertook as part of their duties as wakadokoro the glossing of the Manyōshū into contemporary language. Rigorous Manyō scholarshlip would await the Rokujō poets of the late twelfth century. Nevertheless, the Poets of the Pear Jar Room enabled the Heian courtier to read once more the Manyōshū with a degree of understanding and accuracy.

The third imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, the Shūishū, was compiled by the reigning emperor himself around 997. The first three imperial anthologies, the Kokinshū, Gosenshū, and Shūishū, would later come to be called the Sandaishū, the anthologies of the three reigns.

In the years following the compilation of the Kokinshū, Tsurayuki's dream of waka as the centerpiece of the cultural life of the court was fulfilled in yet another way: the increasing popularity and growing pageantry of utaawase (poetry contests).[1] Utaawase themselves were not new; they dated from at least the mid-ninth century. However, the utaawase of the tenth and eleventh centuries display a

---

[1]Iwatsu Motoo, Utaawase no karonshi kenkyū (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1963), pp. 253-407; and Hagitani Boku, Heianchō utaawase taisei, 10 vols. (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1957-69; reprint ed., 1979): 10: 2902-3141.

new balance between the literary appreciation of waka and its role as a touchstone of court pageantry. The Tentoku yonen sangatsu sanjūnichi dairi no utaawase of 960 is representative of these developments.[1] One of the court ladies who attended the event describes it as follows:[2]

> On the second day of the third month, the palace attendant Naishinnosuke presented the leaders of the left and right with a list of members. This list had been written by the emperor himself on the twenty-ninth of the second month. [A list of the court ladies who were the members of the left and right follows.]
>
> On the third day of the third month, the emperor handed down the topics. Naishinnosuke copied them in his presence. The topics were: spring haze (one poem), warbler (two poems), willow (one poem), cherry blossom (one poem, globe flower (one poem), wisteria (one poem), summer grasses (one poem) and love (five poems).
>
> At two p.m. on the thirtieth of the same month, orders were given to raise the bamboo blinds of the central chamber along the western veranda of the Seiryoden.[3] The Emperor's seat was placed there facing west in front of the connecting corridor to the Kōrōden. Gardeners were instructed to place new plants in the small gardens to the north and south of the connecting corridor. Wisteria, for the left, were planted in the north garden; and globe flowers, for the right, in the south garden. The secretaries and noblewomen of the right and left sat respectively to the north and south of the Emperor's central chamber. They wore their customary garments of crimson for the left, and blue for the right. Thus everyone took her proper place.
>
> First the decorative trays (suhama) were displayed before the gathering.[4] An unprepossessing young girl carried out the cloth

---

[1]Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, eds., Utaawase shū, Vol. 74 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), pp. 78-104.

[2]A number of records of the Tentoku utaawase are in existence: (1) the Emperor's Record; (2) a kana diary written by a court lady (a); (3) the judge's decisions and record of the utaawase; (4) a record made by a courtier belonging to the right side; (5) a record made by a lady on the right side; and (6) the Kurōdo no tenjō nikki. All of these can be found in Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, Utaawase shū, pp. 78-104. The translation is of text no. 2.

[3]For the arrangement of these buildings in the imperial court, see Helen C. McCullough, Okagami (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), Figures 2 and 3.

[4]Suhama are decorative trays on which elaborate displays, often artificial flowers and trees or small animals, are mounted. The name suhama derives from the shape of the tray which suggests an undulating shoreline. See Hagitani Boku, Heianchō utaawase taisei, 10: 3066-75.

on which the suhama of the right would rest and laid it before the Emperor. Four young girls brought in the suhama. They wore garments of blue layered with green. Their heights and the lengths of their hair were well-matched. The canopy of the suhama was blue cloth dyed from light to deeper hues and also embroidered. The undercloth was a patterned light blue. The upper portion of the suhama was crafted of fragrant wood inlaid with gold; the lower of slightly less precious wood inlaid with silver. Flowers made of gold and silver would indicate the score in the poetry contest. After each round, one blossom would be placed on a bough. The love poems were placed in a cormorant fishing basket.[1] Those of late spring were loaded on a boat. Those of the warbler were held in a warbler's beak. Likewise, other poems were placed in various interesting ways.

The sun was beginning to set, but we could still distinguish colors. Everything before us was splendid. It was reported that the left would be delayed. The Emperor had the Head of the Palace Equipment and Upkeep Office Taira no Koretsune called before the gathering and censured. The members of the left still did not arrive. The Emperor then had Member of the Secretariat Taira no Yoshiki called forth and censured. The men replied that they would make the left appear immediately. In the meantime, the sun set altogether. Again, the Emperor had summoned Member of the Secretariat Fujiwara no Shigesuke to inquire the reasons for the delay.

The suhama of the left was displayed after it was too dark for the gathering to inspect it. A young girl brought in the undercloth. She left and four others carried in the suhama. Their garments were crimson layered with cherry. However, because we could not see, their pains came to naught. The suhama, which was designed as a scorekeeper, was carried in by six young girls. They were not of equal heights. Yoshiki mingled with them. He seemed to think it was not too unbecoming. A young imperial attendant accepted the scorekeeper, which was placed in the garden. The suhama of the left could not be seen clearly. It was so dark that oil lamps were ordered. . . . The nobles of third rank and above took their places to the left and right of the connecting corridor. Courtiers in attendance on the Emperor, the Minister of the Left, the Major Captain of the Right, the Consultant Fujiwara Asahira, the Minamoto Major Counsellor, the Imperial Advisor Minamoto no Masanobu took their places behind the bamboo blinds of the Koroden. The gentlemen of each side acted as hosts to the ladies.

Then, on the left, the reader, the Military Guard of the Right Minamoto Nobumitsu, lifted the canopy of the suhama slightly and plucked a branch of globe flower crafted of gold. Poems were written on the petals. He sat holding the bough throughout the night, as though he were participating in an ascetic ritual. The

---

[1]There is a visual pun here. Love poems are placed in cormorant fishing baskets because the cormorant flare (hi) is homophonous with the (hi) of "omoi," love or longing.

reader of the right was the Middle Captain Minamoto Hiromasa. The Major Captain Sukenobu held the canopy and Takamitsu received it from him.

The poems were placed in competition. Most unexpectedly, the right side was defeated. Afterwards, there was a concert. The musicians were seated in the gardens to the left and right. Lord Saneyori played the koto. The Head Investigator of the Records of Outgoing Officials played the sō no fue. The Head of the Archives Osamu played the biwa. The Officer of the Palace Tables played the kin; the governor of Iyo Moritoki, the wagon; the Guardsman of the left, the fue; the Master of the Office of Palace Repairs Shigenobu, the Master of the Right Capital Division Saneyoshi, the Head of the Palace Upkeep and Equipment Office Koretsune, and Tachibana no Yotada recited poems. For the right, the Minamoto Counsellor played the biwa; the Right Middle Captain, the wagon; the Master of Palace Music Shigehira, the koto; the Provisional Middle Controller of the Left Yoritada, the sō no fue. The Minister of Civil Administration Masanobu, the Minister of Finance Moriakira, the Captain of Right Guards Kiyoto, the Governor of Bizen Kinmasa, and Takamitsu recited poems. The first reciter of the left was the Master of the Right Capital Division Saneyoshi. He was a commoner and was thus seated below. The first reciter of the right was the Master of Civil Administration Masanobu. He was seated on the connecting corridor. Everyone kept time with his shaku. First, the victorious left side played to So tune and sang the saibara "Anatō." The right played the same tune and sang the saibara "Sakurabito." The left and right played alternately without rest in this manner through the night.

In the early morning, the Emperor presented gifts to the participants. The Minister of the Left received a set of garments. The Minamoto Major Counsellor received a white over-robe. The Imperial Advisor received a single-layered robe. Others all received bolts of silk.

On the second day of the fourth month, the Emperor had the suhama shown to the Empress. . . . After she examined the suhama, she gave the men gifts. She returned the suhama of the left but kept the one of the right. The suhama of the left looked like this: The upper portion was inlaid with silver. The lower was made of fragrant wood, also inlaid. The canopy was a crimson dyed in shades from light to dark. The violet undercloth was patterned. This suhama was later presented to her son.

Thus although the poetry contest took place on the last day of the third month, the suhama were not removed until the early morning of the second day of the fourth month. The right had changed to summer garments. The left still wore their winter robes.[1]

We note several striking characteristics of courtly utaawase. First of all, the poets who compose the poems play no role within the

---

[1]Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, Utaawase shū, pp. 93-97.

ritual of the events. The contest and pageantry are conducted by and for the amusement of the courtiers and ladies who are the members of the left and right and of the ranking nobles that constituted their audience. In its origins, the utaawase are related to court games such as sumo and mono awase (matching games of flowers, perfumes, shells, etc.), and in these events there was a clear distinction between the courtiers or ladies who participate in the event, and the makers of the objects contested (or in the case of sumo, the wrestlers). Likewise, in the Tentoku utaawase, the ladies, who were the members of the right and left, commissioned poems from well-known poets of the day. They spared no pains in the endeavor to gather excellent poems; such poets as Mibu no Tadami, Minamoto Shitagō, Taira no Kanemori, and Fujiwara Motozane, whose poems appear in this utaawase, are well represented in imperial anthologies.[1] However, the ladies reserved the right to make the final selections of poems to be entered in the contest, and they made no attempt to match specific poets against each other. In fact, the poets were not even present at the utaawase. Because poetry itself was highly respected as an art, the poets' names are recorded, but, like the craftsmen who fashioned the suhama or the perfumes and illustrations of the mono awase, their main function was to provide the materials for the courtiers' pageantry.

In the courtly utaawase, the element of literary contest itself

---

[1]The poets involved in this utaawase were:
Mibu no Tadami (?-?)--The son of Mibu no Tadamine, one of the compilers of the Kokinshū. Tadami is represented in imperial anthologies beginning with the Gosenshū.
Mimamoto Shitagō (911-983)--One of the compilers of the Gosenshū. His poems appear in the Shūishū and Goshūishū.
Taira no Kanemori (?-990)--Poems in Shūishū and Goshūishū.
Fujiwara Motozane (?-?)--Poems begin to appear in imperial anthologies from the Goshūishū.
Sakanoue no Mochiki (?-?)--One of the compilers of the Gosenshū.
Fujiwara Asatada (909-996)--Poems from the Gosenshū onwards.
Fujiwara Yoshifuru (884-968)--Poems from the Gosenshū onwards.
Shōni no myōbu (?-?)--A poem in the Gosenshū.
Hon'in no Jiju (?-?)--Poems in the Gosenshū and Shūishū.
Nakatsukasa (?-?)--Poems in the Gosenshū and Shuishū.

took second place to pageantry and the display of wit and elegance.[1] Thus the participants in the utaawase integrated numerous art forms into an event of splendor and aesthetic harmony. It is true that judgment of the poems formed the core of the event. In the Tentoku utaawase, the left side, which had violated protocol through tardiness and whose general presentation was less pleasing than that of the right, was nevertheless awarded victory on the strength of its poems. Further, the poetry judgments themselves, which are also preserved in manuscript, display knowledge and taste. At the same time, we know that the judge of this event, the Minister of the Left Fujiwara Saneyori was chosen, not only because of his critical acumen, but because of his prominence in court society. His was a ceremonial role. Likewise, the spoils of victory for the left consisted of little more than the privilege of being first to sing and play in the concert following the poetry contest. At the end of the utaawase, the emperor bestowed his gifts according to the ranks of the participants and not according

---

[1]We do see, however, the beginnings of the intense personal rivalries between poets that would characterize the "professional" utaawase of the twelfth century. Round 20 comprised the following two poems:

Koi su cho	How swiftly
waga na wa madaki	The rumors have risen
tachinikeri	That I am in love.
hito shirezu koso	Although my feelings blossomed in secret,
omoi someshika	
Tadami, Left (SIS 621)	And even she knew nothing of them.
Shinoburedo	Although I sought to conceal them,
iro ni idenikeri	My feelings for her have revealed themselves
waga koi wa	
mono ya omou to	In the expression on my face.
hito no tou made	So much so that people inquire
Kanemori, Right (SIS 622)	If I have fallen in love.

According to the record of the judge's decisions, the excellence of both poems made judgment difficult. The judge sought the opinion of the emperor. The emperor then recited the poem of the right to himself. Thinking that this expressed his approval of the work, the judge awarded the victory to the poem of the right. See Hagitani Baku and Taniyama Shigeru, eds., Utaawase shū, p. 88.

In the twelfth and thirteenth century, several poetic treatises, the Fukuro zōshi, the Dōmyōshō, Tsuki no karumo shū, as well as the Shasekishū (a collection of primarily Buddhist tales) record that Tadami was so disappointed by this decision that he fell ill and died or that he was so chagrined he left the capital. Both poems are included in Teika's Ogura hyakunin isshu.

to whether they were on the winning or losing side. Defeat involved no humiliation. What is more, as we can see from the record of the utaawase, the courtiers took equal interest in the craftsmenship of delicate metalwork, fragrant wood, weaving, dyeing, and painting. Each side vied with the other in the splendor of its presentation; at the same time, the audience expected their efforts to be coordinated to create pleasing variety and contrast. Visual display, music, and poetry were fully orchestrated to please the senses.

Finally, the courtiers and the ladies regarded the utaawase as an event that took place naturally and spontaneously within their courtly lives. The Tentoku utaawase was planned by the Emperor himself, who in the fifteen years since he had ascended the throne, had held at least three utaawase in the imperial court and six in the residences of the empress and other imperial family members. Interestingly, Emperor Murakami went further to stress the spontaneity of the event. In his record of the utaawase, he writes that the event began as a lighthearted challenge; hearing that some gentlemen had gathered to compete in Chinese verse, a group of ladies planned a similar contest with Japanese poetry.[1] The list of participants in the event includes courtiers who are among the highest ranking in the court, officials who in another age and place would not display an equal interest in poetry or the other arts of an utaawase. In Heian Japan, as a matter of course, a Minister of the Left could serve as a judge of poetry and a Minister of Finance recite poetry before a no doubt very discriminating audience. The ideal of spontaneity is, however, best expressed in another utaawase, the Eishō gonen shigatsu nijūrokunichi Saki no Reikeiden nyōgo Enshi no utaawase of 1050:[2]

---

[1]Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, Utaawase shū, pp. 88-89.

[2]This utaawase is also known as the Shōshi Naishinnō eawase. Enshi was a consort of Emperor Gosuzaku (r. 1036-1045). Her daughter Shōshi was born after his death. This utaawase was held in the residence of Enshi's father, Dainagon Fujiwara Yorimune.

This utaawase is the first verifiable record of an eawase (a contest in which two teams compare paintings). In the "Eawase" chapter of the Genji monogatari, Murasaki Shikibu describes just such an event; Enshi's ladies may have been inspired by that account.

It is believed that the kana diary of this utaawase was written by the poet Ise no taifu (?-?).

> One evening on about the tenth of the third month, when moonlight shone on the bamboo blinds, many ladies were gathered around Lady Enshi talking of this and that. Someone said, "Instead of spending these spring days in idleness, let us plan a special contest for the amusement of our lady. The flower comparing contest of which I used to hear has scattered and fallen to its ancient roots. Thus it carries the fragrance of nostalgia. As for the grass comparing contest, we must return the plants to their original sites after the contest. And so, afterwards, there is a lot of bother. Our hearts cannot reach the ancient times of Okura's Karin[1] and the Manyōshū. Truly, it is the Kokinshū and Gosenshū that weave pleasure for us again and again like the threads of willow boughs. Their spirit is as deep as the hues of a brocade of autumn leaves." After much discussion of this kind, we decided to hold a contest in which the two sides would prepare poems and illustrations.[2]

The author of this passage recreates the romantic atmosphere of a monogatari in her description of Enshi and her ladies. And as idealized in monogatari, we see the court ladies in their elegant surroundings planning an utaawase simply as a remedy for their idleness on a soft spring night. They speak of poetry wittily and knowledgeably, as befits their roles as companions to an imperial consort. Confidently and seemingly effortlessly, the members of the court commanded rich material and sensual environments for their own amusement.

The Mid-Classical Period: Crisis and Change

In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, court society as well as poetry and poetic practice changed greatly. The power and prestige of the court were gradually eroded, and new, rival claims disrupted the society. In this period, religious establishments, chief among them Enryakuji and Kōfukuji, that had been designated the protectors of the court sent out bands of armed priests to battle each other in the streets of the capital and attempted to coerce the imperial court itself with threats of violence. The ritsuryō system,

---

[1]The Ruijū karin was the Manyō poet Yamanoue no Okura's private collection of poetry. (Okura died c. 733.) The collection is believed to have contained seven volumes, but it is no longer extant. Traces of it can be found in the Manyōshū.

[2]Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, Utaawase shū, p. 166.

established shortly before the Nara period, had long since begun to disintegrate, and increasingly the court controlled the provinces only with the cooperation of locally powerful military clans. In the mid-twelfth century, two of these families, the Heike and the Minamoto, each attempted to wrest power from the court. With much bloodshed and even the attempted removal of the court to a new site in Fukuhara, the Heike briefly succeeded. But within a few years, they and their supporters were driven from the court by the Minamoto and finally utterly destroyed in a sea battle off western Japan. In this last battle, the infant emperor Antoku and his mother perished, and the imperial regalia, the mirror and sword, were lost forever. In 1186, the victorious Minamoto established a new center of economic and political power far to the east in Kamakura.

The court society, which had always been insular and self-assured about its cultural and political leadership, was assailed by uncertainty; its members perceived a fundamental breakdown in the natural order of things. In the diaries of courtiers of this period and onward, we find incessant mention of earthquakes, floods, fires and famines, which, the courtiers had learned from China, were the portents of the collapse of a dynasty. Further, they found the expression of their worst fears in the Buddhist concept of mappō, "the latter days of the Law." According to Buddhist legend, the time after the death of the historical Buddha is divided into three periods: Shōbō (Sadharma), the time of the perfect Law; Zōhō (Sadharma prativapara), the time of the counterfeit Law; and Mappō (Sadharama vipralopa) the end of the Law. In this last period, the teachings of the Buddha deteriorate, salvation becomes impossible, and the world is torn by strife and disorder. In Japan, according to the prevalent periodization of the time, the period of mappō was to have begun in 1052.[1]

---

[1]For a fuller discussion of the historical development of the concept of mappō, see: Ogawa Tomio, "Mappō shiso no keisei to rekishi ishiki," in Mappō to masse no shisō (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), pp. 11-26; and Kazue Kyōichi, "Kyōten ni okeru mappō no igi," and "Mappō shisō no seiritsu," Nihon no mappō shisō (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1961), pp. 11-29.

The occurrences of their world showed the courtiers the truth of this belief.

The Heian courtier of the ninth and tenth century had made an aesthetic change. We find the following exchange between the ninth century poet Ariwara no Narihira and another courtier in the Ise monogatari:[1]

> On one excursion, he noticed some exceptionally lovely cherry blossoms at the Nagisa House in Katano. He and some of the others dismounted, seated themselves beneath the trees, decorated their caps with sprays of flowers, and began to compose poems. The Commander of the Right Horse Bureau [Narihira] recited,
>
> Yo no naka ni taete sakura no nakariseba haru no kokoro wa nodokekaramashi
>
> If this were but a world
> To which cherry blossoms
> Were quite foreign,
> Then, perhaps, in spring
> Our hearts would know peace.
>
> Someone else retorted,
>
> Chireba koso itodo sakura wa medetakere ukiyo ni nani ka hisashikarubeki
>
> It is precisely because
> Cherry blossoms scatter
> That we find them appealing
> Does anything endure for long
> In this world of sorrows?
> [McCullough, trans.][2]

The respondent takes Narihira's poem at face value and lectures him with the cliched idea that it is the ephemerality of the blossoms that makes them beautiful. Narihira, however, is not really saying that he wishes for a world without blossoms so that he can know peace of mind. Rather, he suggests, in effect, that in exchange for the lovely blossoms such peace of mind is worth nothing. It is not merely their ephemerality but their incomparable beauty that must disturb

---

[1]The Ise monogatari is a collection of some 140 episodes concerning the life of a certain "man of old," usually identified with the poet Ariwara no Narihira (d. 880). All thirty of Narihira's poems in the Kokinshū are contained in the Ise monogatari. However, many of the episodes cannot be clearly linked to Narihira. The episodes in the tale comprise a poem or several poems and a prose commentary that explains the circumstances of the poem's composition. The episodes are very loosely linked with no overall organization. The author or authors are not known. It appears that the text took shape gradually in the first half of the tenth century. See Helen Craig McCullough, Tales of Ise (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968), pp. 55-65.

[2]Ibid., pp. 124-26.

his heart. The blossoms last but for a moment, but for that moment they are so beautiful that one must choose to cherish them despite the inevitable pain of loss.

In contrast, we read in Kamo no Chōmei's (1153?-1216?) Hōjōki about conditions in the capital in the late twelfth century:[1]

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei (1155?-1216) was a member of a family of hereditary shrine priests to the Shimo Kamo Shrine. His father, Nagatsugu, however, died when Chōmei was nineteen, and Chōmei was not appointed to the post. He only reached the lower fifth rank. Chōmei was associated in his younger years with the household of Takamoto no In, Toba In's daughter, and he appears to have had a lover and children within that household.

Chōmei studied waka with Shun'e. He was also a gifted biwa player; his teacher was Nakahara Ariyasu. In 1200, he was invited to submit a hundred poem sequence for the Shōji nido hyakushu (Hundred Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era, second series), and also participated in the Nijūyonban utaawase, Iwashimizu Wakamiya no yashiro no utaawase. In 1202, he was involved in the Shingū senkaawase, an Eigu utaawase, the Senka no utaawase; and the Santai wakae; in 1203, the Hachiman wakamiyasha no utaawase. In 1201, Chōmei was named by Gotoba to be one of the members of the wakadokoro. However, because of his low court rank, Chōmei was not invited to participate in many of the major court utaawase of the 1200-1205 period. Gotoba, who apparently was genuinely fond of Chōmei, had plans to make Chōmei the shrine priest at the Shimo Kamo. However, he was dissuaded by Chōmei's kinsman Kamo no Sukekane. After this final disappointment, Chōmei left the capital to live as a recluse. Sometime after 1210, Chōmei travelled to Kamakura with Fujiwara Masatsune and had an audience with Minamoto Sanetomo.

Chōmei's prose works are the Hōjōki, the Hosshinshū, and the Ise ki (a travel diary that is no longer extant). He wrote two poetic treatises, the Eigyoku shū and the Mumyōshō, one of the major sources for information concerning poetic practice in the late twelfth century and early thirteenth century. His private poetry collection is the Kamo no Chōmei shū. His poems first appear in the Senzaishū; ten of his works are found in the Shinkokinshū.

Chomei wrote the Hōjōki in 1212, after he had left the capital to live in Hino. This one volume work describes various natural disasters that plagued the capital in the second half of the twelfth century. For example, he speaks of the great fire of 1177, the typhoon of 1180, and the famine of the following year. In the last part of his work, he describes his new life as a recluse. He contrasts the harrowing fragility of life in the capital with his freedom; his ten-foot square hut has joints that allow it to be taken apart and moved from location to location. Even his biwa comes apart into several pieces. In writing the Hōjōki, Chōmei was influenced by three earlier works: Po Chü-i's Ch'ih-shang p'ien ping hsü (838), the Chiteiki by Kaneakira Shinno (959), and the Chiteiki by Yoshishige Yasutane (1282). These three works were written in Chinese; Chōmei's work,

> The past year was thus spent in suffering from the famine, and people hoped for relief in the new year. But instead, there was no respite and the capital was also beset by an epidemic. . . . As the illness spread through the capital, its people were indeed like fish stranded in an ever-diminishing pool of water. In the end, even people of rank, still attired in proper headgear and leggings, could be seen begging from door to door. One moment these stricken people appeared able to walk, but in the next they had collapsed in the street. Along the streets of the capital, there were countless bodies of those who had starved or fallen victim to the plague. In the general disorder, no one gathered these bodies to cremate them, and their stench filled the air. One could not bear to look upon their decaying forms. Alas, there was no longer even space for horses and carts to pass along the banks of the Kamo River, so numerous were the bodies.
>
> As the lowly classes of woodsmen and other laborers fell victim to the famine and the plague, firewood became scarce. People in the capital who had no other means of support began to dismantle their own homes and to hawk the wood as kindling in the market place. Yet the earnings thus gained were not sufficient to sustain their lives for even a single day. And it was very strange that among the wood being sold at the market, I saw pieces that were colored crimson or inlaid with gold and silver. When I mingled among the hawkers and inquired about this, I learned that those without any other resources had stolen statuary and ripped away decorative furnishings from old temple halls and broken them into pieces to sell as kindling. Having been born in these evil latter days, I have seen these heart-rending sights.[1]

These changes are of a different magnitude from those described by Narihira and are reported in a different literary genre. Thus comparison is perhaps unfair. Nevertheless, Chōmei's unrelenting, graphic descriptions signal a new confrontation with reality. There was no way that sentiment or aesthetics could mitigate the horror of these scenes. The events of his time had torn asunder the protective curtain that had once shielded the courtiers from the realities not only of the struggle for power but of corporeal existence itself.

One result of these upheavals of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries was the courtiers' withdrawal from active participation in

---

in a Sinified Japanese. For a discussion of the relation between these four works see Kaneko Hikojiro, Heian jidai bungaku to Hakushi monjū, Michizane no bungaku kenkyū hen (Kamakura: Geirinsha, 1977; reprint of 1948 ed.), pp. 236-318.

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Hōjōki, ed. Nishio Minoru, Vol. 30 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), pp. 30-31.

the events of the world at large and a renewed awareness of the history and cultural traditions of the court. The poet Fujiwara Teika wrote in his diary in 1180 when he was only nineteen years old "The news of the disturbances and revolts in the world fills my ears, but the affairs of the warriors sent out to crush the forces of the red banner have nothing to do with me" (Jicho 4, 9th month).[1] Kamo no Chōmei, also a poet, wrote in his Mumyōshō:[2]

> One rainy day, a group of friends were gathered together talking of this and that. The conversation turned to things of the past. Someone asked, "What kind of pampas grass is the 'masuho no susuki?'" An old man answered in a faltering voice, "I've heard there is a priest in a place called Watanobe who knows." The priest Tōren (act. 1166-1184) was in this gathering.[3] When he heard this he became quiet, and without further questions, he asked the host for a rain coat and hat. The host thought it strange but provided him with the gear. Without listening any further to the conversation, Tōren put on the coat and straw shoes. The others were bewildered by his behavior and asked him what he was doing. He answered. "I am going to Watanobe. Having heard that someone knows the answer to a question that has been bothering me for years, I must go seek this priest out at once." The others were surprised and said, "But wait until it stops raining." Toren answered, "How can you say such things! Does my life or that of any other man stand still and wait for the rain to stop? Please say no more." And he left.
>
> Tōren was truly devoted to poetry. He attained his wishes and closely guarded this piece of information about the "masuho no susuki." I learned this from a second-generation student of

---

[1]Imakawa Fumio, ed., Kundoku Meigetsuki, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1977-79), 1:19.

[2]A poetic treatise written by Kamo no Chōmei. Chōmei appears to have begun the work after beginning his reclusive life at Hino, completing it around 1211. Chōmei writes of his teacher Shun'e's views on poetry and discusses at length the "new style of yūgen," exemplified by the works of Fujiwara Teika, to which he was introduced when Ex-emperor Gotoba invited him to his court. Chōmei also collects anecdotes about various poets of the twelfth century, including the members of Shun'e's poetic circle, the Karin'en, and reports somewhat gleefully about the rivalry between Minamoto Shunrai and Fujiwara Mototoshi. Chomei sets down information that he appears to fear will be lost or forgotten--the site of Hitomaro's grave, the location of Narihira's old residence.

[3]Tōren (?-?). A priest-poet active in the period 1166-1181. He has one poem each in the Shikashū, Senzaishū, and Shinkokinshū.

Toren's. [Chōmei explains that the "masuho no susuki" is a special kind of pampas grass mentioned in the Manyōshū with plumes a foot long].

Someone said, "By chance I had the opportunity to visit a place called Ide and spend the night there. I was overwhelmed by the wondrousness of the scene of the Ide River. There were of course the ruins of Tachibana Moroe's mansion,[1] but there were also large boulders along the shore for a distance of about ten chō. I wondered how they had come to be there and suspected they had been placed there by someone. I came across an old man and asked him about things of the past. 'The Ide River is famed for yamabuki. Where are they to be found?' The old man replied, 'That is true. In front of the Tachibana mansion, which burned down last year, there used to be numerous large yamabuki. Their blossoms were the size of sake cups, their petals in innumerable layers. There were also yamabuki all along the banks of the river, and when they were in bloom, it was as though the river had a golden embankment. No other place could possibly compare. I don't really know which of these were the famed yamabuki of poetry.' [The old man explains that among other things, ignorant peasants have cut the yamabuki bushes to use the buds as fertilizer in their fields.] The old man continued to speak, 'Also people these days think all frogs are about the same, but this is not so. The frog known as "kawazu" exists only here in the Ide River. It is black, but not too large. Unlike other frogs it does not wander about on shore but stays in the water. At dusk, they croak plaintively. You should by all means come to hear them in spring or summer.'--So I was told, but busy with this and that, I have never returned."

Three years have passed since my friend told me of his visit to Ide. In those years, I have grown old, and my legs could not carry me there even if I wished now to go. Compared to Tōren who rushed out on a rainy night, I have done nothing. In the future, I suppose, people will not bother to listen to the "kawazu" even if other business takes them to Ide and even if they do recall the past. This is because people's devotion and sensitivity decline more and more with the passage of time.[2]

In the Mumyōshō. Chōmei takes great pains to record the exact location and descriptions of various sites associated with ancient poetry and which had been preserved as uta-makura (poetic place names). He speaks with an intense concern that communicates even to us that his information must be correctly transmitted. In the two tales above, we sense the fragility of this knowledge. It is in the

---

[1]Tachibana Moroe (d. 757) Manyō poet.

[2]Kamo no Chomei, Mumyōshō, in Karonshū nōgakuronshū, Vol. 65 of NKBT, ed. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973), pp. 48-50.

hands of old men. Life itself is ephemeral. And perhaps people of the future will cease to care. At the same time, Chōmei stresses just as strongly the need for individual devotion. Court society and the institutions that sustained poetic tradition have begun to change, and poets themselves must act to preserve the knowledge of the ancients.

These events of the late Heian period changed the shape of poetic practice and led to the emergence of a new "professional" practice. Further, they had profound influence on the formation of a new poetry. Poets had been composing waka now for several centuries; they perceived with increasing clarity the staleness of the diction and the style of fanciful metaphors ("metaphysical wit") institutionalized by the Kokinshū. The poets sought a fresh poetry that was once more personally expressive. However, the conservatism of their age, born of a deep veneration of the past, and the stringent formal requirements of the new poetic practice severely restricted the range of deviations that would be permitted to any poet. Even the most iconoclastic poet could not venture far beyond the shadows cast by the poetry of the past. At the same time, in an age of uncertainty, poets also began to seek in poetry that which was timeless, and in so doing, re-individualized poetic tradition. We can understand these developments in relation to two forms of poetic practice, the new "professionalized" utaawase and the hundred poem sequence.

From the eleventh century, "professionalized" utaawase, that is, poetry contests apart from court ritual, define the central stage of poetic practice. The elaborate presentation of poems upon decorative trays (suhama) and the prescribed costumes of the courtly utaawase are gone; participants are the poets themselves, and the sole function of utaawase was to test the relative merit of the poems. These new literary utaawase were far more numerous than the earlier courtly ones and were held not only in the court but in private residences, including those of poets of low rank, and among Buddhist and Shinto clergy.

In the Mumyōshō, Chōmei's teacher Shun'e (1113-?) describes the new decorum of these utaawase.[1]

> Shun'e said, "Poetry contests held at Norikane's residence are truly elegant. In the following ways none can compare with him. Being the personage that he is, the host made handsome arrangements for the participants. There was nothing in the slightest degree crude. He spoke in a humble manner and displayed great devotion to poetry. Thus he recognized poems worthy of praise and faulted those that were inferior. Attention had been given to every detail. All was decorous. The poets, too, were of the same spirit, and they thought only of how best to compose. As a result, there were excellent poems, and if a poet were to compose even a single novel line, he would feel rewarded for his efforts and become all the more enthusiastic. In those contests for which poets have been assigned topics beforehand, they come prepared with a manuscript. In those where topics are assigned on the spot, poets return to their respective seats and compose in silence. In this way, too, Norikane's poetry contests are most desirable. Even a poem that is merely mediocre sounds elegant in such a setting.[2]

In the passage of the Mumyōshō that follows this quote, Chōmei speaks with horror of utaawase he has attended where poets are slovenly dressed, pay no attention to the recitation of poems, and because they have not prepared their assigned poems, rush to compose them before their turn comes up, all the while muttering audibly to themselves. Chōmei's point is the contrast between such utaawase and the ones described by Shun'e. He makes no reference to courtly utaawase and their pageantry. For Shun'e, Chōmei, and other poets of their age, utaawase could only be formal occasions for the publishing of their work.

The utaawase of this period lost much of their character as communal entertainment. Instead, they became contests in the true

---

[1]Shun'e (1113-?) Minamoto Shunrai's son and a priest of the Tōdaiji. Shun'e was host and organizer of the Karin'en, a poetic circle comprising priest-poets, courtiers, and court ladies. The group was named for Shun'e's residence in Shirakawa in Kyoto. Members of the group included Tōren, Kamo no Chōmei, Minamoto Yorimasa, Dōin, Fujiwara Kiyosuke, the lady Sanuki, and the lady Inpu Mon'in no Taifu. Shun'e's views on poetry are recorded by Chōmei in the Mumyōshō. However, his own works, the Kasen awase, the Kaenshō, and so on are all lost.

[2]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 70-71.

sense of the word. First of all, the assigned topics in these literary utaawase became increasingly complex. We see not merely ever finer discriminations of subject matter but also conscious efforts on the part of the utaawase host to make composition challenging by severely circumscribing the poets' choice of sentiment and diction. Any practicing poet could compose with ease poems about spring or autumn or even about spring snow or the warbler singing on the plum bough. In this period, however, we find far more complex musubi-dai and yosuru-dai. The former are intricate topics, written in Chinese, such as "hearing the warbler while living in seclusion," or "the plum's fragrance wafting from a neighboring yard." They include actual lines of Chinese verse (kudai).[1] Yosuru-dai are new kinds of topics for love poetry. Love topics, it is true, had previously specified various narrative conditions such as: "love in the morning," "love in the evening," "love between young people," "love between old people," "love on first encounter," "love and resentment." Yosuru-dai, however, are conceived in terms of references which the poet must incorporate, either narratively or metaphorically, into his poem. They range from such topics as "love and the moon," and "love and rain," which involve images traditionally associated with love, to the novel and more demanding "love and flutes," "love and bridges," or "love and fishers."

In addition, these utaawase became the arena in which both poets and judges of the contests established their professional standing. We know that in the tenth and early eleventh century, such poets as Ki no Tsurayuki, Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, and Fujiwara Kintō (996-1041) acted as judges in poetry contests.[2] However, their fame does not,

---

[1]For detailed discussion of kudai waka from the early Heian period, see: Kaneko Hikojiro, Heian jidai bungaku to Hakushi monjū, Kudai waka Senzai kaku kenkyū hen (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1955); and Kaneko Hikojiro, Heian jidai bungaku to Hakushi monjū, Michizane no bungaku kenkyū hen, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1948; reprint ed., Kamakura: Geirinsha, 1977-82).

[2]Fujiwara Kintō (966-1041). Waka poet, composer of Chinese verse, and musician. Kintō is the compiler of the Wakan rōeishū, a collection of waka and Chinese verse couplets suitable for recitation, the Sanjurokunin shū and the Sanjurokunin sen. These were collections

and did not then, derive from this role. In contrast, the most important poets of the twelfth century, Minamoto Shunrai (1055-1129), Fujiwara Mototoshi (?-1145), Rokujō Akisue (1055-1123), Kiyosuke (1104-1177), and Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204) were highly respected not only for their poetry but their critical acumen as judges. In this latter role, they wielded great power in the poetic circles of the day. Further, poets themselves express feverish concern with the judgments of their works. Contests were judged and rejudged by different poets; participants would compile documents of protest that decried a judge's lack of erudition and critical sense. In the Mumyōshō, Chomei illustrates how an utaawase judgment may have grave consequences for the professional reputation of both poet and judge:

> In Mitsuyuki's Kamo no yashiro no utaawase, I composed the following poem on the topic moon.[1]
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Ishikawa ya | In the land of Ishikawa, |
> | semi no ogawa no | The waters of the Semi River |
> | kiyokereba | Run clear, |
> | tsuki mo nagare wo | And even the moon has come to dwell |
> | tazunete zo sumu | In its pristine stream. |
>
> The judge Moromitsu said, "Is there such a river?" My poem was defeated. I had placed certain hopes in this poem and was greatly disappointed. However, others, too, felt that there were many problems with the judgments as a whole, and Kenshō was asked to rejudge the poems. He wrote about my poem, "Semi no ogawa is unfamiliar to me. Is there such a river? I must inquire." Later when I met Kenshō, we spoke of this matter, and I told him, "Semi no ogawa is another name for the Kamo River. It is used in the shrine history." He was surprised and said, "It is a good thing that I did not make a hasty judgment. I felt that it was unlikely that here were any poetic placenames with which I was unfamiliar, and I was about to criticize the poem. But I didn't know whose

---

of the works of the thirty-six best poets beginning with Hitomaro. Kintō was the major poetic thinker of his day and is the author of the Waka kuhon, a short treatise in which exemplary poems are ranked according to nine classes beginning with the "upper upper" class and ending with the "lower lower," and the Shinsen zuinō. The Shūishō is also attributed to Kintō. See, Fujihira Haruo, "Tadamine juttei to Shinsen zuinō," Kokubungaku kenkyu 44 (June, 1976): 1-11.

[1]Mitsuyuki (1163-1244) was best known as a Genji scholar. He edited the Kawachi-bon Genji. His poems appear in imperial anthologies from the time of the Senzaishū. The date of this utaawase is not known.

> work it was, and its form appeared accomplished. So I waited to ascertain more clearly. This is the wisdom of old age."
>
> Later, the Shinto priest Sukekane severely criticized me saying, "Such an innovation should have been saved for an important formal occasion, for example an utaawase hosted by the emperor or a grand minister. As it is, you have wasted it." And indeed, Takanobu used this line, as did Kenshō himself. Sukekane then said to me, "Although you were the first, who will ever know in later ages?"[1]

Chōmei made the mistake of using his discovery, "Semi no ogawa," in a minor utaawase in which, further, the names of the poets were not listed with their works. He goes on to say in this passage, however, that he was finally given proper recognition when his poem, and not those of the other poets who appropriated his line, was included later in the Shinkokinshū.[2] We also see the danger the judges faced if they were not versed in poetic lore. Moromitsu (?-?, took tonsure 1168) was replaced, and Kenshō (1130-?) succeeded because of his greater wariness.[3]

Second in importance to the growth of literary utaawase is the rise in popularity of the hyakushu uta or hundred poem sequence. The beginning of real interest in this form was the Horikawa hyakushu of 1079-1107. In this event, Emperor Horikawa commanded the leading

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 43-45.

[2]Ishikawa ya — In the land of Ishikawa,
Semi no ogawa no — The waters of the Semi River
kiyokereba — Run clear,
tsuki mo na [illegible] — And even the moon has come to dwell
tazunete zo sumu — In its pristine stream.
SKKS, XIX:1894 Kamo no Chōmei.

[3]Minamoto Moromitsu (?-?). Took tonsure in 1168. Moromitsu was a participant in the Shōji hyakushu and was one of the judges of the Sengohyakuban utaawase. The poets Minamoto Tomochika and Kunaikyō were his children.

(Fujiwara) Kenshō (1130-?) was the adopted son of Rokujō Akisuke and thus Rokujō Kiyosuke's step-brother. After Kiyosuke's death in 1177, Kenshō became the major spokesman of the Rokujō poetic family. As did Kiyosuke before him, Kenshō clashed with Fujiwara Shunzei and wrote the Roppyakuban chinjō in protest of Shunzei's judgments in the Roppyakuban utaawase. Kenshō was a scholar of poetry; his works include Kokin hichūshō, Shūi hichūshō, Gosen hichū, Kokinshū jochū, Kokinshū chū, and the Manyōshū jidai nanji. His poetic treatise is the Shūchūshō.

poets of the day to submit a sequence of one hundred poems on topics he had selected.[1] (The Horikawa hyakushu was actually a pair of hundred poem sequences, the first and most well-known of which is termed "Tarō," and the second, "Jirō.") Hyakushu uta never equal the stature of utaawase as a public event. However, they do testify to the formal, public nature of poetic practice that draws even private composition into its realm.

First, the hyakushu uta also offered the poet opportunity for disciplined composition upon set topics. These topics could be very general, for example, spring, autumn, love, for which a poet might compose a dozen or more poems each. Or they could be precisely and narrowly defined so that the poet was compelled to consider as many as one hundred separate topics in a sequence. The topics of the Horikawa hyakushu has been of the latter kind, which were further grouped into larger categories of the seasons, love, and miscellaneous. Poets were attracted to this then novel approach, and the Horikawa hyakushu form became a standard pattern to which poets turned for practice many times in their career. For example, in 1181 at the age of twenty, Teika was instructed by his father to compose a Horikawa hyakushu. It was the third and most complex hyakushu he had undertaken (Teika had composed his first, the Shogaku hyakushu, at the age of fourteen) and it signalled his coming-of-age as a poet.

Further, poets did not merely compose one hundred poems that individually fulfilled their assigned topics. Increasingly, they were asked to create within the sequence a unified aesthetic whole. Thus we find the principle of mon no uta (highlight poems) and ji no uta (background poems); a few poems that were supereior in conception and diction were to be interspersed among a far greater number of less exceptional poems.[2] A poet who had too many mon no uta was just as

---

[1]See, Hashimoto Fumio, Kōhon Horikawain ontoki hyakushu waka to sono kenkyū, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976-77), 1:333-86.

[2]The principle of mon no uta and ji no uta is discussed in Konishi, "Association and Progression," pp. 67-127. This principle of poetic organization is discussed in such thirteenth-century works as Fujiwara Tameie's Eiga Ittei (Yakumo kuden) and Ex-emperor Gotoba's

readily criticized as a poet who had too few; for both had violated the proper aesthetic design or rhythm of the sequence. Poets enthusiastically adopted this further sophistication, and by the end of the twelfth century, they began to apply it to sequences of poems far larger than the hundred poem sequence: the imperial anthology.[1]

Second, especially in the years immediately preceding the compilation of the Shinkokinshū, hyakushu uta became the occasion for "professional" group composition. In the period 1190-95, for example, we find five major hyakushu that a number of poets composed together.[2] In the ninth month of 1190, Teika, Fujiwara Yoshitsune, Rokujō Ariie, Jien, Jakuren, and the lady Tango each contributed one hundred poems to the Kagetsu hyakushu. In the twelfth month, each poet selected ten of his or her works from the hyakushu for a poetry contest. Also in the twelfth month, Yoshitsune, Teika, and Jien were involved in the Futaya hyakushu. In 1191, these three poets as well as Jakuren composed the Judai waka (hundred poem sequence with ten topics), and in 1194 and 1195, Jien and Yoshitsune undertook two more sequences. Finally, as an added twist, Jien appears to have brought about a sudden popularity of rapid composition of hundred poem sequences. In 1190,

---

Gotoba no In no gokuden. Tameie writes: "Within a hundred poem sequence, one should compose a number of background poems (ji no uta) that have no particular stylistic flourish, and one should select carefully the topics for which one will compose outstanding poems. Yet one need not expend all one's energies in this matter. It is natural that one will compose good poems, and for a hundred poem sequence, one need not engage in exhaustive deliberation. For a twenty or thirty poem sequence, in contrast, each and every poem should be excellent with no background poems among them." Fujiwara Tameie, Eiga ittei, in Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., Nihon kagaku taikei, 10 vols. (vols. 11- ed. Kyūsojin Hitaku) (Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 1956-), 3:392.

[1]Shunzei writes in the Korai fūteishō concerning the Shikashū, the sixth imperial anthology of Japanese poetry: "Among the ji no uta, there are many eccentric poems. . . ." Clifton W. Royston, Jr., "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974), p. 294.

[2]Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), pp. 415-688.

he composed the Ichinichi hyakushu (the hundred poem sequence composed in a single day) and the Ujiyama hyakushu, spending eight days on the latter. In the same year, Teika composed the Ichiji hyakushu (a hundred poem sequence in which the first syllable of each poem is predetermined) in six hours and the Ikku hyakushu (a sequence in which the first line of each poem is predetermined) in ten hours. He challenged Jien who quickly bested him with times of two hours and three hours respectively.

The private collections of these poets, the record of their poetic careers, begin with the hundred poem sequences they composed during their lives. Strictly private poetry is relegated to the end of their collected works. These poets felt that it was their public works that best displayed their accomplishments and their development as poets.

The exemplary utaawase and hundred poem sequence poem had two requisites that minimized the possibility of the expression of personal sentiment and fresh vision. First, it was strictly forbidden in an utaawase to compose a poem of personal import or of excessive emotion.[1] For example, we find in the Naidaijin (Fujiwara Tadamichi) no ie no utaawase of 1119:

Yama no ha ni	Do not hasten to vanish
isogi na iri so	Beyond the mountain rim,
yūzukuyo	Oh moon of the deep night.
uki mi dani koso	Even one as worthless as I
yo ni wa sumikere	Still lingers in this world.
Akinaka, Left.	

> The poem of the left is without precedent. Such poems cannot be found in utaawase of the past. . . . The poem of the left states personal feeling. I understand that this is unacceptable in an utaawase. . . .[2]

Similarly, in the Chōan sannen Miidera Shira no yashiro no utaawase of 1173, we find the following poems and judgment:

---

[1]Iwatsu Motoo, Utaawase no karonshi kenkyū, pp. 124-29; and Minegishi Yoshiaki, "Utaawase ni okeru jukkai no uta," Heian jidai wakabungaku no kenkyū (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1965), pp. 290-328.

[2]Hagitani Boku, Heianchō utaawase taisei, 6:1805.

Left	
Waga koi no	To what purpose is it,
yukari ni mo aranu	To speak of feelings
hito ni sae	Of love for you,
kimi ga koto nomi	Even to those people
iu ya naninaru	Who know nothing of you.
Dōshin	
Right	
Hedatenaku	Show me the path of love
katari aisuru	Where I may meet with you,
kai arite	And perchance,
kimi ni aubeki	With all hindrance cast aside,
koiji oshie yo	We may speak together
Shōchō	

> Generally in a love poem, one uses "kimi" when the poem is directly addressed or sent to a lover. When the poem is recited before others, it is rather vulgar. . . .
>
> ("Meeting with a friend and speaking of love," draw.)[1]

Utaawase were formal occasions, and decorum strictly forbade the unseemly display of private emotions.

The second major requirement for an utaawase poem was that it express on the given topic the proper, traditionally sanctioned associations and sentiment. When assigned a topic, a poet did not turn to his personal experience, nor did he seek for his individual response to the subject matter. Instead, he fulfilled first of all the technical requirements for transforming his topic into a poem, one totally in keeping with its traditonal conception. Chomei writes in the Mumyōshō:

> In poetry, so it is written in the Shunrai zuinō,[2] one must thoroughly understand the spirit of the topic. In a topic, there are some words that must be explicitly mentioned in the poem.

---

[1]Chōan sannen Miidera Shira no yashiro no utaawase, cited by Iwatsu Motoo, Utaawase no karonshi kenkyū, p. 128.

[2]Shunrai writes: "To compose a poem, one must have a clear grasp of the topic. Whether the topic comprises three, four, or five words, there are words that must be explicitly used in the poem; there are those that need not necessarily be used; and those to which one should only allude indirectly. . . ." Minamoto Shunrai, Shunrai zuinō, in Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, eds., Karonshū, Vol. 50 of Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (henceforth abbreviated NKBZ) (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1980), pp. 83-90.

> There are other words that are more effective when they appear in the poem instead of being obliquely alluded to. These words should also be placed directly in the poem. In contrast, there are words that need only be suggested in the poem. And last of all, there are words that are obscure, vague, and elegant. These are things that cannot be taught or learned. They become naturally apparent after one has understood the topic and attained deep insight into poetry.
>
> In attempting to express a topic, one should know what has been considered appropriate in the past. When treating such a topic as the thrush, for example, the poet should speak of wandering among the fields and hearing its song. For the warbler, one should compose a poem about the emotion of awaiting its song, but not about seeking it out. Likewise, one speaks of the pathos of hearing the cries of deer but not of awaiting them. Unless one's poem is of superior quality, one should not depart from these conventions. One may seek out cherry blossoms but not willows; one expresses anticipation of the first snow, but not of the autumn drizzle or hail. One's heart may break on mornings of spring blossoms, but autumn leaves are not cherished to the same degree. If these things are not familiar to you, apparently you do not know the ancient precedents. You should take care to keep in mind the ancient poems and follow their example in accordance with the level of your own poetry.[1]

In an utaawase, a poet who appears to have mislaid his topic is swiftly censured. For example, in the Roppyakuban utaawase,[2] on the topic "love and insects," we find:

Oki mo ite	By such a love as this--
toshi furu koi wa	In sleepless nights the years have
onozukara	passed--
Tokoyo no kami ya	Even the god of the Nether World
shirushi misubeki	Should now be moved
Kenshō, Left, 1069	To deign to grant my desire.

When there is no mention of insects in a poem on this topic, it

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 37-39.

[2]The participants in the Roppyakuban utaawase were: Fujiwara Yoshitsune, Fujiwara (Rokujō), Suetsune, Fujiwara Kanemune, Fujiwara (Rokujō) Ariie, Fujiwara Teika, and Ajari (Fujiwara Rokujō) Kenshō on the left; and Fujiwara Iefusa, Fujiwara (Rokujō) Tsuneie, Fujiwara Takanobu, Fujiwara Ietaka, Fujiwara Nobusada (the priest Jien), and Shami (Fujiwara) Jakuren, on the right. The judge was Fujiwara Shunzei. There were fifteen spring topics, ten summer, fifteen autumn, ten winter and fifty love topics, for a total of 1,200 poems in six hundred rounds.

appears the poet has lost sight of his topic. This poem should have been on the topic "love and prayers," or some such.[1]

In the same poetry contest, we find a failure to space a topic properly through a poem:

Nao sayuru	That the cold still lingers
keshiki ni shirushi	Is clearly shown
yamazakura	By the mountain cherry tree,
mada fuyugomoru	Its branches still confined
kozue naruran	In the recesses of winter.

Suetsune, Left, 13.

The members of the right have said that the poet has expressed the whole of the topic in the first two lines. Indeed, that is pointless.

("lingering cold," Round 7: draw)[2]

Of far greater importance, however, is the issue to which Chōmei devotes a long paragraph, that of the proper traditional treatment of topics. From as early as the late tenth century, there had been a tendency for poets to regard the conception of a poem objectively as something at a distance from themselves. The acceptable range of association and sentiment were formalized as hon'i. For example:

Yomosugara	All through the night
Fuji no takane ni	On the peak of Fuji
kumo kiete	The clouds vanish.
Kiyomigaseki ni	The inlet of Kiyomi
sumeru tsukikage	Reflects the pristine moonlight.

The configuration is acceptable. But the poem has two faults. First, the poet has used the lines, "the clouds vanish all through the night." Clouds do not vanish all through the night, but vanish just once. Thus in the Vimalakirti sutra, there is a metaphor comparing the ephemerality of our lives to clouds. Also, both in Japanese and Chinese poetry, this has been the only meaning. Second, Fuji has always been related to smoke. There are no ex-

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, ed., (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase (Tokyo: Yuseido, 1976), p. 370. Shunzei is actually quite aware that "Tokoyo no kami" refers to an incident in the Nihon shoki in which a certain village in the province of Azuma worships a strange "insect" as a god. Shunzei goes on to quote the relevant passage. However, he still concludes, "The poem is unacceptable from beginning to end. The poet has searched hard for this idea, but it was to no purpose. The form of the insect, further, does not seem to be in keeping with the implications of the topic."

[2]Ibid., p. 11.

amples of it being connected with clouds in ancient poems. In Sagami's utaawase, there was the following poem:

Yo to tomo ni	As the night grows deep
kokoro sora naru	My feelings grow
waga koi ya	To fill the sky,
Fuji no takane ni	Like the clouds overhanging
kakaru shirakumo	The peak of Fuji.

It was defeated in that poetry contest with the judgment that the poet had used clouds in place of smoke, thereby violating the hon'i of Fuji.[1]

As used in this utaawase and others of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, hon'i may simply be translated as poetic precedent. In their veneration for the past, poets looked to earlier poems for precise rules governing what their own poems should be like. As a result, a poet's attention was drawn outward, away from personal or idiosyncratic emotional response, and toward an intellectual and objective emulation of past poems.

The poems thus produced were very often unavoidably stale and without personal conviction. The very conservatism of poetic practice and the "objective" relation fostered between the poet and his work hampered efforts to infuse poetry with freshness of style and diction. All that was new was suspect; more unfortunately, poets who were accustomed merely to juggling the elements of hon'i remained trapped in a relation to their creation which discouraged genuine emotional conviction. For them the path toward innovation could lead only to ever more intricate conceits, the fanciful metaphors of the Kokinshū style. Faithfulness to tradition appeared to preclude fresh poetic creativity. We can observe this dilemma at work in the poetic careers of Minamoto Shunrai and Fujiwara Mototoshi, two major poets of the early twelfth century.

Mototoshi and Shunrai are generally paired as contrasting exemplars of the arch-conservative and the innovator.[2] However, we can

---

[1]Hagitani Boku, Heiachō utaawase taisei, 7:1976.

[2]Minamoto Shunrai (1055?-1129) was a member of the Uda Genji line of the Minamoto Family. His father was the poet, Major Counsellor Tsunenobu; his mother, the Daughter of the Governor of Tosa, Sadasuke. The highest court rank Shunrai reached was Head of the Bureau of Car-

see in both cases the limitations imposed by traditional patterns of expression on attempts to recapture the styles of old. Mototoshi's reputation as a conservative is not unearned, for he seems to have believed that all change, even a return to the style of so ancient a work as the Manyōshū should not be permitted. Thus at times he engages in such commentary as, "Both poems are very good." "The lines, 'having no means of meeting I wander in love,' are especially interesting." These two poems Shunrai curtly dismisses, saying, "There is nothing particularly wrong with these poems, but . . ." and "An old-fashioned manner is something one can find anywhere."[1] Among Mototoshi's utaawase judgments, we find numerous questions concerning novel or untraditional handling of topics. He criticizes, for example, the use of the wax-tree in an autumn poem in place of the maple or hahasogi, both of which had been traditionally valued for the beauty of their autumn foliage. Similarly, he judges as unacceptable a poetic conception that describes the scattering of the seeds from the plumes of the pampas grass. This novel conception is based on the more

---

pentry. Between 1089 and 1126, Shunrai participated in more than twenty recorded utaawase and was the judge in at least ten of these. He was also largely responsible for organizing the Horikawa hyakushu of 1105 and the Eikyū hyakushu (Horikawa jirō hyakushu) of 1116. In 1124, he was commanded by Ex-emperor Shirakawa to compile the fifth imperial anthology, the Shikashū. His poetic treatise is the Shunrai zuinō.

Fujiwara Mototoshi (1060-1141) was a member of the Northern branch of the Fujiwara family. His father was the Minister of the Right Senior Second Rank Fujiwara Toshie[illegible]is mother, the daughter of the Governor of Shimōsa Takashina Yor[illegible]i. The highest court rank Mototoshi achieved was Lower fifth rank, Member of the Left Palace Guard. In 1138, he took the tonsure; his priestly name is Kakushō. Mototoshi is the compiler of the Shinsen rōeishū and the Sumaidate shiika. His private collection is the Mototoshi shū.

For detailed discussion of Shunrai's and Mototoshi's poetics see Hashimoto Fumio, "Minamoto Shunrai to Fujiwara Mototoshi no karon: 'Utameku' to 'mezurashiki fushi,'" Kokugo to kokubungaku 39 (April, 1962): 11-23. For Shunrai, see Ikeda Tomizō, Minamoto Toshiyori (Shunrai) no kenkyū (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1973); Minemura Fubito, "Minamoto Shunrai," in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Sanekata Kiyoshi, eds., Nihon kajin kōza, 8 vols. (Tokyo: Kobūndō, 1969), Vol. 2: Chūko no kajin, pp. 439-87.

[1]Naidaijin Tadamichi no ie no utaawase, in Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, Utaawase shū, p. 350.

familiar conceit of cherry blossom petals being scattered by the wind. According to Mototoshi, the more traditional and thus sanctioned metaphor for pampas grass is "waving in the wind invitingly."[1]

At the same time, we can see that what often appears as pettiness and lack of imagination arises from Mototoshi's concern with poetic validity. Thus he writes:

> The form of the poem of the left has no distracting complexities and its meaning is in keeping with convention. I can see clearly the poet's intent. But why is it that the poet of the right has forgotten the elegant words of our poetry and single-mindedly taken up the difficult meanings of Chinese verse. This is not in harmony with the essence of Japanese poetry.[2]

Although he did not often articulate this in a positive manner, Mototoshi held that only a certain lexicon and a given set of images and metaphors tested by time were appropriate to poetry. Mototoshi (as well as Shunrai) uses the term uta-meku (to be poem-like) to praise works that possess proper poetic qualities.[3] For Mototoshi, this meant in general a poem that used the lexicon of the Sandaishū (Kokinshū, Gosenshū, Shuishū) to conjure up a mood of gentle pathos. In addition, Mototoshi attempted to devise a critical vocabulary to speak objectively of the emotional qualities suggested by a poem. He is credited with the first use of the term yūgen (mystery and depth) in an utaawase judgment,[4] and his critical vocabulary included such terms as aware (pathos), yōen (ethereal beauty), yojō (overtones), kokoroboso shi (forlorn), and kokoro ari (having deep feeling)--all terms that were to become pillars of Shinkokinshū poetics.

In contrast, Shunrai (the father of Shun'e, who was Chōmei's

---

[1]"Wind in the Fields," Round Four, Kampaku udaijin no ie no utaawase, in Kawamata Keiichi, ed., Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 24 vols. (Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki, 1928-38), 8, book 183:544.

[2]"Moon," Round Seven, Chūgū no suke Akisuke no ie no utaawase, in Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 8, book 184:570.

[3]Hashimoto Fumio, "Minamoto Shunrai to Fujiwara Mototoshi no karon: 'Utameku' to 'mezurashiki fushi,'" Kokugo to kokubungaku 39 (April, 1962): 11-23.

[4]See discussion of yūgen in Chapter II.

teacher) was very cognizant of the problem of how poets who were latecomers to their tradition could still hope to write fresh poetry that was uniquely their own. In his poetic treatise the Shunrai zuinō, he speaks of his frustration:

> There are no sentiments or conceits left for us to use. Nor are there words that have been neglected. How are we in this latter age to compose in an exceptional and novel manner?[1]

In his utaawase judgments, Shunrai often praised poets who show knowledge of the Manyōshū,[2] and in his own poetry he experimented with Manyō diction as well as with colloquialisms in order to broaden the range of poetic expression. Shunrai clearly recognized the "otherness" of the Manyōshū, the pristine, spontaneous, and even unpolished quality of its diction. But more importantly for him, that diction, as well as the colloquialisms he introduced in his poems, were relatively untouched by his immediate predecessors. As long as poets used only the diction sanctioned by the Sandaishū, they remained over-shadowed by their great predecessors. Shunrai attempted to achieve new expressiveness of his own by escaping the barriers of the waka diction of the previous two hundred years.

At the same time, Shunrai still held that the conception of a poem should contain a fanciful metaphor in the manner of the Kokinshū style. The freshness he sought lay in the novelty of these conceits. When we examine Shunrai's utaawase judgments, we find numerous references to poems being old-fashioned and commonplace in their conception. At times, he exhibits clear signs of exasperation, as in the following observations: "There is nothing at all to be said about the poem of the right. The lines are commonplace, and the poet does not appear to have given them any thought at all."[3] "The notion that

---

[1]Minamoto Shunrai, Shunrai zuinō in Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, Karonshū, pp. 41-42.

[2]"Hototogisu," Round 6, Eien Nara no bō utaawase, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 8, book 184:554; Sekine Keikō, "Minamoto Shunrai no shinfū waka to Manyōshū," Kokugo to kokubungaku 27 (August, 1950): 15-37.

[3]Eien Nara no bō no utaawase, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 8, book 184:554.

the dew and frost dye the autumn leaves and wither the grasses are ancient, having fallen ages ago from the trailing skirts of Tatsuta-hime; they are no longer striking."[1] In contrast, he praises a poem that does exhibit novelty by saying, "The lines, 'the mist crosses the unfinished stone bridge,' are indeed worthy of the ancients. Yet how can it be that Mitsune and Tsurayuki left them unused? Truly, they are most striking."[2] The conceit is new, but it is in precisely the manner in which the Kokin poets Tsurayuki and Mitsune might have rendered it. In effect, the poet is asked to seek freshness in the very place he is aware it no longer exists.

Shunrai's search for novelty of diction and conception arose from his ideal of poetry as the extra-ordinary use of language. As such, it was the poet's task to distinguish his work not only from prose but from the poems of all his predecessors. Shunrai articulates his idea in the Shunrai zuinō:[3]

> In general, excellence in poetry is to be found in placing the conception (kokoro) first in order of importance and seeking novel expressions (fushi), and in embellishing the diction. If a poem has a meaningful conception but its diction lacks embellishment, the surface of the poem will not appear exceptional and rare. If the language is embellished but the poem lacks striking expressions, it will not sound acceptable either. If it has striking expressions but lacks elegance of conception, then again it is a failure. One should aim foremost for that which is lofty and grand. In this latter age, people who have only a vague notion of poetry should not strive to attain this ideal.[4]

The Rokujō poet Kenshō reports that Shunrai prided himself on being a maker of poems (utazukuri) rather than one who composes

---

[1]Gan'ei gannen jūgatsu futsuka no Naidaijin Tadamichi no ie no utaawase, Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, Utaawase shū, p. 334.

[2]Mumyō utaawase, cited in Ikeda Tomizo, Minamoto Toshiyori (Shunrai) no kenkyū (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1973), p. 776.

[3]Shunrai wrote his poetic treatise, the Shunrai (Toshiyori) zuinō in 1115 for Fujiwara Tadazane's daughter, Kōyō In. It is a two-volume work. In it, Shunrai covers styles of poetry, poetic ills, allusive variations, uta-makura, and other special poetic words. He also records anecdotes from the past and explains various traditional poetic customs.

[4]Minamoto Shunrai, Shunrai zuinō, p. 90.

poems from spontaneous emotion (utayomi).[1] For Shunrai, poetry was a craft, a matter of putting the best words together in the best possible way. He did not subscribe to the notion that there was a certain lexicon, sanctioned by tradition, that was by nature poetic, for it was the poet's own responsibility to create the poetic through the manipulation of diction.

Nevertheless, Shunrai was limited by his continued fidelity to the style of fanciful metaphors. Shunrai was the compiler of the fifth imperial anthology, the Kinyōshū, which was twice rejected by the sponsoring emperor, Shirakawa (r. 1072-1086), as incorporating too many eccentric poems. The search for ever more novel conceits could only lead to eccentricity. Shunrai's statement, "In this latter age . . ." revels that he himself was only too aware of how rarely even a truly great poet could attain striking expressions to sustain his poem.

Neither Shunrai nor Mototoshi were able fully to achieve a fresh poetry, one both equal in stature to but also distinct from that of the past. Further, by the mid-twelfth century, many leading poets had come to seek not only novelty in poetry but greater personal meaning. Poets began to dedicate themselves to poetry as a Way, seeking spiritual fulfillment in the composition and study of poetry. To understand this development, we must briefly examine another tradition, that of the priest-poet.

From the early Heian period, priest-poets were the accepted outsiders to the court tradition. These men, usually of low social as well as ecclesiastical rank, found in their priestly state a freedom to pursue tasteful lives and to devote themselves to the beauties of nature. For them, poetry remained an expression of their lives, as they, in a sense, attempted to live the poetry. At the same time, they expressed what was always an undercurrent in Heian society, the

---

[1]Kenshō, Kokinshū chū, in Kokusho kankōkai, ed., Zoku zoku Gunsho ruijū, 16 vols. (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1903), 15:113 quoted in Minemura Fubito, "Minamoto Shunrai," in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Saneka ta Kiyoshi, Nihon kajin kōza, Vol. 2: Chūko no kajin, p. 481.

desire to abandon worldly life for religious enlightenment. Chōmei writes in his Hosshinshū:[1]

> He who has devotion to the Way dislikes the society of men, does not grieve concerning his lowly position, and instead, is moved by the scattering blossoms, and contemplates the moon as it rises in the sky. In this way, his heart is made tranquil; he is untainted by the impurities of the world.[2]

By the twelfth century, there were also serious attempts to reconcile poetic composition, which signalled continued attachment to the world, and the religious life. The priest-poet of this period reasoned that poetry itself could be the path to enlightenment. The priest Sensai writes:[3]

> When I am not engaged in contemplation, when I have leisure from meditation, I occasionally compose waka. On spring mornings, I amuse myself by comparing the blossoms to clouds. On autumn evenings, I sing of the moonlight that resembles the snow. I cannot easily escape censure for these coarse words. But neither can I abandon these glorious ravings.[4] Thus I have painted a picture of a bodhisattva and copied sutras and recited them before my painting. I honor the sutras and beg pardon for my sins so that

---

[1]The Hosshinshū is a collection of Buddhist tales compiled by Kamo no Chōmei. It includes tales of priests and laymen who abandoned worldly life to live as recluses, and accounts of miraculous events, the founding of certain temples, and retribution for sins. The work was probably completed before 1221. In its original form, the Hosshinshū appears to have been three volumes. The present-day text is eight volumes, additions having been made by later authors.

[2]Kamo no Chōmei, Hosshinshū, in Yanase Kazuo, ed., Kamo no Chōmei zenshū (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1956), p. 214.

[3]Sensai (?~?) founded the Unkyoji temple in 1124. His poems appear in imperial anthologies from the time of the Kinyōshū. Two of his works are found in the Shinkokinshū.

[4]"Coarse words and glorious ravings" (kyōgen kigo). This expression and the accompanying notions of the religious role of poetry were introduced to Japan from China through the works of Po Chü-i. The phrase can frequently be seen in the writings of Japanese priest-poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For greater detail see Oda Tokuji, "Kyōgen kigo no setsu," Kokugo Kokubun 14, No. 6 (June, 1944): 1-19; and Yanai Shigeru, "Kyōgen kigo kan no tsuite," Kokugo to kokubungaku 36 (April, 1962): 23-24.

> the foolish words of a lifetime may be transformed into an affinity with the bodhisattva.[1]

The same Sensai argued that the patron god of waka, the Sumiyoshi myojin was a Shinto manifestation of the Bodhisattva Kokitoku Ō, and that just as the Bodhisattva's words had their source in the Law of the Buddha, so too waka had its source in the Luminous Logos. He is also credited with making a waka mandala on which were depicted the seven buddhas of the past as well as the symbols for the names of the thirty-six poetic geniuses.

Other poets too, both within the court and outside, began to attach a quasi-religious significance to poetic practice.[2] For example, the poet Rokujō Akisue (1054-1123) instituted in 1118 the ceremonial worship of the Manyō poet Hitomaro as the saint of poetry and hosted gatherings where poets composed before a portrait of Hitomaro.[3] Further in 1126, 8:29, the Jingi haku Fujiwara Akinaka and members of his family held an utaawase, the ceremonial recitation of which took place at the Hirota shrine. In the ninth month of the same year, a similar event was held, this time at the Nangū of the shrine. These two utaawase were quickly followed by one at the Sumiyoshi shrine, when the god of Sumiyoshi appeared in a dream to Akinaka. Two major utaawase of the twelfth century, the Sumiyoshi no yashiro no utaawase of 1170 and the Hirota no yashiro no utaawase of 1171, were also offered

---

[1]Mezaki Tokue, Saigyō no shisō shiteki kenkyū (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), p. 121.

[2]For more detailed discussion of the literature of the religious recluse see Sato Masahide, Inton no shisō (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1977); and Ishida Yoshisada, Inja no bungaku (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1976).

[3]Fujiwara Akisue (1054-1123) was the founder of the Rokujō poetic family. His father was Governor of Mino Fujiwara Takatsune; his mother, the daughter of the Head of the Imperial Attendants Chikakuni. This lady, Wet Nurse, Junior second rank Chikako was wet nurse to Shirakawa In. Akisue's highest court rank was Senior Third Rank Master of the Office of Palace Repairs. Because of his mother's position at court, he was much favored by Shirakawa and was a leading figure in Shirakawa's poetic circle. Akisue's third son, Akisuke (d. 1155), compiled the sixth imperial anthology, the Shikashū, in 1151 at Emperor Sutoku's command.

to these shrines. These utaawase were organized by the priest-poet Dōin (d. c. 1182?), who, according to Chōmei, still made monthly pilgrimages to the Sumiyoshi shrine when he was in his seventies and eighties to pray for poetic inspiration.[1] However, the participants included the leading poets of the court, among them Fujiwara Shunzei,[2] who acted as judge for both utaawase, Fujiwara Sanesada (1139-1191), Fujiwara Saneie (1145-1193), the priest-poet Jakuren, the Rokujō poets Kiyosuke and Suetsune (1131-1221), the priest-poet Shun'e, and Minamoto Yorimasa (1104-1180).

Further, we can see in these utaawase, the resurgence of the personal in poetry in the form of specified topics in the category

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, p. 75.

[2]Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204) was a member of the Northern branch of the Fujiwara. His father was Counsellor Fujiwara Toshitada; his mother, the daughter of the Governor of Iyo Fujiwara Atsuie. When Shunzei was ten, his father passed away, and he was adopted by Fujiwara Akiyori of the Hamuro clan. At this time, Shunzei was called Akihiro, taking the name Shunzei in 1167 at the age of fifty-four. In 1166, Shunzei was named to the junior third rank. The highest court position Shunzei achieved was Chamberlain of the Empress Dowager's Household. In 1176, he took the tonsure. Shunzei had two wives during his lifetime. The first was a daughter of the Tokiwa Governor of Tango Tametada, a poet associated with the Rokujō family. (Three of Tametada's sons, Tametaka, Tamenari, and Yorinari were under their priestly names of Jakuchō, Jakunen, and Jakuzen known as the "Tokiwa or Ōhara sanjaku.") Shunzei apparently had a number of children by this lady. In the 1140s, Shunzei entered into a relationship with the lady known as the Mother of Teika, the daughter of Chikatada. This lady was originally married to Tametaka, or by his priestly name, Jakuchō. The poet Fujiwara Takanobu was born of that earlier union.

In the later half of the twelfth century, Shunzei and the Rokujō poet Kiyosuke (Akisue's grandson) were the most influential utaawase judges and poetic thinker. After Kiyosuke's death in 1177, Shunzei was named poetry tutor by the Fujiwara (Kujō) family of Kanezane, and his leadership in court poetry circles was indisputable. His ideas about poetic style were the foundation of the Shinkokinshū. See Chapter II of this work.

For detailed discussion of Fujiwara Shunzei's life and poetry see, Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), 175-455; Matsuno Yōichi, Fujiwara Shunzei no kenkyū (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973); Taniyama Shigeru, Fujiwara Toshinari, hito to sakuhin, Taniyama Shigeru chosakushu, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982) and Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei."

of "statement of personal feelings" (jukkai).[1] For the opening topic of his Hirota shrine utaawase, Akinaka selected the topic "stating personal feelings in relation to the moon" (tsuki no yosuru jukkai). In his Sumiyoshi utaawase, the poets also used the topic "moon" as an occasion to express personal feelings. In Dōin's Sumiyoshi no yashiro no utaawase, the topics were "moon before the shrine," "autumn rain at a traveller's lodging," and "stating personal feelings"; in the Hirota no yashiro no utaawase, they were "snow falling before the shrine," "distant seascape," and "stating personal feelings." In both utaawase, jukkai comprised a third of the poems and also profoundly influenced the mood of the remaining poems.[2] The serious intent with which poets undertook composition of these poems can be seen in Shunzei's judgment below:

> For one who has no hope of advancement in rank and whose life is drawing to its end, the jukkai topics provide an opportunity to give vent to his sorrows and to comfort his heart. However, now one finds that these sorrows have in truth fled away, and one can only hope that the offerings of these words today will establish an affinity with the doctrine that will guide one to one's afterlife.[3]

Contemporary with these attempts to redefine the role of poetry, poets also began to seek in poetry the means of expressing spiritual truths. In particular the priest and poet Saigyō sought out the rigors and solitude of an ascetic life away from the court.[4]

---

[1]Minegishi Yoshiaki, "Utaawase ni okeru jukkai no uta," Heian jidai waka bungaku no kenkyū, pp. 290-324.

[2]For a discussion of these utaawase in relation to Shunzei's poetics see Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei, pp. 183-219.

[3]"Jukkai," Round Seven, Hirota no yashiro no utaawase, in Kawamata Keichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 8 book 187:670.

[4]Saigyō (also known as En'i; secular name Norikiyo). Saigyō's father was Lieutenant of the Outer Palace Guards, Left Division, Yasukiyo; his mother, the daughter of Inspector Minamoto Kiyotsune. Saigyō was acquainted with the "Ōhara sanjaku" (the three priests of Ōhara) who were the brothers of Tokiwa Tametada. It is possible that Shunzei and Saigyō first became acquainted when Shunzei was closely associated with Tametada's household. Saigyō's poems appear in imperial anthologies from the Shikashū onward, and he has ninety-four poems in the

He made of poetry the medium for the expression of his deepest joys and suffering, and his insights into the nature of existence. Saigyō began life as Fujiwara Norikiyo, a member of a family of warriors; as a young man he served as captain of the guards in the Tokudaiji family. In 1141 at the age of twenty-three, he took the tonsure and chose for himself the new name of Saigyō. During the rest of his life, he undertook many journeys, two of the longest to the north of Japan and another to the island of Shikoku. He also resided in Ōhara, Yoshino, and Ise, places famed in poetry, but also the site of communities of like-minded men and women.

Saigyō was not without ambitions for fame as a poet. In the Seiashō, the poet Ton'a (1289-1372) related how after Shunzei had compiled the Senzaishū, Tōren met Saigyō in the eastern provinces.[1] Saigyō, who was on his way back to the capital to inspect the new imperial anthology, asked Tōren if his poem, "kokoro naki . . ." had been selected. When he learned that it had not, he remarked that there was then no need to see the anthology and remained in the east. Nevertheless, we also know that Saigyō shunned the poetic circles of the court. He took part in numerous poetry meetings with other priest-poets and maintained an intimate correspondence with them. However, he appears not to have participated in a single utaawase in the court, and it is said that he disliked the atmosphere of intense personal rivalries that existed there. Much of his poetry too stresses the "apartness" of his life, a quality of life and insight that could not be attained by those who remained in the secular world of the court.

The leading court poets recognized the spiritual depth that

Shinkokinshū, more than any other poet. His personal collection is the Sanka shū. In 1187 he compiled the Mimosusogawa utaawase and the Miyakawa utaawase, pairing his own works into poetry contest rounds. Shunzei judged the first of these and Teika the second.

Saigyō died in 1190 in the Hirokawa temple in the province of Kawachi.

[1]The Seiashō is the Poet Ton'a's poetic treatise. The work was completed after 1360. Ton'a discusses poetic styles, the meanings of special poetic words, the proper manner of making allusive variations (honkadori). He lists various uta-makura and also records anecdotes about poets of the past.

Saigyo brought to his poetry. Shunzei selected eighteen of his poems in the Senzaishū. At the same time, they also acknowledged that Saigyo existed in freedom outside the formal strictures of the court-poetic.[1] We see this in Shunzei's judgments of Saigyō's poems:

Left	
Negawaku wa	What I wish
hana no moto nite	Is to die in spring
haru shinamu	Beneath the blossoms--
sono kisaragi no	On an April night
mochizuki no koro	Of the cresent moon.
Right	
Komu yo ni wa	In the world to come,
kokoro no uchi ni	Within my heart,
arawasamu	May it shine--
akade ya minuru	This moonlight
tsuki no hikari wo	I gaze upon untiringly.

Both the lines, "beneath the blossoms," of the poem of the left and "in the world to come," of the following work reveal depth of feeling. The poem of the right is entirely the acceptable form of a poem. The left, however, with "What I wish," and "to die in spring" does not have the style of an elegant poem. Yet given its particular style, the first three lines and the last two are well balanced, and the poem sounds excellent. Nevertheless, if a poet who has not entered deeply into the Way were to compose in this manner, it would not be acceptable.

(Mimosusogawa utaawase, Round 7:draw.)

Left	
Ōkata no	That dew
tsuyu ni wa nani no	Of which others speak--
naruyaramu	What is it worth?
tamoto ni oku wa	My sleeves, alas,
namida narikeri	I find drenched with tears.
Right	
Kokoro naki	Although my heart is unformed,
mi no mo aware wa	Yet, even I, in my body must know
shirarekeri	The pathos of things:
shigi tatsu sawa no	A snipe takes flight from a marsh
aki no yugure	On an autumn evening.

The conception of "A snipe takes flight from a marsh on an autumn evening. . . ." is in the realm of mystery and depth (yūgen), and its configuration is difficult to surpass. In contrast, in a

---

[1]Fujihira Haruo, Shinkokin kafū no keisei (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1969), pp. 274-85.

phrase such as, "that dew, what is it worth?" the words appear shallow but the feeling is especially deep.
(Mimosusogawa utaawase, Round 18: victory, Left.)[1]

The Mimosusogawa utaawase was a poetry contest on paper. Saigyō paired his own poems in rounds and submitted them to Shunzei for judgment. We see Shunzei's admiration for the depth of feeling in Saigyō's poems. And because of this depth, Saigyō may be permitted to compose in a less polished manner than that which Shunzei would require of a court poet. However, even for Shunzei, that depth cannot be too far removed from courtly tradition. In round 18, he awards the victory to the poem of the left, the conception of which is based upon the hoary notion of the similarity between dew and tears. (As we have seen above, Shunzei did not include the "kokoro naki" poem in the Senzaishū.) He praises both poems highly, but we sense in his uses of the term yūgen that he perceived a fundamental "otherness" in the latter poem. For an imperial anthology, Shunzei selected the more familiar sentiments of the poem of the left.

By his life and poetry, Saigyō demonstrated that poetry could still be the expression of deep personal feelings and spiritual insights. But he existed essentially outside the court-poetic. Neither his physical nor psychological freedom was available to the court poets. For them, another path was necessary, one that permitted new poetic excellence and depth of conviction within the strictures of their venerated tradition. This was accomplished by two court poets, Fujiwara Shunzei and his son Teika.

Shunzei who was born in 1114 was a contemporary of Saigyō. They held each other in high regard both personally and professionally, but their lives were very different. Although Shunzei, too, took the tonsure in 1176 when he was ill and seemingly near death, he remained a courtier throughout his life. He was a leading poet and judge of utaawase, who in the last decades of his life, became the supreme arbiter of poetic matters in the court. It was to him that in 1181, Goshirakawa assigned the compilation of the seventh imperial anthology,

---

[1]Mimosusogawa utaawase, in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 11, book 217:180-88.

the Senzaishu. Like Saigyō, however, he sought, though within the traditions of the court-poetic, "a new poetry of conviction and feeling, based upon a serious commitment to the poetic art. And he maintained those values, in precept and personal example, for a very long time and during a period when there was seemingly no one else of equal poetic authority who understood the importance of them."[1]

Teika, his son, was born in 1162.[2] His poetic genius was recognized early, and it is recorded that when shown the Horikawa hyakushu sequence Teika composed at the age of twenty-one, such poets as

---

[1]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 398.

[2]Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241), the son of Fujiwara Shunzei and his second wife, the daughter of Fujiwara Chikatada, Bifuku Mon'in Kaga. Fujiwara Nariie is Teika's elder brother with the same mother. In 1175, Teika became Chamberlain; in 1211, at the age of fifty, he reached the junior third rank. In 1214, he was made Counsellor and in 1227 reached the senior second rank. In 1232, he achieved his highest court rank, Provisional Middle Counsellor at the age of 71. The following year, he took the tonsure. His priestly name is Myōjō.

Teika was the leading figure among the young, innovative poets of the last two decades of the twelfth century. His poetic style in this period, variously called the yōen (ethereal beauty) style and the style of yūgen (mystery and depth) is nearly synonymous with the Shinkokinshū itself. For a detailed, chronological examination of the development of this style from the 1170s to the time of the compilation of the Shinkokinshū see Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū, pp. 506-889.

In 1201, Teika was designated by Gotoba to be one of the five compilers of the Shinkokinshū. In 1232, he was named sole compiler of the Shinchokusenshū, the ninth imperial anthology, by Emperor Gohorikawa.

Teika's poetic treatises include the Kindai shūka (1209), the Eika no taigai (after 1221), the Maigetsushō (1219). He is the compiler of the Hachidai shūka (Nishidai shū) (1215), Hyakunin shūka (1235), Shūka no taigai (1222-1126) or (1226-1231), Monogatari nihakuban utaawase (Genji Sagoromo utaawase) (1236), and the Shūi hyakuban utaawase. He also wrote a commentary on the Genji monogatari, the Genji okuiri. Teika's copies of such Heian classics as the Ise monogatari are now the oldest extant texts available. The Matsuura monogatari, a romance, is often attributed to Teika as well.

Teika's personal collection of poetry is the Shūi gusō; his diary the Meigetsuki covers the period from 1180 when Teika was nineteen to, with a number of gaps, 1235 when he was seventy-four.

Shun'e shed tears of joy.[1] In 1186, Teika composed the Futamiura hyakushu at Saigyō's urging, and in 1186, judged for Saigyō the Miyakawa utaawase, the companion poetry contest to the Mimosusogawa. This was a singular honor for so young a poet, and it took Teika several years to compose judgments which he felt were worthy of Saigyō's poetry. Also from the 1180s, Teika and a number of other young poets began to experiment with innovative patterns of diction. His new style was decried by more conservative poets as the nonsensical verse of the Daruma (i.e., Zen) sect, but his creativity was recognized and supported by Shunzei.[2] In 1193, Kujō Yoshitsune (1169-1206), the Regent and Prime Minister, and Teika's poetic companion, held the Roppyakuban utaawase (the Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds), with Shunzei as judge, in order to pit Teika's (and by this time his own) innovative style against the more conservative. At times, even Shunzei found their innovations too flamboyant.[3] Yet from his judgments of this utaawase, it is clear he shared their impatience with the often lifeless poetry of the conservatives and esteemed the innovative poets'

---

[1]Akahane Shuku, ed., Fujiwara Teika Zenkashū zenku sakuin, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973), Honbun hen, p. 117.

[2]In his private poetry collection, the Shūi gusō, Teika writes, "From the Bunji and Genkyū eras (1186-1198), my poems were called bizarre and alien 'Daruma' poems. Everyone, both of high and low rank, criticized my works. . . ." Cited in Ishida Yoshisada, Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū (Tokyo: Bungadō, 1957), p. 288.

Jōhaku (d. before 1226.10) also writes in the Waka iroha (c. 1198): "The poetic masters of recent times all compose in the manner of the Daruma. However, unless one has received innate gifts from heaven, one should no even think of entering the dharma sect." Jōhaku, Waka iroha, in Sasaki Nobutsuna, Nihon kagaku taikei, 3:109.

The use of "Daruma" as a disparaging term may also reflect the court's attitude in the period toward the Zen sect. In 1195, the Zen priest Eisai was forbidden to proselytize any further in Kyoto, and in 1199, he left the court for Kamakura. Imaeda Aishin, Zenshū no rekishi (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1962), p. 16.

[3]Kamijō Shōji, "Fujiwara Shunzei no kahyō taido: Roppyakuban utaawase wo megutte," Kokugo kokubun 39 (February, 1970): 23-46; Nose Asaji, Kahyō no seizui Roppyakuban utaawase--Kenshō Chinjō (Tokyo: Bungakusha, 1935), p. 462; and Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," pp. 318-32.

achievements in transforming the expressiveness of the traditional poetic diction.

The Compilation of the Shinkokinshū

As an imperial anthology, the Shinkokinshū displays the results of the developments in court society and poetry in the twelfth century. Ex-emperor Gotoba, who commissioned the anthology, envisioned that it would signal a return to the venerated past, to that time when the prestige and power of the court had been at their height, by revitalizng the symbolic cultural role of poetry. Further, he and the poets engaged in compiling the Shinkokinshū believed that they were demonstrating for all time the inexhaustibility of the tradition of the court-poetic. Kujō Yoshitsune writes in the Japanese preface to the Shinkokinshū:

> The poetry of Japan has been handed down in the words of the Land of Reed Plains from the time heaven and earth first were sundered and human culture was as yet unsettled. The first poem was composed in the land of Izumo by Inadahime. From that time, the way of poetry has prospered and grown; to this day, its stream has never ceased. Poetry has been a messenger for lovers and has served as a means of governing the world and of pacifying the people. Because of this, the emperors of each generation did not abandon this path, and anthologies compiled under their direction are cherished with reverence in the households of this country. Thus in our time, we feared that we would rarely find blossoms of words still lying unpicked beneath the trees. We believed that poems of great feeling had not been overlooked, hidden in the dew-laden grasses. Our fears, however, were unfounded. The jewels of the glistening beach at Ise, though we gather them, are never exhausted. The trees of the thickly growing timberlands of Izumi, though we cut them down, are never used up. All things in nature are thus inexhaustible. And the way of poetry must also be so.
> . . .
>
> We have despised the present which is before our eyes and honored the past of which we have heard. Such are our feelings, and though we are shamed before the ancient traces of Isonokami, yet, drawing from the stream and seeking the source, we have found that the spring of Tominoogawa has not run dry. Though the path of dew may change, the wind blowing through the pines does not vanish. Though spring and fall come and go in turn, it gives us great joy that we have found ourselves in an era when, like the

unclouded moon, the way of poetry shows clear. Those in the future who honor this way--how will they fail to yearn for these times.[1]

The past, which in its greatness had seemed to overshadow the present, is equalled by the Shinkokinshū.

Ex-emperor Gotoba abdicated the throne in 1198 at the age of eighteen in favor of his infant son Tsuchimikado. Gotoba himself had been placed on the throne at the age of four. By retiring, he freed himself somewhat from the constraints of his position and began a program of restoring the cultural richness of his court. Immediately following his retirement, he undertook a series of excursions and pilgrimages to outlying shrines and historic sites. He also showed an intense interest in all manner of arts, ranging from court football and archery to Buddhist pieties and various ancient court rituals. Further, he found in the support of poetry a means of enlivening his court and of emulating the sage emperors of the past. He rescued such poets as Minamoto Tomochika from obscurity and poverty, and also began an active search for outstanding women poets to equal those of the past. Those who met his test, a series of poetic exchanges, he summoned to court.[2]

In 1200, Gotoba undertook the first and second Shōji hyakushu (the Hundred Poem Sequences of the Shōji Era), summoning leading poets of the day to submit sequences on topics he had selected. It was on this occasion that Shunzei petitioned Gotoba to advance his patronage

---

[1]Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazaki Toshio, Gotō Shigeo, eds., Shinkokin wakashū, Vol. 28 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), pp. 30-31. Like the Kokinshū before it, the Shinkokinshū has both a Japanese preface (kana jo) and a Chinese preface (mana jo). The latter was written by Fujiwara Chikatsune (1151-1210), a Chinese scholar. Chikatsune's preface was submitted to Gotoba in 1205.2 and Yoshitsune's Japanese preface, in 1205.3. The Zoku honchō tsūkan reports that another Chinese scholar, Tamenaga, had felt he was most worthy of the honor of writing the Chinese preface, but was passed over in favor of Chikatsune. When Yoshitsune suddenly passed away in 1206 at the age of thirty-six, rumors arose in the court that Tamenaga has assassinated him. Cited in Kubota Jun, ed., Shinkokin wakashū zenhyōshaku, 9 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1076-78), 1:51.

[2]Ishida Yoshisada and Sagawa Shūji, eds., Minamoto no Ienaga nikki zen chūkai (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1968), pp. 37-52.

to Teika. When the hyakushu was first proposed, Teika's participation was blocked at the instigation of Rokujō Suetsune. (Suetsune argued that Teika, who was nearly forty at the time, was too young to participate in such an august occasion.) Shunzei submitted an appeal to Gotoba in which he praised Teika's skills as a poet and judge and expressed his hope that Gotoba would turn to Teika after his, Shunzei's, death for utaawase judgments, poetic instruction, and the compilation of anthologies.[1] As a result, Teika was immediately allowed to participate, and two other poets, Fujiwara Ietaka and Fujiwara Takafusa were also invited to submit poems. Gotoba was duly impressed with Teika's poetry in the hundred poem sequence, and he went so far as to adopt immediately some of Teika's stylistic innovations into his own sequence.[2]

---

[1]Shunzei writes in the Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō waji no shojō: "Teika is already near forty and he has mastered well the way of poetry. After my death, I hope you will summon him to judge poems, to compile collections, and to give you information about the way. I have grieved deeply at his unexpected exclusion from this event. To be able to judge or select poems, one must first be able to compose good poems oneself. Many who call themselves poets these days are not to be relied upon in this respect. Their poems are difficult to understand, their diction is diffuse, and there are generally many questionable points about their poems. On the other hand, Teika has altered the form of poetry, has devised new diction, and sought new, interesting effects that one cannot find in poetry of the past. Yet other poets, even on the rare occasions that their poems turn out all right, compose only in an old-fashioned manner, or use vulgar, unpoetic words. They criticize Teika and have even coined a derisive name for his works." Shunzei goes on to list some of the glaring poetic faux pas that the Rokujō poets Akisuke, Suetsune, and Kiyosuke had committed. Fujiwara Shunzei, Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō waji no shojō, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., Karonshū I (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971), p. 273.

[2]For a detailed discussion and complete translation of Teika's hundred poem sequence see, Robert Brower, Fujiwara Teika's Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era, 1200, Monumenta Nipponica Monograph 55 (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1978). This study originally appeared in Monumenta Nipponica, 31:3 and 4.

Yamazaki Keiko, "Gotoba no In, Shōji hatsudo hyakushu ei no kaisaku ni tsuite," Kokugo to Kokubungaku 57 (October, 1980): 37-50. Teika writes in his diary: "[To be invited to participate in the hundred poem sequence] was quite unexpected. I had made no request for the privilege recently, and so it was a complete surprise. Could it

In the seventh month of 1201, Gotoba announced the establishment of the wakadokoro, the bureau of poetry, with eleven members. The members were Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204), Fujiwara (Kujō) Yoshitsune[1] (1169-1206), Jien (1155-1225),[2] Fujiwara (Rokujō) Ariie (1155-

---

be that the ex-experor was suddenly moved to pity by the poem in which I complained of being excluded from his palace? On the other hand, 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." Fujiwara Teika, Meigetsuki, Shoji 2 (1200): 8.26. Quoted in Robert Brower, "'Ex-emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings:' Go-Toba no In no Gokuden,'" Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 32 (1972): 15.

Unfortunately, such amicable relations between Teika and Gotoba did not long continue. By temperament, Teika was haughty, punctilious, and willful. In 1186, he had been banished from the court for striking a higher ranking courtier. Then too, Shunzei had interceded with a poem, and Teika's rank and office had been restored to him. In the long process during which the Shinkokinshū was compiled, Teika and Gotoba had many occasions to disagree, and in the Gotoba no In Gokuden, written by Gotoba in the 1220s, or 1230s after he had been sent into exile on Oki, he complains bitterly of Teika. See Brower, "Ex-emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings," pp. 5-70 passim.

[1]Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169-1206) belonged to the Northern branch of the Fujiwara. His father was Civil Dictator and Prime Minister Fujiwara Kanezane. In 1199, Yoshitsune was named Minister of the Left; in 1202, Regent, and in 1204, Civil Dictator. From the time of Kiyosuke's death in 1177, Kanezane had appointed Shunzei his poetry tutor, and Yoshitsune was closely associated with Teika. See Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū, pp. 540-790 passim.

In 1193, Yoshitsune had hosted the Roppyakuban utaawase. His personal poetry collection is the Akishino gesseishū. His death at the age of thirty-six, apparently in his sleep, was so unexpected that rumors arose that he had been assassinated.

[2]Jien (1155-1225) was Yoshitsune's uncle. His father was the Hosshōji Civil Dictator Tadamichi; his mother, the daughter of Fujiwara Nakamichi. In 1167, he took the tonsure and chose the priestly name Dokai. In 1181, he was elevated to the Hōin rank, at which time he took the name Jien. In 1192, he was named Chief Priest of the Tendai Sect, a post he filled four times in his life. Along with his nephew Yoshitsune, he was closely associated with Teika in his poetic practice.

1216),[1] Fujiwara Ietaka (1158-1237),[2] Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241), Fujiwara Masatsune (1170-1221),[3] Minamoto Michichika (1148-1202),[4] Minamoto

---

[1]Fujiwara (Rokujō) Ariie (1155-1216) was the third son of Rokujō Shigeie, one of Kiyosuke's sons. His mother was the daughter of the Middle Counsellor Ienari. Rokujō Tsuneie was Ariie's elder brother. In 1202, Ariie was named an Officer of the Government Storehouse. In 1209, he reached the Junior Third Rank, and in 1214 he took the tonsure. His priestly name was Jakuin.

Among the Rokujō poets, Ariie alone was closely associated with Teika and Shunzei's poetic circles. Many of his poems in the Shinkokinshū were selected by Teika or Ietaka.

[2]Fujiwara Ietaka (1158-1237) was the son of Senior Second Rank Provisional Middle Counsellor Fujiwara Akitaka; his mother was Officer of the Empress Dowager's Household Fujiwara Sanekane's daughter. In 1171, Ietaka was appointed Assistant Governor of Awa. Three years later, he reached the Junior Fifth Rank. In 1186, he was appointed Governor of Etchū province. In 1205, at the age of forty-eight, he reached the Junior Fourth Rank. In 1216, he rose to the Junior Third Rank, and finally in 1236, to the Junior Second Rank. In the same year, he took the tonsure. He died the following year at the Tennōji in Naniwa province.

In the last two decades of the twelfth century, Ietaka was closely associated with Teika's poetic practice. See Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū, pp. 540-790 passim.

Forty-three of Ietaka's poems are in the Shinkokinshū. Forty-three of his poems are also in the Shinchokusenshū, more than that of any other poet. His personal poetry collection is the Mini shū.

[3]Fujiwara Masatsune (1170-1221) was the son of Judicial Official Fujiwara Yoritsune; his mother was the daughter of the Major Counsellor Fujiwara Akimasa. In 1201, Masatsune was appointed Assistant Lieutenant of the Right Palace Division, and in 1202, he reached the rank of Senior Fifth Rank. His highest court rank was Junior Third Rank, Counsellor. He studied poetry with Shunzei. His descendants, the Asukai family were also renowned for poetry and for kemari (court football). Twenty of his poems are in the Shinkokinshū.

[4]Minamoto Michichika (1148-1202) was a member of the Murakami Genji branch of the Minamoto family. He was the eldest son of the Kaga Major Counsellor Masamichi. His mother was either the daughter of the Assistant Keeper of the Keys Naganobu or the daughter of the Assistant Keeper of the Keys Yukikane. In 1180, Michichika was named Counsellor and also Intendant upon Takakura In. In the same year, he accompanied Takakura In to Itsukushima and wrote the Takakura In Itsukushima Gokōki on that occasion. In 1183, he reached the Senior Third Rank; in 1190, the Senior Second Rank. He was also appointed Provisional Middle Counsellor. In 1199, he was appointed Great Minister of the Center.

Michichika's wife was the Judicial Official Fujiwara Norikane's

Tomochika (dates unknown),[1] Minamoto Michitomo (1171-1227),[2] and Jakuren (1139?-1202).[3] After this initial selection, Gotoba appointed three more poets: Kamo no Chōmei (1155?-1216?), Fujiwara Hideyoshi (1184-1240),[4] and Fujiwara Takanobu (1142-1205).[5] Gotoba's wakadokoro

---

daughter Kenshi. Michichika sent her daughter from a previous marriage, Zaishi (Shōmei Mon'in) to court as Gotoba's consort. There she succeeded in so charming Gotoba that Kanezane's daughter, Ninshi, withdrew from court. Zaishi gave birth to a son, Tamehiro, who in 1199 ascended the throne as the Emperor Tsuchimikado. As a result of these events, Kanezane's Kujō family was eclipsed for a time my Michichika's family.

[1]Minamoto Tomochika (?-?) was the son of Minamoto Moromitsu, one of the judges of the Sengokyakuban utaawase. He reached the Junior Fourth Rank and was a lieutenant of the Inner Palace Guards, Left Division.

[2]Minamoto Michitomo (1171-1227) was Michichika's son. His mother was either a daughter of Taira no Michimori or Takakura In no Nyōgo Okawa Owari. At the time of the compilation of the Shinkokinshū, he had reached the Senior Third Rank, and at the time of his death was Senior Second Rank Major Counsellor.

In the 1190s, Michitomo had been married to Shunzei's Daughter. However, according to Teika's Meigetsuki, he divorced her at his father's urging to make a more politically useful liaison. He is one of the representative poets of the Shinkokin style, yet in the Meigetsuki Teika criticizes him for carelessness and slovenliness in his selection of poems for the Shinkokinshū. Michitomo has seventeen poems in the Shinkokinshū and three in Teika's Shinchokusenshū. The poet Michimitsu (Michiteru) is Michitomo's younger brother.

[3]Jakuren (?-1202) was the son of Daigo no Sō Ajari Shunkai, Shunzei's younger brother. His mother is unknown. His secular name was Sadanaga, and he was Shunzei's adopted son. Sadanaga reached the Junior Fifth Rank and the post of Minor Captain in the Ministry of Central Affairs. In 1172, he took the tonsure. Throughout his life he was closely associated both with Shunzei and with Teika.

[4]Fujiwara Hideyoshi (1184-1240) was the son of Junior Fifth Rank Governor of Kawachi and Yamato, Hidemune and the daughter of the Governor of Iga, Mitsumoto. He was a member of the "North facing warriors" attached to Gotoba's palace. Hideyoshi reached the Junior Fifth Rank and was appointed Governor of Dewa province and an Officer in Charge of Controlling the Kamo River. During the Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221, he was a Captain in the Imperial forces. After defeat, he went to Kumano and took the tonsure. His priestly name was Nyōgan. His personal collection of poetry is the Nyōgan Hōshi shū.

[5]Takanobu (1142-1205) was the son of Junior Fifth Rank Fujiwara

harks back to the Poetry Bureau of the Kokinshū and of the Gosenshū. Unlike them, however, Gotoba's wakadokoro included not only "professed" court poets but also high-ranking courtiers as well as, at the opposite extreme, poets of such low rank that in normal circumstances they would have little hope of ever participating in the poetic events of the imperial court. Gotoba designed his poetry bureau to be the central stage for all poetic events, a place where the leading figures, poets and patrons, could be brought together.

Among the members of the wakadokoro, the "professed" poets were primarily associated with Shunzei and Teika. Jakuren was Shunzei's adopted son and long-time poetic associate. Ietaka had studied with Shunzei and had worked with Teika in developing an innovative style. Masatsune was also Shunzei's student. The Rokujō family, in contrast, was represented solely by Kiyosuke's son Ariie. Among that family, Ariie appears to have had the closest ties with the innovative poets. For example, he participated in the Kagetsu hyakushu of 1190 along with Teika, Jien, Jakuren, and the Lady Tango. The remaining two "professed" poets, Minamoto Michitomo and Minamoto Tomochika, had not been very active in poetic affairs until about the time of the formation of the wakadokoro.

Yoshitsune, Jien, and Michichika were high-ranking courtiers

Tametsune, (priestly name Jakucho) and Bifuku mon'in no Kaga, who later married Shunzei. Takanobu was raised by Shunzei. In 1180, Takanobu reached the Junior Fifth Rank and was appointed Assistant Governor of Kōzuka province. In 1181, he reached the Junior Fourth Rank and was apponted Provisional Master of the Palace Guards, Right Division. In 1200, he resigned his court post, and in 1201 took the tonsure. Takanobu was extremely active in poetry contests from the 1160s. He is also known to have written a romance, Ukinami, and a historical work, Iyayotsugi. Neither are extant.

According to Juntoku In's Yakumo mishō (after 1221), Takanobu had a reputation for plagiarizing the works of other poets. Juntoku writes, "It often happens that a poet grows old, and he begins to forget that he has heard a poem somewhere. He composes a very similar work, thinking he is composing an altogether original work. Takanobu, for example, did this all the time. . . . This is not a terrible fault, but those poets who are forgetful should have someone check their works carefully." Cited in Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 3:606.

who were also poets and important patrons of poetry. They represented opposing political factions: in 1196, the Great Minister of the Center Michichika had engineered the Kujō family's fall from power. Yoshitsune's father, Kanezane, who was then Civil Dictator and Prime Minister resigned, and the family lived in retirement. In 1199, Yoshitsune was permitted to return to court as Minister of the Left. Jien, Yoshitsune's uncle, had been appointed Chief Priest of the Tendai sect in 1191 but had resigned the same year. In all, during his life, he filled that post four times. He is also famed as the author of the historical work the Gukanshō. Both Yoshitsune and Jien, were closely allied with Teika in their poetic practice; after Kiyosuke's death in 1177, Shunzei had become Kanezane's poetry tutor. Yoshitsune hosted the Roppyakuban utaawase, and he was also among the most gifted and sensitive poets of the age.[1] In contrast, Michichika, who was also Gotoba's father-in-law and Emperor Tsuchimikado's grandfather, had studied poetry with Rokujo Suetsune. From about 1200, he had hosted a number of utaawase, including Hitomaro eiku, which honored that poet's memory, in his residence with Shunzei acting as judge.

The three poets who were added later were men of low rank. Among them, Kamo no Chōmei is best known to us as the author of the Hōjōki. He was also a highly skilled poet, critic, and musician. His poetic treatise, the Mumyōshō, is a crucial document for understanding the history of waka in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Because Chōmei did not have a court rank (he was a member of a family connected with the Kamo shrine but had been orphaned early in life and further had lost the heriditary shrine position) he was excluded from most of the major poetic events of the court. Gotoba appears to have attempted to restore and even enlarge Chōmei's position at Kamo, but he was dissuaded by a rival of Chōmei's.[2] Perhaps even

---

[1]For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Yoshitsune, Jien, and Teika see Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū, pp. 481-893.

[2]Ishida Yoshisada and Satsukawa Shūji, Minamoto Ienage nikki zen chūkai, pp. 104-5. Ienaga also writes: "Later quite unexpectedly I ran into Chōmei. He was so thin and wretched-looking I barely

before the completion of the Shinkokinshū, Chōmei abandoned the court to live as a recluse.

Fujiwara Takanobu was Teika's half-brother, the son of Teika's mother and her first husband. He was thus associated with Shunzei and Teika from his youth, but he was of much lower rank. Along with Chōmei, he was active in the priest-poet Shun'e's poetic circle, the Karin'en. Takanobu and his son Nobuzane were also famous as painters of nisee portraits.

At the time of his appointment to the wakadokoro, Hideyoshi was seventeen years old. He was a guard attached to the residence of the retired emperor and had thus come to his attention. Although he was a strikingly innovative poet, he remained of low rank throughout his life, and during the Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221, he fought in the imperial forces. Upon their defeat and Gotoba's exile to Oki, he became a monk.

The activities that Gotoba arranged for the wakadokoro testified to his desire to revive utaawase as a major cultural and communal event of the court. Immediately on the day of the wakadokoro's formal opening, we see an utaawase, followed on 1201, 8:3 by the first of quite a number of eiku utaawase. These events, which honored the of the Manyō poet Hitomaro, had formerly been conducted by the Rokujo family in their residence. In 1202, Gotoba hosted the Minase dono koi no jūgoshu utaawase (the poetry contest of love poems in fifteen rounds held at Minase);[1] in 1203, the composition of poems for a

---

recognized him. He said, 'If I had not despised human society, how would I ever have awakened from illusion? This truly is the result of imperial favor.' Then he wept and wrung the tears from the sleeves of his priestly robes. He continued, 'Yet, there is one slight thing that still hinders me from relinquishing all attachments to the world.' He drew from his sutra bag the biwa plectrum on which, some time ago, he had written a poem for Gotoba, and said, 'No matter what happens, I will keep this to the end of my days and will be buried with it.' How sad that even after taking the tonsure, Chōmei still remains attached to the way of poetry, to which he was so devoted in his secular life, that it hinders his enlightenment." Minamoto na Ienaga nikki zen chūkai, p. 111.

[1]The participants in the Minase dono koi no jūgoshu utaawase were Gotoba, Yoshitsune, Jien, Fujiwara Kintsugu, Shunzei kyō no

screen commemorating Shunzei's ninetieth birthday;[1] in 1204, the Kasuga no yashiro no utaawase (the poetry contest of the Kasuga Shrine);[2] and in 1205, the Saishō Shitennōin Shōjiuta (composition of poems for a screen in the Saishoshitennoin Hall).[3] Gotoba could not return to

---

musume, Kunaikyō, Ariie, Teika, Ietaka, and Masatsune. The judge was Shunzei. Ten percent of the 150 poems were placed in the Shinkokinshū. The relationship between the Shinkokinshū and this and the following utaawase is discussed in detail in Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Shinkokin wakashū no kenkyū, kiso to kōzō (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1967), pp. 85-278.

[1]Minamoto Ienaga records the poems placed on the screen and describes the ceremony as follows: "On the south side of the wakadokoro, we placed the poetry screen and arranged Shunzei's seat. To the west sat the Regent Fujiwara Yoshitsune and the Grand Minister Fujiwara Yorizane; to the north, various other courtiers. They were in their usual court dress. Officials of the fourth, fifth, and sixth ranks were in their court attire. After a few moments, Shunzei entered, leaning upon his sons Nariie and Teika. He was exceedingly old and seemed very frail. . . . He could not step over the plank of wood between the columns in the hall and he crouched down on the floor. His two sons lifted him up. I shall never forget his appearance as he sat hunched over on his cushion. Placed before him were the priestly robes, staff, and so forth that had been presented to him. The poem on this sutra bag was composed by Lady Kunaikyō, the poem for the staff by Ariie. . . . Both poems were embroidered on the sutra bag with purple thread. All the participants then composed poems. . . ." Ishida Yoshisada and Sagawa Shūji, Minamoto no Ienaga nikki zen chūkai, pp. 123-46.

[2]The participants in the Kasuga no yashiro no utaawase were Gotoba, Jien, Fujiwara Tadayoshi, Fujiwara Tadatsune, Michimitsu, Michitomo, Takakura, Shunzei kyō no musume, Echizen, Teika, Fujiwara Yasusue, Masatsune, Fujiwara Tadasada, Fujiwara Narikuni, and Fujiwara Yoshinori on the left; and Yoshitsune, Shunzei, Tango, Fujiwara Yoshihira, Kintsugu, Ariie, Dainagon, Kunaikyō, Shimono, Ietaka, Fujiwara Iehira, Tomochika, Fujiwara Narishige, Minamoto Ienaga, Fujiwara Hideyoshi, on the right. The topics were fallen leaves, dawn, and wind in the pines. Poems were judged by all the poets. Fourteen poems from this contest were included in the Shinkokinshū.

[3]Gotoba had the Saishō Shitennōin constructed in Shirakawa in Kyoto in order to enlist divine aid in his plans to overthrow the Shogunal government of Kamakura. In 1207, he invited a group of favored poets to compose poems on forty-six poetic places names. He then chose the best poems and had them mounted along with a painting on the sliding doors of the hall. He selected ten poems by Jien, six by Teika, six by Ietaka, four by Masatsune, four by Michimitsu, two

the pageantry of early courtly utaawase, but we see his efforts to develop utaawase that were distinctive in their scope or inspiration. Thus the Rōnyaku utaawase of 1201 pitted younger poets (under age fifty) against their elders.[1] The Sengohyakuban utaawase (the poetry contest in one thousand five hundred rounds) of the same year was not only the largest poetry contest ever undertaken, more than double the size of Yoshitsune's Roppyakuban utaawase in six hundred rounds, but also placed hundred poem sequences in competition against each other.[2]

In 1202, Gotoba planned the Santai wakae (the poetry contest

---

each by Shunzei kyō no musume, Ariie, Tomochika, and Hideyoshi. Gotoba himself composed eight poems.

According to Gotoba's Gotoba In Gokuden (c. 1221-1239) this event was one of the occasions on which Teika and Gotoba clashed. Gotoba writes that Teika, "went about giving vent to his scorn and contempt in various quarters, making many intemperate remarks--a kind of behavior that served rather to demonstrate his own willfulness and lack of restraint than the poor taste of the judges. . . ." Gotoba goes on to say: "And after all, [the poem by Teika which Gotoba had not selected] does appear superior to Jien's poem on 'The Grove of Ikuta' that was chosen for the painting. At the same time, such lapses of taste and judgment are likely to occur over and over again, not only on my part but with others as well. One mistake surely should not be held against a person forever." Robert Brower, "'Ex-emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings': Go-Toba no In Gokuden," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 32 (1972): 40.

[1]The participants on the left side were Fujiwara Tadayoshi, Jien, Teika, Ietaka, and Jakuren. These were the poetic elders. On the right were Gotoba, Yoshitsune, Kunaikyō, Echizen, and Masatsune. The topics were spring, summer, winter, and miscellaneous. Approximately 10 percent of the poems from this contest were included in the Shikokinshū.

[2]The Sengohyakuban utaawase was a poetry contest that took place on paper. Gotoba commissioned sequences of one hundred poems from twenty-nine poets and also composed one sequence himself. The poets of the left side were Gotoba, Yoshitsune, Jien, Kintsugu, Kintsune, Hideyoshi, Kunaikyō, Sanuki, Kojijū, Takanobu, Ariie, Yasusue, Yoshihira, Tomochika, and Kenshō. On the right were Koreakira Shinnō, Michichika, Tadayoshi, Kanemune, Michimitsu, Shunzei, Shunzei kyō no musume, Tango, Echizen, Teika, Michitomo, Ietaka, Masatsune, Jakuren and Ienaga. There were nine judges: Tadayoshi judged the first two books of spring; Shunzei, spring three and four; Michichika, summer one and two; Yoshitsune, summer three and autumn four (Yoshitsune wrote his judgments in Chinese verse); Gotoba, autumn two and three, (Gotoba wrote his judgments in acrostic verses); Teika, autumn four and winter

of three poetic modes) in which poets were asked to write poems in three distinct modes: bold and expansive for spring and summer, gentle and elegant for love and travel, and austere and muted for autumn and winter poems.[1] In 1204, Gotoba hosted the Genkyū shiika utaawase that matched Japanese waka with Chinese verse.[2] Regular, small-scale utaawase were held in the wakadokoro until at least 1215.

All these utaawase also functioned to generate poems for an imperial anthology. The recording secretary of the wakadokoro, Minamoto Ienaga writes:

> Because poetry contests were so frequent, the number of poems, both good and bad, mounted up. Further, there were also ancient poems that had been overlooked by men of the past. With this in mind, the ex-emperor directed six poets to select poems, searching as extensively as they could. The six who were chosen were Michitomo, Ariie, Teika, Masatsune, and Jakuren. . . .[3]

The six men whom Gotoba selected correspond to those members of the wakadokoro who were "professed" poets of some social standing. Yoshitsune, Jien, and Michichika were doubtlessly eliminated because their social status and rank were too high. Shunzei was probably

---

one; Suetsune, winter two and three; Moromitsu, the congratulatory poems; and the first book of love poems; Kensho books two and three of love; and Jien, books one and two of miscellaneous poems (Jien wrote his judgments in verse). Clearly, one of Gotoba's aims was to outdo Yoshitsune's Roppyakuban utaawase of 1193. Unlike that earlier contest, Gotoba included leading women poets in his poetry contest.

[1]The participants in the Santai wakae were Yoshitsune, Jien, Jakuren, Teika, Ietaka, and Chōmei. For Chomei's account of this event see, Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 77-79.

[2]The Genkyū shiika utaawase was a poetry contest in which Chinese verse couplets were paired in rounds with waka. The participants included Yoshitsune, and Chikatsune among the "Chinese" poets and Teika, Jien, Ietaka, Gotoba, Michimitsu, and Hideyoshi among the waka composers. There were nineteen poets on each side. The judgments for this poetry contest are extant, but the identity of the judge is not known. The two topics were "distant shoreline views in spring" and "travelling in autumn along a mountain road." Both were new, unusual musubidai. Eight poems from this poetry contest are found in the Shinkokinshū.

[3]Ishida Yoshisada and Satsukawa Shūji, Minamoto Ienaga nikki zen chūkai, p. 172.

passed over because of his advanced age and because there was no precedent for a poet to be involved in the selection of more than one imperial anthology. (This precedent was to be broken by his son Teika who would go on to compile the ninth imperial anthology, the Shinchokusenshū in 1232.) Teika, Ietaka, Masatsune, and Jakuren can be considered, though to different degrees, innovative poets. Ariie is representative of the Rokujō family, and Gotoba may have named Michitomo out of courtesy to his father Michichika.

At the same time, Gotoba himself was personally involved in the compilation to an unusual degree. Ienaga writes:

> The compilers finished their selection, but this did not complete the process. First Gotoba himself made his choices. . . . And this being the case, all the poets of the land were overcome with excitement and offered prayers to the gods and Buddhas that their poems might be chosen. . . . The manner in which Gotoba carefully weighed each and every poem was extraordinary. After the five men had each submitted his selection, Gotoba examined them all and marked those which appeared satisfactory. After Kiyomori had copied these, he looked them over once more. The poems were copied over as many as three times. Truly, he did not base selections upon whether a poet was of high rank or low, whether he possessed wisdom or was foolish. Because of this, even a priest of insignificant rank from some obscure mountain temple was not overlooked if he excelled in the way of poetry. . . .
>
> Recently, the ex-emperor has put aside the affairs of state. The archivists and officers of his establishment speak of their sudden leisure. One officer repeatedly informed him of insignificant affairs. Gotoba told him he was unable to be attentive to such matters at present and that he would be prepared to listen when the compilation of the Shinkokinshū was complete.[1]

Similarly, Yoshitsune writes in the preface to the Shinkokinshū:

> The Shūishū, Goshūishū, Kinyoshū, Shikashū, and Senzaishū were each compiled by a single poet. As a result, there were poems that escaped the compilers' notice. Therefore, following the precedent of the Kokinshū and Gosenshū, the retired emperor selected five courtiers and directed them to select poems. He then personally chose among the poems and, according to his own judgment, polished the collection. If we seek in the way of literature in far away China, precedence can be found for imperial compilation. However, in our land, since the beginnings of the Yamato language and through the countless generations thereafter, it has never been seen before.

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 74-76.

> In the past, the retired emperor emulated the example of Emperor Wen, who five times declined the throne, and fulfilled the duties of emperor. Now he has renounced his fame as a benevolent and just ruler and made his dwelling in the mountains of Hakuya. Still, he has remained true to the imperial way of non-action, and has not forgotten the support and loyalty in administering the state of the three ministers. The affairs of the world are as they had been in the past when he ruled from above the clouds, and all the people are swayed to his will like the grasses of Kasuga field. Over the four seas of Akitsushima, the moon is clear and still. Thus the retired emperor was able to seek the traces of the Bay of Waka, and, cherishing the way of Shikishima, select the poems of this collection in order to transmit them to future generation.
>
> It is ancient practice to include poems of the presiding emperor or ex-emperor in his imperial anthology, but in the past the number of his poems has never exceeded ten. Yet, in the present collection, there are more than thirty of the retired emperor's poems. In this regard, he has explained his feelings: "Because my poems do not captivate people's eyes with their beauty and do not have expressions that draw the heart, it was difficult to judge their quality. That my poems piled up like decaying leaves in the forest and were not discarded like seaweed along the shore is due to my deep love for the way of poetry. I do not take heed of the ridicule of future ages."[1]

Nearly one-half of the Shinkokinshū preface is taken up with Gotoba's involvement in the compilation. The phrases that attribute imperial greatness to him are common expressions of praise based on the Chinese model, and have, in Gotoba's situation little reality. Nevertheless, we see how closely allied his devotion to poetry was to his imperial perogatives. Gotoba was himself an excellent poet, with great confidence in his ability. And by emulating not only the sage emperors of Japan, Daigo and Murakami who commissioned the Kokinshū and Gosenshū, respectively, but also the rulers of China, he sought to demonstrate his own greatness and that of the court.[2]

---

[1]Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazaki Toshio, and Gotō Shigeo, Shinkokin wakashū, pp. 36-37.

[2]On the twenty-seventh day of the third month of 1205, Gotoba hosted a banquet commemorating the completion of the Shinkokinshū. Teika, who a few days earlier had written in his diary, "This collection is still not fit to be made public. There are many errors; the number of people concerned with the project has become a hindrance" (Meigetsuki 1205:3.25) refused to attend, citing the fact that there was no precedence for such an event. In the weeks before the banquet,

Further, Gotoba sought to make his anthology as inclusive as

---

there had been a flurry of activity in the wakadokoro as the compilers, under the sometimes inconsistent direction of Gotoba, attempted to complete the anthology. For example, on the twenty-seventh day of the second month, Gotoba sends word to the wakadokoro that he felt he has missed some poems in his selection. On the ninth day of the third month, Gotoba commanded Teika to submit twenty of his own works for consideration.

These activities did not come to an end with the banquet. According to the Meigetsuki, revision continued until at least 1207. Ienaga writes in his diary, "Even after the banquet, there was no finished copy of the anthology. Some were removed and others placed in the collection. A number of poems from the shiika utaawase [Genkyu shiika utaawase of 1205] were selected for inclusion. Whenever I heard the lamentations of those poets whose poems had been removed, I felt that a grave offense had been committed. It was most painful to see those poets who had never imagined that their poems would be deleted. . . . However, thinking that as long as there was no final copy they still had a chance, they did not resign themselves but offered prayers to all possible shrines and temples. It was moving just to hear of their great devotion." Ishida Yoshisada and Satsukawa Shūji, Minamoto Ienaga nikki zen chūkai, pp. 223-24.

As a result of the long period of revision, no single version of the Shinkokinshū was clearly designated as the definitive text. One version that does claim to be such a text is the Ienaga colophon text of 1216; however, there are also Teika colophon texts, and Ietaka colophon texts. All texts in existence today are collations among several textual lines. For more details both on the process by which the Shinkokinshu was compiled and on the question of its textual history, see Gotō Shigeo, Shinkokin wakashū no kisoteki kenkyū (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1969).

In the 1230s, after Gotoba had been exiled to Oki as a result of his abortive efforts to overthrow the Kamakura Shogunate (Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221), he was to undertake a final revision of the Shinkokinshū. This version, the Oki bon, is not extant as a separate text. However some Shinkokinshū texts, including the one used by Hisamatsu, Yamazaki, and Gotō, preserve "Oki markings" that presumably tell which poems Gotoba finally selected for his version. The colophon of the Oki bon is extant:

"The Shinkokinshū was compiled long ago in the Genkyū period. At that time, I directed members of the wakadokoro to gather poems both ancient and new, and then I personally examined them, selected from among them, and arranged them into volumes. Since then, the anthology has been cherished in the households of this land for some thirty years. Thus to revise it now is perhaps most inappropriate, and as I quietly gaze upon it, it is difficult to distinguish individual sentiments or to separate the old from the new. It was difficult to choose among the numerous poets, both of high rank and the lowly, and the poems I selected number nearly two thousand. Because their

possible, in order to display fully the poetic activities of his court and the richness of the tradition of the court-poetic. His selection would prove that poetry, and by implication, his court, were not overshadowed by the past. One basic purpose of the imperial anthology had always been to be a showcase of the cultural accomplishments of the court in which it had been commissioned. As a result, the compilers of these anthologies sought to insure a selection that was representative of the court society of their day. In the Fukurozōshi,[1]

---

number is so great, each and every one cannot be called a masterpiece. Among them, my poems number thirty and some. Although this was the result of my deep devotion to the way of poetry, the great number of poems in the anthology could not but diminish the artistry of the collection as a whole. In the past when I reigned on the jewelled throne, I was distracted by the many affairs of state, numerous and entangled as the grasses growing in the fields. Now, at the end of this beach where the moon is still, I am able to discern more clearly the deep hues of the treetops of the forest. Others in the past have compiled a volume of selections from an imperial anthology [Gotoba probably refers to Fujiwara Kinto's Shūishō]. Thus, I, too, may be permitted to do so. . . . I have reconsidered the number of poems, especially of my own, and from the poems of the twenty volumes have selected one thousand and six hundred poems in twelve volumes. Although I have not totally discarded the earlier collection, my newly revised and polished form is superior. All men who have heard of and yearned for those ancient days of the floating bridge of heaven and who have been imbued with the colors of the eight-fold cloud will open this volume before a deep window, I pray that they will transmit it to the far distant future." Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazaki Hideo, Gotō Shigeo, Shinkokin wakashū, pp. 409-10.

[1]Rokujō Kiyosuke (1104-1177) was Akisuke's son and Akisue's grandson. Suetsune, Shigeie, Yoriie, and Kenshō were his brothers. Until the age of forty-seven or forty-eight, Kiyosuke remained in the Junior Fifth Rank. At the time of his death, he had only reached the Senior Fourth Rank. In contrast, both Shigeie and Yoriie, reached the kugyō level (Imperial Advisors of the Fourth Rank, courtiers of Third Rank and above). Kiyosuke did not get along well with his father, who apparently made little effort to aid in Kiyosuke's advancement at court.

From the mid-twelfth century, Kiyosuke, as the leading Rokujō poet, became Shunzei's major rival as an utaawase judge and teacher. In 1169, Kiyosuke was appointed poetic tutor for Kanezane's Kujō family. In 1177, Kanezane wrote in his diary, the Gyokuyō, that Kiyosuke was the equal of Tsurayuki and Kintō. See references on page 47, n. 2 for detailed discussion of Kiyosuke's relation with Shunzei.

Kiyosuke's writings include the Waka shogaku shō, the Ōgishō,

Rokujō Kiyosuke records Akisue's injunctions concerning this matter:

> Poems of the Prime Minister and of the Regent should be included although they may not be superior. Poems of the members of the highest ranking families may also, if adequate, be favorably considered. If a poem is of good quality, but the poet is not from a traditional poetic family or is of exceedingly low rank, then such a poem should not be included. If, however, the poem is of incomparable quality, then there is no problem in including it. Further, in the case of a poetic genius, if you include one masterpiece, you must also include one or two of his lesser works. This is traditional practice. Poems of living poets should be the foundation of the collection, and those of poets of the past should be selected according to their quality.[1]

Kiyosuke establishes a sliding scale of representation. He assumes that the highest-ranking members of court will have some poems worthy of inclusion. These may number no more than one or two, and Kiyosuke avoids any mention of number. At the other end of the scale, those who are literally non-persons in court society must stand totally on the merit of their poems. Between them are the middling courtiers, including most importantly, the majority of those who considered themselves "professed" poets. It is these men who are to be most widely represented in the anthology.

The Shinkokinshū fulfills Kiyosuke's standards concerning the inclusion of poems by high-ranking personages very well. The compilers' task was made easy by the fact that the Prime Minister and Regent Fujiwara Yoshitsune, the Chief Priest of the Tendai Sect, Jien, the former Civil Dictator Fujiwara Kanezane (1149-1207), and the Tsuchimikado Inner Minister Minamoto Michichika were excellent poets.

---

and the Waka ichiji shū. His personal poetry collection is the Kiyosuke Ason shū.

The Fukurozōshi is a poetic treatise written by Rokujō Kiyosuke. The work, which is written in kanbun, was completed in 1159. Kiyosuke discusses the decorum of poetry contests--seating arrangements, the kinds of paper on which the poems are to be written, the manner in which the poem and its topic are to be written, the manner in which commentary is to be written, and so on. He discusses the imperial anthologies and the dating of the Manyōshū. Finally, he records various anecdotes about poets and gives examples of outstanding poems.

[1]Ozawa Masao, Gotō Shigeo, Shimazu Tadao, and Higuchi Yoshimaro, eds., Fukurozōshi chushakū, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1974-76), 1:107.

Yoshitsune is represented by seventy-nine poems, Jien by ninety-two, Kanezane by eleven, and Michichika by six. The vast difference in number between the first two men and the latter two is due to the distinction between true poetic greatness and simple honor. Even more tellingly, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199), the founder of the Kamakura bakufu and a man one would imagine had few ties with court poetry, is represented by two poems. The family members of the great courtiers are also represented, as are those people close to the compilers, such people as ladies who served Gotoba's mother, Ietaka's daughter, Jakuren's son, and Shunzei's father and grandfather. Except for Shunzei's ancestors, who were poets, each receives only one poem.

Among the "professed" poets who were living at the time of the compilation of the Shinkokinshū, poets associated with Shunzei and Teika make up the bulk of the 948 contemporary works. Shunzei is represented by seventy-two poems, Teika by forty-six, Ietaka by forty-three, Jakuren by thirty-five, Shunzei's Daughter (1171-1254) by twenty-nine, and the Princess Shikishi (?-1201) by forty-four.[1] To this number we can add the poems of Yoshitsune, Jien, and Gotoba himself. The priest Saigyō leads with a total of ninety-four poems.

The Shinkokinshū differs from Kiyosuke's standards in its efforts to include poems of little known poets as well as those of low rank. In the passage quoted above, Ienaga referred to Gotoba's judgments on the merits of the poems without reference to social status. According to Yoshitsune, the compilers were:

> directed to search widely and gather poems without distinction to past or present or between poets of high rank and the lowly.

---

[1]Shunzei kyō no musume or Shunzei's Daughter was in fact Shunzei's granddaughter. Her mother was one of Shunzei's daughters; her father, Owari no mori Noriyori. One of the leading poets of the Shinkokin period, she was strongly influenced by Teika. The Mumyōzōshi, an essay in which a nun gives her views on the various characters in the Genji monogatari, is often attributed to her. Shikishi Naishinnō was one of Emperor Goshirakawa's daughters. She served as the Vestal Virgin of Ise from 1159-69. She took the tonsure before 1192. She studied poetry with Shunzei; Shunzei's treatise, the Korai fūteishō was written for her.

> They were to include the words of the unseen gods and Buddhas and poems which had been revealed in dreams of dark nights.[1]

As a result, among the 1,997 poems in the Shinkokinshū, 303 are the works of 104 poets who are represented for the first time in an imperial anthology. Fewer than 50 of these were poets living in the contemporary age.[2] We should note that none of the major poets including Teika, Ietaka, etc., fall into this group who make their debut in the Shinkokinshū, since their youthful poems had appeared in the Senzaishū. The new poets of the Shinkokinshū are either much younger or had been exceedingly obscure.

Similarly among poets of earlier ages, we find represented nearly all the major literary and poetic figures from the time of the Manyōshū. Twenty-two poems are attributed to the Manyō poet Hitomaro, seven to Akahito, eleven to Yakamochi. Nearly all the original Thirty-Six Poetic Geniuses and the Thirty-Six of the Mid-Classical period are represented. Tsurayuki, Mitsune, Tadamine, Lady Ise (877-938 or 940), Narihira, Komachi, the priest Sosei (act. 859-923), Kintō, and Izumi Shikibu (976 or 977-?) are all present. So are Murasaki Shikibu (d. 1014); the mother of Fujiwara Michitsuna (937?-995), the author of the Kagerō nikki; Fujiwara Takasue's daughter, the author of the Sarashina nikki (1008-1159 still living). One figure we find missing is Sei Shonagon. Finally, poems of gods and Buddhas are to be found at the beginnings of the volumes of Shinto and Buddhist poems. Gotoba brings together Heian culture so that its members speak in unison in the Shinkokinshū.

---

[1]Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazaki Toshio, and Gotō Shigeo, Shinkokin wakashū, p. 34.

[2]Not everyone was pleased by this wide representation. Teika writes in his diary: "In a situation like the present, where [Gotoba] has included poems by a great many people one has never heard of, whose names have remained in almost total obscurity for generations, and persons who have only recently begun to attract attention have as many as ten poems apiece included--in such a situation it is no particular distinction for me to have forty-odd poems chosen, or for Ietaka to have a score of more. The Ex-Sovereign's recent decisions make it appear he is choosing men rather than poems--a questionable procedure." Fujiwara Teika, Meigetsuki; Genkyū 1 (1205) 3.20. Cited in Brower, "'Ex-emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings': Go-Toba no In Gokuden," p. 19.

The joy which Yoshitsune expresses in the passage from the Shinkokinshū preface quoted at the beginning of this section cannot be due merely to Gotoba's efforts to signal symbolically the vitality of his court. And indeed, the Shinkokinshū represents a renewal of poetry in matters of far greater significance in literary history. The Shinkokinshū and the Shinkokin style, that is, Teika's innovative manner, testify to the re-individualization of tradition and to the discovery that poetry could be a means of apprehending an "other" deeper realm of reality. Yoshitsune writes elsewhere in the preface:

> In spring, we yearn for the first blossoms of Tatsutayama where spring arises,[1] and in summer we sing of the thrush who calls for its mate.[2] In autumn, there are the leaves of Mt. Kazuragi that scatter in the wind; and in winter, the snow on the peak of Mt. Fuji that glistens like white hemp as the year draws to a close.[3]

---

[1]Yukan hito — Those who come and those who go,
konu hito shinobe — Let them long remember,
haru kasumi — These first blossoms of spring,
Tatsuta no yama no — Where banners of haze trail
hatsu sakurabana — On Tatsuta mountain.
Yakamochi, SKKS, II:85

[2]Ono ga tsuma — Do you weep,
koitsutsu nakuya — Yearning for your mate,
satsuki yami — On this dark spring night,
Kamunabiyama no — Oh, mountain thrush,
yama hototogisu — Of Kamunabi mountain?
SKKS, III:194 Anon. [Actually Gotoba.]

Gotoba composed this poem when Ietaka pointed out that the poem in the Shinkokinshū to which Yoshitsune alluded had already appeared in the Gosenshū. (GSS, III:187) Gotoba then composed a poem to replace that duplicated work. Fujiwara Teika, Meigetsuki, Genkyu 1 (1207): 3.19. Cited in Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū hyōshaku, 1:95.

[3]Asukagawa — In Asuka River
momijiba nagaru — Float crimson leaves.
Kazuraki no — On Kazuraki mountain,
yama no akikaze — The autumn wind blows
fuku zo shigururu — And a cold rain falls.
SKKS, V:541 Hitomaro

Tago no ura ni — Out into Tago bay,
uchiidete mireba — I row, and gaze back towards shore
shirotae no — And see, like white hemp,
Fuji no takane ni — The peak of Fuji mountain
yuki wa furitsutsu — Where the snows fall and fall.
SKKS, VI:675 Akahito

Throughout the year, our emotions are aroused on these occasions, and we express them in poetry. Further, at one time, a sage emperor climbed to the top of a high tower and discerned the condition of his people.[1] Men and women have likened their relationships to the dew clinging to the tips of leaves and thus have awakened to their true nature.[2] Some people have regretted their roadside partings or have yearned for the capital on a road far away.[3] Some have longed for a loved one hidden beyond the clouds on a lofty peak.[4] Others have mourned their fame that vanished like the bridge of Nagara.[5] In all these, the heart was moved within and feelings could not be displayed save through poetry;. Further, the god of Sumiyoshi once composed a poem on the lattice work, and Dengyō Daishi let known his feelings on the establishment

---

[1]Takai ya ni
noborite mireba
keburi tatsu
tami no kamado wa
nigiwainikeri
SKKS, VII:707 Nintoku

To the high tower,
I climb and gaze over the land and see
Smoke now rises.
The ovens of my people
Now must be flourishing.

[2]Sue no tsuyu
moto no shizuku ya
yo no naka no
okure sakidatsu
tameshi naruran
SKKS, VIII:757 Henjō

The dew clinging to the tips of leaves,
The droplets that have fallen to the ground,
Are equally ephemeral.
So, too, our lives in this world.
One vanishes today, another lingers a moment longer.

[3]Tamaboko no
michi no yamakaze
samukaraba
katamigatera ni
kinamu to zo omou
SKKS, IX:857 Ki no Tsurayuki

If upon the road,
Straight as a jewelled spear,
The mountain wind blows cold,
In remembrance of me, I pray,
You will don this coat.

[4]Yoso ni nomi
mite ya yaminan
Kazuraki ya
Takama no yama no
mine no shirakumo
SKKS, X:990 Anon.

Shall I be content
To gaze upon you from afar,
Like the white clouds,
That trail along the high peaks
Of the mountains of Kazuraki?

[5]Toshi fureba
kuchi koso masare
hashibashira
mukashi Nagara no
na dani kawarade
SKKS, XVII:1592.

As the years go by,
How decayed they have become,
The columns of Nagara bridge.
Only its name from the ages past
Still remains unchanged.

> of Hiei in a poem.[1] Thus it is only poetry that can reveal the feelings of men from ages in the past, men whose times are not known to us. And it is only poetry that can show us spiritual realms beyond our reach.[2]

First, Yoshitsune closely echoes the sentiments expressed by Tsurayuki in his preface to the Kokinshū and returns to that fundamental definition of poetry as the spontaneous expression of feeling. All of the poems which Yoshitsune paraphrases in this passage, though included in the Shinkokinshū, date from the Manyō period or equally ancient times, and he stresses the ancient origins as well as the timeless grandeur of poetry. Thus have poets composed in the past, expressing their deepest emotions, and they will always continue to do so in the unchanging cycle of the seasons and the events of human life. Yoshitsune affirms that "in all these, the heart was moved within and feelings could not be displayed save through poetry."

Second, Yoshitsune speaks of poetry as a way of knowledge that allows one to pass beyond the barriers of common existence to glimpse an "other" realm. He puts forth a simple argument. Poetry transcends time; a poem continues to speak long after the poet himself has vanished, and thus grants us knowledge of times beyond our own lives.

---

[1]Yo ya samumi — Is the night cold?
koromo ya usuki — Are my robes thin?
katasogi no — Through the crevices
yukiai no ma yori — Of the lattice work roof
shimo ya okuran — Does the frost enter this chamber?
SKKS, XIX:1855 God of Sumiyoshi

Anokutara — Oh Buddhas
Sanmyaku Mi Bodai no — Of all wisdom and all truth,
Hotoke tachi — Bestow your protection
waga tasu soma ni — Upon this timberland
Myōka arasetamae — In which I now stand.
SKKS, XX:1921 Dengyō Daishi

Yoshitsune has constructed his paragraph so that the poetic references occur in the order the poems appear in the Shinkokinshū. Poems 707, 757, 857, and 990 are respectively the opening poems of the books of congratulatory poems, eulogy, travel, and love.

[2]Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazaki Toshio, Gotō Shigeo, Shinkokin wakashū, pp. 34-35.

He also speaks of a spiritual realm. The god of Sumiyoshi and Dengyo Daishi dwell in a realm far above that of common men, the awesomeness of which poetry permits us to glimpse.

These sentiments which Yoshitsune expresses were articulated for the first time in the late twelfth century. However, they are only suggestive of the far more profound insights into the nature of poetry that the greatest poets of the time had attained. We have noted above how such poets as Saigyō used poetry as the vehicle for the expression of personal and spiritual truths. Others, chief among them Shunzei and his son Teika, sought a new poetry of depth which could reveal timeless, noumenal reality. For them, spatial and temporal "otherness" of which Yoshitsune spoke, was no more than a simplified metaphor for the true reality of things, which poetry illuminates. In creating this poetry, Shunzei and Teika transformed the court-poetic. We must first turn to Shunzei in order to understand the principles behind this transformation.

CHAPTER II

THE POETICS OF THE SHINKOKINSHŪ

Fujiwara Shunzei was born in 1114 and died in 1204, one year before the official completion of the Shinkokinshū. In 1176, during a serious illness, he took the tonsure, but he remained active in the poetic circles of the court throughout his life. Shunzei stands beside Saigyō as one of the two most gifted poets of the twelfth century, and his poems are unrivaled in the mastery of traditional diction, making it speak anew as the vehicle of deep personal conviction. He is also, perhaps, the greatest critical thinker in the history of waka, a poet who was able to resolve the apparent contradiction, which none of his predecessors had escaped, between a continued allegiance to poetic tradition and the search for fresh creativity and personal conviction in poetry.[1]

In his youth, Shunzei found around him a poetry of fixed patterns. Poetry was crippled by the precedents and stale stylistic devices of the past as well as by the formal strictures of utaawase that severed poetry from individual expressive needs. The two leading poets of the court in the early twelfth century, Shunzei's teacher Mototoshi and his contemporary, Shunrai, both searched for renewed poetic creativity. However, Mototoshi failed to escape an essentially

---

[1]For a detailed study of Shunzei's life and poetry see Matsuno Yōichi, Fujiwara Shunzei no kenkyū (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973); Taniyama Shigeru, Fujiwara Toshinari (Shunzei), hito to sakuhin, Taniyama Shigeru chosakushū, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982); Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), pp. 173-506; and Clifton W. Royston Jr., "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)" (Ph.d dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974.)

mechanical allegiance to precedents, and Shunrai struggled unsuccessfully to free himself of the burden of tradition by devising novel diction and conceits. For the former, poetry could not exist apart from its established patterns; the latter's "freedom" led only to the same patterns disguised by striking new colors.

At the same time, Shunzei was also aware of another group of poets, often Buddhist monks, who were active outside the court circles. These poets were less concerned with the mechanics of good utaawase poems and more with a search for individual spiritual meaning in the composition of poetry. Most often they appealed to the familiar notion, which they found in the Lotus Sutra and in the writings of Po Chü-i, that even falsehood and trivial words could lead one to the path of enlightenment. However, Shunzei's contemporary, Saigyō, also used poetry as a means of recording the deepest insights and experiences of his life as a wandering monk.

Shunzei recognized the compelling personal quality and depth of Saigyō's poetry. He also realized that they were sustained in large measure by Saigyō's removal, physically and psychologically, from the court and its traditions. These, Shunzei himself could not abandon. Instead, he sought a poetry of equal spiritual depth within the established tradition, by elevating poetry and tradition to a realm of ultimate spiritual truths. Shunzei brings a profound, new vision to poetry, one that seeks the true essence of poetry that had long been obscured by the superficial patterns of its practice.

Shunzei writes in his treatise the Korai fūteishō:[1]

> The origins of Japanese poetry and the history it has traversed, are ancient indeed! Poetry arose in the age of swift-pacing gods to become one of the unique attainments of this land of far-flung isles. Ever since that time, its spirit (kokoro) has of its own

---

[1] Shunzei wrote the Korai fūteishō in 1197 for Shikishi Naishinnō. The two volume work traces the history of waka from the time of the Manyōshū to the late twelfth century; Shunzei elucidates the changing styles and selects exemplary poems from the Manyōshū, Kokinshū, and the subsequent imperial anthologies. A full Japanese text is included in Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, ed., Karonshū, pp. 171-465.

power encompassed every poetic style, and its expressive capacity (kotoba) has not deteriorated in a myriad generations. As the Kokinshū preface says, "Poetry, with its kernel in the human spirit, flourished into a myriad leaves of words." Even if poetry did not exist, men might still seek out the cherry blossoms in spring and view the scarlet leaves of autumn, but there would be no one who understood their colors and fragrances. How then could we hope to perceive the fundamental significance of such things? . . .

Yet when it comes to specifying what is meant by the judgment of "good" or how to distinguish what is bad in terms of the total effect and diction (sugata-kotoba) of a Japanese poem, it is exceedingly difficult to give any explanation. . . . Indeed, there seem to be few people who really know. However, let us consider the case of the Tendai shikan, written by Shōan Daishi and beginning with the passage, "The radiance and tranquility of the practice of concentration and insight were unknown in former ages." Upon merely hearing this work for the first time one is struck by its immense profundity, one infers something of its inner meaning, and it sounds exalted and splendid. So, in a like manner, must one approach an understanding of the good and bad in Japanese poetry, and of its profound spirit (fukaki kokoro).

Now, the Shikan begins by clarifying the order of succession through which the Buddha transmitted the law, thereby informing us that the Way of the Law is a heritage from the past. Thus the Great Enlightened One bequeathed the Law to Kasyapa. . . . In hearing about the succession through which the Law was transmitted one develops a sense of reverence for it. So, too, has poetry been handed down from long ago and gathered into anthologies, beginning with the Manyōshū and followed by the Kokinshū, Gosenshū, Shūishū, and so on. It is through the medium of the poems in these anthologies that one must seek to acquire a deep understanding of the nature of Japanese poetry.

I have cited, on the one hand, the golden teachings of the Buddhist Law, deep in significance. On the other hand I speak of what may appear to be no more than a sporting with falsehoods and frivolities. Yet poetry may also reveal the deeper import of things and in so doing may be made to travel on the Path of the Buddha. Moreover, it is because "Worldly attachments and enlightenment are intertwined" that the Lotus Sutra says "When one preaches by means of secular texts . . . or concerning the activities of secular life, all is in accord with the True Law," and the Samantabhadra Sutra proclaims, "What is sin and what are blessings? Sin and blessings are without substance; one's heart is by nature empty." Consequently, the profound Way of Japanese poetry also possesses an affinity with the Threefold Dogma of the Void, The Phenomenonal, and the Unifying Absolute, and that is why I have drawn these parallels here.

Most people are of the opinion that it is a simple matter to compose a poem, and could not conceive of penetrating this deeply into the subject. Be that as it may, it is an arduous task to undertake to express in writing the inner essence (Fukaki kokoro) of the art of poetry, though I may wend my way through forests of

> words and draw up whole seas of ink with my brush. Here let me simply state in general the fact that both styles (sugata) and diction (kotoba) of poetry have changed historically in response to the passage of time, as may be seen in the anthologies of successive generations, beginning with the poems of the Manyōshū in high antiquity, then in the Kokinshū, Gosenshū, and Shūishū of middle antiquity, and lastly in the recent period, from the Goshūishū down to the present. That [historical variety] makes it more difficult to elucidate the conceptions (kokoro) and styles (sugata) of poetry. [Royston, trans.][1]

Shunzei postulates an unchanging essense of poetry, its profound spirit, for which any single poem or style is only the medium of expression. In orthodox fashion, Shunzei traces the origin of poetry to the age of the gods and claims it is "one of the unique attainments" of Japan. But he further asserts that "its spirit has of its own power encompassed every poetic style, and its expressive capacity has not deteriorated in a myriad generations." He boldly suggests a parallel between the manner in which this spirit of poetry has been handed down and the transmission of the Buddhist law; just as the latter has been transmitted from the time of Sakyamuni in the writings of the patriarchs, each of whom proclaimed the same truth in different words, so too the essence of poetry has been successively revealed in each of the imperial anthologies. The imperial anthologies are thus the canonical works of poetry. At the same time, neither they nor any other works of poetry are to be mistaken for the essence of poetry itself. Individual works and anthologies display different styles and diction, for these undergo historical change. It is only poets who "could not conceive of penetrating this deeply into . . . the inner essence of poetry" who remain obsessed merely with these surface patterns.

One cannot hope to understand this spirit of poetry except through deep spiritual insight. Shunzei mentions the Tendai shikan

---

[1]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," pp. 336-40.

(alternate title Maka shikan; Chinese, Mo-ho chih-kuan),[1] a work on meditation of the Tendai school of Buddhism which instructs the reader on how to subdue conscious perceptions and judgment in order to attain unity with the Absolute. Shunzei himself practiced this form of meditation, and although he does not here discuss its methods or goal, they are clearly the model for the attainment of insight into the essence of poetry. He subtly emphasizes the intuitive, non-analytical nature of this understanding. Thus he speaks of hearing, rather than reading or studying; one simply hears the Tendai Shikan and is struck by its immense profundity, and likewise, when one hears the poems of the successive anthologies of the past, one achieves deep reverence and understanding. Shunzei's sense of "hearing" in relation to the Tendai shikan may, of course, be much more than the normal physiological act and indicate the receptiveness of a tranquil mind that has cleansed of the intricate constructs of reason. However, as will be seen in greater detail later, Shunzei often speaks of aural perception when he wishes to emphasize and understanding that transcends analysis. For him, aural perception, because of its instantaneous quality, precludes intellectual dissection of the object of perception into its parts or patterns, and is the closest approximation in the normal perceptual world to the understanding one attains in meditation when one has achieved unity with the Absolute.

Finally, Shunzei defines this inner essence of poetry as the fundamental significance of things (moto no kokoro, or read as a Chinese character compound, hon'i), that is revealed only through poetry. He writes: "Even if poetry did not exist, men might still seek out the cherry blossoms in spring and view the leaves of autumn, but there would

---

[1]The Mo-ho chih-kuan was written by Chih-i (538-97) who founded the Tendai (T'ien-t'ai) sect of Buddhism. For a detailed examination of the meditational practice outlined in that work see Leon Hurvitz, "Chih-i" (Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1959), pp. 354-68. A short passage from the work is translated in William Theodore de Bary, ed., The Buddhist Tradition (New York: Random House, 1969; Vintage Book, 1972), pp. 155-56. See also Konishi Jin'ichi, Image and Ambiguity: The Impact of Zen Buddhism on Japanese Literature (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Education, 1973), pp. 3-17.

be no one who understood their colors and fragrances. How then could we hope to perceive the fundamental significance of such things." Shunzei's moto no kokoro or hon'i bears little resemblance to that of earlier poets who saw no more than poetic precedents. Shunzei is not concerned with the material precedents of poetry, but with the inner essence of poetry that lies beyond them. And this essence is not isolated from the world, but rather is a path of knowledge that reveals the deeper import of all things. Shunzei, like many of his predecessors, apologizes for speaking of the Buddhist Law in relation to the "falsehoods and frivolities" of poetry.[1] But he concludes by saying, "the profound Way of Japanese poetry also possesses an affinity with the Threefold Dogma of the Void, The Phenomenonal and the Unifying Absolute, and that is why I have drawn these parallels here."[2] Poetry is a way of truth no longer inferior to Buddhism.

Shunzei wrote the Korai Fūteishō in 1197 when he was eighty-three years old for one of his students, Lady Shikishi, who herself had taken the tonsure and retired from the world. The work was thus

---

[1]"Falsehoods and frivolities: or in Japanese "fugen kigo" expresses much the same idea as "kyōgen kigo" discussed in the previous chapter.

[2]The Threefold Dogma of the Void, the Phenomenal, and the Unifying Absolute refer respectively to k'ung, chia, and chung, (in Japanese kū, ke, chū). Hurvitz writes concerning these concepts: "As long as one dichotomizes the mind and its objects, the self and not-self, etc. one will never come closer to reality. . . . The inaccessibility of Reality to the common approach is designated k'ung. Needless to say, this view does not constitute a denial of the empirical world, which is considered to be identical with Reality. This non-denial of the empirical world is designated chia. Neither of these terms, however, refers to reality itself, but rather to the relationship in which it stands in our minds. The designation of Reality, chosen to indicate the complete lack of contradiction between k'ung and chia is chung. Thus we have a dialectial relationship between three terms: Reality is beyond the reach of the Dichotomizing intellect (k'ung) yet its existence is not denied (chia). The synthesis of these two becomes in turn the new thesis (k'ung) giving rise to a new antithesis (chia), then to a new synthesis, and so on ad infinitum. . . ." Hurvitz, "Chih-i", pp. 304-5.

the culmination of more than half a century of Shunzei's experience in poetic composition and critical judgment, and it was also a personal communication away from the public arena of utaawase. For both these reasons, it is not surprising that the Korai fūteishō was the only place that Shunzei undertook to explicate in detail his notion of the transcendent nature, even theology, of poetry. In this critical essay, Shunzei speaks as an individual poet who over his long lifetime had pondered deeply upon the meaning of poetry.

At the same time, Shunzei's poetry judgments, which make up the bulk of his writings, are also distinguished by a concern with poetic essence and a realm of poetry beyond prosaic reality. There, he uses conventional critical vocabulary and rarely coins new terms. Instead, he signals his new ideas by means of subtle shifts of meaning and emphasis within the traditional vocabulary. He uses concepts of the past in such a way that they appear to be oncontrovertible support for his own ideas. In this cautious fashion, he, nevertheless, alters the most cherished propositions, held by poets of the past and many of his contemporaries as well, concerning the nature of poetry. The difficulty and newness of the ideas he put forward can be inferred from the opposition with which he met, opposition that failed to grasp the premises of his arguments.

Shunzei does not seek freedom in the conventional fashion that Shunrai had; poets are not suddenly free to compose as they wish, ignoring their poetic tradition. For Shunzei, tradition remains the manifestation of the inner spirit of poetry. Instead, he robs poets of their often complacent reliance on superficial patterns. He honors the poetic diction prescribed by tradition but discards its stale patterns, which were responsive neither to reality nor to the poets' personal expressive needs. He recognizes that language, thus revivified, would no longer be merely the vehicle for the linear transmission of ideas but a substance that offered an inexhaustible mosaic of meanings and associations that had been nurtured by tradition. Further, Shunzei forces poets to seek with each poem they write the hon'i ("thusness of things") of the subject matter of their

poem. For Shunzei, the poetic tradition is the repository of hon'i, and each new poem the means of beholding this quintessence. He offers the poet a new kind of freedom and self-expression that arise, paradoxically, only when he has submitted to and made himself one with the ultimate wisdom of tradition.

The Shinkokin poets inherit Shunzei's vision of poetry; the brilliance of their poetic style is in the nature of airy dances upon the stage of Shunzei's lifelong work. In this chapter, we will examine first, how Shunzei, within the context of traditional poetic concepts, merged tradition and personal emotions; second, his understanding of a new poetic expressiveness; and third, the Shinkokin poets' interpretation of his ideals in their own critical writings.

Shunzei's hon'i: The Re-unification of Self and Poetic Tradition

Shunzei's concept of hon'i stands in immediate contrast to the poetry of conceits, which was still defended by many of his contemporaries. Shunzei makes the following judgments in the Roppyakuban utaawase:

1. Haru hi ni wa
sora ni nomi koso
agarumere
hibari no toko wa
are ya shinuran
Kenshō, Left, 95

These spring days,
When the skylarks all climb
Up into the sky,
Are not their nests
Now abandoned and desolate?

> The first line is indeed unacceptable. Generally, if we examine the habits of the skylark, we find that they neither fly up into the sky except of their own accord nor abandon their nests. In spring, they lay their eggs in the soft grasses and warm them at night. When the spring sun is warm, they fly up into the sky and look down on their nests. In this way, they fly up and then fly down. It should not be said that they abandon their nests. . . .[1]
>
> (Roppyakuban utaawase, Spring I, Round 18, "skylark," Left, Kenshō.)

---

[1] Konishi Jin'ichi, 42-43. The process of compilation and judgment of this poetry contest was as follows: In 1192, poets were invited to submit one hundred poems on set topics. Some poets, Kensho for example, were under the impression that the contest was to comprise one hundred rounds and that therefore only the best works from among their compositions would actually be entered into the contest. (See page 510 of (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase.) In the following year, officials

In his Chinjō, which Kenshō wrote in protest of Shunzei's judgments of his poems, Kensho replies:

> The first line, "haru hi ni wa" is ancient diction. We find it in the Manyōshū. . . . As for the criticism of the third line, it is accepted practice to say in poetry that "the skylark climbs into the sky," that the "water rail claps," or that "wild ducks splash." Also, we very commonly use "to cry" about various kinds of birds. Thus the fault is minor and nor worth discussing. However, as the judge has raised the question of reality and severely criticized my poem, I will speak of the matter.
>
> It is customary in waka to seek first of all for conceits and not to raise the question of reality. Because in spring the skylarks appear to climb into the sky, I have chosen to write, "their nests must be abandoned." This is the way it should be. If one raises the problem of reality, we must also question the proposition that the skylarks fly aloft and look down on their young. It is difficult to know how the skylarks feel . . .

2. Shigaraki no toyama no yuki mo kienishi wo fuyu wo nokosu ya tani no yūkaze Kenshō, Left 17	In those faraway mountains, Of distant Shigaraki The snows have vanished, But does it still preserve the wintry cold -- The evening breeze in the valley?

---

appointed by Yoshitsune placed the poems that everyone had submitted into appropriate rounds. With this text in hand, the poets of the right and of the left gathered each day at Yoshitsune's residence to debate the merits of the poems. Not all the poets were in attendance each and every day. However, Kenshō and Jakuren were rarely absent. The poets' debate was summarized and recorded and, along with the poems, sent to Shunzei, as a manuscript. After the event, Kenshō composed his Chinjō in protest of Shunzei's ignorance and unfairness.

Despite Kenshō's protestations, there is some evidence that he was given special consideration within the Roppyakuban utaawase. For example, 40 percent of his poems are placed in the first round left position for the various topics; utaawase judges traditionally avoided defeating a poem in that position. In contrast, only 7 percent of Teika's works occupy the first round left position in the same utaawase. See Kamijō Shōji, "Roppyakuban utaawase no shikaku-teki waka kyōju," Chūsei bungaku 15 (1970): 8-13.

[1]Kenshō, Kenshō chinjō, in Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, pp. 442-4.

From its first line, the poem of the left sounds lofty. It is unfortunate then that the poet has written, "the evening wind of the valley." Is not the morning wind somewhat colder? It sounds to me as though the poet had first thought of such a line as "wind in the valley," but because that line did not have enough syllables, he added the word "evening." If this is so, shouldn't he have written something like, "in the shadow of the boulders in the valley?"[1]

(Roppyakuban utaawase, Spring I, Round 9, "lingering cold," Left, Kenshō)

Kenshō replies:

When composing on the topic "lingering cold," whether the poem involves morning, dusk, night, or noon, it is sufficient if the core notion is present. Of course, it is not all unusual for it to be cold in the morning. But the wind at evening, when the sky has the look of spring, still carries traces of winter. I find in the Manyōshū:

Koitsutsu mo	When I so yearn for her,
inaba kakiwake	and, pushing aside the rice plants,
ieiseba (mod. text. Iei oreba)	I remain here in my hut,
tomoshiku mo araji	How fiercely it blows,
aki no yūkaze	The evening wind of autumn.
MYS, X:2230	

Thus I found "evening wind" a highly desirable word to use in a poem. Also, I did not use "in the valley" because the last line lacked several syllables. I do not find other examples of "evening wind" in ancient poems and so I was attracted to it. However, I find no fault with "in the shadow of the boulders in the valley" either, except for the fact that the image seems a bit too small and concentrated. I shall let the general public of poets determine which is better "evening wind of the valley" or "in the shadow of the boulders in the valley." If they are judged to be equal, then I cannot be faulted for using the former phrase. In such matters is displayed one's learning in waka.[2]

Kenshō no less than Shunzei is concerned with the individual element in poetic composition; he, however, believes that it can be attained through the use of poetic conceits.[3] In the first example

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 13.

[2]Kenshō, Kenshō chinjō, pp. 434-5. Modern Manyōshū texts give the reconstructed reading "iei oraba" for the third line of the Manyō poem that Kenshō cites.

[3]See Kamijō Shōji, "Uta no atarashisa--Shunzei to Kenshō to," Kokugo to kokubungaku 34 (October, 1957): 40-65; and Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron kenkyū (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1969), pp. 58-66.

above, Kenshō continues his argument by giving numerous examples of metaphors that involve what we would call poetic license, such as the warbler singing sadly because the blossoms in spring are late or the thrush longing for its mate. Such phrases, he asserts, are the building blocks of waka. Similarly, in the second example, he favors the contrastive handling of a topic--the coldness of the wind when all other signs of nature indicate spring.[1] More importantly, he proposes that a poet must be permitted the freedom to create conceits imaginatively without being tied down to factual details. He creates a dichotomy between fact and fiction, the empirically known and the imaginatively created, and argues in favor of the latter. A poet must be free to seek for novel images and phrases, for, according to Kenshō, that is the only way a poet can find an individual voice which will distinguish his poem from those of his predecessors. He does not perceive that by such a narrow emphasis he binds himself to the superficial patterns of their poetry. Finally, Kenshō, too, makes an appeal to factual detail, mocking what he believes is Shunzei's argument and attempting to reduce it to absurdity. If we accept Kenshō's understanding of Shunzei's viewpoint, we too must acknowledge that it is indeed difficult to ascertain factual details with absolute certitude.

Shunzei, however, argues from an utterly different standpoint, one which Kenshō could not comprehend. Shunzei speaks of the ultimately

---

[1] In contrast, Yoshitsune's and Teika's works for the same topic are:

Sora wa nao	As yet, in the sky
kasumi mo yarazu	There are no banners of haze;
kaze saete	The wind is cold,
yukige ni kumoru	And clouded with the promise of snow,
haru no yo no tsuki	The moon of this spring evening.
Yoshitsune 23	
Kasumi aezu	No haze in the sky.
nao furu yuki ni	Confined by the snow of winter
sora tojite	That yet falls,
haru mono fukaki	Still deep in an abyss is spring
uzumibi no moto	Here before the buried embers of
Teika 19	this fire.

true, the hon'i of things, whether it is empirically ascertainable or not. He does not seek the personal within a poet's idiosyncratic viewpoint of his world. Instead, he seeks the personal within the unity of the poet's self with hon'i.

Shunzei denies that freedom that would permit a poet merely to display his individual wit and imagination. First of all, poetry must be grounded in reality, as a response to that reality. Even in a period when poets composed upon set topics, or perhaps precisely because of the dangers of trivialization that such a poetic practice held, Shunzei emphasizes the poet's direct engagement with the reality of his subject.[1] Furthermore, this direct engagement must reveal the truest form of the subject, its quintessential "thusness." In the second example, therefore, Shunzei argues for a heightened and truer expression of the essential quality of lingering cold, and not just the description of some scene or another in which there is a sense of lingering cold. According to Shunzei, Kenshō's poem begins loftily with associations of remoteness and age; Shigaraki is distant from the capital and was the ancient capital of Emperor Shōmu. Earlier poems treated it in relation to remoteness and cold.[2] Given these associations, the poet should have chosen images that brought them into the most precise and unwavering focus. The morning wind, the image that Shunzei appears to prefer, is the coldest of the day and conveys a sense of piercing cold quite different from the pathos associated with the evening wind.

Such a notion of what a poem should express restricts severely the poet's imposition of his own attitudes by directing him solely toward the expression of the essential "thusness" of his subject. And Shunzei even further circumscribes this ultimate reality by defining

---

[1]See Clifton W. Royston, Jr., "Utaawase judgments as poetry criticism," Journal of Asian Studies 34 (November, 1974): 99-108.

[2]For examples of other poems using the uta-makura Shigaraki, see Murata Akio, ed., Ruiji meisho wakashū (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1981) Honbun hen, pp. 422-3.

it as the realm of truths revealed only in tradition and the poetry of the past. No matter how true they may seem, even are, to the individual poet, the facts related to this or that thing and event are incidental to their true reality. The poet must discover their timeless, noumenal forms, and these he begins to comprehend only through the deep contemplation of the poetry of the past. One one hand, he must honor tradition above all things, not merely for the precedents it provides, but because it is the repository of hon'i. There are for Shunzei no individual paths to truth. Only by submitting to the truths of tradition and past poetry can a poet hope to comprehend "the fundamental significance of things."

Shunzei designates two works that best teach us the inner spirit of poetry, that is works that are the sources of poetry and of its tradition. The first is the Kokinshū, which he differentiates conclusively from the earlier Manyōshū. The second is the Genji monogatari. Concerning the first, we find in the Roppyakuban utaawase and the Korai fūteishō:

Kujira toru	To the very bottom,
kashiko no umi no	Of that distant sea
soko made mo	Where whale are hunted,
kimi dani sumaba	I would brave the path of waves,
namiji shinoban	If I knew you dwelt there.

Kenshō, Left, 973

> Although the expression "kujira toru" appears in the Manyōshū, I believe it is found among a large number of eccentric poems. Thus it is very frightful. Even when Emperor Shin visited the isle of P'eng-lai, he spoke of lancing large fish, but he did not speak of catching them. In general, poetry should comprise things that are elegant and refined. What purpose does it serve, for oneself and for the way of poetry, to bring forth things that frighten people?[1]
>
> (Roppyakuban utaawase, Love VII, "Love and the sea," Round 7, Left.)

and in the Korai fūteishō:

> It should be noted that in the poems of high antiquity [Manyōshū], there was no conscious effort to ornament style and polish the diction, and because men's sentiments were pure and unsophisticated in those long ago times, they declared themselves in whatever words

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 338.

> happened to occur to them. Yet, even so, their concepts affect us as deep and their over-all effects as lofty. . . . It was at the time of [the Kokinshū] that good and bad poetry first came to be differentiated critically. Therefore the Kokinshū, above all, should be respected and relied upon for the basic styles of poetry. [Royston, trans.][1]

As did Shunrai before him, Kenshō believed that the use of Manyō diction could impart freshness and novelty to poetry. In his Chinjō, he chides Shunzei for misattributing the phrase in question, "kujira toru" to eccentric poems in the Manyōshū and for suggesting that people might be frightened by poetry.[2] Shunzei, however, cannot accept the Manyōshū as the source of poetry in his day, and he presents two arguments to refute Kenshō's position. First, the sensibilities of the Heian court-poetic are simply not those of the earlier work. Shunzei uses the term, "osoroshi" (frightening), several times in the Roppyakuban to indicate disapproval of poems which, in his view, were too colloquial or too forceful in their

---

[1]Royston, "Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 356.

[2]Kenshō, Kenshō Chinjō, pp. 502-3. "Kujira toru" or, in modern Manyoshu texts "Isana tori," can be found for example in MYS, II:153:

Isana tori	Ships that come rowing
Aumi no umi wo	far on the offing,
oki sakete	ships that come rowing
kogikuru fune	close by the strand
hetsukite	on Omi's whale-hunted seas:
kogikuru fune	Oars on the offing,
Okitsukai	do not splash so hard.
itaku na hane so	Oars by the strand,
hetsukai	do not splash so hard,
itaku na hane so	or the bird
wakakusa no	beloved by my husband,
tsuma no	who was gentle
omou shima tatsu	like the young grass,
MYS, II:153	will fly away.

Translation from Ian Hideo Levy, The Ten Thousand Leaves vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 1:108-9.

diction.[1] For Shunzei, the realm of poetry is that of the elegant and refined, and he narrowly limits the use of Manyō elements to those that fulfill this standard.[2]

---

[1]Shunzei uses the word "osoroshi" three more times in the Roppyakuban; on all three occasions the poem he is addressing is by Kenshō. The first is:

Tsumagoi no	Oh pheasants of the high peaks,
yatake no kigisu	Who set out to court your mates,
kokoro seyo	You must take heed,
kayou susono mo	For in the fields through which
hito asaru nari	you pass
Kenshō 83	Men have gathered for a hunt.

Shunzei objects to "yatake" and "hito asaru nari."

(Spring II, "pheasant," Round twelve, Left: defeated.) Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 39.

The second is:

Imogashima	Oh "Spouse" Island
Ara iso ni yoru	The rough waves carry to your shore
uki miru no	The floating seaweed.
uki wo mo miru wa	But my sorrows have only grown deeper,
minu ni masareri	Now that I have been permitted a
Kenshō 643	glimpse of you.

Shunzei finds "araiso" too fierce.

(Love I, "catching a glimpse of a lover," Round 21, Left: victory, p. 238)

The third is:

Asatode no	She leaves at dawn,
imo ga furikosu	Swinging her jet-black tresses --
kurokami wa	My beloved --
miru yosome sae	And even their hearts are in disarray --
kokoro midarenu	My neighbors who steal a glimpse of her.
Kenshō 799	

Shunzei writes, "Is not the configuration of 'Asatode no imo,' frightful?"

(Love IV, "love and morning," Round 10, Left: draw, p.284)

There is one final use of "osoroshi" in the Roppyakuban. In Love VIII, "love and trees," Round 8, the members of the right call a poem by Teika "osoroshi." Shunzei, however, does not echo their viewpoint (p. 358).

[2]For a discussion of Shunzei's attitude toward the Manyōshū as revealed in his utaawase judgments from age fifty onwards see Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū, pp. 466-77.

Second, this judgment, which is not unlike that already made by Mototoshi, is sustained by a greater realization that the Manyōshū existed in a state of freedom that must be denied Shunzei's own age because of the very existence of tradition and the choices it inherently implies. In the time of the Manyōshū, people expressed themselves spontaneously in whatever words they wished. Those words were theirs, and there was no discontinuity between expressive intent and language. However, by Shunzei's day, fundamental choices of lexicon, form, and sentiments have been made, choices that in his view reflect a realm of timeless meaning. Shunzei recognizes the depth and loftiness of the Manyōshū, and he is aware that the poet of his time has become estranged from innocent, spontaneous utterance. Yet, the loss of those qualities is more than compensated for by the maturity of critical discrimination.

The Kokinshū fulfills both these requirements. It reveals the proper diction and sentiments of poetry.[1] The compilers of the Kokinshū excised the archaisms of Manyō diction, and already in the Kokinshū many items of vocabulary were identified as poetic words, that is, words not commonly used except in poetry. Similarly, the poems of the Kokinshū speak of the elegant personal lives of the courtier and his lady, their refined observations upon the changing seasons and the intricacies of their emotional entanglements. In succeeding generations, many poets would reduce the orthodoxy of the Kokinshū to a matter of rigid patterns and precedents that had to be upheld at all costs. However, according to Shunzei, each poem in the Kokinshū itself reveals deep personal emotion. The choices of subject matter and diction that were later formalized as tradition were then in keeping with the needs of personal expression.

---

[1]For a more detailed discussion of Shunzei's attitude toward the Kokinshū see Ozawa Masao, "Shunzei no Kokinshū hihyō," Setsurin 18 (December, 1969):57-68; and Taniyama Shigeru, "Tsurayuki to Shunzei," Kokugo to kokubungaku 37 (June,1960):1-11. For a discussion of Kenshō's attitude toward the Kokinshū, see Ozawa Masao, "Rokujo-ke no Kokinshū hihyō," Aichi kenritsu daigaku bungkubu ronshū (Kokubungaku hen) 23 (December,1972):1-14.

Likewise, the Tale of Genji reveals this expressive role of poetry within the portrayal of lives carefully shaped to conform to ideals not only of aesthetic beauty but of essential meanings. Shunzei writes in a judgment in the Roppyakuban utaawase:[1]

Mishi aki wo	That autumn I once saw
nani ni nokosamu	What has preserved its traces?
kusa no hara	The grassy field of flowers --
hitotsu ni kawaru	All has changed to sameness
nobe no keshiki ni	In the barren plain before me.
Yoshitsune 505	

"Nani ni nokosamu kusa no hara," is elegant. The members of the right have faulted "kusa no hara." This displeases me greatly. Murasaki Shikibu excelled more as a novelist than as a poet, and the "Hana no utage" chapter of the Genji monogatari is especially refined. Poets who have not studied the Genji monogatari are most regrettable. . . .[2]

(Winter, "withered fields," Round 13: victory)

First of all, Shunzei's assertion that the Genji was required reading for poets was a significant departure from the position of his predecessors and some of his contemporaries. (One of the accusations he hurled at Kiyosuke in the Shōji hyakushu appeal was that Kiyosuke had not read the Genji.)[3] The Genji monogatari had been

---

[1]For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Shunzei's poetic ideals and the Genji monogatari see Konishi Jin'ichi, "Genji monogatari to Shinkokin-teki hyōgen," Murasaki 12 (June,1974):22-32; and Teramoto Naohiko, Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō (Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 1968), pp. 15-158.

[2]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 188.

[3]Shunzei writes in his Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō no waji shōjō: "When Norinaga undertook privately the compilation of the Shūi Kokinshū, Kiyosuke, who was an intimate friend of his, worked right beside him. This compilation produced some very unhappy results. First, the compilers placed the poem,

Teri mo sezu	It lacks brilliant clarity,
kumori mo hatenu	Yet never is it utterly concealed
haru no yo no	by clouds,
oborotsukiyo ni	The moon of the spring night,
shiku mono zo naki	What could ever equal
(SKKS, I:55, Ōe no chisato)	The charm of its hazy light?

among the poems about the moon of a summer night. They did not know

greatly admired from the time of its writing as the foremost,

---

that in the 'Utage' chapter of the Genji monogatari Naishi no kami whispered, 'The hazy moon' (oborotsukiyo). Neither Norinaga nor Kiyosuke have studied the Genji monogatari. . . ."

Shunzei goes on to point out that Norinaga and Kiyosuke are not familiar with Po Chü-i's works either, Chisato's poem is based on Po Chü-i's couplet,

> Neither bright nor dark is the hazy moon.
> Neither warm nor cold is the gentle breeze.

Fujiwara Shunzei, Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō no waji shōjō, pp. 773-4.

Kiyosuke and Kenshō were not entirely ignorant of the Genji monogatari. However, it occupied no special place in their poetics. For example, in the Ōgishō (c. 1124-44), Kiyosuke explains some vocabulary items as follows:

Kami sabite	I have waited long,
yorube ni tamaru	With this water I collected
ama mizu no	In a vessel at night,
mikusa iru made	Yet, though plankton grows there now
imo wo minu kana	Never have I been shown her visage.

"The second and third lines of this poem refer to the practice of placing a vessel in a shrine compound to collect water. A person who wanted to have a wish granted would then drink this water. I hear that this still goes on, for example, at the Tadasu Shrine. In the Izumi Shikibu shū, we find the phrase also used. [Poem deleted.] And in the Genji monogatari:

Samokoso wa	If that is so,
yorube no mizu ni	Of course your visage will vanish
kage taeme	From that water collected at night.
kakeshi aoi wo	How could one ever forget
wasurubeshi ya wa	Our meeting at the Hollyhock Festival?

This poem, too, refers to the same sort of vessel of water."

The poem above cannot be found in present-day texts of the Genji. In his judgment of the second and third volumes of love poems in the Sengohyakuban utaawase, Kenshō makes reference to the Genji fifteen times. For example, he writes concerning the following poem:

Kusa no hara	In the grassy field
toeba shiratama	I seek for her but cannot distinguish
dore wakenu	Among the droplets of dew,
hakana no hito no	The tokens of her frail reproaches --
tsuyu no kagoto ya	She who is no more.

Michitomo, Round 1276
Right:draw.

"This poem is related to the Genji work:

unequalled work of its genre, monogatari. At the same time,

Tazunebeki	Even the grassy field,
kusa no hara sae	Where I might seek for her
shimogarete	Is blighted by the frost,
tare ni towamashi	And who shall inquire of it --
michi shiba no tsuyu.	The dew along the path.
Sagoromo monogatari 1595	

In the past, people said one should not use monogatari poems as foundation poems or as precedents for one's work. But in recent years, I understand, the Genji, Ise, Yamato, and Eiga monogatari are works that poets should study. The same is probably true of the Sagoromo monogatari."

Sengohyakuban utaawase, Round 1276.

Cited in Teramoto Naohiko, Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō, pp. 661-86. See Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Sengohyakuban utaawase no kōhon to sono kenkyū (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1969), p. 626. The translation of the "Ukimiyoni" is found in Edward G. Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1976; reprint edition, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1978).

It is highly likely that Kenshō had in mind Shunzei's judgment concerning Yoshitsune's "kusa no hara" poem when he made the above statements. Besides the two poems that Kenshō cites, Michitomo may also have had in mind the following:

Honoka ni mo	I bound them loosely
nokiba no ogi wo	the reeds beneath the eaves,
musubazu wa	And reprove them now
tsuyu no kagoto wo	for having come undone.
nani ni kakemashi	(Seidensticker, trans. The Tale
Genji monogatari	of Genji, 1:81)
"Yugao" 799	

See Yamagishi Tokuhei, ed., Genji monogatari, 5 vols. vols. 14-18 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974):1:171.

and:

Shiratama ka	When my beloved asked,
nani zo to hito no	"Is it a clear gem
toishi toki	Or what might it be?"
tsuyu to kotaete	Would that I had replied
kienamashi mono wo	"A dewdrop," and perished.
	(McCullough, trans.)

See McCullough, The Tales of Ise, ep. 6, p. 73.

monogatari, because they were fictional, were held to be an inferior form of literature compared to poetry, and poets were even prohibited from writing poems that alluded to poems in monogatari. Shunzei, however, discovered in the Genji his own aesthetic ideal as well as the experiential grounds for the creation of poetry.

As Shunzei recognizes, Yoshitsune's poem refers to an episode in the "Hana no utage" chapter of the Genji in which Genji passes the night with a lady he had discovered by chance as he was returning to his apartments after the Cherry Blossom Banquet. At dawn, when they part, the lady recites the poem, "Were the lonely one to vanish quite away, would you go to the grassy moors to ask her name?"[1] In the Genji poem, "vanish" and "grassy moor," that is, the place where bodies were cremated, convey overtones of death. On a lovely spring dawn of blossoms, the lady inhabits quite another world because of her fears of Genji's inconstancy.

Yoshitsune has borrowed from the Genji poem to create a mood of piercing regret and haunting recollections within a winter poem. The fields are blighted in winter, and there is no trace of the flowers and grasses of autumn. Further, we recall the haunting beauty of the spring night of the Cherry Blossom Banquet, the lovely world of the Genji, which, too, is now lost beyond all recall.

Shunzei describes Yoshitsune's poem as elegant and refined (en and yū), and he clearly recognized the particular interplay of beauty and loss that is present both in the Genji and in Yoshitsune's poem. Japanese scholars have noted that Murasaki Shikibu's invocation of the qualities of en and yū differed from that of her predecessors. She, for the first time, defined as en or yū, scenes, not at the height of beauty and splendor, but from which those qualities were waning or lacking. Murasaki, and Shunzei as well, accepted as

---

[1]Edward G. Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:153. The Japanese original of this poem is cited above within Kenshō's Sengohyakuban utaawase judgment. See also, Yamagishi Tokuhei, ed., Genji monogatari, 1:307.

participating in beauty that which had previously been dismissed as unlovely.[1] More importantly, both recognized the compelling power of images that existed only in the mind. Ephemerality and absence could call forth complex and intoxicating images perhaps far more beautiful than their original reality.[2]

Finally, Shunzei affirms that the essense of human emotions is delineated with utter rightness of word and gesture in the Genji. In the Genji, he perceived lives that are carefully bounded by aesthetic values that are themselves the expression of the deepest human feeling. And he recognized that nowhere else was the human heart portrayed so truthfully in all its richness, pathos, and folly. "Shunzei is saying, in effect, read the Genji, and you will begin to understand why poetry is written."[3]

Finally, Shunzei re-affirms the primacy of the poet's emotional engagement to his subject within a new unity of personal emotion and hon'i. In the poetry of conceits, an attitude of objective, intellectual detachment by means of which the poet created his clever metaphors had all but eclipsed any emotional response the poet may have felt toward his subject. Further, personal emotional response had been strongly discouraged within a poetic practice founded upon the composition of poems on set topics. Shunzei, however, realized that, without the poet's emotional conviction, even a poem that attempted to reveal hon'i would be only an abstract statement about hon'i. For Shunzei, personal conviction remained the life-giving core of poetry, and in the later years of his career, he increasingly used conviction as the supreme criterion of judging a

---

[1]See Umeno Kimiko, En to sono shūhen (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979):161-95; and Sawada Masako, "Genji ni okeru bi no seikaku" in Chūsei bungaku to waka, Minemura Fubito Hakase taikan kinen ronbunshū (Tokyo: Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku Chūsei Bungaku Kenkyūkai, 1978):225-41.

[2]Konishi Jin'ichi, "Genji monogatari to Shinkokin-teki hyōgen," p. 30.

[3]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 332.

poem's worth. True, he realized that this emotional conviction could not be merely individual emotion; unharnessed to hon'i, individual emotion could easily become idiosyncratic and thus of no lasting poetic meaning. However, deep emotional conviction, refined and fused with hon'i, provides hon'i with concreteness and emotional force. Likewise, when he submits to the shaping of hon'i, a poet's self and tradition become one.

For Shunzei, the search for hon'i was both an outward and inward inquiry. Through the contemplation of the poetry of his tradition, a poet acquires hon'i.[1] Yet, it is only when the truths of hon'i have become his own, when he has sought within his own heart for these truths, that the poet acquires the vision to reveal hon'i within his poetry. For this poet, personal emotional response and hon'i are one and the same. Knowing no discontinuity between his expressive impulse and tradition and unfettered by its merely superficial patterns, he realizes a freedom that ever remained beyond the attainment of such poets as Kenshō.

True attainment of hon'i, according to Shunzei, is illustrated by the following poems:

Left

Nushi ya tare	Who is the painter
minu yo no iro wo	Who has left behind this image
utsushi oku	Of a world I have not seen?
fude no susabi ni	In the grace of the brushwork
kayou omokage	I see her haunting visage.
Teika, 1105	

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi argues in relation to the concept of hon'i that Shunzei succeeded in unifying what previously had been three separate notions of kokoro: first, the objectively observed nature of the subject of the poem; second, the poet's ideas or emotional response; and third, the manner in which the above two are rendered in the poem. Konishi Jin'ichi, "Shunzei no 'yugen fū' to shikan," Bungaku 20 (February, 1952): 108-16. See also Fujihira Haruo, Shinkokin kafū no keisei (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1969), pp. 139-52.

Right

Mizuguki no	The traces of brushwork
ato ni seki oku	Have stayed the gushing flow
takitsuse wo	Of the cascading stream.
makoto ni otosu	But alas, what truly falls
waga nimida kana	Are my own tears.

Jakuren, 1106

The members of the right have stated that the object of love and longing is vague in the poem of the left. This may indeed be so. In the poem of the right, the speaker looks at a painting of a waterfall on a screen and says, "Alas my tears truly fall." He merely stands before the screen and weeps. It is not the conception of love better served when the speaker of a poem gazes upon a painting and falls in love with a person who lived long ago whom he can only imagine?[1]

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, pp. 383-84. Within the Roppyakuban utaawase, there are striking differences between the works of such conservative poets as Rokujō Suetsune, Tsuneie, and Kenshō, or Fujiwara Kanemune and those of the more innovative poets, Yoshitsune, Ietaka, Jien, and especially Teika. How striking Teika's work for this topic, "love and pictures," is can be seen by examining several of the works by other poets. For example:

Omoi amari	Unable to bear my longing,
e ni kakitomete	I had a portrait made of her.
nagusamuru	To give me comfort.
imo ga ue ni mo	Alas, my tears are falling
namida ochikeri	On my beloved's enchanting
Kanemune, Round 15 Left, 1109.	features.
Hito shirezu	It is futile
tsukusu kokoro wa	To rend one's heart in a love
kai zo naki	She knows nothing of.
Ko ya e ni kakeru	What fulfillment shall I find
sugata naruran	With this portrait of my beloved.
Suetsune Round 16 Left, 1111	
Iza saraba	Let it be so then.
tsurenaki hito wo	If she be so cruel to me,
e ni kakite	I shall make a portrait,
mite dani koi no	And by gazing upon it
nagusame ni sen	Give some comfort to my heart.
Iefusa, Round 16 Right, 1112	
Koizuma ni	Was this portrait drawn
nite ya kakuran	To resemble my lover so?
mitsuru yori	From the first time I saw it,
e ni mo kokoro wo	It has enchanted me
utsushitsuru kana	And made captive my affections.
Tsuneie, Round 17 Right, 1114	

(Roppyakuban utaawase, Love IX, "love and pictures," Round 13, Left: victory.)

Jakuren's poem has, in a very traditional fashion, compared a waterfall to the unceasing flow of the speaker's tears. In contrast, Teika has rejected such a mechanically metaphoric treatment in order to use the idea of a painting to explore more boldly the essence of love. As his opponents point out, Teika's treatment of the topic--an expression of love for a person the speaker does not know and who perhaps does not even live in his time--seems at first highly eccentric. However, it is in fact this longing, with no hope of fulfillment and often without any concrete knowledge of the loved one, that is the essence of courtly love. In the courtly traditions of love, it was not at all unusual for a courtier or a lady to fall in love with someone having seen, for example, no more than a lovely sample of his or her calligraphy. And the image of a loved one, nurtured in longing and imagination, was often far more emotionally compelling and lasting than the actual physical presence of a lover. By removing all possibility of fulfillment and the inevitable disillusionment that would follow, Teika has revealed the isolation and the poignant unreality that are the quintessence of love in the court-poetic.

Again, we find in the Roppyakuban utaawase:

Left	
Ato mo naku	There are no traces,
kesa wa nowaki ni	As this morning is transformed
narinikeri	Into a thing of storm.
shidoro ni kieshi	Shattered, in disarray --
suga ga takegaki	The bamboo sedge fence.
Suetsune, 353	
Right	
Omoi yaru	Even my heart,
waga kokoro made	Unsettled by their imagined plight,
shiorekinu	Withers away to nothing --
nowaki suru yo no	On the night of the autumn storm,
hana no iro iro	The colors of the myriad blossoms.
Jakuren, 354	

The form of the poem of the left is not bad. However, "nowaki" should be related to such things as flowers or the grasses of the field, and thus one does not usually expect "suga ga takegaki."

> The line, "nowaki suru" of the poem of the right should probably be faulted. However, such a phrase as "waga kokoro made," seems to display depth of feeling. Does not the poem of the right indeed express the hon'i of the topic? It should be awarded the victory.[1]
>
> (Autumn I, "autumn storm" (nowaki), Round 27, Right: victory.)

We do not know whether Shunzei criticized Suetsune's poem with Jakuren's already in mind, but his statement that a poem on the topic "autumn storm" should be concerned with flowers is perfectly fulfilled by Jakuren's poem. In other words, Jakuren has sought the proper and true reality of the autumn storm. We may find Suetsune's image of the bamboo sedge fence an interesting means of suggesting the force of the storm winds, but according to Shunzei, this conception does not convey the essential meaning of autumn storm.

Further, it is not merely that Jakuren has made the correct imagistic references; such matters could be mastered by any diligent poet. More importantly, Jakuren has captured the emotional significance of the images. Shunzei points out that Jakuren's poem has depth of feeling, and we can take that statement to be part of the reason he praises the poem for expressing the hon'i of its topic. Suetsune's work is somewhat prosaic in its descriptiveness; we are merely made aware that the bamboo fence has been destroyed. Jakuren's is more complex. At first the poem appears to break into two parts, consisting simply of the expression of the speaker's feelings in the first three lines followed by descriptive imagery in the last two lines. We quickly realize, however, that this scene--the myriad colors of the blossoms swirled about by the wind in the dark night--is imagined by the speaker who mourns the blossoms. Through the act of sympathetic imagination, the speaker fuses his emotional response with the physical reality of the exterior world. What we see in the unearthly scene of the ravaged blossoms is the quintessence of the beauty and destructiveness of an autumn storm.[2]

---

[1] Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 132.

[2] It is possible that Jakuren's poem alludes to the "Nowaki"

Hon'i can be expressed fully only through deep personal

---

chapter of the Genji monogatari. The opening passage of that chapter reads: "In Akikonomu's autumn garden the plantings were more beautiful by the day. All the autumn colors were gathered together, and emphasized by low fences of black wood and red. Though the flowers were familiar, they somehow seemed different here. The morning and evening dew were like gem-studded carpets. . . . Though she was fearful for the well-being of her flowers as autumn deepened, they seemed only brighter and fresher. But then came a typhoon (nowaki), more savage than in most years. Falling flowers are always sad, but to see the dews scatter like jewels from a broken strand was for her almost torment. The great sleeve which the poet had wanted as a defense against the spring winds she wanted against those of autumn. The storm raged into the night, dark and terrible. Behind lowered shutters Akikonomu worried about her autumn flowers." Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:457.

In the original Japanese, we find the sentence: "Nowaki rei no toshi yori mo odoro odoro shiku, sora no iro kawarite, fukiizu, hana domo no shiororuru (my emphasis) wo, sashimo omoisomanu hito dani, ana warina to, omoi sawagaruru wo, mashite kusamura no tsuyu no tama no o, midaruru mama ni on kokoro madoi mo shinubeku oboshitari. . . . Kureyuku mama ni, mono mo meizu fukimayowashite, ito, mukutsukekereba, mikoshi nado mairinuruni, ushimetaku, imiji to, hana no ue wo oboshinageku." Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 3:45.

Interestingly, Shunzei himself cites the "Nowaki" chapter in Round 26 of the same topic. The poem there is:

Fuki midaru	Tempestuous --
nowaki no kaze no	The winds of the autumn storm
arakereba	Rage fiercely.
yasuki sora naki	Ah, they can find no haven
hana no iro iro	under the sky --
Iefusa Right 352	The myriad-colored blossoms.

Shunzei writes, "'Fuki midaru' reminds me of Lady Tamakazura in the 'Nowaki' chapter of the Genji, and the poem is very elegent (en)." Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 131. Shunzei refers to a scene in the chapter in which Yugiri, Genji's son, catches a glpmpse of Genji behaving in a very amorous fashion toward Tamakazura, his supposed daughter. Tamakazura recites the poem:

Fukimidaru	The tempest blows, the maiden
kaze no keshiki ni	flower has fears
ominaeshi	That the time has come for it
shiore shinubeki	to fade and die.
kokochi koso sure	
Genji "Nowaki" 1147	

Seidensticker, trans., The Tale of Genji, 1:464.

conviction. Only then does it cease to be an abstraction or a set of rules and become the underlying essence of things of which all individual emotions and experiences are a part. Shunzei accomplished this ideal in one of his own works:

Yūsareba	When evening falls
nobe no akikaze	The wind in the fields
mi ni shimite	Pierces the body,
uzura nakunari	And the quail are crying
Fukakusa no sato	In the Village of Deep Grasses.

Shunzei, SZS, IV:258

This poem is included among the autumn poems of the Senzaishū and, according to its headnote, was composed on the topic "autumn." The poem takes the form of a description of a scene of autumn dusk. It is, however, also an allusion to a well-known episode in the Ise monogatari:

> Once a man gave this poem to a lady at Fukakusa--someone in whom, it seems, he had been gradually losing interest.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Toshi wo hete | Were I to leave the house |
> | sumikoshi sato wo | Where I have dwelt |
> | idete inaba | These years, |
> | itodo Fukakusa | Might the luxuriant garden |
> | no to ya narinan | Become a tangled wilderness? |
>
> The lady's reply:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | No to naraba | If it be a wild field, |
> | uzura to narite | Then I shall be a quail |
> | nakioran | Calling plaintively -- |
> | kari ni dani ya wa | And surely you will at least |
> | kimi wa kozarami | Come briefly for a hunt. |
>
> The man, deeply moved, no longer felt inclined to leave. [McCullough, trans.][1]

The speaker of Shunzei's poem stands in the fields of autumn near the ancient village of Fukakusa. Dusk approaches and the wind grows cold. Somewhere in the grasses, perhaps in memory of the lady of the Ise monogatari or perhaps because the lady has indeed been transformed, the quail cry. Like the speaker, they feel the cold wind and also the chill of a lover's weariness of them. "Akikaze" pivots to mean both autumn wind and the wind of weariness, underscoring

---

[1]McCullough, Tales of Ise, pp. 148-49.

the atomosphere of waning love.

According to the Mumyōshō, the poet Shun'e criticized this poem, Shunzei's personal favorite, for the straight-forward expression of personal feeling of "mi ni shimite." He suggested that the poem would have been better served if this had been more subtly conveyed through imagery.[1] However, the haunting power of

---

[1]Chōmei writes: "My teacher Shun'e said to me, 'Once when I visited the Lay Priest Shunzei in his residence, I asked him which of his poems he thought was the best. "People mention this or that of your poems," I said, "but I would like to know your decision." Shunzei replied, "This work, I think, most fully speaks for me as a poet." And he quoted [the "Yūsareba" poem]. I went on, "Many people say your best work is,

Omokage ni	Sending on ahead,
hana no sugata wo	A vision of those blossoms
sakidatete	For which I long,
ikue koekinu	How many mountain ranges have
mine no shirakumo	I crossed,
(Shinchokusenshū I:57)	Journeying towards the white clouds on the peaks.

What are your feelings concerning this matter?" Shunzei replied, "Others may indeed think so, but that is not my opinion. For myself, I think it cannot be compared to the 'yusareba' poem.'"

"Shun'e went on and explained to me, 'The third line of the "yūsareba" poem is most unfortunate. For a poem of this caliber, the poet should have described the scene in such a way that the reader would sense that indeed the coldness of the wind must pierce the body. If one so boldly states what ought to be subtlely suggested, the poem becomes trivial. Now, among my own works, this is my favorite:

Miyoshino no	In lovely Yoshino,
yama kakikumori	The mountains are concealed
yuki fureba	in clouds,
fumoto no sato wa	And the snow falls;
uchi shiguretsutsu	In the vollage at the foothills
(SKKS, VI:588, Shun'e)	A cold rain falls and falls.

If people in the future are unclear about this matter, you must tell them what I said.'" Kâmo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 72-74.

the poem derives from precisely the balance of description and emotion, objectivity and subjective perception. In the first two lines, evening fields and autumn wind evoke a dark, chill sorrow which is then focused by the third line. Grammatically, "mi ni shimite" modifies "uzura"--the speaker surmises that the quail cry because of the cold autumn wind. Yet when we read the third line, we may assume that "mi" refers to the speaker, and clearly it is the presence and empathy of the speaker that gives the poem its depth. With the fifth line nominative, "Fukakusa no sato." we realize that the first four lines have distilled the quintessence of the associations of that well-known poetic place. The seemingly personal experience of the speaker and the traces of the ancient romance he finds in the dark autumn fields are given ultimate significance as the hon'i of autumn in "Fukakusa no sato."

It is in Shunzei's concept of hon'i that we see most strongly the influence of shikan. The goal of this meditation is to stop the process of conscious judgment and perception and thus to achieve unity with the Absolute, which is the true essence of all things.[1] So too, hon'i is the inner essence of poetry. Further, the effort of concentration to uncover the Absolute can be likened to the personal conviction necessary for the expression of hon'i. In meditation one achieves unity with the Absolute; when the goal is reached there is no separate identity of the self. In the expression of hon'i, in similar fashion, the quintessence of things has no existence apart from the poet himself. Shunzei tells us in the Korai fūteishō that the poet must contemplate the poetry of the past to discover the inner essence of poetry. In addition, poetry issues from the human heart, and thus the poet must seek deeply within himself for insight. The search for hon'i, at least initially, involves both a contemplation of poems outside oneself and a deep examination of the inner self. Hon'i is attained when the distinction between self and the "thusness of things" revealed

---

[1]Hurvitz, "Chih-i," p. 303.

in the poetry of the past falls away and the poet discovers his "true self."

In the fifteenth century, the renga poet Shinkei described Shunzei composing poetry:

> Very late at night he would sit by his bed in front of an oil lamp so dim that it was difficult to tell whether it was burning or not, and with a tattered court robe thrown over his shoulders and an old Court cap pulled down to his ears, he would lean on an arm-rest, hugging a wooden brazier for warmth, while he recited verse to himself in an undertone. Deep in the night when everyone else was asleep he would sit there bent over, weeping softly. [Brower and Miner, trans.][1]

This picture of Shunzei had been passed down th Shinkei who lived far in time from the Heian court. We cannot know how much it has been embellished and idealized in three centuries time. Yet we recognize in it Shunzei's belief concerning poetic composition: deep spiritual concentration and emotional engagement.

Shunzei's sugata, omokage, yūgen:
Descriptions of a New Poetry.

Shunzei's rejection of the poetry of conceits involved a fundamental change in the poet's relation to his subject matter and in his understanding of what a poem should express. For Shunzei, poetry was the means of expressing the ultimate reality of hon'i. The use of conceits, however, had also provided the poet with established patterns which enabled him to generate a poem and which made it possible for him to recognize a certain group of thirty-one syllables as being a poem. Shunzei thus also faced the task of defining an alternative poetic expressiveness that could take the place of the old patterns and which was capable of depicting hon'i. Near the end of his career, as the final summation of a lifetime of poetic composition and judgment, Shunzei made the

---

[1]Brower and Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 257. The Japanese original can be found in Shinkei, Sasamegoto, in Kido Saizō and Imoto Nōichi, ed., Renga ronshū haikai ronshū, vol. 66 of NKBT (Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 147.

following three statements concerning this matter:

> Poetry is not by any means composed only after the fashion of the painters of the Bureau of Painting who make use of every single one of the colors at their disposal, or that of the artisans of the Office of Palace Furnishings who craft things in every conceivable manner of wood-working. But a poem should have an over-all effect (sugata) that sounds both evocative (en) and appealing (okashi), whether it is simply recited or formally intoned. Minbu kyō no ie no utaawase. 1195 [Royston, trans.][1]

> In an attempt to find a metaphor for excellence in poetry, Lord Kinto called his collection the "Anthology of Golden Jewels" and Lord Michitoshi spoke in his preface to the Goshūishū of diction (kotoba) like brocade that accompanies a sensibility (kokoro) deeper than the sea. In fact, the diction need not necessarily be like silk brocade, but a poem, whether simply read off, or formally intoned, should sound somehow alluring (en) and moving (aware). To be sure, in the event of oral recitation a poem may be made to sound good or bad depending upon the voice of the speaker. Korai fūteishō. 1197 [Royston, trans.][2]

> In general, a poem need not always attempt clever (okashi) conceits nor present its ideas fully and systematically. Yet, when it is recited whether it is simply read aloud or is formally intoned, there must be something about it which sounds with allure (en) and with profundity (yūgen). A fine poem seems to be accompanied by an aura of its own above and beyond its diction and configuration. This aura (keiki) hovers about the poem much as a veil of haze trails among spring cherry blossoms, as the belling of the stag is heard before the autumn

---

[1]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p.333. For the Japanese original see Minbukyō no ie no utaawase in Kawamata Keiichi, ed., Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 24 vols. (Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki, 1928-38), 9, book 189:37. There were a total of forty-six poets involved in this poetry contest, twenty-six on each side. They included Fujiwara Chikafusa, Fujiwara Chikamune, Fujiwara Kintoki, Kintsugu, Takafusa, Kanemune, Shunzei, Rokujō Ariie, Rokujō Suetsune, Teika, Ietaka, Takanobu, Nariie, Sanuki and Tango. The topics were: summer thrush, dawn moon, deep snow, and long-standing unrequited love.

[2]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 339. For the Japanese original see Fujiwara Shunzei, Korai fūteishō, in Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, Karonshū, pp. 275-76.

> moon, as the scent of spring time pervades a hedge of plum blossoms, or as the autumn rains permeate the crimson leaves upon a peak. Such poems as "Is this not the moon?/Is not this spring the spring of old," and "held in cupped hands/Water slips through my fingers," examples I so frequently cite, resound with this indefinable richness. Jichin oshō jikaawase, Jūzenji postscript. 1198 [Royston, trans.][1]

According to Shunzei, poetic effect resides in something beyond pattern, beyond diction, and finally even beyond graspable logic; only when these are transcended does a poem arise that is accompanied by an undefinable aura of overtones and associations which are its true expressiveness. Shunzei did not face an easy task when he sought to explain his vision of poetic expressiveness, and he is further extremely cautious about putting forth his radical view. Even in these three statements, all made within a space of three years, we can see him groping toward a final definition, toward almost a final break with the entrenched notions that had sustained the poetry of the past.

In the first two passages, Shunzei is primarily concerned with diction. As expected, he rejects technical brilliance for its own sake, the exhaustively rich patterns of diction. In their place, he proposes an over-all effect, above and beyond diction, that cannot be differentiated into parts or discussed analytically. It is something that, in fact, appears to lack the very substantiality that patterns exhibit. To convey his understanding of this effect, he resorts first to the elevation of aural effect to a primary role and second to the use of certain sensual metaphors.

---

[1] Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 390. For the Japanese original see Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 10, book 218:217. The Jichin oshō jikaawase was a mock poetry contest in which Jien placed pairs of his own works (He included seven of Shunzei's poems, seven of Yoshitsune's and one of Kanezane's.) into rounds and submitted the manuscript to Shunzei for judgment. The contest comprises seven groups of fifteen rounds each. Each round is dedicated to one of the seven shrines of the Hie Shrine: Dai hiei, Shō hiei, Shōshinji, Hachiōji, Kyakunin, Jūzenji, and Sangū. The poems have a strongly religious cast. Shunzei concludes his judgment of each section with a poem that expresses his own religious thoughts.

Shunzei's concern with the aural qualities of poetry is, first of all, the practical outgrowth of his long career as an utaawase judge. In principle, a judge pronounced upon poems as he heard them recited, and even in the case of such a contest as the Roppyakuban, which Shunzei appears to have judged from manuscript, he and other poets gathered together on a number of occasions to hear ceremonial recitation of the poems.[1] (We have seen in Chōmei's description of the utaawase of his day in the previous chapter that poets even composed orally, reciting their poems to themselves as they went along.) This experience taught Shunzei to value poems that flowed smoothly and which presented their images and thoughts in an orderly fashion. In contrast, he criticizes those works whose intricate structure and disregard for proper syntax make aural comprehension difficult. However, Shunzei was not alone among poets of his day in possessing this practical understanding, and his concern for the proper utaawase poem does not fully explain his repeated attempt in the passages above to define the nature of the aural effect of poetry. For Shunzei, this concern became the foundation of his understanding on the ontology of a poem.[2]

Of all the senses, the aural is the least amenable to intellectual analysis, and being temporal in nature, cannot be easily grasped as a fixed image. Further, it cannot be traced entirely

---

[1]For a discussion of the oral presentation of poems in an utaawase and the effects of this practice on poetic judgments and on the poems themselves see Iwatsu Motoo, Utaawase no karonshi kenkyū, pp. 192-206; and Clifton W. Royston, Jr., "Utaawase judgments as Poetry Criticism," Journal of Asian Studies 34 (November, 1974): 99-108.

In relation to the Roppyakuban utaawase, Kamijō Shōji argues that the poems of the innovative style were often difficult to comprehend aurally, and that Shunzei's generally sympathetic attitude can be linked to the fact that he was reading the poems in a manuscript. See Kamijō Shōji, "Roppyakuban utaawase no shikaku-teki waka kyōju," p. 9.

[2]For a detailed discussion of Shunzei's notion of a poem's repose, see Kamijō Shōji, "Uta no yasurakasa," Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 30 (January, 1965): 120-33.

to the reciter of the poem, the poem itself, or the hearer, but rather brings about the unity of the latter two. We can look at a painting or even a poem objectively. What we hear, on the other hand, seems to reside as much in our minds as in the instrument of sound. Perception cannot be separated from response; Shunzei writes, "a poem should sound evocative and appealing and have something about it which sounds with allure and profundity." The qualities which he ascribes to the poem are in all cases subjective, and it is the unity of stimulus and response that defined for him the momentary yet absolute existence of a poem. Shunzei appears to abolish the possibility of discussing a poem as a pattern or even as a phonomenal object.

As a poet and critic, however, Shunzei appears to have found an aural description of poetry incomplete because it admitted of no further explanation. Thus he turned to visual concepts to elucidate the nature of the poem itself. In the first passage cited above, he names this over-all effect sugata.

In common usage, "sugata" means appearance or correctly attired appearance, and it involves concrete visual perception. Sugata describes surface character and attributes on which a viewer gazes objectively as things apart from himself. The use of sugata as a poetic concept derives from Tsurayuki's sama, the combined effect of kokoro and kotoba (poetic intent and diction), which he describes in terms of a pair of visual or, more generally, sensual images.[1] For example in the Kokinshū Tsurayuki characterizes the poetry of Henjō: "He has mastered the configuration (sama) of poetry, but there is little true conviction in his works. It is like being aroused by a woman depicted in a painting."[2] In the eleventh century, Fujiwara Kintō's use of "lovely configuration"

---

[1] Kotoba (diction) and kokoro (poetic intent, conception, or the poet's conviction) were the pillars of waka composition from at least the time of the Kokinshū. Critical discussion of poems very often centered upon these two concepts: an excellent poem was one in which kotoba and kokoro were in harmony.

[2] Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, p. 100.

(sugata kiyoge) foreshadows Shunzei's insight.[1] As used in Shunzei's utaawase judgments, sugata denotes not merely the harmony of kokoro and kotoba, but a new entity that precedes both in order of perception and which surpasses the analyzable effects of either. We find in the Roppyakuban utaawase:

Left

Ajikinashi	How wretched I am,
tare mo hakanaki	When at best we dare not trust
inochi mote	Our lives to last till the morrow --
tanomeba kyō no	If he is to vow to come to me,
kure wo tanome yo	Let him come before the nightfall.
Teika 681	

Right

Tada tanome	I will still trust him,
tatoeba hito no	For if the promises he made
itsuwari wo	Should prove to be lies,
kasanete koso wa	And he deceives me once more,
mata mo uramime	Then I can still learn to
Jien 682 (SKKS XIII:1223)	despise him.

Although, "If he is to vow to come to me," is very appropriate, the configuration (sugata) of "For if the promises he made should prove to be lies," sounds deep. Thus I award victory to the poem of the right.[2]

(Love II, "plighted love" Round 11, Right: victory.)

---

[1]Kintō writes: "In general a poem should have emotional depth, a lovely configuration (sugata kiyoge), and some point of interest in its conception. Such a poem, I would call, excellent. A poem should not have too many ideas or images strung together like a chain. Instead, it should be smooth, and the different elements within it thoroughly integrated. It is difficult, I find, to insure the harmony and excellence of both the poetic conception and configuration. Therefore, one should first of all give one's attention to the conception. If one finds that one cannot attain emotional depth, then one should turn one's attention to the configuration. What I mean by configuration (katachi) is this. A poem should sound lovely and pure and perhaps have an exceptional conception." Fujiwara Kintō, Shinsen Zuinō, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū Nōgakuronshū, p. 26.

[2]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, pp. 248-49. In the translation of the "Tada tanome" poem, I have followed the interpretation advanced by Kubota Jun in his Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:494-96. Other commentators see the speaker of the poem as a man who is telling a woman to give him another chance. See Minemura Fubito, ed., Shinkokin wakashu, Vol. 26 of NKBZ (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1973) 26:373. Such a reading of the poem would make the work a

Left

Hakanashi ya	How evanescent!
aretaru yado no	In the wretched dwelling where
utatane ni	she dozes,
inazuma kayou	For a moment,
tamakura no tsuyu	A flash of lightning abides,
Yoshitsune, 333	On her pillow bathed in dew.

Right

Sudakikoshi	The light of the fireflies
sawa no hotaru wa	That once swarmed over the marsh
kage kiete	Has faded away:
taedae yadoru	And reflecting, now here now there,
yoi no inazuma	Brief flickers of lightning in
Jakuren, 334	the dark.

The kotoba-sugata of the poem of the left appears alluring (en), but the line which says "How evanescent!" should perhaps have been given more thought. The poem of the right is also elegant (yu). . . .[1]

(Autumn I, "lightning," Round 17, Left: victory.)

Left

Konogoro no	Were I to seek
kokoro no soko wo	Elsewhere, outside myself
yoso ni miba	For the depths of my heart of
shika naku nobe no	late:
akikaze no kure	An evening of the autumn wind
Yoshitsune, 1067	When deer cry in the fields.

Right

Kurekakaru	Darkness gathers --
susono no tsuyu ni	In the fields by the foothills
shika nakite	Deer cry amidst the dew,
hito matsu sode ni	And tears fall to drench anew
namida sounari	Sleeves that await a lover.
Jien, 1068	

The overtones I hear in "the autumn evening when deer cry in the fields" seem inexhaustible. Yet, the sugata-kokoro of "And tears fall to drench anew sleeves that await a lover" is elegant. Thus this match is a draw between good poems.[2]

(Love XIII, "plighted love," Round 24: draw.)

---

very unusual treatment of the topic "plighted love." In addition, similar poems tend to be paired in rounds in the Roppyakuban, and the speaker of Teika's poem is clearly a woman. Finally, it is uncommon for the word "hito" to refer to the speaker of a poem.

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, pp. 124-35.

[2]Ibid. pp. 369-70.

Shunzei uses the term sugata to designate the over-all configuration of a poem or parts of a poem: meaning, aural qualities, imagery, and associations. Sugata is the poem as it exists for us at the moment of perception before we differentiate diction from conception, or conception from intent. Shunzei does not abandon the concepts of kokoro and kotoba. He continues to use them throughout his career, and in particular, from the time of the Udaijin Kanezane no ie no utaawase of 1179, he especially stressed kokoro (conviction), at times as the sole criterion of judgment. At the same time, he attempted to re-unify kokoro and kotoba within the larger whole of sugata, singling out, as in the examples above, kokoro or kotoba when it is a special contributing factor of sugata. Thus he praises the kotoba-sugata of Yoshitsune's poem on lightning, which uses diction--"aretaru yado," "utatane," "inazuma" (homophonous with "tsuma" meaning spouse), "tamakura," "tsuyu" (nearly always suggestive of tears)--that conjures up the atmosphere of love.[2] Likewise, he indicates approval of the sugata-kokoro of Jien's poem on the topic "love and animals." The first three lines of this poem convey a general mood of the sorrow of autumn. The declarative phrase "hito matsu" focuses that sorrow by revealing that it is that of a woman awaiting her lover. Her tears fall on sleeves already moistened by the dew, the chillness of which has caused the deer too to cry in anguish. Shunzei lauds the effectiveness of this phrase in conveying the distress of the lady.

Shunzei recognized that it is not sufficient to say that the conception (kokoro) was deeply moving or to discuss diction in isolation, for we become aware of both only as part of the

---

[1]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," pp. 241, 258-61.

[2]For a discussion of the phrase "Hakanashi ya" to which Shunzei appears to object slightly see Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "'Hakanashi ya' ko--Shinkokin-teki kugire no tame ni," Mukogawa kokubun 5 (March, 1973): 34-44.

poem's total configuration. Poetic effect arises from this gestalt of a poem's configuration.

In the final passage from the Jichin Oshō Jikaawase, Shunzei will abandon even this concept of sugata as perhaps too concrete and too suggestive of analyzable patterns. In its place, he will assert that a poem must possess an aura (keiki) that surpasses its configuration and will introduce thenotion of yūgen (mystery and depth). In the first two passages too, however, there are intimations of the growing clarification of his ideas in that direction. They are Shunzei's use of en and okashi to describe the effect of sugata in the first passage and his substitution of aware for okashi in the second. Let us begin our examination with en (elegance, loveliness), which appears in all three passages and which always remained Shunzei's poetic ideal.

As discussed earlier, the quality of en or yūen exemplified Shunzei's vision of the poetic and is linked to the courtly world and refined sensibilities of the Genji monogatari. As a description of the expressive quality of a poem, Shunzei's en also designates a lustrous beauty of diction or configuration and the richness of poetic associations. In the Roppyakuban utaawase, we find:

Utsu no yama	On Utsu mountain,
koeshi mukashi no	All traces of his ancient passage
ato furite	Have faded away,
tsuta no kareha ni	And the autumn wind blows
akikaze zo fuku	Among the withered leaves of ivy.
Yoshitsune, 431, Left	

The poem of the left brings to mind the traces of the past of Utsu mountain. The conception (kokoro) of "The autumn wind blows among the withered leaves of ivy," is especially lovely (en).[1]

(Autumn II, "ivy," Round 6 Left: victory.)

Koisomeshi	The color of my feelings,
omoi no tsuma no	Tinged by the awakening of love
iro zo sore	Is no other than this:
mi ni shimu haru no	Now permeating my being --
hana no koromode	Her sleeves the hue of spring
Teika, 1123, Left	blossoms.

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 161.

> In the poem of the left, such phrases as "sleeves the hue of spring blossoms," appear lovely (en). However, "Is no other than this," seems very difficult to understand. . . .[1]
>
> (Love IX, "love and garments," Round 22, Left: draw.)

The first poem relates to an episode in the Ise monogatari in which Narihira's journey to the eastern provinces is recounted:

> At Mount Utsu the road they were to follow was dark, narrow, and overgrown with ivy vines and maples. As they contemplated it with dismal forebodings, a wandering ascetic appeared and asked, "What are you doing on a road like this?" The man [Narihira], recognizing him as someone he had once known by signt, gave him a message for a lady in the capital:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Suruga naru | Beside Mount Utsu |
> | Utsu no yamabe no | In Suruga |
> | Utsutsu ni mo | I can see you |
> | Yume ni mo nito ni | Neither waking |
> | Awanunarikeri | Nor, alas, even in my dreams. |
> | SKKS, X:904, Narihira | [McCullough, trans. p. 75][2] |

The "traces" and "past" in Yoshitsune's poem refer to Narihira. The speaker of Yoshitsune's poem has journeyed to Mt Utsu, but all traces of Narihira's visit have been lost. He finds remaining only the deep red leaves of ivy, blown by the autumn wind. The scene itself is lonely but beautiful. In the Ise poem, the season is unspecified; from the sequence of poems, it is probably the fifth month. In Yoshitsune's work, however, it is clearly autumn, the season of loss and decay, and even nature itself has changed beyond all recall. At the same time, most commonly poems on the topic ivy dealt with the colorful autumnal red of its leaves in contrast to the evergreen pine.[3] The beauty of that image lingers in Yoshitsune's poem. Earlier in autumn, the color of the leaves would have been more brilliant. Likewise, earlier in time, Narihira visited this place. The deep red leaves of ivy, already

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 392-93.

[2] McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 75.

[3] See the poems listed under the topic "ivy" in the sixth volume of autumn poems in the Fuboku wakashū. Nakazuka Eijirō, ed., Fuboku wakashū, vol. 21 of Kōchū kokka taikei (Tokyo: Kokumin Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1930), pp. 434-36.

at the mercy of the autumn wind, are the final traces of a lovelier season and a lovelier time.

Shunzei does not call a poem en merely because of reference to monogatari or other works of the past. Such references are only a technique a poet uses in order to focus the associations which the imagery and diction of a poem may conjure up. Thus Teika's poem, which is the second example above, makes no specific allusion to any work from the past. Shunzei responds to the righ suggestiveness which arises from the very ambiguity of the phrase, "hana no koromode." Taken singly, the words "hana" and "koromode" are extremely familiar in the poetic tradition. The first suggests all the loveliness of spring and its ephemerality; the latter, the delicate hues of the sleeves of the layered garments worn by court ladies, a mere glimpse of which, spilling from behind screens or from a carriage, could plunge a gentleman into love. Joined as a phrase, the two words create a wonderful ambiguity of meaning within the free play of the associations. Does "hana no koromode" refer to sleeves the color of spring blossoms, the sleeves of a lady who has plucked a sprig of blossoms, or a distant scene of blossoms only partially glimpsed? Judgment is made more difficult by the fact that Teika has placed the phrase within a complex network of associated words and pivots: "Someshi" (to dye), "tsuma" (the hem of a skirt), "iro" (color), "shimu" (to permeate), and "koromode" (sleeves) are all words associated with garments. "Someshi" in "koisomeshi" also means to begin (to love); "tsuma" pivots to mean both spouse and the point from which something unravels, the point of origin; and "iro" also means aspect. Further, Teika appears to use "hana no koromode" as a metaphor for the first delicate stirrings of emotion that signal the beginning of love. Shunzei himself found this poem difficult to understand logically. But he comes back to the loveliness of the phrase "hana no koromode," which conveys so richly the delicacy and ephemerality of courtly love.

Both okashi and aware are qualities that have been traditionally associated with en. They are the two aesthetic terms

most widely used in Heian culture and are often paired as the two sides of the Heian appreciation of beauty. It is not surprising, therefore, that Shunzei should select these two terms or that, having used okashi in the Minbu kyō no utaawase statement, he would then use aware in the Korai fūteishō. Likewise it is easy for us to dismiss Shunzei's use of the terms as no more than their familiar, complementary pairing and to fail to reexamine their meanings in conjunction with the development of Shunzei's argument in the three passages. Okashi and aware differ significantly not merely in the qualities they define but more importantly in the perceiver's relation to the object of perception. When Shunzei replaces okashi with aware, he underscores first, the emotional qualities of poetry, and second, the indefinable qualities of poetic effect.

Okashi, as commonly used in Heian literature, denotes an attractive, engaging quality of a person, thing, or scene. It names a specific surface characteristic, whether visual, aural, or tactile, that draws the perceiver's attention.[1] When applied to language, it suggests something close to wit. One is not asked to respond emotionally but only to find pleasure in what is pretty and diverting. In the Genji monogatari we find:

> Her complexion was fair and lovely ("shirō okashige ni"). Her face pleasantly plump. . . . Her hair was not particularly long, but the fall of her tresses, the manner in which they draped over her shoulders were very beautiful. In all, she had no unpleasing features and was a lovely woman ("okashige naru hito"). "Utsusemi"[2]
>
> Genji stopped by and was much diverted ("okashiku oboshite") by the sight of the ladies, every one staunch in her opinion, vigorously debating the merits of the illustrations. "Eawase"[3]

---

[1]See Okazaki Yoshie, Bi no dentō (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1940), pp. 3-24. For a discussion of aware's possible relation to yūgen, see Teramoto Naohiko, Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō, pp. 82-150.

[2]Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 1:111. Also see Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:50.

[3]Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 2:181. Also see Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:312.

In both cases, Genji is an uninvolved spectator. In the first scene, he spies upon Utsusemi and this lady playing draughts. Utsusemi's companion sits facing Genji, and he can see her fully. However, it is Utsusemi with whom he is infatuated, and of her companion's charms he speaks only as a connoisseur of women who has found yet another to delight his senses. In the second scene, Genji comes upon a group of ladies of his household who are charmingly discussing illustrations to old tales and composing witty poems to defend their views.

In his poetic judgments, Shunzei uses okashi very frequently as a term of fairly mild praise, ranging in meaning from attractive and captivating to merely interesting and good. In the Roppyakuban, we find:

Left

Sora wa nao	As yet, in the sky
kasumi mo yarazu	There are no banners of haze.
kaze saete	The wind is cold,
yukige ni kumoru	And clouded with the promise
haru no yo no tsuki	of snow,
Yoshitsune, 23	The moon of this spring evening.

Right

Ume ga e no	The rich perfume
nioi bakari ya	Of the sprig of plum blossoms
haru naran	Is the only sign of spring.
nao yuki fukashi	The snow is still deep
mado no akebono	Outside this window at dawn.
Jakuren, 24	

The diction and configuration (sugata-kotoba) of both poems are lovely and refined. The lines, "The snow is still deep outside this window at dawn," and "Clouded with the promise of snow, the moon of this spring evening," are captivating (okashi).[1]

(Spring I, "lingering cold," Round 12, Left: victory.)

Hitori fusu	As I lie alone
ashi no maroya no	In the reed-thatched hut,
shita tsuyu ni	Dew spills onto the grasses
toko wo narabete	below,
uzura nakunari	And in their pallets next to
Yoshitsune, 345, Left	mine,
	The quail are crying.

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 16.

. . . . "In their pallets next to mine," sounds interesting (okashi). . . .[1]

(Autumn I, "quail," Round 23, Left: victory.)

Historically, poets used the term okashi to indicate their approval of novel and interesting conceits. Shunzei, too, despite his rejection of conceits, uses okashi in like manner to refer to verbal artistry. In both judgments above, he speaks of the interesting or captivating manner in which a line or several lines of a poem have been rendered by the poet. His judgments are devoid of any suggestion that he is moved by the poems, but at the same time, he does recognize their craftsmenship. He finds pleasure in the gifted use of language.

In contrast, aware involves a far deeper emotional response to the mood of a person or scene and is characterized by the absence of clearly distinguishable physical features that are responsible for producing a response in a perceivor. We find in the Genji monogatari:

> The sun began to set. The sky grew misty and melancholy (aware). The shadows of the mountains appeared to darken, and the cicadas sang shrilly. . . . "Yugiri"[2]

In this scene, Genji's son Yugiri has come to visit the Lady Ochiba, Kashiwagi's widow, with whom he is in love. Ochiba had come to live in this remote place so that her mother, who suffered from a serious illness caused by a spirit possession, could be exorcised by a famous ascetic.

Unlike the clear, objective description of okashi above, there is a vagueness about this scene in which nothing calls attention to itself as a point of interest. Aware occurs very often in such phrases as "nani to naku aware" (somehow filled with pathos) or "aware wo shiru" (to recognize pathos), and it involves an understanding of something that may be absent from the surface

---

[1] Ibid., p. 345.

[2] Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 4:128. Cited in Teramoto Naohiko, Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō, pp. 88-89.

character of things but which is its true essence. Further, in the passage above, "misty and melancholy," "shadows," "darken," are not merely descriptive of a given scene but cumulatively create an atmosphere which reflects the state of mind of the perceiver. To recognize aware, a perceiver must be willing to permit an emotional unity with another person or scene.

Shunzei uses aware far less often than okashi in his utaawase judgments,[1] perhaps precisely because it would seem to speak so strongly of his own emotional response as the reader of a poem. When he does use it, he does not depart from the traditional implications of pathos, beauty tinged with sorrow. In the Roppyakuban:

Koiwataru	Lying in longing,
yoha no samushiro	On the cold straw matting
nami kakete	this evening --
kaku ya machiken	The river waves her coverlet --
Uji no hashihime	Does she thus await her lover,
Yoshitsune, 1019, Left	The lady of the Uji Bridge?

The lines "Does she thus await her lover, the lady of the Uji Bridge" remind me of an ancient tale, and their configuration (sugata) appears deeply moving (aware). . . .[2]

(Love VII, "love and bridges," Round 30, Left: victory.)

Yoshitsune's poem alludes to the famous Kokinshū poem:

Samushiro ni	On the cold straw matting
koromo katashiki	She spreads out a garment,
koyoi wo mo	This evening too
ware wo machiken	She must await me there,
Uji no hashihime	The lady of the Uji Bridge.
KKS, XIV 689	

Shunzei acknowledges this allusion in his statement that "Does she thus await me . . ." reminds him of an ancient tale. (Shunzei may also recognize an allusion to the ladies of Uji who appear in the "Uji chapters" of the Genji monogatari.) He does not say, however, that the poem is aware because of such an allusion. The

---

[1] In the Roppyakuban utaawase, Shunzei uses the term aware nine times. Okashi is used sixty-five times.

[2] Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 253.

phrase, "Does she thus await her lover," conveys the speaker's pity and also his sense of wonder when he imagines the lady of the Uji Bridge endlessly awaiting her lover.[1]

Between the relation of the term okashi to aware and that of poetic conceits to hon'i, there is a striking parallel. As we noted above, okashi was very often used to describe poetic conceits because of its implications of objectivity and surface interest. Similarly, the unity of perceiver and what is perceived that we find in aware is reminiscent of Shunzei's concept of hon'i and his understanding of the role of personal conviction. Further, aware describes a response to a deeper essence of things that is not superficially obvious. This is the same direction that Shunzei took in his understanding of poetic effect when he began to emphasize sugata. It is probably no coincidence that in the Korai fūteishō passage, Shunzei begins to speak of a poetic effect which is somehow ("nani to naku") alluring and moving (en and aware). Even for Shunzei, okashi could only accommodate artistry of diction. Such craft is basic to all poetry and certainly to Shunzei's, which demanded unparalleled sensitivity to all the associations and aural qualities of diction. However, precisely because he wished to speak of the effect these could have and of the unity of self and object that hon'i demanded, he turned to aware as a means of suggesting these ideas with a familiar term.

Shunzei does not remain content with either sugata, okashi, or aware as descriptions of poetic effect. In the final passage from the Jichin oshō postscript, he suggests that the poetic effect he sought was altogether "other," both from our normal sense of the poem as a physical object and from familiar emotional responses. He begins by rejecting conceits, okashi, and the prosaic lucidity

---

[1]The image of the Lady of the Uji Bridge was popular among the Shinkokin poets. It appears in none of the imperial anthologies between the Kokinshū and the Shinkokinshū. However, in the latter, it is used four times in poem 420 by Teika, 611 by Hōin Kōshō, 637 by Jien, and 742 by Saki no Dainagon Takafusa. Teika's poem is discussed in detail in Chapter III of this study.

that is associated with them. In other words, he dismisses the conventional underpinnings of the organization of a poem. In their place he speaks of an aura (kaiki) that surpasses even the poem's configuration, and for the first time gives special weight to the term yūgen. The Jichin oshō postscript defines Shunzei's final opposition to such conservative poets as Kenshō and paves the way for the acceptance of the innovative poems of Teika and his generation. Even Shunzei's choice of the term yūgen may have been influenced by the use of the same term by the conservative poets to disparage Teika's poetic style. Finally, however, we will see that Shunzei draws back from a full identification with the efforts of the younger, innovative poets. The Jichin oshō postscript divides the age of Shunzei from that of the younger Shinkokin poets.

In this passage, Shunzei speaks of an aura that accompanies and complements a poem, an aura which, according to his metaphorical argumentation, possesses as much reality as the poem itself. The four pairs of metaphors, a veil of haze trailing among spring blossoms, the belling of stags before the autumn moon, the scent of springtime pervading a hedge of plum blossoms, the autumn rains permeating the crimson leaves upon a peak, exemplify the beauty of spring and autumn. In the poetic imagination of the time, one image of the pair demanded its complementary partner. Thus the belling of stags is sorrowful, the autumn moon lovely. Aesthetic perfection is achieved when one experiences these two images as one. Further, within each pair, the images are not merely juxtaposed but are rather intermingled. Shunzei speaks of "permeated" and "pervades," and likewise, haze trailing among cherry blossoms is indistinguishable from the blossoms. Shunzei avoids making any distinction between which image of each pair one is to regard as the poem and which its accompanying aura. For Shunzei, here both are equally real.

Shunzei names this aura keiki, or more commonly in his writings, omokage.[1] In the discussion above, we noted that sugata originally meant appearance or formally attired appearance. In contrast, keiki and especially omokage, suggest a more nebulous and complex evocation of mood. Keiki is a Chinese compound that means the spirit-force or vitality of a scene, its unseen but animating force. The Japanese word omokage means the vision of a person or place that is conjured up in its absence, and is, in

---

[1]Shunzei's use of keiki in the Jichin oshō postscript may have been influenced by Shun'e's use of the same term. Chōmei writes in the Mumyōshō: "Shun'e said, 'Those poems that I have heard others call excellent can be likened to damask, with flat patterns on a plain woven ground. In contrast, poems which I feel have inimitable excellence and appeal can be likened to brocade. The atmosphere (keiki) of such poems hovers about the words themselves. For example,

Honobono to	Dimly, dimly,
Akashi no ura no	In the bay of Akashi
asagiri ni	In the morning mist,
shimagakure yuku	It vanishes among the isles --
fune wo shi zo omou	The boat I yearn for.

KKS, IX:409 Anon.

Tsuki ya aran	Is this not the moon?
haru ya mukashi no	Is this spring not that spring
haru naranu	Of yesteryear?
waga mi hitotsu wa	Only this body of mine
moto no mi ni shite	Is the same body that was.

Ise monogatari, ep. 4 (KKS, XV:747 Narihira)

In such poems, overtones of feeling lie within and an atmosphere hovers about them. . . .'"

Shun'e also uses the term omokage. In the same passage, Chōmei writes: "Again, Shun'e said, 'Here is another example:

Omoikane	Unable to bear my longing,
imogari yukeba	I set out to seek my love.
fuyu no yo no	In the winter night,
kawakaze samumi	A cold wind sweeps the riverbed,
chidori nakunari	And I hear the plovers crying.

SIS, IV:224 Tsurayuki

There is no poem that can equal this work in its suggestiveness (omokage). . . .'" Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 88-90.

a sense, the antonym of sugata.[1] It appears in Japanese poetry from as early as the Manyōshū, where in thirteen of the fourteen poems in which the word appears, it refers to a vision of an absent lover.[2] Thus omokage cannot be separated from a perceiver's subjective state

---

[1]For a detailed discussion of the etymology of the term omokage, see Akahane Shuku, "Teika ni okeru omokage," Notorudamu Seishin joshi daigaku kiyō, Kokugo kokubungaku hen 6. no. 1 (1982): 5-16. Akahane traces the use of the word from its origins through the Manyōshū and the Genji monogatari up to the time of the Shin-kokinshū. Concerning the Genji monogatari, he concludes: "In the Manyōshū, both dream and omokage were explained in a similar fashion. One's soul, in an excess of yearning, leaves one's body and travels to the loved one to be there seen by him or her. The only difference lay in the fact that in dream one is asleep, and in omokage awake. In the Genji, however, the relation between dream and omokage becomes a means of creating a synthesis between the opposing concepts of day and night, consciousness and un-consciousness, reality and the surreal, and reason and irrationality. No doubt, as commentators on the Genji have remarked through the centuries, such an attitude reflects the Buddhist world view that holds that 'All things are neither real nor empty; all things are both real and empty.' And, we can trace the development of the conception of seeing as a concrete image what could not conceivably be seen by the human eye through the Manyōshū and the Genji monogatari to the Shinkokinshū" (page 15 of above article).

[2]We find, for example, in the Manyōshū:

Yūsareba	When evening falls
mono omoi masaru	my longing over things increases,
mishi hito no	as an apparition of the one I met
koto tou sugata	comes speaking to me.
omokage ni shite	(Levy, trans. p. 285)
MYS, IV:602 Kasa no iratsume	

Yo no hodoro	A vision of my woman appears
waga idete kureba	before me:
wagimoko ga	sunken into longing
omerishikushi	when I came out from her house
omokage ni miyu	as night yielded to wisps of dawn.
MYS, IV:754 Ōtomo no Yakamochi	(Levy, trans. p. 329)

Levy, The Ten Thousand Leaves, pp. 285 and 329.

of mind. In the Shinkokin period, the term often carries connotations of vestiges, shadows cast by longing that take substance in dream and memory.[1] These vestiges are not, as might be expected, regarded as illusory, but rather as the true, unchanging essence of things. Omokage arises when a person or scene is physically absent. However, in the perceiver's mind that very absence becomes paradoxically a far more compelling, at times even obsessive, presence.

In Shunzei's poetry judgments, both keiki and omokage are related to imagery. However, they are not the images and mood that are directly expressed but belong to something else that is evoked above and beyond them.[2] One of the few instances in which Shunzei uses the term keiki is in the Roppyakuban utaawase.[3]

---

[1]In the Shinkokinshū, we find for example:

Naki ato no	After his death,
omokage wo nomi	His visage is your sole and
mi ni soete	constant companion
sa koso wa hito no	That you embrace to yourself.
koishikarurame	Indeed then, how deeply you
SKKS, VIII:837 Saigyō	must feel,
	The sorrow of your grievous loss.
Tsuyu harau	I awaken,
nezame wa aki no	And, as in that autumn of the past,
mukashi nite	Sweep away the dew and tears;
mihatenu yume ni	In my unfinished dream
nokoru omokage	His visage still lingers before me.
SKKS, XIV:1326 Shunzei kyō	
no musume	

[2]In terms of their usage, omokage and keiki, unlike kokoro, kotoba, aware, en, and so on, are never used in a negative sense. Shunzei does not speak of a poem lacking omokage or keiki.

[3]We have only two extant examples of Shunzei's use of keiki. The other occasion is Round 181 of the Sengohyakuban utaawase:

Kaeru kari	Amidst the haze,
kasumi no uchi ni	The geese fly homewards now,
koe wa shite	Raising their cries.
mono urameshiki	Ah, never shall I have my fill
haru no keshiki ya	Of the beauty of this scene of spring.
Gotoba	

"The poem of the left makes me feel as though I see before me the

Haru fukaki	Deep in spring --
nobe no kasumi no	Lifted by the breeze in the fields,
shitakaze ni	Still covered by haze,
fukarete agaru	Ah, an evening skylark
yū hibari kana	Now flies up into the sky.
Jien, Right, 94	

> In the poem of the right, the conception of the skylark being blown by the breeze and ascending into the sky does seem somewhat questionable. However, the lines, "the breeze in the fields still covered by haze," truly appear to have about them an aura (keiki) that suggests that the breeze is blowing gently. . . .[1]
>
> (Spring II, "skylark," Round 17: Draw.)

The members of the opposing side had criticized Jien's poem on the grounds that the skylark ascending by being blown by the wind seemed an excessive conceit. They ask, "Can't a skylark ascend with the breeze blowing?" Shunzei concurs with their opinion, but goes on to say that the poem nevertheless suggests something more than it explicitly describes. When Shunzei speaks of a gentle breeze, he is not making an issue of whether or not it had sufficient strength to lift the skylark from its nest in the grasses. Rather, he is responding to the suggestion of warmth and tranquility in the poem. Spring is well advanced, the fields rich in verdure. Haze veils the fields undisturbed by the faint breeze that stirs beneath it. From the depths of this quiet scene, a single skylark rises and ascends into the sky. Shunzei does not award Jien the victory in the round. The apparent conceit remains a distraction in what might have been a more purely evocative poem.[2]

---

scene of geese flying homeward through the spring haze." (Round 181, Left: victory.) See Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Sengohyakuban utaawase no kōhon to sono kenkyū (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1968), p. 87.

[1] Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 42.

[2] Shunzei's use of keiki in the judgment of Jien's poem may have been influenced by the statement of the members of the right concerning the same poem: "This poem suggests a scene (keiki) in which the wind blows gently and appears to lift the skylark into the sky." Ibid., p. 42.

Omokage too relates to the creation of an enveloping mood from images which themselves are vague in form, whose details and chromatic effect are indistinct.[1] In the Jichin oshō jikaawase itself, we find:

Tsuki sayuru	The moonlight grows cold --
Mitarashigawa ni	Glistening in reflection
kage miete	In the purifying stream --
kōri ni sureru	Sleeves of mountain indigo
yamaai no sode	Trail upon the ice.

Shunzei, "The avatar Jūzenji" Round 9
SKKS, XIX:1889

> Although the idea of the moon shining on the purifying stream is commonplace, the conception expressed in the lines, "kōri ni sureru . . . has, I believe, a suggestion of omokage.[2]

This poem is, first of all, one of seven Shunzei's works which Jien had placed in his jikaawase (a mock poetry contest in which a poet arranges pairs of his own works into rounds). Originally, Shunzei had written this poem to be placed on a screen which depicted the dancers of the Kamo Rinji festival.[3] As Shunzei admits,

---

[1]Shunzei uses the term omokage fifteen times in his poetry judgments: once in the Hirota no yashiro no utaawase of 1172 ("snow falling before the shrine," Round 6); once in the Wakeikazuchi no yashiro no utaawase of 1178 ("haze," Round 25); twice in the Udaijin Kanezane no ie no utaawase of 1198 (Round 2 and Round 11); five times in the Gokyōgoku jikaawase of 1198 (Rounds 7, 12, 13, 17, and 55); three times in the Jichin oshō jikaawase of 1198 (Hachiōji Round 4, Kyakunin Round 9, and Jūzenji Round 9); and three times in the Sengohyakuban utaawase of 1201 (Rounds 251, 256, and 271).

For detailed discussion of Shunzei's use of omokage, see Takeda Motoharu, Chūsei karon o meguru kenkyū (Tokyo: Ofūsha, 1978), pp. 29-40; and Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron kenkyū (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1969), pp. 68-81.

[2]Jichin oshō jikaawase in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 10, book 218:212.

[3]Bunji rokunen (1190) nyōgo onbyōbu waka. The Kamo Rinji no matsuri was a festival held yearly at the Kamo Shrine near the end of the eleventh month.

the idea of moonlight reflecting in a stream is commonplace. In his poem, however, he goes much further within an interplay of darkness and cold light to suggest the awe-inspiring purity of the shrine ceremony. In the dark night, the cold moonlight, itself already suggestive of purity is reflected in the ritual stream. The only touch of color is the indigo sleeves of the dancers. The stream, on which the moonlight appears to have laid a sheet of ice, reflects the sleeves, and the "ice" appears to be dyed indigo. (The lines "kōri ni sureru yamaai no sode" can mean sleeves trailing in ice, sleeves dyed by ice, or sleeves that dye the ice.) We see nothing clearly, only reflections within reflections, which make all things one. Moonlight, ice, stream, and sleeves are joined into a single effect of cold purity.

Shunzei does not view omokage as an illusion that beguiles one for a moment. Instead, when he speaks of this quality, "he is looking into a world of ultimate reality, one which can be glimpsed rarely, and faintly, and only through the medium of poetry."[1] In a good poem, we relinquish the patterns of judgment that usually make up our thinking and, in a sense, see through the substance of our common world. As the words, omokage and keiki suggest, one's vision of this ultimate reality cannot be fully elucidated; one lacks tools for analysis.

To stress these ideas further, Shunzei chooses, in the place of okashi and aware in the Jichin oshō postscript, the new term yūgen.[2] He thus speaks of an aura that is somehow en and yūgen.

---

[1]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Judgments of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 388.

[2]The notion of yūgen is one of the pillars of Japanese aesthetics and as such Japanese scholars have examined the concept at great length. As a general trend, however, pre-war scholars argued in favor of yūgen as Shunzei's poetic ideal, in part it seems because of the immense importance yūgen was to assume in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the aesthetics of Nō drama. These scholars have also examined exhaustively the etymology and history of the use of the term yūgen both in Japan and China. More recently, scholars have questioned the central role of yūgen in

This statement is also closely echoed in a judgment in the Sengohyakuban utaawase four years later:

Left	
Kaze fukeba	When the wind blows,
hana no shirakumo	The white coulds of blossoms
yaya kiete	Grow diaphanous.
yona yona haruru	And night upon night, shines
Miyoshino no tsuki	more clearly,
Gotoba 36272	The moon of lovely Yoshino.
Right	
Hana yue ni	Were I to say
oshimu kyō zo to	That because of the blossoms
iu naraba	I regret the passing of this day,
kaete haru ya wa	Would not spring itself
ware wo uraminu	Look upon me with resentment?
Kanemune 36273	

In the poem of the left, the image of the moon from which the wind clears away the clouds appears more alluring (en) than an entirely cloudless autumn sky. I feel as though I were seeing the scene in my mind. In the poem of the right, the diction of "Were I to say that I regret the passing of this day," seems lucid. However, in this way of poetry, such lines as "Night upon night, shines more clearly, the moon of lovely Yoshino," that are yūgen and difficult to attain are to be desired.[1]

(Spring IV, Round 271, Left: victory.)

Shunzei's poetics. More important, these post-war scholars have attempted to define yūgen more strictly and concretely in relation to the poems which Shunzei himself termed yūgen.

Major works on yūgen are: Nose Asaji, Yūgen ron (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1944); Taniyama Shigeru, Yūgen no kenkyū (Tokyo: Kyōiku Tosho, 1943). This work is reprinted in Taniyama Shigeru Chosakushū v. 1 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982). Minemura Fubito, "Yūgenbi no keisei katei," Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō 1 (January, 1955): 197-316. More recently: Tanaka Yutaka, "Yūgen no hihan," in his Chūsei Bungakuron kenkyū, pp. 82-104; Fujihira Haruo, "Yūgen ron hihan," in his Shinkokin kafū no keisei, pp. 155-176; Takeda Motoharo, "Shunzei karon ni okeru yūgen," in his Chūsei karon o meguru kenkyū, pp. 84-117; Hosoya Naoki, "Shunzei to Teika no 'yūgen' ni tsuite," in his Chūsei karon no kenkyū (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976), pp. 14-40; and Okuno Jun'ichi, "Yūgen no bigaku," in Tamura Yoshiro and Minamoto Tadaatsu, ed., Nihon ni okeru sei to shi no bigaku (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1977), pp. 137-54.

[1]Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Sengohyakuban utaawase no kōhon to sono kenkyū, p. 136.

Unlike en, okashi, or aware, yūgen is not a term that Shunzei used often. In his writings, the term appears a mere fourteen times, the first time in 1166 and the last in 1201.[1] Of these fourteen, twelve are judgments of poems--twelve from among the more than 3600 poems that Shunzei judged in this thirty-eight year period. Shunzei's use of the term cannot be easily related to a specific qualitative judgment. Of the twelve poems he judged yūgen, three are victorious, six are draws, and three are defeated. Only three of the twelve are included in imperial anthologies. Shunzei judges as yūgen poems both by conservative and innovative poets. Yūgen was not Shunzei's poetic ideal; it replaces aware and okashi, but not en.

Shunzei's use of yūgen in the Jichin oshō postscript, as well as in the very similarly worded judgment in the Sengohyakuban utaawase, however, reveals that Shunzei is now taking a step slightly outside the more familiar values of court literature in order to clarify his ideas. As has been pointed out by Japanese scholars, it is true that en, aware, and yūgen, share qualities of nebulousness that distinguish them from okashi.[2] At the same time, yūgen remains somehow alien. It is not found in the Genji, for example, with its emphasis on the refined sensibilities of the ideal courter and court lady. Etymologically, too, yūgen suggests a sense of otherness and mystery. Yūgen is, of course, a Chinese compound; the oldest known

---

[1]Shunzei uses yūgen once in the Eiman ninen (1166) Chūgū no suke Shigeie ason no ie no utaawase (blossoms, Round 2); once in the Sumiyoshi no yashiro no utaawase of 1170 ("autumn rain in a traveller's lodging," Round 25); three times in the Hirota no yashiro no utaawase of 1177 ("distant view over a seascape," Rounds 2 and 8, jukkai, Round 28); once in the Miidera Shira no yashiro no utaawase of 1173 (Summer thrush in the ancient capital, Round 1); twice in the Mimosusogawa utaawase of 1187 (Rounds 18 and 29); twice in the Roppyakuban utaawase of 1193 ("lingering heat," Round 6 and "quail," Round 24); once in the Jichin oshō jikaawase of 1198 (Shōshinji Round 9); once in the Genkyū ninen Hachigatsu jūgoya no Senka utaawase of 1201 (Round 34); and once in the Sengohyakuban utaawase of 1201 (Round 271).

[2]Teramoto Naohiko makes this argument in his Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō, pp. 84-117.

definitions for both the ideographs yū and gen are black edged with red.[1] More generally, yū comes to mean faint, indistinct, or deep, and gen the profound reason of things, and the faint, mysterious realm that lies beyond phenomenal existence. In China, yūgen referred to the world of the dead and the mysterious and profound realm of Buddhist enlightenment and Taoist attainment of immortality. Later, it was used derivatively to mean mysterious, indistinct, or at times, difficult to comprehend.

The first literary texts in Japan to use the term yūgen inherited these meanings. These works, the Chinese preface of the Kokinshū, the Wakatei jusshu, and the Sakumon taidai were also written in Chinese. We find in the Kokinshū preface:

> Imperial succession was decided when Wani recited the Naniwa Bay poem. The beggar replied to Prince Shotoku with a poem. Therefore, in those times, some poets penetrated the mystical and others entered the realm of mystery and depth. However, when we examine these ancient poems, we find that they use antiquated words. . . .[2]

Yūgen, in this passage, appears to involve something hidden and unexpressed, either in the poem itself or in its circumstances of composition. In the episode relating to the Naniwa Bay poem, the Korean tutor Wani persuaded Nintoku to ascent the throne by composing the poem:

Naniwazu ni	At the bay of Naniwa,
sakuya kono hana	Ah, this flower blossoms,
fuyugomori	Hidden in winter --
ima wa harube to	But now that springtime has come
sakuya kono hana	This flower blossoms.

For three years before this, the imperial throne had been unoccupied because both Nintoku and his brother felt that their

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, Image and Ambiguity: The Impact of Zen Buddhism on Japanese Literature, p. 18. For thorough examination of the etymology of yūgen see Taniyama Shigeru, Yūgen no kenkyū, pp. 1-46; and Konishi Jin'ichi, "Yūgen no gen igi," Kokugo to kokubungaku 20 (June, 1973): 1-22.

[2]Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, p. 337.

father had wanted the other to become emperor.[1] The poem speaks entirely metaphorically, its true significance hidden.

Similarly according to legend, Price Shotoku once came upon a beggar on a road and gave him his cloak. The beggar recited the poem:[2]

Ikaruga ya	In this land of Ikaruga
Tomi no ogawa no	If ever the stream of Tomi
taeba koso	no ogawa
waga ookimi no	Should run dry,
mi na wo wasureme	Only then shall I forget
SIS, XX:1351	The august name of my lord.

When later Price Shotoku returned to the same spot, the beggar had vanished, leaving behind the cloak, and it was revealed that he had been a holy man, which only those of equal spiritual enlightenment could recognize.[3]

The Wakatei jusshu dates from the late tenth or early eleventh century.[4] In the explanation of the kōjō tei (the supreme style), we find:

> In this style, the diction stands apart from the ordinary [alternate reading: is of an ordinary level][5] and the meaning

---

[1]The Nihon shoki gives a somewhat different account of this event. According to that work, Nintoku's younger brother took his own life in order to force Nintoku to ascend the throne. See W. G. Aston, trans. Nihongi, new edition (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1972), pp. 272-77. The "Naniwazu" poem is cited in the Japanese preface of the Kokinshū. See Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, p. 95.

[2]The beggar's poem is cited in the Japanese preface to the Kokinshū. See Ibid., p. 95.

[3]See Kyoko Motomachi Nakamura, trans. Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryoiki of the Monk Kyokan (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 108-10.

[4]The Wakatei jusshu, often called the Tadamine juttei, was originally attributed to Mibu no Tadamine (920 still living), one of the compilers of the Kokinshū. However, from the content of the work, it is now judged to date from the late tenth to the early eleventh century.

[5]Because of early scribal error, there are two versions of this passage. Some texts have the character "hedateru" (to stand apart from the ordinary), and others have "bonryū" (commonplace).

> enters a state of mystery and depth (yūgen). Among poems of the highest quality, there are none that cannot be designated as belonging to this class. . . .[1]

In the Wakatei jusshu, yūgen appears to be defined in relation to extraordinary expressiveness. The author makes it clear that yūgen is not a characteristic of a particular technique. Instead, it is a quality of profundity that sets certain poems apart from the ordinary. In poems of the "supreme style," meaning enters the realm of the ineffable.

The Sakumon daitai, written in the first decade of the twelfth century, is a primer for composing Chinese verse.[2] We find there, as the first of eight styles, the yojō yūgen style. The illustrative Chinese verse and comment are:

> Let the common people await on bamboo matting,
> The flying chariot of Lieh-tzu has not yet arrived.
>
> This is truly the yūgen form. Poets must above all intently examine this style.[3]

In the Sakumon daitai, yojō yūgen is a class of poems in which the topic of the poem is not explicitly stated in the couplet but only alluded to obliquely. The topic of the poem above is "where is the fresh breeze hidden?" Instead of speaking directly of the breeze in his poem, the poet refers to Lieh-tzu, the Taoist master whose powers were so great that he could ride the wind.[4] In connection with this tale, the wind was also called metaphorically the "sky-flying chariot." The use of yūgen here may also

---

[1] Wakatei jusshu in Sasaki Nobutsuna, Nihon kagaku taikei, 1:47.

[2] The Sakumon daitai was written by Nakamikado Munekata around 1108.

[3] Nakamikado Munekata, Sakumon daitai, in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 6, book 137:497. Cited in Konishi Jin'ichi, Michi--Chūsei no rinen, vol. 3 of Nihon no koten (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1975), pp. 46-47.

[4] Lieh-tzu was a Taoist master who apparently lived in the Cheng state not long before 398 b.c. He is mentioned in the Chuang-tzu as having ridden the wind. See A. C. Graham, trans., The Book of Lieh-tzu (London: John Murray, 1960).

have something to do with the Taoist reference. It is also clear that yūgen (and yojō as well) refer to that which is hidden and not explicitly expressed in a poem.

In the twelfth century, Shunzei's teacher Mototoshi introduced the term yūgen into his utaawase judgments. In the Eien Nara no bō no utaawase (Celebration, Round 2) he writes, "The diction is set apart from the commonplace and the meaning enters the realm of yūgen;" we see the influence of the Wakatei jusshu concept of yūgen.[1] Further, Mototoshi suggests one aspect of the "otherness" which yūgen implies: the use of old-fashioned diction. We find:

---

[1]The Eien Nara no bō no utaawase, also known as the Gon sōzu Eien Karin'in no utaawase of 1124 was judged on separate occasions by both Shunrai and Mototoshi. There is, therefore a kō and an otsu text. The poem that Mototoshi judged yūgen is:

Kimi ga yo wa	May your reign, my lord,
ama no iwato wo	Last so long we cannot count
izuru hi no	The days the sun
ikumeguri tefu	Emerges from the Cave of Heaven
kazu mo shirarezu	And journeys across the sky.

Shunrai's judgment of the same poem is: "'Ama no iwato' refers to the cave in which Amaterasu ōkimi hid herself. When one refers to the passage of the sun rising and falling in the heavens, one uses the term 'Ama no to.' Which of these, I wonder, did the poet have in mind? If he meant the passage of the sun in the heavens, he has used the wrong phrase. Can it be that one can speak of the passage of the sun in relation to Amaterasu's cave as well? I find the poem very unclear on these points. . . ." Both Mototoshi and Shunrai award victory to this poem. Mototoshi's use of yūgen may be related to the old-fashioned diction--"tefu"--and also to the reference to the ancient myth of Amaterasu no ōkimi. Hagitani Boku, Heianchō utaawase taisei, 6:1890 for Mototoshi's judgment, p. 1983 for Shunrai's judgment.

Miwataseba	As I gaze out, I see
momijikerashi na	The leaves have turned to autumn colors --
tsuyu shimo ni	In the dew and the frost --
tare sumu yado no	Where the "spouseless" pear tree grows.
tsuma nashi no ki zo	

In the poem of the left, although the diction resembles ancient form, the meaning appears to have entered the realm of yūgen.[1]

(Chōshō sannen Chūgū tei Akisuke no ie no utaawase: momiji, Round 2, Left.)

In making this judgment, Mototoshi relates yūgen to ancient diction, making a direct connection not made in the Kokinshū preface itself, between the statements "some entered the realm of yūgen," and "We find they used old-fashioned words."

When we come to Shunzei, we note a number of changes in how yūgen is used. For the first time, Shunzei incorporates the term into prose written in Japanese rather than Chinese. He expands its reference from merely meaning or conception to include sugata, kotoba, etc. This, of course, is in keeping with Shunzei's concern with over-all effect and his efforts to overcome the traditional dichotomy between kotoba and kokoro. Further, the "otherness" and extra-ordinary quality of yūgen is emphasized in his statements as the ungraspable aura that surrounds certain poems.

He brings this understanding to the relation between yūgen and ancient language. Among his utaawase judgments, we find:

Uchiyosuru	The rippling waves
nami yori aki no	Bring with them autumn
Tatsutagawa	On Tatsutagawa

---

[1] Chōshō sannen Chūgū tei Akisuke no ie no utaawase (1134) in Ibid., 7:1978. The "Miwataseba" poem may be an allusion to the Manyōshū work:

Tsuyu shimo mo	In the dew and frost,
samuki yūbe no	In the autumn wind that blows
akikaze ni	These cold nights,
momijinikeri mo	Ah, the leaves of the "spouseless"
tsumanashi no ki wa	pear tree
MYS, X:2189 Anon.	Have turned to an autumnal hue.

Cited in Taniyama Shigeru, Yūgen no kenkyū, p. 74.

sate mo wasurenu	Yet, how shall I forget
yanagi kage kana	The shade beneath the willows?
Yoshitsune, Left, 311	

The lines, "The rippling waves bring with them autumn," and so on are very charming (okashi). As for the shade of the willow tree--poets from ancient times have spoken of autumn leaves floating in Tatsuta river, and that is somewhat yūgen. However, although we do find "shade of the willow" in poems of the middle period, I feel it is a little vulgar.[1]

Roppyakuban utaawase, Autumn I, "lingering heat," Round 6, Left: draw.

Naniwagata	Into the Bay of Naniwa
asa kogiyukeba	I row out in the morning,
hototogisu	And the summer thrush
koe wo Takatsu no	Raises its voice in song
Miya ni nakunari	In the Palace of Takatsu.

The diction is in the ancient manner; the conception has entered the realm of yūgen.[2]

(Chōan sannen Miidera Shira no yashiro no utaawase, "summer thrush in the ancient capital," Round 1, Left.)

According to Shunzei, common, vulgar language precludes the creation of the quality of yūgen. Ancient diction, on the other hand, perhaps because of its very remoteness from everyday speech, can convey an extra aura of loftiness and profundity.[3] It is not

---

[1](Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 116.

[2]Choan sannen Miidera Shira no yashiro no utaawase (1173) in Hagitani Boku, Heianchō utaawase taisei, 8:2319-20.

[3]Takeda Motoharu suggests that in relation to the "Uchi-yosuru" poem of the Roppyakuban utaawase, Shunzei may have had in mind such works as:

Tatsutagawa	In Tatsuta River
momiji midarete	I see the crimson leaves,
nagarumeri	scattered in disarray,
wataraba nishiki	Now strewn upon its stream.
naka ya taenan	Were one to ford it
KKS, V:283 Anon.	Would the lovely brocade be torn?
Tatsutagawa	In Tatsuta River
momijiba nagaru	Float the crimson leaves of autumn.
Kannabi no	Far above,
Mimuro no yami ni	On Mimuro mountain where the
shigure furu rashi	gods descent
KKS, V:284 Anon.	A cold rain must be falling.

Takeda Motoharu, Chūsei karon o meguru kenkyū, p. 104.

yūgen merely to use ancient diction. Rather, it can be used, as is the Manyō diction and allusions in the second example above, to convey the experience of that which is fleeting and ungraspable. The speaker of the poem hears but does not see the thrush singing somewhere on the shore. He unexpectedly hears its song in the distance and in the still hazy light of morning. Such a treatment of the thrush in a poem is traditional, but here there is the added factor of distance in time. It is as though we faintly hear the song of the thrush which somehow reaches to us from the ancient times of the Palace of Takatsu.[1]

More importantly, Shunzei appears to designate as yūgen poems that create a rich mood within the interplay of images and their associations.

Kakikurashi	Evening shadows gather.
Ama no kawara to	I have heard of this place --
kiku kara ni	The River of Heaven
mukashi no nami no	And so, waves from the distant past,
sode ni kakareru	Billow over my sleeves.
Saigyō	

Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu
Naniwa no haru wa	The scene of spring at Naniwa Bay
yume nare ya	Was it but a dream?
ashi no kareha ni	The wind sweeps along
kaze wataru nari	The withered leaves of reeds.
Saigyō (SKKS, VI:625)	

Both poems are in the form of yugen.[2]

(Mimosusogawa utaawase, Round 29.)

---

[1]Tanaka Yutaka points out that in Kiyosuke's Waka shō-gakushō (c. 1166-68), one finds such Manyō poems as:

Nago no umi wo	In the morning,
asa kogikureba	When I row my boat in the offing
watanaka ni	Of the sea of Nago,
kako zo nakunari	I hear distant cries of deer
aware sono kako	Oh those deer!
MYS, VII:1417 Anon.	

Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron no kenkyū, p. 86.

[2]Mimosusogawa utaawase, in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 10, book 217:184.

These two poems are unusual among Saigyō's works in that they allude to earlier poems. The first refers to an episode in the Ise monogatari:

> . . . They arrived at a place called Amanogawa, and the Commander of the Right Horse Bureau [Narihira] started to offer the prince a cup.
>
> "When you present the wine," the prince said, "recite a poem on the theme, 'Coming to Amanogawa after a hunt at Katano.'" The Commander recited,

Karikurashi	Having hunted until dark,
Tanabatsume ni	Let us borrow a lodging
Yado karamu	From the Weaver Maid,
Ama no kawara ni	For we have come to the banks
Ware wa kinikeri	Of the River of Heaven.
	[McCullough, trans.][1]

Saigyō's second poem alludes to a work by the priest-poet Nōin.

Kokoro aramu	With one who comprehends
hito ni misebaya	I wish I could share it --
Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu
Naniwa watari no	The landscape of springtime
haru no keshiki wo	Around the Bay of Naniwa
Nōin GSIS, I:43	

In both his poems, Saigyō conjures up a vision of the past. He has journeyed to the Amanogawa and to the province of Tsu, but there he finds no trace of the earlier visitors. In the "Kakikurashi" poem, he finds unchanged only the waves of the river. (Waves are also a metaphor for his tears.) The "Tsu no kuni" poem is richer in implications. For Saigyō, Nōin was a fellow priest-poet from an earlier age who had sought a companion to share his experience with. But by the time Saigyō arrives, Nōin is long gone and springtime itself appears to have passed away forever. Saigyō asks if the scene of spring was a dream--his dream of course, but also Nōin's and of all other men. The lovely scene of spring, delicate as a dream, which Saigyō evokes in the first three lines of his poem fades away to nothing, blasted by the wind among the dead leaves of reed.[2]

---

[1] McCullough, The Tales of Ise, pp. 125-26.

[2] Richness of associations is evident in another poem which Shunzei terms yūgen. In the Senka utaawase of 1201, we find:

Gotoba's poem in the Sengohyakuban utaawase also uses images to convey such an enveloping mood. Further, in the judgment of this poem, as in the Jichin oshō postscript, Shunzei explicitly connects yūgen with a particular kind of poetic expressiveness. The poem is:

Kaze fukeba	When the wind blows,
Hana no shirakumo	The white clouds of blossoms
yaya kiete	Grow diaphanous.
yona yona haruru	And night upon night shines
Miyoshino no tsuki	The moon of lovely Yoshino.
Gotoba, Left 36272	

The effect of this poem is a quality of luminous, airy whiteness, first of the blossoms themselves and then the moonlight which gradually, almost imperceptibly, replaces them. White clouds are a common metaphor for blossoms, but here Gotoba uses the metaphor effectively to make us aware, not of the blossoms as concrete objects, but of their quality. When Shunzei speaks of seeing the scene in his mind, he is speaking of this quality of light and whiteness, not of a specific scene of so many cherry trees from behind which the moon rises just so.

In his judgment of this poem, Shunzei states that this nebulous scene of moonlight and blossoms is more beautiful than that of an "entirely cloudless autumn sky." He further implies that there is a contrast between a quality of "difficulty" in yūgen and mere lucidity of presentation. This latter judgment is closely echoed in the Jichin oshō postscript when Shunzei writes, "A poem need not always attempt clever (okashi) conceits nor present its ideas fully and systematically. Yet . . . there must be something

---

Shiratsuyu mo	How deeply moving
aware fukaki wa	Are these droplets of white dew
kusa no hara	In this grassy field.
oborotsukiyo mo	The hazy moon of spring now
aki kumanasa ni	transformed
Michichika, Right	To the brilliant light of autumn.

("The moon over a field and cold dew," Round 34, Right: defeated.) The poem refers to the "Hana no utage" chapter of the Genji monogatari. See page 93-97 above. Kennin gannen hachigatsu jūgoya no senka utaawase, in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū 9, book 192: 114-15.

about it which sounds with allure (en) and with profundity (yugen)." Shunzei is cautious in the Jichin oshō, and he does not utterly reject conceits, the superficial delight of okashi, nor the systematic presentation of ideas in a poem. However, it is clear that the style he has in mind is something altogether different, and from Gotoba's poem, one can see that it involves the use of images, associations, and aural qualities to reveal the essential quality of things. Kanemune's poem, with which Gotoba's is matched, presents the semblance of reasoning; "If I were to say today that I grieve because of the end of the blossoms, spring itself would bear a grudge against me." Gotoba's images of the changing quality of light evokes far more richly the feelings of regret caused by the passing of the blossoms and the wondrous nature of the blossoms and the moonlight themselves.

Gotoba was not the first poet ever to employ the evocativeness of images, nor was Shunzei the first to praise such a use. However, in the past such evocativeness had always been an added dimension that poets sometimes attained and not their primary aim. For the first time, Shunzei recognized and named the effect of such evocativeness in revealing omokage and the completely different manner in which such a poem must be put together. One catches a glimpse of omokage when one no longer sets oneself apart from the outer world, as in the divisive cleverness of okashi, nor differentiates one object from another according to the dictates of everyday reason. A poet must choose diction, no longer merely to advance the linear flow of an idea, but to enhance a network of associations and sensual qualities.

Finally, Shunzei's yūgen is also related to a depth of conception that takes a poem beyond traditional sentiment. Again, in Saigyō's Mimosusogawa utaawase, we find:

Left

Ōkata no	That dew,
tsuyu ni wa nani no	Of which others speak --
naruyaran	What is it worth?
tamoto ni oku wa	Alas, my sleeves,
namida narikeri	I find drenched with tears.

Right

Kokoro naki	Although my heart is unformed,
mi ni mo aware wa	Yet, even I, in my body must know,
shirarekeri	The pathos of things:
shigi tatsu sawa no	A snipe takes flight from a marsh
aki no yūgure	On an autumn evening.

SKKS, IV:362

The conception of "A snipe takes flight from a marsh on an autumn evening," is the realm of mystery and depth (yūgen), and its configuration is difficult to surpass. In contrast, in such a phrase as, "that dew, what is it worth?" the words appear shallow but the feeling is especially deep.[1]

(Round 18, victory: Left)

As noted in the first chapter, Shunzei included the poem of the left in the Senzaishū. (The "kokoro naki" poem is included in the Shin-kokinshū.) In conception and diction, the "Ōkata no" poem is traditional. We have heard countless times of dew and tears, and when Saigyō states that what moistens his sleeves is not the dew but real tears, we may find his declaration forced. Shunzei, nevertheless, recognizes deep personal conviction in the poem and is willing to forgive the commonplace nature of the diction.

The "Kokoro naki" poem is of a different order. First of all, the phrase, "kokoro naki" has often been construed to refer to Saigyō's priestly state. This may be part of Saigyō's meaning. However, Saigyo also is speaking of himself as an outsider to the world of courtly emotional sensibilities. His poem makes reference to Nōin's work:

It was in the first month of the year. Nōin was in the province of Tsu, and he sent this poem to an acquaintance,

Kokoro aran	With one who comprehends,
hito ni misebaya	I wish I could share this sight:
Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu,
Naniwa watari no	The landscape of springtime
haru no keshiki wo	Around the Bay of Naniwa.

Nōin, GSIS, I:43

"Kokoro naki" is the opposite of "kokoro aru," having cultivated taste and refined sensibilities. The quality of aware, of course, lies at the core of the emotional sensibilities treasured by the courtly society. Further, Saigyō denies in his poem the traditional

---

[1] Mimosusogawa utaawase, in Ibid., 10, book 217:184.

distinction between kokoro ari and kokoro naki, those with cultivated taste and those without.[1] The true contrast in his poem is between "kokoro" heart and mind and "mi" body. In the third line of his poem, Saigyō uses the verb to know "shiru" in its reflexive or "spontaneous" form. The body must know, cannot but know. The intervention of intellectual judgment or cultivated sensibilities is superfluous, for aware is the inevitable response of the physical body.

In addition, Saigyō does not find aware in a scene of nature sanctioned as an uta-makura (a set poetic place name). The headnote of this poem reads, "Composed when Saigyō was on his way somewhere." Thus the marsh of which Saigyō speaks could be anywhere. It is a scene of nature the value of which had not been fixed by repeated use in poetry. Those artificial choices, like the distinctions between the sensitive and the uncultivated, no longer have meaning in Saigyō's world.

Saigyō records in this poem his discovery of the equality of self and the things of nature. Autumn evening carries implications of sorrow, decay, and death. In the growing darkness, a solitary snipe takes flight from a marsh. The bird and Saigyō, who is himself on a journey, are both incidental, momentary existences. The understanding of aware is not a matter of the sentimental posturing of an elegant courtier. It rests, according to Saigyō, within the realization and acceptance of one's own imperilled

---

[1]This poem is an example of a more traditional allusion to Nōin's work, preserving the dichotomy of kokoro aru and kokoro naki:

Kokoro naki	Although I am not
waga mi naredomo	A person of cultivated taste,
Tsu no kuni no	Yet long have I remained here,
Naniwa no haru ni	At Naniwa in the province of Tsu,
taezu mo aru kana	To gaze upon the scene of springtime.

Suemichi, SZS, II:106

For a more thorough discussion of the meaning and connotations of the lines, "kokoro aru" and "kokoro naki," see Kuwabara Hiroshi, "Dentō to sōzō--Saigyō-ron," Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 15 (October, 1970): 56-61.

place in nature. Shunzei recognized the depth of this poem. However, his vision of the court-poetic could not fully accommodate its "otherness."

Similarly, we find in the Jichin Oshō jikaawase itself:

Fuyugare no	Barren in winter,
kozue ni ataru	The treetops are blasted
yamakaze no	By mountain gales,
mata fuku tabi ni	And with each gust of wind,
yuki no amagiru	The snow sweeps across the heavens.
Jien, Left	

In the poem of the left both the conception (kokoro) and diction (kotoba) are in the realm of mystery and depth (yūgen).[1]

Jichin oshō jikaawase, Shōshinji Round 9.

Jien's poem is entirely descriptive, but it shares with Saigyo's poem above a sense of distance and otherness, which, here, does not even admit of human presence. In the world Jien draws of coldness, whiteness, and death, there is no room for the familiar sensibilities of the courtly world.

To Shunzei's opponents, yūgen meant only unclarity. Several years before the Jichin oshō postscript and the Sengohyakuban utaawase, Kenshō wrote in his commentary on the Kokinshū concerning Narihira's "Tsuki ya aran" poem:

> If this poem were composed with the kind of clarity found in Tsurayuki's works, it would have stated clearly that the speaker did not meet his lover from the past. To speak with indirection in this way, however, has come to be called the yūgen of Narihira's poetry, and there are poets who seek to learn this manner. Yet, neither the conceptions nor the diction of their poems can reach Narihira's level, and in this latter age, such poetry is difficult to understand. Even in the Kokinshū preface, it is said of Narihira that his emotions are excessive and his diction insufficient . . . , and so in ancient times, too, his style was faulted. One should understand this matter well and use great caution in dealing not only with Narihira's poetry but other ancient works whose conception and diction are unclear.[2]

---

[1]Jichin oshō jikaawase, in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 10, book 218:205.

[2]Kenshō, Kokinshū chū in Kokusho Kankōkai, ed., Zoku zoku Gunsho ruijū, 16 vols. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1903) v. 15 (Kokinshū chū v. 15) p. 113. Kenshō compiled the Kokinshū chū around 1185 and presented it to Shukaku Hōshinnō. Kenshō discusses

Kenshō appeals to Tsurayuki's judgment of Narihira and to the accepted orthodoxy of Tsurayuki's poetic style to discount yūgen. For Kenshō, "yūgen" is the weakness of Narihira's style, his attempts to suggest rather than to spell out, with the result, according to Kenshō's view, that his works are at times incoherent.

When Shunzei praises Narihira's poem in the Jichin oshō postscript and when he contrasts what is merely lucid and clear with that which is yūgen, he could not have been unaware of this danger. However, finally, he rejects the former because they seem to preclude the evocativeness that is yūgen. As we have seen in the examples above, Shunzei's yūgen can be linked to certain kinds of diction--use of old language; certain imagery--those of mountains and the sea, places far from human habitation; certain qualities of imagery--dark, nebulous, elusive. More importantly, the poems above share a quality of rich evocativeness in which layer upon layer of meaning and mood spiral upward from images, each resonating with the next. What the images show us, the omokage they evoke, are no longer scenes of our everyday world but their essence. Indirection is not yūgen. However, it may be the quality most evident in a poem of yūgen to someone who equates the linear transmission of ideas with poetic statement and not the evocation of ultimate reality in omokage.

The original etymological meanings of yūgen were remoteness, profundity, and mystery, in other words that which was beyond reason and common emotional response. It is this sense of otherness that Shunzei taps to define the aura beyond diction which he sought in poetry. Yūgen permitted him to free his ideal of poetic expression from any specific mood or emotion and from the concreteness attached to such a term as okashi. Yūgen also gave him the means to emphasize the profundity he sought in poetry and which the poet could attain only when he had entered the realm of hon'i. At the end of his life,

---

some 380 poems from the Kokinshū, incorporating earlier commentary made by Shunrai, Norinaga, and Kiyosuke. Tsurayuki's comment concerning Narihira's poetry appears in his preface to the Kokinshū. See Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, p. 100.

Shunzei could confidently assert that his poetry was indeed of a different order from that of his immediate predecessors and so many of his contemporaries.

In the Mumyōshō, Chōmei embraces these meanings of yūgen and uses the term to designate Teika's innovative Shinkokin style. Kenshō, too, when he writes of "poets who seek to learn the manner of yūgen," clearly refers to Teika and the other young poets who shared in his stylistic innovations. We should not overlook the implications of insanity that yūgen in a pejorative sense shares with "daruma" poems. Both point to something essentially alien to the court society, something that further precludes, or even rejects, rational exposition. As will be seen below, Teika makes precisely the opposite argument from Kenshō's and praises Narihira and the yojō of his poetry. From this information and from the fact that Shunzei himself uses yojō as his label for the Shinkokin style, we may be led to assume that in the Jichin oshō postscript, Shunzei signals his whole-hearted approval of Teika's style. However, this is not entirely so; instead, Shunzei seeks something that transcends simple categorization of styles. We already have a hint of this in Shunzei's pairing in the postscript of works by Narihira and Tsurayuki, poets diametrically opposed to each other according to Kenshō. Further, Shunzei's use of the term yojō itself reveals the ambiguity of his attitude toward Teika's efforts of innovation.[1]

Until the time of Shunzei, yojō had meant generally depth and overtones, the suggestion of meaning not fully contained in the diction. This is the case in the Kokinshū preface where it is used to criticize Narihira's poetry and the Wakatei jusshu which writes of the yojō tei that "the words express one portion while the meanings suggested are myriad."[2] For the first time, Shunzei linked the

---

[1]For detailed discussions of Shunzei's use of yojō, see Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron kenkyū, pp. 58-81; Takeda Motoharu, Chūsei karon o meguru kenkyū, pp. 54-83; and Minemura Fubito, "Yūgenbi no keisei," pp. 281-90.

[2]Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, Chinese preface, p. 399. In the Japanese preface, Tsurayuki writes, "Sono kokoro amarite, kotoba

concept to a specific style, a new pattern for generating meaning in

---

tarazu," (His emotions are excessive and his diction insufficient) (p. 100). Wakatei jusshu, in Sasaki Nobutsuna, Nihon kagaku taikei, 1:46.

The term yojō also appears in Fujiwara Kintō's Kuhon waka. There the upper upper class is described "The diction is wondrous and there are even overtones of feelings (yojō) and the upper middle class, "The poem is thoroughly lovely and there are overtones of feelings." Fujiwara Kintō, Kuhon waka, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū Nōgakuronshū, p. 32.

Shunrai does not use the term yūgen in his poetry judgments. Among Mototoshi's judgments, we find:

Left	
Suminoboru	The moon rises,
koyoi no tsuki no	Its brilliant light filling the heavens
kage wo koso	
aki no tameshi no	This evening.
sora to nagamure	Such a sky as this I shall regard
	As the quintessence of autumn.
Right	
Saranu dani	Was it not sufficient?
aki no kokoro ni	I could hardly hear the pathos
taenu mi wo	That autumn brings.
ana aya niku no	Yet, now to make things worse,
tsuki no keshiki ya	As, I must gaze upon the moon.

"Both poems have a point of interest, but they seem to lack overtones of feeling." Chūgū no suke Akisuke no ie no utaawase, "moon" Round 3. Hagitani Boku, Heianchō utaawase taisei, 7: 1977.

Hototogisu	Oh summer thrush!
naku ureshisa wo	I seek to contain the joy I feel
tsutsumedomo	When I hear your voice,
sode ni wa koe mo	Yet I cannot wrap your song in my sleeves
tomarazarikeri	
Right	To enjoy throughout the year.

"In the poem of the right, both diction and conception are outstanding, and there are even overtones of feelings." Eien Nara no bō no utaawase, "summer thrush" Round 1. Hagitani Boku, Heianchō utaawase taisei, 6:1883

a poem.[1] The particulars of the Shinkokin style will be discussed in the following chapters. Here, let us examine a few examples of Shunzei's use of yojō to elucidate his attitude toward and understanding of the new style.[2] We can turn to the Roppyakuban utaawase:

---

[1]In his discussion of Shunzei's use of yojō, Tanaka Yutaka proposes five categories. All of them, however, he argues, "reveal the existence of a new yojō which is bound to the creation of mood." (p. 65) Further, he writes: "If we are to judge from the poetry contest criticism from Mototoshi on, it was Shunzei who placed his seal upon this epochal transformation. At the very least, he must be regarded as the most influential individual involved in it. . . . It is worth noting that, without exception, all of the poems Shunzei characterizes as 'having overtones of feeling' are by Yoshitsune, Jien, Teika, Ietaka, and other poets who made their appearance upon this new stage of the Daruma uta period. (Exclude all examples cited above which deal with lack of yojō). There are only seven such examples, which does not provide very many judgments, but, nevertheless, the fact that all seven alike are by innovating poets cannot be merely accidental. Rather, it seems to me that yojō was the term Shunzei chose especially to describe the new poetic consciousness and methods of composition of the 'present generation'--or, to rephrase it, the nature of yojō, with its special characteristics as noted above, is such as to concretely define the poetic ideals and methods of that 'present generation.'" Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron no kenkyū, pp. 75-76. The passage above is translated by Clifton W. Royston, Jr.

Shunzei uses the term yojō eleven times in his poetic judgments: Once in the Chūgū no Suke Shigeie Ason no ie no utaawase of 1166 (Cherry blossoms, Round 2); five times in the Roppyakuban utaawase of 1193 (autumn evening, Round 12; lingering heat, Round 6; wind cleaving the moor, Round 28; love and animals, Round 24, and autumn fields, Round 15); four times in the Minbukyō no ie no utaawase of 1195(summer thrush, Round 2; dawn moon, Round 14; long-standing unrequited love, Round 7, mountain blossoms, Round 14); and once in the Gokyōgoku jikaawase of 1198 (Round 58).

[2]Interestingly, Kenshō also uses the term yojō (or amari no kokoro) in an approving fashion. However, his use is tied to the creation of poetic conceits. For example: in the Roppyakuban utaawase, Shunzei comments on Kenshō's autumn poem:

Hirosawa no	Hirosawa Pond
ike saewataru	Reflects the autumn moon,
tsukikage wa	And its cold light,
Miyako made shiku	Lays down a sheet of ice
kōri narikeri	That stretches to the capital.
Kenshō, 417	

"I wonder about saying 'the ice is spread out as far as the capital' and

Left

Konogoro no	Were I to seek
kokoro no soko wo	Elsewhere, outside myself
yoso ni miba	For the depths of my heart of late:
shika naku nobe no	An evening of the autumn wind
akikaze no kure	When deer cry in the fields.
Yoshitsune, 1067	

Right

Kurekakaru	Darkness gathers --
susono no tsuyu ni	In the fields by the foothills
shika nakite	Deer cry amidst the dew
hito matsu sode ni	And tears fall to drench anew
namida sounari	Sleeves that await a lover.
Jien, 1068	

The overtones (yojō) I hear in "An evening of the autumn wind when deer cry in the fields," are inexhustibly rich. Likewise, the sugata-kotoba of "Tears fall to drench anew sleeves that await a lover," has a lustrous elegance. This match is a draw between good poems.[1]

(Love XIII: Round 24, "love and animals," draw.)

Left

Aki yo tada	Oh, autumn!
nagamesutetemo	Let me forsake these scenes that draw me
idenamashi	And flee from it.
kono sato nomi no	If I could believe such an evening as this
yūbe to omowaba	was confined to my village only.
Teika, 383	

Right

Nagametsuru	As I gazed in reverie
nokiba no ogi no	The rushes near the eaves of my dwelling
otozurete	

---

the cold Hirosawa Pond. . . ." (Autumn II, "Distant view over Hirosawa pond," Round 29: Draw.). Kenshō argues in his Chinjō: "I understand this topic to be similar to 'a distant scene under the moonlight.' When one is at Henjōji and gazes out over Hirosawa Pond, it appears that Hirosawa Pond and the Saga fields, all buried under snow, are a single sheet of ice. . . . It is commonplace to liken the moonlight in the sky to ice, but to speak of the surface of a pond as ice, that, I feel, truly has overtones (yojō)." Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, pp. 156 and 480-81.

[1] Ibid., p. 369.

matsukaze ni naru	Began to stir and rustle
yūgure no sora	And the twilight sky became the sound
Jakuren, 384	Of the wind sweeping through the pines.

In both poems, the conception and diction appear excessive. . . . Yet, does not the poem of the left appear to have overtones (yojō).[1]

(Autumn II, "autumn evening," Round 12, Left: victory)

In his judgment of the "love and animals" match, Shunzei implies a contrast between lustrous elegance (en) and yojō. Yoshitsune's poem attempts to convey in a manner typical of the Shinkokinshū, an objective, imagistic equivalent of love. The poem breaks neatly into two parts; the first three lines tell us that we are in the following lines to be presented with a metaphor for love, and the last two lines convey the images. No one familiar with court poetry can doubt upon reading the words, "konogoro no kokoro. . ." that this is a love poem, and "kokoro no soko" suggests intensity of feeling. Yet, the first three lines are abstract and do not convey emotion itself. Yoshitsune points out the direction of emotion, but the reader must explore for himself the significance of the scene of the deer crying on the autumnal fields. There is no argument nor even statement of emotion. Nevertheless, the carefully selected images are resonant with the pain and sorrows of love, and rich because of their undetermined nature. In contrast, Jien's "kure-kakaru" poem is more subdued in structure; gramatically the first three lines flow smoothly into the last two lines. Shunzei, however, responds to the loveliness of the phrase, "hito matsu sode ni. . ." A lady, who dwells in a remote place far from the capital, awaits a lover. Deer cry amid the cold dew and echo her sorrow. The lady's sleeves are moistened by the dew, and as though of their own accord, tears fall to drench them all the more.

Teika's poem on "autumn evening" appears at first glance to differ greatly from Yoshitsune's "konogoro no" poem. It presents no images, and in the place of Yoshitsune's juxtaposition of statement and image, we find complex inversion and fragmentation of syntax. The poem, further, is very forceful, even strident, in

---

[1] Ibid., p. 143.

its diction, with emphatic "yo," "tada," desiderative "mashi," and the final bluntness of "omowaba." Yet the poem similarly conveys a complex emotional state not straightforwardly expressed in the words. Though its nature differs from that in Yoshitsune's poem, there is in Teika's work just as strong a break between the first three lines and the last two, a break which creates the effect of the poem. In Teika's poem, the contrast between the first three lines and the last two is of mood. "Aki . . . idenamashi" expresses the speaker's fierce desire to escape, to turn his back on the sorrows of autumn. However, in the last two lines, we realize that the speaker has always known the futility of such a desire. The starkness of "omowaba" effectively underscores the speaker's bitter knowledge. In their very strength, the two emotions, the desire to flee pain and the resignation that this is impossible, are not reconciled in the poem. It is their contrast that conveys the emotional agitation that is the core of the poem.[1]

Shunzei terms yojō the use in a poem of imbalance or irregularity of syntax to create mood:

Left	
Uchiyosuru	The rippling waves
nami yori aki no	Bring with them autumn
Tatsutagawa	On Tatsutagawa
sate mo wasurenu	Yet how shall I forget
yanagi kage kana	The shade beneath the willows.
Yoshitsune, 311	
Right	
Aki asaki	Although summer lingers
Hikage ni natsu wa	in the sunlight only lightly touched
Nokoredomo	by autumn,
Kururu magaki wa	The darkening hedge is transformed
Ogi no uwakaze	into wind rustling through the
Jien, 312	tops of the reeds.

---

[1] Teika's poem probably alludes to:

Sabishisa ni	I was so lonely,
yado wo tachiidete	I left my dwelling, seeking to
nagamureba	flee my sorrow,
izuku mo onaji	And gazed about,
aki no yūgure	But all places were the same
GSIS, IV:333 Ryōsen Hōshi	On this autumn evening.

> . . . I do not feel that "aki asaki" is difficult to comprehend, and "kururu magaki" sounds lovely (en). The poem of the left has a nice balance between the beginning and end of the poem, and I see no faults in it. The poem of the right is in the style of yojō. I declare, this round, too, a draw.[1]
>
> (Autumn I, "Lingering heat," Round 6: draw.)

Yoshitsune's poem, which we have examined above in relation to yūgen, has clear, logical syntax. "Sate mo" is a response to the idea of the first three lines, and "kana" ends the poem smoothly. In contrast, Jien uses images in the last two lines of his poem to evoke the almost imperceptible encroachment of autumn. Shunzei defends "kururu magaki" by calling it en against the charge made by the members of the left that it was incomprehensible. Further, Jien speaks not of the wind in the hedge or the wind rustling in the hedge, but of the wind which is the hedge. The connection between the first three lines and last two is not merely logical contrast, but involves the suggestiveness of the tactile quality of the images--darkness and light, the apparent shallowness of autumn and the hidden, dark transformation.

In contrast to such poems, Shunzei also faults poems that fail to display yojō:

Mezurashiku	How welcome it is,
kyō machietaru	For my waiting today is over
hototogisu	For the summer thrush.
kozo kataraishi	Ah, it still trills its song
koe ni zo arikeru	In the voice I knew last year.

> Shōren, Right
>
> The poem of the right sounds lucid (kotowari ari), but the phrase, "machietaru" is undesirable. Also, the last two lines appear to lack overtones (yojō).[2]
>
> (Minbukyō no ie no utaawase, "hatsu hototogisu," Round 2.)

In this case, Shunzei clearly opposes yojō with lucidity of presentation in a poem, and it is to the former that he gives his approval. The straightforward transmission of an idea does not satisfy Shunzei's demands of poetry.

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 117.

[2]Minbukyō no ie no utaawase, in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 9, book 189:20.

However, we also find such judgments as the following:

Left

Michishiba no	Even my sleeves, though they did not
tsuyu wakenu sode mo	Trail through the dew of the road-
uchishimeri	side grass
tsuki ni mo tori no	Are drenched.
ne koso tsurakere	For it is also cruel for the cock to
Ariie	crow
	While the moon still lingers in the
	sky.

Right

Nagamureba	As I gaze in reverie
chisato no aki no	The coulds of autumn vanish
kumo kiete	in the village of Chisato,
tsuki ni komoreru	and the dawn sky
ariake no sora	is engulfed by the moonlight
Ietaka	

The phrase "engulfed by the moonlight" in Ietaka's poem resounds, it is true, with overtones (yojō), but the poem of the left is a proper utaawase poem.[1]

(Mimbukyō no ie no utaawase, "the dawn moon," Round 14.)

Awade nomi	What a length of time
suginuru hodo no	Has passed away with no hope
hisashisa ni	Of meeting you --
omoikurabete	Compared to that, how welcome
matsu kure mogana	An evening of waiting would be.
Hideyoshi, Left	

This poem does not have particular overtones (yojō) to speak of, but both conception and diction are flawless. It is an utaawase poem.[2]

(Mimbukyō no ie no utaawase, "Not meeting one's lover for a long time," Round 7.)

In these judgments, Shunzei still ascribes positive value to yojō, but there are other qualities of poetry which are for him just as valuable. In his view, the utaawase poem is one that conveys depth of feeling within formal repose and elegant diction. The extreme craft involved in the creation of yojō did not always result in a poem that fulfilled this requirement.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 36.

[2] Ibid., p. 33

In the Jichin oshō postscript, Shunzei does not use the term yojō, although he cites the Narihira poem to which the concept had been traditionally and most strongly linked:

Tsuki ya aran	Is this not the moon?
Haru ya mukashi no	Is this spring not that spring
haru naran	Of yesteryear?
waga mi hitotsu wa	Only this body of mine
moto no mi ni shite	Is the same body that was.

KKS, XV:747 Narihira (Ise monogatari, ep. 4)

Beside this poem, he places a work by Tsurayuki, whose style, according to Kenshō and to the common understanding of the day, was in direct contrast to Narihira's. The poem is:

Musubute no	From cupped hands
shizuku ni nigoru	Droplets of water fall and cloud
yama no i no	The pure mountain spring,
akade mo hito ni	Before my thirst is quenched,
wakarenuru kana	So, too, have I parted from her.

KKS, VIII:404 Tsurayuki

These two poems which, Shunzei states, exemplify omokage are very different. Narihira's poem from the Ise monogatari presents convoluted paradoxes: Springtime and moonlight should return each year unchanged. Yet to Narihira, they appear different because of his private sorrow, the loss of his lover. Instead, it is he and his love for the lady that are unchanged. But this cannot be either, for time has passed and like all men, he is subject to it. Finally, we realize that the only true reality is the speaker's love and sorrow, the intensity of which has severed him forever from the world of nature.[1]

Tsurayuki's poem is more formal and decorous although it too appears to be addressed to a lover. The poem has an ushin no jo (prefatory lines whose meaning can be integrated into the poem); the first three lines up to "akade" describe the setting and also act as a preface for "akade." This word itself is a three-way pivot meaning first, aka (Sanskrit for water); second, thirst not quenched; and third, not yet weary of. Such craft makes the poem formal and "literary." Nevertheless, the intimate image of droplets of water

---

[1]See McCullough, The Tales of Ise, P. 71.

spilling from the speaker's cupped hands resonates with the straightforward declaration of sorrow, "akade mo hito ni wakarenuru kana."

Clearly, Shunzei did not exercise this care in his choice of terminology and example merely to avoid giving overt factional support to Teika and his new style which had become identified with yūgen, yojō, and Narihira. Instead, first of all, Shunzei sought to reconcile what had long been perceived as the mutually exclusive qualities of Tsurayuki's and Narihira's poetic styles. Narihira's poems possess rich overtones; Tsurayuki's style is not characterized merely by lucidity. The exclusion of either in favor of the other will only serve to debilitate poetry. This sentiment, as will be seen below, is also echoed by Teika.

Second, there is finally a subtle difference in Shunzei's appreciation of Narihira's and Tsurayuki's poetry. He writes about the two poems above in the Korai fūteishō:

> The manner in which Narihira says first, "tsuki ya aran," and follows that with "haru ya mukashi no," for example, makes this poem infinitely great.[1]
>
> Beginning with the phrase, "musubute no," and "shizuku ni nigoru" and going to "yama no i no akade mo," the sugata-kokoro of this poem is inexhaustibly rich. This indeed is the true form (hontei) of poetry.[2]

Both poems receive superlative praise. However, for Shunzei poetry meant the formal, decorous, and aurally pleasing utaawase poem. It is Tsurayuki's poem that best exemplifies the utter balance of craft, luminosity of diction, and emotion that Shunzei sought in poetry.

Chōmei and Teika: Defense of the New Poetic Style.

The Shinkokin poets inherit Shunzei's poetic principles and make them the foundation of a new poetry style, which, in Shunzei's words, created effects never before seen in poetry. Their critical

---

[1]Fujiwara Shunzei, Korai fūteishō, in Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, Karonshū, p. 390.

[2]Ibid., pp. 386-87.

writings do not display Shunzei's originality of vision; their greatest contribution is the Shinkokin style of poetry itself. At the same time, we do find subtle differences of emphasis between Shunzei's critical writings and those of the younger Shinkokin poets, differences that result from the latter's new awareness of the precariousness of their relation to the poetic tradition of the past. This realization finds expression in extensive arguments that attempt to prove the legitimacy of their style and which, at the same time, provide for its "otherness." Chōmei writes in his Mumyōshō:

> Poetic styles change from generation to generation. In ancient times, the syllable count of poems was not fixed and people simply recited according to their feelings. From the time of that famous poem of Izumo, the poetic form was fixed as five lines of thirty-one syllables. Up to the time of the Manyōshū, men expressed earnest and sincere thoughts in their poetry, and it seems to me that they did not give too much attention to the configuration and diction of poetry. In the middle period of the Kokinshū, one finds poems that display both blossoms and fruit. Because the Gosenshū followed so soon after the Kokinshū, the compilers found it difficult to gather excellent poems, and they selected poems according to the depth of feeling they displayed. Poetic configuration was a secondary concern. The Shūishū delivers us into our own age of poetry. The compilers of the Shūishū itself valued poems with clear conceptions and gentle configurations. In the Goshūishū, however, poetry became bland, and the ancient manner was forgotten. Somewhat old-fashioned people were distressed by this and spoke ill of what they called the "Goshūi style." So I was told by one of my teachers. The compiler of the Kinyōshū strove purposely for witty, bright conceits, and as a result there are many light poems in this anthology. The Shikashū and the Senzaishū are generally in the manner of the Goshūishū.
>
> Such is the manner in which poetry has been handed down from ancient times. Because only a single style of poetry was practiced for so long after the Goshūishū, poets exhausted the conceits that were available to them, and their diction became more stale with each succeeding generation. With the passage of time, the way of poetry declined more and more.
>
> In ancient times, it was considered interesting to confuse cherry blossoms and clouds, to liken the moon to ice, or to describe the autumn leaves as brocade. However, these metaphors are now merely trite. Thus we seek new kinds of clouds. We try to express novel insights concerning ice and to discover fresh images for brocade. Yet, even as we work ceaselessly, unusual conceits become ever more difficult to achieve. On the rare occasion that we do succeed in finding a new metaphor,

> our poems remain imitative of those of the ancients, and they seem vulgar and forced in comparison. This is even more true of diction, which has become insipid, lacking even a single turn of phrase that attracts the reader's attention. When one hears the first three lines of a poem, unless it is one that has exceptional distinction, one can guess the rest of it. Therefore, people of the present day became aware of the staleness of poetry, and there arose a movement among them to return once more to the ancient manner and to learn the style of mystery and depth (yūgen). . . .
>
> Even if the contemporary style of poetry were newly created, this is not necessarily a bad thing. Even in China literary forms have changed from one reign to the next. Because our country is small, the people's thinking is foolish. Thus they believe that all things must remain as they were in the past. Now poetry is something that allows us to express our feelings and which gives pleasure to our ears. Does it need to be anything more than what the people of the times enjoy? It is not as though artistry itself were new. The Manyōshū and any poetry before that is too remote for our consideration. It is people who have not thoroughly examined the Kokinshū who raise objections to the contemporary style. There are various poetic styles in the Kokinshū. The style of the middle period arose from it, and there also is the source of the style of yūgen. If in the future this style of yūgen becomes outmoded and is renewed by poets of a new age, that new manner too will have its source in the Kokinshū.[1]

Teika writes:

> Tsurayuki, in ancient times, preferred a style in which the conception of the poem was clever and the loftiness of tone difficult to achieve, the diction strong, and the effect pleasing and tasteful, but he did not compose in the style of overtones (yojō) and etheral beauty (yōen). Ever since, those who have received his heritage have for the most part inclined toward his style. However, as the times have degenerated, so have people's minds; later poets have been unable to attain Tsurayuki's level, and their diction has grown ever more vulgar. This is particularly true of the men of the recent past, who have given the first importance simply to stringing together thirty syllables on any idea that happened to come into their heads, and who have had no conception whatever of poetic style or standards of diction. Because of this the poetry of these last degenerate days has been like the country bumpkin leaving the shelter of the blossoms or the merchant taking off his gorgeous robes. Nevertheless, the Major Counsellor Tsunenobu, Shunrai Ason, the Major of the Left Division of the Capital (Lord Akisuke), Kiyosuke Ason, and more recently, his Lordship my late father, or rather the person known as Mototoshi under whom he studied this art--these men, departed from the volgar poetic styles of a degenerate age and sought to

---

[1] Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 82-85.

> recapture the styles of the poetry of old. The finest poems of these men, composed with careful thought, are perhaps equal to those of high antiquity. And in the present generation there have appeared a number of poems in which the poets have sought to improve the vulgar styles to some slight degree and have shown a preference for the old diction, so that a time has come when something of the proper style of poetry, which had been lost since the time of the Bishop Kazan, the Middle Commander Ariwara, Sosei, and Komachi, has been seen and heard again--although certain people who have no understanding of the nature of things no doubt say that something altogether new has appeared and that the art of poetry has changed. [Brower, Miner Trans].[1]

Chōmei defines the Shinkokin style as a return to the past, specifically to the Kokinshū. Thus he speaks of the balance of substance and stylistic embellishment that had been present in the Kokinshū but which had never been equalled by any subsequent imperial anthology. According to Chōmei, the second imperial anthology, the Gosenshū, emphasized conception to the detriment of over-all configuration. The third imperial anthology, the Shūishū, represented for Chōmei the basic early form of much of the poetry of his day. This

---

[1]Robert Brower and Earl Miner, Fujiwara Teika's 'Superior Poems of Our Time' (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967): 44. Teika wrote the Kindai shūka around 1209. The text exists in two versions, the so-called "manuscript sent away" (the kensō bon) and the "holograph" (jihitsubon). Japanese scholarship has determined that the former is the earlier version. The essay portion of the text, which is nearly identical in the two texts, was written for Minamoto Sanetomo: The "kenso bon" was presumably sent to him. The major difference between the two versions lies in the illustrative poems that Teika lists after the prefatory essay. The "kensō bon" contains twenty-seven illustrative poems by poets of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: Tsunenobu, Shunrai, Akisuke, Kiyosuke, Mototoshi, and Shunzei. The poems are divided into several groups each followed by Teika's comments. He also points out several instances of allusive variations that he finds striking. In contrast, the "holograph" version contains eighty-three poems by poets from the time of the Kokinshū. These poems are arranged, as in an imperial anthology, according to subjects: the seasons, love, and miscellaneous topics. Robert Brower and Earl Miner's work cited above is a translation of the "holograph" version. The "Kensō bon" text can be found in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Karonshū I, Chūsei no bungaku, pp. 277-86.

poetry too displayed balance and elegance, but was not equal in stature to that of the Kokinshū. Lucidity and repose are positive values but they do not define true excellence. The following two imperial anthologies, the Kinyōshū and Shikashū, shift within the same limited area; one toward a limited kind of conception and the other toward an over-emphasis on smoothness of diction without the spark of any originality of conception.

As does Shunzei before him, Chōmei rejects the emphasis on conceits as out-moded and mistaken. He traces the manner in which poets of the twelfth century had sought feverishly for fresh conceits and appears at first to speak of their efforts with approval, stating that the new conceits have brought about a new sensitivity of natural description and thus provided some relief from the self-conscious posturing of the earlier conceits. However, almost in mid-sentence Chōmei abruptly asserts that such newness remains imitation. Although the poet may no longer imitate the content of the conceit, he clings to the stale mannerisms and expressive pattern of the conceit. The style of mystery and depth (yūgen), his term for the Shinkokin style, is to be an alternative which renews poetry by casting off failed and mistaken developments of the past.[1]

At the same time, Chōmei cannot be content to define the Shinkokin style merely as a restoration of the past, and in the last paragraph of the passage above he offers several excuses for change. First, he argues that change should not be rejected out of hand. Second, he suggests that the primary role of poetry is affective--the giving of pleasure--and that it therefore need not be rigorously tied down to a tradition. And third, he proposes that what appears to be change is not really so.

Chōmei resolves the problem of change by discovering a greater constancy within change. Poetry cannot remain ever the same; with rare foresight Chōmei acknowledges that even the yūgen style of the Shinkokinshū will fade and be replaced by yet another style. However,

---

[1]For a discussion of Chōmei's sense of yūgen, see Takeda Motoharu, Chūsei karon o meguru kenkyū, pp. 118-34.

according to Chōmei, the Kokinshū has infinite power to generate new poetry, and whatever new style may arise in the future, it too will be born of that work.

Teika, too, begins his discussion with the Kokinshū, but within that work he distinguishes two styles, borrowing or, more precisely misattributing significance to, a distinction made by Tsurayuki himself in the Kokinshū preface. It is only in one of these styles that the Shinkokin style has its source. First, one style is characterized by Tsurayuki's formal, courtly ideal. The poets who come after Tsurayuki, however, retain only one of the qualities that he had brought to life in his poems: emphasis on poetic conception. Thus according to Teika, poems in the latter days can no longer be distinguished from mere prosaic utterances. Teika explains this decline in poetry merely by saying that "as the times have degenerated, so have people's minds," but it is apparent that he refers to the same process of gradual decline that Chōmei discussed.

There is for Teika, however, a second style, one of "overtones and ethereal beauty" (yōen) in which Tsurayuki did not compose. Tsurayuki, of course, had achieved undeniable poetic excellence, and Teika attributes only positive qualities to him. Nevertheless, with great caution even in this slight censure of Tsurayuki, Teika suggests that Tsurayuki failed to value certain other qualities of poetry, qualities that are to be found in the works of such poets as Ariwara no Narihira, Sosei, and Ono no Komachi. To make his argument, Teika subtlely borrows from Tsurayuki's own statements in the Kokinshū preface to establish his position. He derives his metaphorical criticism of the latter-day poets from Tsurayuki's description of Bunya no Yasuhide and Ōtomo no Kuronushi, poets who lacked the requisites of a proper style, as a country bumpkin standing in the shelter of blossoms and as a merchant incongruously wearing fine robes. More importantly, in the same section of the preface, Tsurayuki describes Narihira by saying, "his conception is in excess and his diction insufficient."[1] In the Chinese preface, the term yojō is

---

[1]Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, pp. 100-1.

used to correspond to "excessive conception." Tsurayuki described Komachi's poetry as being moving yet not strong, and in the Chinese preface she is referred to as elegant (en) but lacking spiritual strength. In addition, elsewhere in the preface, Tsurayuki criticized the poetry of his own day as being merely elegant (en).

Tsurayuki used the Japanese equivalents of the Chinese compound yojō and en to designate an imbalance of style in which a poem was unequal to its intent or was burdened by a too finely wrought conception that resulted in preciousness or vagueness. This was also precisely the definition that the Rokujō poet Kenshō gave to the term yojō. Teika, however, believed that Narihira's and Komachi's poems (or in general those of the Kampyō era) exemplified the best of waka, and for him and the other Shinkokinshū poets, yojō designated their ideal of poetic expressiveness, that is the overtones of emotion and mood that hover about the ideal poem. En, or for Teika, yōen, named the phantasmal, unearthly beauty that was his ideal in the Shinkokin period. Teika avoids any suggestion that Tsurayuki himself was responsible for the decline of his poetic style in succeeding generations.[1] Yet, Teika leads us to conclude that Tsurayuki's rejection of yojō and en limited the accomplishments of the lesser poets who followed him and that by reviving these long-lost values, the Shinkokin poets returned to the original expressiveness of waka.

We should examine here for a moment the quality of yōen, for it is often linked to the phantasmal, unearthly beauty that Teika creates in many of his poems in the Shinkokinshū. Yōen is, of course related to en; the first half of this Chinese compound, however, carries connotations of a woman's enticing or coquettish manner, and derivatively, of mystery or misfortune. The whole compound was originally used to describe a beautiful, alluring woman or a flower. The term yōen was first introduced into waka criticism by Mototoshi,

---

[1]Tanaka Yutaka argues that Teika did not so much favor the yojō yōen style as he sought a return to a period of waka history in which such divisions of styles had not yet been made. Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron kenkyū, pp. 116-17.

and Shunzei used the term three times in his poetry judgments. Both these poets appear to use the compound to conjure up a notion of the exquisite.

Teika's use of yōen in the Kindai shūka of 1209 (his first use of the term) was clearly influenced by the description of Ono no Komachi in the Kokinshū preface. Tsurayuki writes: "Her poetry is moving and can be likened to a beautiful woman suffering from some affliction." (The Chinese preface explains, "Her poems are alluring but lack strength.")[1] Teika goes on to use the term yōen ten more times in the judgment of poems in utaawase between the ages of forty-eight (1214) and seventy-two (1237).[2] The fact that all the occasions on which Teika refers to yōen come some time after the Shinkokinshū does not preclude an interrelationship between the quality of yōen and Teika's so-called Shinkokin style. It was only after the Shinkokinshū and his father's death that Teika came into his own as an utaawase judge. In addition, the Kindai shūka was the first of his poetic treatises, and it is significant that Teika chose to introduce the term there.

Like yūgen, yōen is not easily elucidated. It appears, however, to involve for Teika a sense not only of ethereal, intoxicating beauty but of deep pathos.[3] Both qualities, further, are expressed by means

---

[1]Saeki Umetomo, Kokin wakashū, pp. 101 and 339.

[2]Teika's uses of yōen after the Kindai shūka are: Once in the Dairi utaawase of 1214; once in the Hyakuban utaawase of 1216 (Round 54); twice in the Kenpō Gonen jūichi-gatsu yokka no utaawase (Rounds 33 and 37); and twice in the Iwashimizu Wakamiya yashiro no utaawase of 1232 (Rounds 1 and 18); three times in the Kōmyōbuji sesshō no ie no utaawase of 1232 (Rounds 4, 48, and 81); and in relation to three groups of poems, ten in all, in the Juntoku In Onhyakushu of 1237. Of these utaawase, in the Hyakuban utaawase, the Kenpō gonen jūichigatsu yokka no utaawase and the Kōmyōbuji sesshō no ie no utaawase, all the participating poets had a voice in the judgments, which Teika summarized and re-worked into a manuscript.

[3]See Okazaki Yoshie, Bi no dentō, pp. 77-109; Ishida Yoshisada, Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū (Tokyo: Bungadō Ginkō Kenkyūsha, 1975) enlarged and reprinted edition, pp. 533-50; and Hamachiyo Kiyoshi, "Teika no 'yōen' ni tsuite," (Kyoto Joshi Daigaku) Joshi Daigaku kokubun 83,

of complex techniques of diction. For example:

1. Nami no ue ni — Upon the waves,
mura mura yuki zo — The snow lies deep
tsumorikeru — Here and there far away.
sore to wa miezu — I did not recognize them --
ama no tsuribune — The small boats of the fisherfolk.

The landscape in which the fishers' boats cannot be clearly discerned because the snow lies deep upon them is yōen.[1]

(Udaishō no ie no utaawase, Round 37, "Snowfall at the sea in winter," Right: draw.)

2. Hashihime no — The morning frost
sode no asa shimo — On the sleeves of the Lady of the
nao saete — Bridge
kasumi fukikosu — Grows ever colder,
Uji no kawakaze — And she is enshrouded by the mist.
Shunzei's Daughter, Right — Now stirred by the river breeze.

The phrase, "The morning frost on the sleeves of the Lady of the Bridge," is truly in the form of yōen.[2]

(Iwashimizu Wakanomiya no utaawase, Round 1, "mist over the river," Right: victory.)

3. Tsukikage mo — The moonlight, too,
utsurou hana ni — Has become one with the falling
kawaru iro no — petals.
yūbe wo haru mo — And I have seen the evening

(June, 1978): 23-35. For a discussion of the relation between yoen and Chinese poetry, see Konishi Jin'ichi, "Yōenbi to Bantō-shi to no kōshō," Kokugo to kokubungaku 22 (July, 1947): 1-14.

[1] Kenpō Gonen jūichi-gatsu yokka no utaawase, in Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 9, book 197:258-59. This utaawase was hosted by Juntoku. The participants included Teika, Masatsune, Nobuzane (Takanobu's son), Ietaka, Tomoie, Michiie, Shunzei's Daughter, and Hachijō no In Takakura. The topics, all related to winter, were: "frost in a wintry mountain," "hail on a wintry field," "winter moon at a barrier," "wind over a wintry river," "snow over a wintry sea," "travel on a winter's eve," "love on a winter's night."

[2] Iwashimizu Wakanomiya no utaawase, in Ibid., 9, book 198:272. The participants in this utaawase included Teika, his son Tameie, Ietaka, his son Takasuke, Rokujō Tomoie, Shunzei's Daughter, Mitsutoshi, Shimotsuke, Ienaga, and Nobuzane. There were thirty-four poets in all. The topics were "mist over the river," "blossoms in the mountains at dusk," and "jukkai in relation to a shrine."

Miyoshino no yama — Of the changing colors of things
Shunzei's daughter, Right — In the mountains of lovely Yoshino.

The poem of the right is in the configuration of yōen. . . .[1]

(Iwashimizu Wakanomiya no utaawase, Round 18, "blossoms in the mountains at dusk," Right: victory.)

4. Yume samete — Awakened from a dream,
mada makiagenu — I lie, not raising the jewelled
tamadare no — blinds.
sukima motomete — When, seeking out the gaps,
niou ume ga ka — The perfume of the plum blossoms
Juntoku In — Pours into my bed chamber.

The conception of this poem--the perfume of the plum blossoms pouring into one's bed chamber through the gaps in the blinds when one has just awakened from a dream--is yōen. In addition, the diction is exquisite.[2]

(Juntoku In On hyakushu)

5. Nageki wabi — Prostrated by sorrow
sate furu hodo no — I have passed my days.
omoiide ni — Even as a token of our past
musubi mo hatenu — I cannot meet him in dream
yume no tamakura — To rest my head upon his arm.

All the participants have noted that "in dream, to rest my head upon his arm," is yōen. . . .[3]

(Jōei Gannen (1232) Shichigatsu Kōmyōbuji sesshō no ie no utaawase)

---

[1]Ibid., 9 book 198:275.

[2]The Juntoku In On hyakushu was composed by Juntoku (r. 1210-1221) on the island of Sado where he was exiled after the Jōkyū Rebellion. The work was composed in 1232 and judged by Teika in 1237. The hundred poem sequence comprises twenty spring poems, fifteen summer, twenty autumn, fifteen winter, fifteen love, and fifteen miscellaneous poems. It can be found in Hanawa Hokinoichi, ed., Zoku Gunsho ruijū, 82 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1957-59), v. 14.1, book 386, pp. 732-39. The poem "Yume samete," appears on page 733.

[3]Jōei Gannen shichigatsu Kōmyōbuji sesshō no ie no utaawase, Kawamata Keiichi, Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, 8 book 198:289.

6. Hiru wa kuru	"By day I shall come," --
tōyamadori no	That pledge he once made to me.
chigiri dani	But in the long years of yearning --
nagaki omoi ni	Long as the plumage of the mountain
midarete zo furu	fowl --
Juntoku In	I have grown old and all has faded
	to disorder.

The poem is yōen and exquisite.[1]

(Juntoku In On Hyakushu)

Twelve of the twenty poems that Teika calls yōen are love poems, often involving dreams or the remembrance of the past. The speakers of such poems are women who languish in sorrow, having been betrayed by their lovers. More important, the poems which Teika calls yōen, both love poems and others, conjure up an intoxicating beauty which is intermingled with an underlying grief. These poems do not have the romantic atmosphere of the works that Shunzei labelled en; one approaches them less easily with any kind of sentimental response. They summon up a beauty glimpsed suddenly and for a moment within an enveloping darkness.

Thus the "nami no ue ni" poem and the first of Shunzei's Daughter's poems create a world of cold whiteness. In the first, the speaker gazes out over a wintry sea. Within the darkness and the swirling snow, he sees patches of snow apparently resting on the waves--the boats where the fishermen toil in hardship. Shunzei's Daughter's poem is an allusive variation of the famous Kokinshū work:

Samushiro ni	On the cold straw matting,
koromo katashiki	She spreads out a garment,
koyoi wo mo	This evening too,
ware wo machiken	She must await me there,
Uji no hashihime	The Lady of the Uji bridge.
KKS, XIV:689 Anon.	

In her poem it is now morning. The lover has not appeared. Frost has formed upon the lady's sleeves, and now she is enshrouded by a white mantle of cold haze.

---

[1] Juntoku In On hyakushu, in Hanawa Hokinoichi, Zoku Gunsho ruijū, v. 14.1, book 386:737.

Shunzei's Daughter's second poem speaks of the beauty of the blossoms at the time of day when moonlight, sky, and blossoms become one in whiteness. But this is the evening when the blossoms scatter, and like all phenomenal things, fade away. The first syllable of "Miyoshino" pivots to mean "mi(ru)" (to see), "Utsurou" (to fade), "kawaru" (to change), and "yūbe" (evening) all underscore the ephemerality of the scene of the blossoms. "Iro" suggests not only actual color but the changing aspect of things.

The "yume samete" poem is probably an allusive variation of these two poems. First from the Ise monogatari:

> Once a man received some letters from a lady who showed no inclination to arrange a private meeting with him; furthermore he was not at all sure who she was. He sent her this poem:
>
> Fuku kaze ni — Were I but
> waga mi o nasaba — The whistling wind
> tamasudare — Then I might seek you out
> hima motometsutsu — And enter through a crack
> irubeki mono o — In those elegant blinds.
> [McCullough, trans.][1]

Second, a poem by Shunrai:

> Ume ga ka wa — The perfume of plum blossoms
> ono ga kakine wo — Has strayed away from the hedge
> akugarete — In my garden,
> maya no amari ni — And now seeks to enter my chamber
> hima motomunari — Through the crevices in the wall.
> SZS, I:26, Shunrai

Juntoku In's poem presents a scene of exquisite beauty. A lady lies in the darkness of her bedchamber, having just awakened from a dream, a dream most likely of a lover from the past. The perfume of the plum blossoms, which, according to poetic convention, further arouses a yearning for the past, seeks her out and pours into her chamber. Instead of a flesh-and-blood lover, plotting to gain access to her chamber, only the scent of blossoms envelops her pillow, calling forth her sorrow.

The final two examples are love poems. In the "nageki wabi" poem, the speaker is again a woman who has been abandoned by her

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 111.

lover long ago. Yet, despite her suffering she cannot forget him, and her desire for him is unabated. "Yume no tamakura" underscores the depth of her passion in the contrast between, on the one hand the ephemeral, illusory experience of dream, and, on the other, the concrete description of how lovers sleep pillowing their heads on each others' arms.

The "hiru wa kuru" poem appears to make reference to a poem attributed to Hitomaro:

Ashihiki no	Where they spread out reeds,
yamadori no o no	On distant mountains,
shidari o no	The fowl's plumage trails long --
naganagashi yo wo	Long as is this night
hitori kamo nen	That I must sleep alone.

SIS:778, Hitomaro (MYS, XI:2802, Anon.)

In Juntoku's poem, "nagaki omoi" (long years of yearning) pivots with "nagaki o" (long plumage) and "to" of "tōyamadori" (mountain fowl) may pivot with "tō(i)" (far), or in this case, distant in time. "Midareru" (to be in disorder) describes the lady's state of mind, and it also can refer to the disorder of the plumage of the mountain fowl. The same verb is often used to describe the disorder of a woman's long hair. Thus the poem conjures up an image of the lady herself afflicted with grief.

Teika's judgment of Juntoku's last poem above dates from 1237, some thirty years after Teika served as one of the compilers of the Shinkokinshū and composed his poems that are included in that anthology. However, there are undeniably great differences between Shunzei's poems, despite the Shinkokin poets' reliance upon his poetics, and those of Teika. We will see these differences throughout this study. The contrast between the lovely, atmosphere of en that hovers about a poem and the exquisite beauty and emotional darkness of yōen begins to show us where Teika's world begins.

The Shinkokin poets thoroughly embraced the notion that poetry expressed something that was far beyond words and even beyond the perception of those who are not deeply immersed in the way of poetry. Poetry that fulfills such a requirement, Chōmei calls yūgen. He writes:

Someone said, "I understand by and large the import of what you are saying, but when it comes to this style called yūgen, it is difficult for me to comprehend what exactly it is. Please explain it to me."

Someone answered, "Generally speaking the sugata of poetry are difficult to understand. In the ancient poetic treatises and notes, the difficult matters are explained in the manner of a teacher leading a pupil by the hand, but when it comes to sugata, there is nothing that is truly authoritative. And what's more, in the case of yūgen, one becomes bewildered from the very start. Since I myself do not understand it, I feel I can hardly explain it with certainty, but I gather from the words of those who are deeply immersed in the Way, that it is, specifically, overtones (yojō) of feelings that are not apparent in the diction and atmosphere (keiki) not seen in the sugata. If in the conception there is depth of meaning and the diction reaches the height of allure, these virtues will naturally be present. For example, the appearance of autumn dusk has neither color nor voice. Yet, in spite of oneself, for some inexplicable reason, one's eyes fill with tears.[1] A person who lacks sensitive feelings would think such a scene of autumn not at all admirable. A person like that merely glories in the blossoms and autumn leaves which he can see before his eyes. Further, it is more painful and deeply moving to see a woman who feels resentment attempt to suppress her feelings in her heart without expressing them in words than to see one who gives vent to her emotions, exhausting them in words and wringing her tear-drenched sleeves for your benefit. An unsubtle person is incapable of understanding the import of the former scene without minute explanation. From these examples you should learn that which is so difficult for those who lack sophistication and have only shallow feelings to understand. The half-formed speech of a small, lovely child, which cannot be fully understood, is to be cherished for its very insubstantiality. How can such matters be easily

---

[1] Chōmei may have had in mind Teika's poem in the Shin-kokinshū:

Miwataseba	When I gaze about,
hana mo momiji mo	Of autumn leaves and spring blossoms,
nakarikeri	I find no trace:
ura no tomoya no	A fisher's hut near the bay,
aki no yūgure	In autumn evening.
SKKS, IV:363 Teika	

and perhaps, Yoshitsune's work:

Kurekakaru	As the darkness grows,
munashiki sora no	I gaze out at autumn
aki wo mite	In the empty sky.
oboezu tamaru	Ah, I have been oblivious to the dew
sode no tsuyu kana	That has gathered upon my sleeves.
SKKS, IV:358 Yoshitsune	

> learned or clearly expressed. One must come to understand it for oneself. If one views the autumn mountain through the clearings of mist, what one sees is indistinct. However, this scene, about which one can endlessly conjecture as to how deeply the leaves have been colored by autumn, is superior to a scene that is clearly laid out before one. For, if all of the intent is clear in the diction, if one were to praise the blossoms that are at hand and the moon when it is unclouded, what is it that makes poetry superior to merely saying things in prose.[1] One must concentrate many meanings within a single word, exhaust the depth of intent without outward expression, raise as phantasms of the imagination things of the unseen world, show the elegant and refined by borrowing from the mean, reach wondrous meaning through seeming simplicity. When the conception seems ineffable and words are insufficient, then within a mere thirty-one syllables one will attain the virtue of moving heaven and earth and the art of pacifying spirits and demons.[2]

Chōmei's description of the style of yūgen is very similar to Shunzei's definition of keiki, but he appears to go much further in articulating that the style involves the absence of a discernible reason for its effects. He presents images that are metaphors for poetic effect, yet in each case, the effect lies precisely in what is not apparent in the images. In the imagination, that absence is transformed into a far more compelling presence, the true essence of things.

In the latter part of the paragraph, Chōmei defines this transcendent realm of poetry. The nature of poetry is to evoke that which is far beyond words or commonly perceptible reality. The first statement, "within one word to concentrate many meanings," is taken from the explanation in the Tadamine juttei of the yojō style, but Chōmei's understanding exceeds by far that displayed by the author of that work. Thus in a series of paradoxes, he attempts to suggest that the accomplished poem of the yūgen style transcends all such dualities as simple and complex, mean and elegant to attain a level that appears to surpass all the apparent craft of diction or conception.

---

[1]Chōmei may have been influenced by Shunzei's statement in the Sengohyakuban utaawase, "The image of the moon from which the wind clears away the clouds appears more alluring than an entirely cloudless autumn sky."

[2]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 86-88.

Further, Chōmei attempts to account for the difficulty of perceiving emotional significance where superficially none appears to exist by demanding that the perceiver have a sufficiently high level of sophistication. This poetry, according to Chōmei, is for the initiated and trained; one must not only be familiar with poetic precedents but must have sensibilities that have been nurtured and refined within the study of poetry. This notion of "those who know, know" (shiru hito zo shiru) is ancient, but Chōmei proclaims that the entire style of poetry, one which is the final product of the court-poetic can only be apprehended by a select few. No longer is poetry to be the common property of a whole society. Instead, it is a heritage to be preserved by a small group of individual poets. Chōmei further describes the new style of yūgen:

> Should we, in fact, decide upon the superiority and inferiority [of the old and new styles?] No, rather we should recognize those excellent poems that emerge from either side. However, the priest-poet Jakuren said to me on one occasion, "This dispute can be easily settled. The reason it is that, as in the case of penmanship, it is easy to master the style of someone inferior. In contrast, it is difficult to reproduce the style of someone superior. Thus, if I were to say to Lord Kiyosuke and the Priest Kenshō, 'Compose a poem in my style,' they would be unable to do so, no matter how many days they worked at it. But as for the kinds of poems they write, all I need do is dip my brush in ink and start writing."
>
> I don't know about others, but when I am at a gathering of poets who prefer the style of the middle period and I listen to their poems, there are very few conceits that I could not have thought of. Of course, there are times when I feel that others have expressed something better than I have, yet it is rare that these are things I could not have thought of. However, when I am summoned to poetry contests in the court, I find that each and every poem is such that it would never have occurred to me. I am overcome with awe, and I fear that this Way is rapidly transcending all boundaries of time and scope. Thus no poet should attempt this style until he has immersed himself deeply into the Way and has mastered all other styles. If he fails to understand the style thoroughly, his poems may become difficult to comprehend. Even worse, if a poet who has not achieved control over poetic conceits and not yet developed his powers fully were to make a guess at it, the results would be painfully embarrassing.[1]

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

The style of the middle period refers to the remnant of the Kokinshū manner as practiced by poets in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the poetry contests of the court are those sponsored by Gotoba with the leading innovative poets in the period in which the Shin-kokinshū was being compiled. Rokujō Kiyosuke and Kenshō are proponents of the former, and Jakuren of the latter. Once more, therefore, Chōmei emphasizes the utter difference (and superiority) of the style of yūgen.

Further, Chōmei suggests here that the skillful use of conceits is a necessary preliminary step to the new style. In part, he is transposing the historical process of the development of the style of yūgen to individual poetic training. At the same time, Chōmei reveals that to transcend conceits, one must, paradoxically, pursue them to their utter limits. If one rejects conceits, one must seek out an alternate means of organizing a poem. The new concepts of sugata and omokage were born of this need. Further, to prevent poems from becoming inchoate pictures or moods, the poet must have grasped an unspoken core of reason that holds the poem together. According to Kenshō and other conservative poets, the opposite of lucidity, which they too called yūgen and yojō, was nothing more than senselessness. Chōmei, as did Shunzei before him, argues that this is not so; however, he is also aware of the thin line that separates the senseless, that is a poem that mimics the yūgen style, from one that truly achieves yūgen. The structured reason and lucidity of conceits are a training ground for this more demanding feat.

Teika makes a similar statement, again stressing diction.[1]

---

[1]Teika's essays on poetry were written after the Shinko-kinshū was compiled, in a period when his poetic style was changing. It is beyond the scope of this study, therefore, to examine the complexities of his poetics. Instead, I have emphasized those portions of his ideas that appear to be a further development of Shunzei's thought. For more complete discussion of his poetic treatises, see Fujihira Haruo, Shinkokin kafū no keisei, pp. 177-283; Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron no kenkyū, pp. 105-45, 157-73, and 225-84; Hosoya Naoki, Chūsei karon no kenkyū; pp. 41-176; and Fukuda Yūsaku, Teika karon to sono shūhen (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1973): 116-72.

He writes in the Maigetsushō:[1]

> Overtones hover about a superior poem, and its conception is gentle. It gives one the feeling of gazing upon a formally dressed personage. As I understand it, people generally call excellent a poem that is without embellishment but rather smoothly composed; its conception weak but conveying loftiness. I feel that such people display a lack of understanding. If such poems alone were called excellent then they could be composed with every attempt. Rather a poem attains true excellence when recitation has been pursued as far as possible, when thoughts and emotions are clarified, and when one achieves a wondrous conception, smoothly and easily, not at all the conceit one had at hand. First of all, such a poem possesses depth of conception and loftiness. It appears to exceed language, and its configuration is grand. The diction comprises words that are usually hard to put together, but here they sound smooth and interesting. A faint aura accompanies the poem, and its omokage is rare and wondrous. . . .[2]

Teika, too, speaks of sugata and omokage as elements of the ideal expressiveness of a poem and also of conceits as an intermediate step to this ideal. He, however, also more clearly argues the intimate relation between conviction, the nature of what the poem is to express, and style. Teika distinguishes between his ideal poem and one that is merely smooth and innocuous. The latter is lifeless, not only stylistically but as individually created expression. In contrast, when the poet achieves true depth of concentration, involving comprehension of the hon'i of the poem and utter polish of craft, he will discover a profound, new conception as well as a new order of diction. In the process of composition, the poet begins with the familiar conceits of his trade; as he pursues their meaning, however,

---

[1]Teika wrote the Maigetsushō in 1219. The one volume work was written as a short essay appended to his comments on a hundred poem sequence that one of his students had sent to him for judgment. This student is often identified as Minamoto Sanetomo, but no real proof exists. In the work, Teika examines the ten styles of poetry (juttei) with particular emphasis on the style of deep feeling (ushin no tei). There is a work extant today called the Teika juttei, which gives illustrative poems for Teika's ten styles. Most scholars feel it is a forgery.

[2]Fujiwara Teika, Maigetsushō, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū Nōgakuronshū, pp. 131-32.

they and the patterns of diction which sustain them fall away and leave the poet in a realm where language responds to his will with pristine expressiveness, free of its accumulated patterns and meanings.

Interestingly, Teika appears to retain the sense we have already seen with Shunzei that yūgen was a quality that sets a poem apart from the orthodox, formal traditions of court poetry. In Teika's Kindai shūka (kensōbon, or the "manuscript sent to Sanetomo") Teika lists twenty-seven poems, the first five of which, two by Tsunenobu and three by Shunrai, are described as "formal, public poems." These five poems are followed by two more poems by Shunrai which are described as "profound and mysterious (yūgen) and possessing an undefinable mood (omokage) of loneliness. The third grouping of poems are called "interesting and skillful," and the fourth, "poems with depth whose diction is secondary to conception."[1] Teika has

---

[1]Fujiwara Teika, Kindai shūka, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Karonshū, pp. 282-83. The two poems that Teika calls yūgen are:

Uzura naku Mano no irie no hamakaze ni obana namiyoru aki no yūgure Shunrai KYS, IV:254	The quail cry, In the breeze that sweeps Along the inlet of Mano, Waves of pampas grass billow This autumn evening.
Furusato wa chiru momijiba ni uzumorete noki no shinobu ni akikaze zo fuku Shunrai SKKS, V:533	This ancient village Lies buried now beneath the fallen leaves, And the autumn wind Stirs the weeds of remembrance That grow beneath my eaves.

"Mano no irie" in the first poem is a Manyō place name seen, according to the Kokka taikan text in MYS 433. Other texts give the reading "Mama no irie." In any case, Teika appears to define yūgen more narrowly than Shunzei, linking it to a specific mood.

Teika uses the term yūgen in four poetry judgments. First, in Saigyō's Miyakawa utaawase:

Left Yorozu yo wo yamada no hara no aya sugi ni	They speak of the myriad ages, The ancient cryptomeria that stand In the grove near the shrine,

ranked the four groups roughly according to the artistry displayed

---

kaze shikitatete koe yobaunari	Where the wind blows ceaselessly, Raising its voice in joy.
Right Nagare idete Miato taremasu Mizugaki wa Miyakawa yori no Watarai no shime	In this ancient shrine, Mahavāirocana Tathāgata was manifested, And the holy fence Is a sacred rope Stretched forth from Miyakawa River.

"In both poems, the conception has transcended the commonplace; the manner of presentation has entered the realm of yūgen. The poet has heard the sound of the wind in the cryptomeria and has gathered the words of Kakinomoto Hitomaro. He has seen the flowing waters of Miyakawa River and has sought the depths of the dark blue sea. My thoughts are disordered by wonder, for my shallow intellect cannot plumb the depths of these poems." (Miyakawa utaawase, Round 1.)

In the Sengohyakuban utaawase:

Tsuki wa kore aware wo hito ni tsukusasete nishi ni iru ni wa sasounarikeri Shunzei, right	Ah, this moonlight compels one to experience the depths of pathos, And as the moon draws toward the west, It invites our thoughts to follow.

"The poet has gazed up at the distant autumn moon and has concentrated his mind upon the Western Paradise. Although the words of yūgen differ somewhat from others, still, when I try to determine which poem is better, I feel that this poem of the right is inferior to the poem of the left." (Round 751.)

Furusato ni hitori mo tsuki wo mitsuru kana Obasuteyama wo nani omoiken Shunzei, Right	Here in the ancient village, Alas, I gaze all alone At the moonlight. What need was there to speak Of the sorrow of Obasute Mountain?

"The light of the moon deeply illuminates the lonely scene of the ancient village. . . . The conception has truly entered the realm of yūgen." (Round 780.) And in the Meisho utaawase of 1232:

Sato wa arete Fushimi no aki wo kite toeba tsuki koso yadore asajiu no tsuyu Takakura In, right	The village is desolate, And when I seek in this autumn at Fushimi For traces of the past, I find that only the moonlight Still dwells among the tangled weeds.

The scene of autumn in Fushimi is indeed in the realm of yūgen. (Teiei

in the diction. The poems of the first group exhibit the greatest care in the smoothness and loveliness of diction, and the fourth group, the least. At the same time, however, Teika praises each group, and he may be more interested in indicating the best examples of different kinds of poems. What is clear for our purposes is that poems of yūgen and the ideal, formal utaawase poem are conceived to be different enough to demand separate categories. Both are superior kinds of poems, but the poem of yūgen somehow veers away from the balance and lucidity we know a true utaawase poem had to have.

Teika writes in his treatise, the Kindai shūka, that Shunzei's instructions to him in the composition of poetry were these few simple words: "Poetry is not an art which can be learned by looking afield or hearing afar; it is something that proceeds from the heart and is understood in the self."[1] With a lifetime of poetic practice and his depth of understanding, Shunzei had achieved this freedom and trust in his own emotional responses. However, Teika faced during much of his life the practical task of guiding students who were not yet capable of attaining Shunzei's (as well as his own) vision of poetry, one which surpassed all mechanical knowledge of precedents and rules of diction. Further, he was, perhaps more than any other poet, aware of the difficulties involved in molding language to that which he wished to express. Traditional poetic language was ever

---

gannen Meisho no tsuki utaawase, Round 24, right.) Examples cited in Naoki Hosoya, Chūsei karon no kenkyū, pp. 30-31.

Shunzei's poem "Furusato ni," (Sengohyakuban utaawase, Round 751, right) probably refers to the Kokinshū work:

Waga kokoro	I could find no means
nagusame kanetsu	Of giving comfort to my heart,
Sarashina ya	Having seen the moonlight,
Obasuteyama ni	As it shines above Obasute Mountain
teru tsuki wo mite	Here in the province of Sarashina.

KKS, XVII:878 Anon.

Takakura In's poem refers to episode 123 in the Ise monogatari. See p. 103 above.

[1]Brower and Miner, Fujiwara Teika's 'Superior Poems of Our Times' p. 43.

recalcitrant to his efforts to transform its expressiveness, and there were no handy rules to replace those he had rejected. As a result, Teika comes to regard personal conviction all the more highly and is, at the same time, forced to devise new rules, new guidelines for the poets who had been charged by Shunzei and himself to seek within themselves for the essence of poetry. First, he attempts to re-systematize a number of styles within which depth of conviction is the fundamental quality of poetry. Teika writes in the Maigetsushō:

> Now among the ten styles there is none which can surpass the style of deep conviction (ushin). It is the epitome of poetry. . . . The style of deep conviction, however, also extends to the other nine styles. For the style of mystery and depth has its own depth of feeling, as does the lofty style. The same is true of the remaining styles. Truly, in any of the styles, a poem without depth of feeling is an inferior work. The style designated here among the ten as the style of deep conviction is not to be mistaken for the depth of conviction one finds in the other styles. I have chosen for this style, poems in which the poet has placed depth of conviction foremost. Still, depth of conviction exists in all the styles. . . .[1]

According to Teika, a poet must first of all bring depth of conviction to all his poems no matter of what style. He then further distinguishes a special "style of deep conviction" among his ten styles of poems. This form of argument is reminiscent of the definition of the kōjō tei (superior form) in the Wakatei jusshu cited above. Teika's ten styles of poetry are yūgen yō (the style of mystery and depth), take takaki (loftiness), ushin tei (depth of conviction), komayaka na sama (discriminating elegance), uruwashiki sama (loveliness), miru sama (descriptive), omoshiroki sama (delightful, interesting), koto shikarubeki sama (appropriateness), hito fushi aru sama (having a point of interest), and rakki tei (demon-quelling). The yūgen, ushin, take takaki, and uruwashiki are the fundamental styles of poetry which a student must master first. (In Teika's definition, yūgen does not sum up the Shinkokin style. Rather, all four of the fundamental styles may be considered different modes of the contemporary style.) The remaining

---

[1]Fujiwara Teika, Maigetsushō, p. 219.

six are lesser styles which will naturally follow and which, it appears, Teika would just as well not have his students practice. In any case, the ushin style comprises poems in which the poet has expressed depth of conviction perhaps disregarding the niceties of diction that are important in several of the other styles. Likewise, each of these styles have appropriate depths of their own.

Second, Teika instructs his students concerning how they may attain the realm of depth of conviction:

> At all times, you should strive to compose with depth of feeling. There are times, however, when it will be impossible for you to compose in this style. . . . At such times, if you insist on endeavoring to compose in that manner, the form and essence of your poem will grow more and more weak; you will compose a worthless poem. Instead, you should desist and compose perhaps a descriptive poem whose words and style are direct. It may not truly possess conviction, but you should compose it so that it sounds adequate. You should bear this in mind when you are assigned impromptu composition. When you compose four or five of a dozen such poems, the dullness of your mind will clear away and your spirit will be renewed. . . .
>
> The style of deep conviction is extremely hard to master. If one tries one's hand at this and that, without concentration, then one will be unable to compose smoothly. One should bring one's heart to a deep repose, and then having immersed oneself in the realm, one may on rare occasion succeed. . . .
>
> I find that Chinese verse can make one's spirit lofty and calm. When one composes poetry it is crucial that one's heart be calm. One should have in mind a Chinese verse one has found interesting or a Japanese poem and intone it to oneself to give the mind serenity. When one is still a beginner, one should not force oneself to compose. If one reflects too deeply and works continuously without a break, one's nature will collapse and the spirit withdraw. . . .[1]

The advice concerning composition that Teika offers is in keeping with Shunzei's vision of the practice of contemplation through which a poet unifies himself with the "thusness of things." Teika suggests that the poet withdraw his attention from his physical surroundings and from even the desire to compose such and such a poem. Gradually, by composing poems which, in their simple craft do not tax the spirit, and by intoning lofty Chinese and Japanese verses, the poet attunes himself to the realm of poetry. Teika himself apparently

---

[1] Ibid., p. 121.

composed slowly and painfully, and he was under no illusion that composition could be accomplished in any kind of mystical state. He provides his students with guidelines to an individual discipline of mind.

Finally, Teika's concern with individual endeavor and also naturalness leads him to suggest that certain poets possessed an innate affinity for certain styles of poetry. He writes in the Maigetsushō:

> Now, concerning those ten styles, one should assign them according to individual character. Both poets with great gifts and those without them have an affinity for a certain style. What purpose does it serve to instruct someone who has an affinity for the style of mystery and depth to compose in the demon-quelling style, or to urge a poet who has an affinity for the lofty style to compose in the exquisite style? Such affinities that poets have are not unlike those which all living things have to one of the innumerable sutras that the Buddha has made available to us so that each of us may attain enlightenment. To force someone else to compose in a style one favors and has an affinity for does great harm to the way of poetry. If one is in a position to instruct, one should examine well the poems that a student has composed and then assign him a style in keeping with his own poems. However, this does not mean that one should remain forever content to compose in a single style ignoring all others. With one's own style as a firm foundation, one should master the remaining styles. . . .[1]

This belief in a poet's innate affinity for a certain style cannot be seen in either Shunzei's or Chōmei's writings. Poetry must issue from the deepest part of the self, and just as people differ, the styles of poetry which suit them will also differ. When an individual poet achieves his proper style, that style will display the depth of conviction that is the essence of all poetry.

---

[1]Ibid., p. 135

CHAPTER III

THE SHINKOKIN STYLE I: POETIC DICTION

When Shunzei wrote in the Jichin oshō jikaawase postscript, "A poem need not always attempt clever conceits nor present its ideas fully and systematically,"[1] he rejected both the styles and the rhetorical stance of much of the poetry of the past. First, he repudiated the full and systematic development of a poetic conception because of his understanding of the limitations that certain syntactic forms, which had been established as appropriate for poetic statement, imposed upon the poet's relation to his subject matter. Historically, the five lines of a waka had tended to constitute either a single continuous statement or one or more dependent clauses and a main clause. Syntax was not necessarily simple, but it usually culminated in a single, if highly inflected, verb. This syntactic form guided the poet's thought as though along an enclosed corridor, increasingly separating him from any true engagement with his subject matter. Instead, the hypotactic structure of the poems accommodated the "logic," cause and effect, question and answer, event and reason, that had to characterized the earlier poetry, especially that of the Kokinshū style of fanciful metaphor. For Shunzei and the younger Shinkokin poets, that style had become stale mannerism; they were interested in creating more complex overtones of meaning, and the old structures could not be used for this end. More important, the poets rejected the rhetorical stance of the earlier styles, the poet revealing his idiosyncratic response to his subject and not its hon'i. The Shinkokin poets sought to display hon'i in their poems, and this could not

---

[1]Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 390.

be accomplished by using poetic forms that did not reconcile subjective response and the demands of hon'i.

The Shinkokin poets did not permit themselves the option of simply incorporating new words into their poems for the sake of freshness. Fujiwara Teika succinctly articulates the Shinkokinshū poets' attitude toward poetic language in the style of yūgen. He writes in his poetic treatise the Eiga no taigai:[1]

> In conceptions and sentiments one should above all aim for the new. . . . In diction, one should be guided by the ancients. One's diction should remain within that of the anthologies of the three reigns [Kokinshū, Gosenshū, and Shuishū] and the language used by the poetic masters of the past.[2]

The Shinkokin poets set out to use the poetic language of past poetry to create conceptions that differed altogether from those of their predecessors. As an ideal, this emphasis on new conceptions and old diction seems to involve a paradox or contradiction of terms. That is, after the passage of much time and with repeated use, words in poetry lose their ability to convey deep meaning. Changes in human society of course necessitate altered language to enable people to express new perceptions and insights, but even in a relatively unchanging, insular society, patterns of language become estranged from what people feel to their individual expressive needs. Poets despair of the possibility of personal creativity in a language so commonly and indiscriminately used. Old words generally seem capable only of conveying old, familiar meanings, and to seek for new meanings and significance among them appears to be a questionable or at least very limiting effort.

---

[1]The Eiga no taigai was written by Teika after 1221. The one volume text exists both in a kana (Japanese) version and a kanbun (Chinese). Teika discusses the principles of kokoro and kotoba, honkadori, and provides 103 poems as models of diction.

[2]Fujiwara Teika, Eiga no taigai, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū Nōgakuronshū, p. 114. A very similar statement also can be found in the Kindai shūka: "If in diction you admire the traditional, if in treatment you attempt the new, if you aim at an unobtainably lofty effect, and if you study the poetry of the Kampei and before--then how can you fail to succeed?" Brower and Miner, Fujiwara Teika's "Superior Poems of Our Times," p. 44.

However, to Teika and his generation, the classic language of the Shūishū, Gosenshū, and most of all, the Kokinshū was far from dead, but instead represented the essence of the poetic. As we have seen, Shunzei established a certain classic lexicon as the firm basis of the rediscovered unity of quintessential significance and individual emotion and experience. That which was most significant would always be expressed in this language. Just how powerfully ingrained the patterns of traditional diction were can be seen in the following figures.

Japanese scholars have examined the vocabulary used in the Shinkokinshū and concluded that it falls fundamentally within the framework established by the Kokinshū.[1] This is not surprising. In addition, if we consider each of the five lines of a poem as a unit, we find that the ratio of new expressions to old in the Shinkokinshū remains nearly the same as in earlier imperial anthologies. Thus in the first fifty contemporary poems in the first volume of spring, 117 out of 250 lines are either the first or the only usage in an imperial anthology. Likewise in the second volume of love poetry, in the forty-three contemporary poems, 104 out of 215 lines are new or unique usages. The new lines are 46.8 percent and 48.3 percent respectively of the totals. In comparison, we find that in the first twenty poems of the first volumes of spring in the Shikashū and Senzaishū, 57 percent and 51 percent respectively of the lines are new.

Merely from these figures, which do not take into account the nature of the new uses, we might conclude that the Shinkokinshū is less innovative than its predecessors. The technique of allusive variation (honkadori) doubtlessly contributes to the number of traditional lines in the Shinkokinshū, but we cannot discount the clear tendency for poetic expressions to become fixed at the level of the line. By the time of the Shinkokinshū, certain phrases such as "ume no hana," "sakurabana," "Miyoshino no," "Kasugano no"; rhetorical forms such as "miwataseba,"

---

[1]Takizawa Sadao, "Yōgo kara mita Manyō, Kokin, Shinkokin," Wakabungaku kenkyū 8 (September, 1959): 24-36; and Tajiri Yoshinobu, "Shinkokinshū ni okeru shokusaikan," Wakabungaku kenkyu 8 (September, 1959): 18-23.

"nagamureba," "kokochi koso sure," or ". . . ka to zo miru"; and makura-kotoba had long since been accepted as the staples of poetic vocabulary.[1] For the most part, even the most innovative poets of the Shinkokinshū worked with these materials.

If the contemporary poems of the Shinkokinshū differed from earlier works only in vocabulary, they would be far less worthy of note than they are. Instead, the poets set out to create a new poetry by amplifying the expressive capacity of their classic poetic language. In his poetic treatise the Maigetsushō, Teika describes for one of his students how a poem of this new order is to be put together:

> An important aspect of poetry is the selection of diction. Among words, there are the strong and the weak, the large and the small. One must be thoroughly aware of these differences and join strong words only with other strong words, and again, the weak only with the weak. It is of the utmost importance to reflect deeply on this matter and to compose poems in which there is no thickness or thinness of diction, poetry that is smooth and pleasing to the ear. To put is simply, poetic words are not of themselves either good or bad. Rather, their excellence or inferiority is to be found in the manner in which they are put together. It is extremely unpleasant to see words of mystery and depth (yūgen) joined with demon-quelling (raki) words. Therefore, my father instructed me to place the source of poetry in the heart and thence to select words accordingly.[2]

In this passage, Teika does not speak at all of the lexical meanings of words. Likewise, he avoids making an appeal to any descriptive terms with familiar emotional connotations. Thus instead of aware or sabi, for example, he speaks of the thickness or thinness of diction, the tactile, sensual texture of language. Teika is a poet who is specially sensitive to words as almost physical objects that take up space and

---

[1]Inada Yoshinori, "Chūko waka kara chūsei waka e--hyōgen shuhō no henka no ichi yōso," Kokugo kokubun 38 (September, 1969): 1-36. Also see Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "'Miwataseba' ko--daisanku 'miwataseba' no Shinkokin e no hen'i," Mukogawa kokubun 4 (March, 1972): 25-37; "'Honobono' ko--Shinkokinteki jōkei kōsei no ron no tame ni," Kokugo kokubun 43 (July, 1974): 20-38; "Zoku 'miwataseba' ko--shoku 'miwataseba' no Shinkokin e no hen'i," Mukogawa Joshi Daigaku kiyō 20 (October, 1972):19-34; and Morishige Bin, "'Nari' no hyōgen kachi--Kokinteki na mono kara Shinkokinteki na mono e," Kokugo kokubun 39 (June, 1970): 1-22 and (July, 1970): 34-55.

[2]Fujiwara Teika, Maigetsushō, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū nōgakuronshū, pp. 324-6.

push against each other in a poem, and this kind of description may have arisen from such perceptions. However, more generally, Teika and other Shinkokin poets believed that each word in a poem is surrounded by its own aura--meaning, associations, mood--enhanced by aural perception, that had accrued to it during the long history of its use in poetry.

For the Shinkokin poets, therfore, the linear transmission of meaning is only one, and often a relatively minor, factor in the organization of a poem. In fact, they may argue that there is an inverse relation between adherence to traditional syntactic patterns and the richness of the evocation of mood in a poem. A renewed consciousness of the gravity of words lies at the core of the Shinkokin style. We have seen to what degree Shunzei, for example, considered language itself to be the repository of hon'i, and the first step toward the attainment of hon'i lay in freeing poetic diction from its constricting paterns and thereby restoring its true weight and consequence. Paradoxically, only then could the poets conjure up the resonances of mood and meaning that appear to hover about a poem.

We should perhaps more precisely speak of images rather than words in general, for the way in which images are used clearly distinguishes the poems of the Shinkokin style from those of earlier periods. The poetry of the Kokinshū is metaphoric, not imagistic. Even the poems that appear to describe a natural scene in fact most often represent the poet's clever "suspension of disbelief" as he looks upon a painted landscape on a screen.[1] His interest lay not in a scene of nature itself but rather in the ability of his own mind to impose meaning and order onto the exterior world. In contrast, the poetry of the Shinkokinshū is imagistic. For the Shinkokin poet, nature has come to have value that is independent of his idiosyncratic response to it; he does not need to construct the relevance of nature through metaphor.

This change can be traced to the late eleventh century when such poets as Tsunenobu (1016-1097), Shunrai's father, began writing a more

---

[1]See Brower and Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, pp. 198-215. See also, Katano Tatsurō, Nihon bungei to kaiga no sōkansei no kenkyū (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1975), pp. 181-211.

descriptive poetry to take the place of the metaphoric style of the Kokinshū.[1] Concerning this period of descriptive poetry, Chōmei writes, "[Poets sought] among clouds for different kinds of clouds, . . . expressed new insights about ice, and discovered different images for brocade."[2] Poets attempted to set aside the stereotypes--blossoms always looking like clouds, autumn leaves like brocade--to reexamine the things of nature themselves. Thus in the Shinkokinshū we find at times images that have never before appeared in an imperial anthology, the legacy of a more precise observation of nature than in the past.[3]

Shinkokin poetry, however, is seldom merely descriptive.[4] In-

---

[1]Minamoto Tsunenobu (1016-1097) was admired by the Shinkokin poets for his new poetry of natural description in the "lofty" (take takaki yo) manner. In the Kindai shūka, Teika speaks of him as the first of the great poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries that brought about the revitalization of waka. Teika writes: "The Major Counselor Lord Tsunenobu, Shunrai Ason, The Mayor of the Left Division of the Capital (Lord Akisuke), Kiyosuke Ason, and, more recently, his Lordship my late father, or rather the person known as Mototoshi, under whom he studied this art--these men departed from the vulgar poetic styles of a degenerate age and sought to recapture the styles of the poetry of old." Brower and Miner, Fujiwara Teika's "Superior Poems of Our Time," p. 42.

Tsunenobu was the compiler of the Goshūi mondō and the Nan Goshūi. Both works were the expression of his dissatisfaction with Fujiwara Michitoshi's Goshūishū, the fourth imperial anthology.

[2]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, p. 83.

[3]See Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Shinkokin wakashū no kenkyū--Kiso to kōzō (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1965), pp. 281-380 passim.

One important influence on the choice of images and of diction as well in the Shinkokinshū was Chinese verse. A full examination of this question is beyond the scope of this study. Several detailed studies are: Konishi Jin'ichi, "Chūsei hyōgen ishiki to Sōdai shiron," Kokugo 1, n.s. (October, 1951): 16-49; Satō Tsuneo, "Shinkokin teki hyōgen seiritsu no ichi yōso--'munashiki eda ni,' 'tsuyu mo mada hinu,'" in Chūsei bungaku to waka--Minemura Fubito Hakase taikan kinen ronbunshū (Tokyo: Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku Chūsei Bungaku Kenkyūkai, 1979), pp. 167-81; and Satō Tsuneo, "Shinkokin-teki hyogen no kiban to shite no Heian-chō Kan-shi," Nihon bungaku 28 (June, 1979): 25-33.

[4]There are many studies of this aspect of the Shinkokinshū. See for example, Okazaki Yoshie, Nihon shiika no shōchō seishin, Kodai hen (Tokyo: Hōbunkan Shuppan, 1970), pp. 145-363; and Tanaka Yutaka, "Shinkokinshū to sono shūhen," in Zenkoku Daigaku Kokugo Kokubungaku

stead, images are used to evoke mood and to serve as emblems of emotion. Poets had long been accustomed to using uta-makura (fixed epithets often placenames) to evoke certain associations. In the three hundred years between the Kokinshū and the Shinkokinshū, the implications of most of the images of court poetry had similarly become fixed, and in the Shinkokinshū the poets use common nouns in a like fashion to summon up emotional qualities and moods. Thus the poets find that selected images could portray in a microcosm the meaning of a whole landscape or season. Likewise, thought and emotion are transmuted into the images that present them through exterior sensations. The poems portray thought and emotion directly through images.

There are, therefore, two ways of approaching the Shinkokin style. The first is through an examination of the use of image. This has been done by Robert Brower and Earl Miner, who so aptly characterized the use of images in the Shinkokinshū as "descriptive symbolism."[1] The second approach is through a description of the technical devices of the style--the fragmented and weakened syntax, caesuras, the use of numerous nouns and noun endings, and the illogical often even bizarre interconnections between words.[2] All these devices function at least in part to enchance the expressiveness of images. In this chapter and the one following, we will take this latter course for it is more amenable to concrete analysis and comparison. In the next chapter, we will examine the larger structures of the Shinkokin poems, especially the different uses of caesuras. In this chapter, we will examine the "textural" effects of the poems, the myriad interconnections between words that illuminate their shared implications and associations. We begin

---

Gakkai, Kōza Nihon bungaku, 5:26-46. Okazaki traces the development of "symbolic" imagery from the Manyōshū through the Shinkokinshū.

[1]Brower and Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, pp. 272-319.

[2]For a statistical analysis of the grammatical forms in the Shinkokinshū, see Morishita Kinjirō, "Shinkokinshū no hyōgen keitai ni tsuite," Miyagi Gakuen Joshi Daigaku Kenkyū Ronbunshū 50:29-46 reprinted in Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō (Tokyo: Ronsetsu shiryō hozonkai, 1981), 16, pt. 3: 564-72.

with the poems that appear the least flamboyant in their use of diction, those that involve the masterful evocation of the richness of the classic language.[1]

Old Words, New Meaning: Enhancing the Implications of the Classic Diction

It is difficult to speak of the effect of classic language in a poem, for so much depends on our own participation in the tradition. But we can recognize the grace, balance, and depth of such diction. Shunzei provides us with an excellent model.

Yūsareba	When evening comes
nobe no akikaze	The autumn wind in the fields,
mi ni shimite	Pierces the being,
uzura nakunari	And the quail are crying
Fukakusa no sato	In the village of Deep Grasses.

Shunzei, SZS, IV:258

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Shunzei felt that this was his best work. With its third line pause and fifth line nominative ending, its form is also typical of the Shinkokinshū. The poem has complete repose from line to line--the pause at line one, the nominative phrase of the second, the pause of the third, the possible independence of meaning of the fourth, and the final nominative phrase. Our perception of meaning is shaped within Shunzei's seemingly effortless beauty of cadence and diction. In terms of conception, Shunzei balances description and interior statement. The first three lines culminate in what appears to be a narration of personal feeling, "mi ni shimite." However, when we move to the fourth line, we find that the reference of the third becomes ambiguous. Is it the speaker, the quail, or both that feel the

---

[1]The interpretation of Shinkokinshū poems in this chapter and those that follow are based primarily on the following modern Japanese commentaries: Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazaki Hideo, and Gotō Shigeo, eds., Shinkokin wakashū, Vol. 28 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958); Ishida Yoshisada, Shinkokin wakashū zen chūkai (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1960); Kamijō Shōji, Katayama Tōru, and Satō Tsuneo, eds., Shinkokin wakashū nyūmon (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1979); Kubota Jun, ed., Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 9 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976-77); and Minemura Fubito, ed., Shinkokin wakashū, Vol. 26 of NKBZ (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1974).

piercing autumn wind? We can conclude that the speaker, from his own experience of cold and sorrow, speaks with empathy concerning the plight of the quail. The quail cry because they, too, feel the cold autumn wind. And the experiences of both human and quail speak of the emotional significance of "Fukakusa no sato." Shunzei transforms emotion into landscape--a world of mood and significance in which the individual plays only one part.

Further, Shunzei has constructed his poem out of classic words and phrases--those that have been endlessly polished by his predecessors. Thus in the Kokka taikan, we find nearly one hundred usages of the phrase "yūsareba." "Mi no shimite," is found in poem 633 of the Shikashū and 644 of the Kinyoshū. We also find numerous uses of the related form, "mi ni shimu koto," and "mi no shimu bakari." In the chapter on allusive variations, we will discuss the role of Shunzei's poem in focusing the significance of Fukakusa and quail in relation to an episode in the Ise monogatari.[1] Here, it will suffice to note that the phrase, "uzura nakunari," is found in GSIS 302, and "uzura naku" in four Manyōshū poems and one Kinyōshū poem. We find one earlier use of "Fukakusa no sato" in a poem in the Nagayoshi shū. However, the form "fukakusa no . . ." occurs in four Kokinshū poems. The line, "nobe no akikaze: is new, but both "nobe" and "akikaze" are very common poetic words with clearly defined associations.

---

[1]Shunzei's poem refers to episode 123 in the Ise monogatari, which reads: "Once a man gave this poem to a lady at Fukakusa--someone in whom, it seems, he had been gradually losing interest.

Tosho o hete	Were I to leave the house
Sumikoshi sato o	Where I have dwelt
idete inaba	These years,
itodo Fukakusa	Might the luxuriant garden
no to ya narinan	Become a tangled wilderness?

The lady's reply:

No to naraba	If it be a wild field,
uzura to narite	Then I shall be a quail
nakioran	Calling plaintively--
kari ni dani ya wa	And surely you will at least
kimi wa kozaramu	Come briefly for a hunt.

The man, deeply moved, no longer felt inclined to leave." McCullough, Tales of Ise, pp. 148-49.

What is more, the immutable rightness we sense in the placement of each line and phrase results from the fact that Shunzei has selected the images in his poem according to their shared mood and implications. As description, Shunzei's poem is very vague; his images are certainly concrete yet they lack any sense of the particular beyond minimal identification of place and time. Among all the common noun images there is not a single adjective that might distinguish a certain object from other members of its class. The images are, in the words of the Japanese scholar Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "representative," that is, utterly concrete yet free of the particular details that would interfere with our perception of them as clusters of emotional qualities and associations.[1] Thus Shunzei does not so much describe a landscape as he constructs his poem as an ordered succession of images of closely related mood and associations. "Yūsareba," "nobe," "akikaze," and "uzura" all have implications of darkness, cold, rusticity, and decay. Emotionally, they suggest sorrow and desolation. These values are resolved in "Fukakusa no sato," --the axis around which the poem's emotional significance and other content are determined. Shunzei selects words, often attributes of each other, that mutually reinforce poetic values and lead us toward an understanding of the meaning of "Fukakusa no sato." We feel a repose in the poem as though each word and unit of meaning inevitably generates all the others.

In the following poems, Shunzei creates mood with images in a similar fashion:

Ame sosogu	The breeze softly stirs,
hana tachibana ni	Among the blossoms of the orange tree
kaze sugite	Bathed in raindrops.
yama hototogisu	Ah, the mountain thrush
kumo ni nakunari	Calls from beyond the clouds.
Shunzei, SKKS, III:202	
Fushimi yama	Fushimi mountain--
matsu no kage yori	From the shadow of the pines
miwataseba	I gaze out and see
akuru tanomo ni	The dawning fields
akikaze zo fuku	Rippling in the autumn wind.
Shunzei, SKKS, IV:291.	

---

[1]Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "'Miwataseba' ko," Mukogawa kokubun 4 (March, 1972): 34.

Again, the words in the poems are not new. The only exception is the line, "ame sosogu," which appears here for the first time in an imperial anthology and which becomes popular in the later Gyokuyōshū Fūgashū period. In the first poem, the cluster of images, "tachibana," "ame," "hototogisu," and "kumo" is very traditional.[1] Shunzei arranges these familiar images to present an experience that encloses one in its sensual richness. The scene is closed off by rain and clouds, and probably by darkness; according to poetic tradition, the "hototogisu" usually sang in the night or at dawn. The air is further filled with the rich perfume of the flowering orange, which is made all the more intense by the rain and the sudden stirring of the breeze. The scene is completed by the song of the thrush. The poem conveys only a single moment, but a moment so sensually perfect that it transcends time.

The "Fushimi yama" poem portrays the change from night to day and from summer to autumn.[2] Traditionally, poets spoke of autumn as being ushered in suddenly by a new, chill wind on the first day of autumn, and this notion lies behind Shunzei's work. However, he transforms it into a scene that portrays change as a series of contrasting qualities. The speaker has spent the night beneath the pines, and at dawn from the still dark shadows of the trees, he sees before him the fields of grain stirred by the wind. "Fushimi" pivots to mean both the place name and to lie down and look. Again, the scene is less a particular place than a cluster of contrasting sensual qualities--high and low, dark and light, shadowed and expansive, and evergreen and grain. In

---

[1]The interconnection between "tachibana," "hototogisu," and "ame" was established as early as the Manyōshū. Nakashio Kiyoomi traces the changes in the implications of "tachibana" and "hototogisu" from their ancient connections to rice planting rituals--the "hototogisu" was also believed to be a messenger from the world of the dead--to their transformation into images of romance. He cites the Ise monogatari episode, No. 60 (quoted in n. 1, p. 192 below) and the later Shinkokin poems including this work by Shunzei. Nakashio Kiyoomi, "'Satsuki matsu' kō," Wakabungaku kenkyū 6 (January, 1959): 23-33.

[2]The placename "Fushimi yama" appears in an imperial anthology for the first time in Shunzei's poem: Earlier poems primarily make reference to "Fushimi no sato: (the village of Fushimi). In the Shinkokinshū, see for example poem no. 673 by Ariie.

the balance between these qualities, Shunzei creates a scene that portrays in a microcosm the greater changes of the seasons.

Shunzei's poetry possesses a repose and a seemingly effortless interconnection of diction that his younger associates perhaps never equalled.[1] Nevertheless, the Shinkokin poets too entrusted themselves to the expressive power of their classic language:

Omou koto	Worries, perplexities
sashite sore to wa	Such as could be named
naki mono wo	Do not oppress me,
aki no yube wo	Yet I seek in my heart
kokoro ni zo tou	The sorrows of this autumn evening.
Kunaikyō, SKKS, IV:365	
Miyoshino wa	In lovely Yoshino
yama mo kasumite	The mountains are veiled in haze,
shirayuki no	And where the white snow
furinishi sato ni	Once fell in the ancient village
haru wa kinikeri	Now, spring has arrived.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, I:1	

The subject of Kunaikyō's poem is autumn evening; Yoshitsune composed his work on the topic "the beginning of spring." The poems thus differ greatly in hon'i and consequently, in content, mood, and tone. Both, however, use classic language to create their effects.

Kunaikyō's poem possesses a timeless grace in its use of poetic language. The lines of the poem are not new; the first line has twenty-

---

[1]Teika, for example, uses "Fukakusa no sato" in the following fashion:

Uzura naku	The sky in evening,
yūbe no sora wo	When the quail cry plaintively
nagori nite	Remains as a token of the past.
no to narinikeri	All else is transformed into a rank field
Fukakusa no sato	In the Village of Deep Grasses.
Teika, Shūi gusō 8890	

Like Shunzei's work, Teika's poem also makes reference to the Ise monogatari episode quoted above. Teika's poem, however, lacks the repose of Shunzei's diction. In contrast, we see his effort to create a fresh perception. In Teika's work, the evening sky itself--the sky of the time of sorrow and loneliness--is left as a memorial to the lady of long ago, and the village, now deserted, is overgrown with grass. There is no human presence any longer in Teika's poem. Shunzei's poem is grounded in human sentiment and a sense of the real. Teika banishes reality in favor of a realm spun out in the imagination.

one previous uses; the third, eleven; and the fourth, two. The conception of the poem, the inescapable pathos of autumn evening is basic to many of the autumn poems in the Shinkokinshū and is, in fact, the hon'i of autumn evening.[1] Further, we discover a quiet depth in the poem's unpretentiousness and directness of statement. The cadence is calm, and its repose is heightened by the predominant "o" and "u" sounds that unify the aural pattern of the poem. We sense that the poem does indeed express with clarity the speaker's emotions; her vulnerability and search for meaning reverberates within the quiet simplicity of the diction.

Yoshitsune's poem, it is not surprising to find was chosen by the compilers of the Shinkokinshū as the opening work of the anthology, for it boldly participates in a cluster of traditional poems through associated diction, imagery, and conceptions.[2] Like Kunaikyō, Yoshitsune constructs his poem from traditional elements of poetic vocabulary. Each of the five lines in his poem has a previous usage in an imperial

---

[1]Poems 357 through 369 in the first volume of autumn poems deal specifically with autumn evening. This sequence, which occurs exactly in the middle of the volume, includes the so-called "sanseki" (three evening) poems.

Sabishisa wa sono iro to shi mo nakarikeri maki tatsu yama no aki no yūgure Jakuren, SKKS, IV:362	Loneliness Has no particular outward form Nor distinguishing color; In the mountains where the cypress stand Autumn evening.
Kokoro naki mi ni mo aware wa shirarekeri shigi tatsu sawa no aki no yūgure Saigyō, SKKS, IV:363	Although my heart is unformed, Yet, even I, in my body must know The pathos of things: A snipe takes flight from a march On an autumn evening.
Miwataseba hana mo momiji mo nakarikeri ura no tomaya no aki no yūgure Teika, SKKS, IV:364	When I gaze about, Of autumn leaves and spring blossoms, I find no trace: A fisher's hut near the bay, In autumn evening.

[2]For a thorough discussion of this poem see: Fujihira Haruo, "Shinkokin no hōhō--shūkan tōka wo megutte," Mahiruno 27 (April, 1974): 72-80.

anthology. We find the line "Miyoshino wa" in Goshūishū 10. The more common phrase, "Miyoshino no" occurs nearly one hundred times in the earlier imperial anthologies. Yoshitsune's second line is found in Mibu no Tadamine's famous poem:

Haru tatsu to	Spring comes today,
iu bakari ni ya	And is it for that reason
Miyoshino no	In lovely Yoshino
yama mo kasumite	This morning I can see
kesa wa miyuran	The mountains veiled in haze?
Tadamine, SIS, I:1[1]	

Yoshitsune clearly had this work in mind when he wrote his poem, and the compilers of the Shinkokinshū were also conscious of the placement of Tadamine's poem in the Shūishū (it comes first) when they chose Yoshitsune's work as the opening poem. The third line of Yoshitsune's occurs in forty previous poems; the fourth in five; and the fifth in seven. Four of the five usages of Yoshitsune's fourth line occur in the Manyōshū. In addition, Yoshitsune has selected nouns and images, "yama," "shirayuki," "sato," "haru," and "kasumi" that carry with them centuries of accumulated associations, beyond the naming of physical phenomena. They comprise elements of a poetic world endlessly refined according to the Heian courtiers' notions of the most beautiful and significant.

Finally, Yoshitsune explores and deepens the traditional implications of the poetic placename Yoshino. In the first line, Yoshitsune makes the place the topic with the particle "wa," and sets is apart from the rest of the poem. From the second line, the poem presents a particular embodiment of the associations of Yoshino. "Furinishi sato," and "haru wa kinikeri" reinforce the poetic value of Yoshino as a place of ancient glories, the site of Emperor Temmu's imperial palace, and as a place of yearly, natural revitalization. In addition, the phrase, "shirayuki no furinishui sato ni," in which "furinishi" pivots to mean

---

[1]Tadamine's poem is also one of the two poems listed in Fujiwara Kintō's Kuhon waka as examples of the "upper upper class." The other is the famous "Honobono to Akashi no ura . . ." poem (KKS 409, Anon.) that is often attributed to Hitomaro. See p. 207 for the full text of this poem.

both "to fall" and "to grow ancient" bridges the natural, seasonal aspect of meaning and the more conceptual and historical. As a result, we perceive the simple, bold statement "haru wa kinikeri," not merely as announcing the arrival of a season but expressing joyous celebration of rebirth. Tadamine's poem, which also speaks of Yoshino, has at its core a familiar conceit: "According to the lunar calendar (which often did not correspond to the sidereal year) it is today the first day of spring. Therefore, the natural world should exhibit signs of spring." Yoshitsune abandons this idea, and shows us what Yoshino has already implied, revitalization and returning glory.

In the following poem, we can observe how a Shinkokinshū poet arranges very classic elements of diction to reinforce poetic value with each unit of meaning in a poem,

Kaerikon	It will not return,
mukashi wo ima to	The past, I envision as the present--
omoine no	As I lie asleep--
yume no makura ni	On my pillow of dreams,
niou tachibana	The scent of the flowering orange.

Shikishi, SKKS, III:240

No line or phrase in Shikishi's poem strikes us as particularly innovative. At the same time, we realize that this poem, with its nominative ending, does not present any particular conceit nor move toward a definite concluding thought. Rather, the various units of meaning present an interplay of moods--longing and the realization of illusion. The subject of Shikishi's poem is the flowering orange, but she has chosen words--"yume," "omoine," "mukashi," "makura," that have traditionally been employed in love poetry.[1] More interestingly, she has selected

---

[1]The poem is based on an episode in the Ise monogatari: "Once there was a man whose palace duties kept him so busy his wife, tired of being neglected, ran off to another province with someone who promised to treat her better. Sometime later, the first man was appointed Messenger to Usa. As he journeyed toward the shrine, he learned that his former wife was now married to one of the local officials responsible for providing him with accommodations on the way. He gave orders that the lady was to serve his wine. . . . When she presented the cup, he took a tangerine from a dish of relishes and recited this poem:

Satsuki matsu	Scenting the fragrance
hana tachibana no	Of tangerine
ka o kageba	Blossoming in the Fifth Month

and arranged words and phrases that are redundant in meaning and mood. Thus "kaerikon" stresses an inherent quality of "mukashi." "Mukashi wo ima to omoine" is the content and even synonym of "yume." A Shinkokin poet would define the hon'i of dream as an illusory experience in which one is beguiled by visions of the irrevocable past or of something unattainable in the future, only to be left with a greater sense of loss.

Further, from the objectively reflective, "Kaerikon," we are led into the world of dream itself. Thus the scent of the flowering orange fills the speaker's dream. At the same time, it is the scent of the blossoms that has caused the dream. According to its hon'i, the scent of the flowering orange conjures up memories of the past and especially of bygone lovers. By concluding her poem with "niou tachibana," Shikishi leaves us in the lovely dream of the past and also reiterates that after all it is only an illusion brought about by the scent of the blossoms.

We began our discussion of classic language in the Shinkokinshū by examining a poem by Shunzei. It is fitting to end with works by Teika. For, if Shunzei's poems possess a transparency arising from a seeming inevitability of expression and cadence, it is in Teika's works that we find an incomparable sensitivity to the sensual, tactile weight of language. In his hands, the classic language yields a new vividness of meaning; he imbues it with a remarkable new tension. Teika's poems often lack the mellifluous cadences and graceful balance of Shunzei's work. He has instead the ability to push language toward the creation

---

mukashi no hito no	I recall the perfumed sleeves
sode no ka zo suru	Of someone I loved.

The lady, deeply ashamed, became a nun and entered a mountain retreat." McCullough, Tales of Ise, pp. 108-9.

In his article "Satsuki matsu ko," Nakashio suggests that this poem originated within a ritual dialogue between the kami of a rice field and the maidens of a farming village. Nakashio Kiyoomi, "Satsuki matsu'kō," p. 25. In the Kokinshū, this poem appears as an anonymous summer work. There "mukashi no hito" is considered a metaphor for the summer thrush, which returns each year to sing among the orange blossoms (KKS 139). The Ise monogatari provides the specific narrative context of a love story. The Ise version is the source of at least five allusive variations in the Shinkokinshū.

of a world in which natural phenomena and conventional emotional responses are transformed into phantasms of ethereal beauty. In our examination of the innovative use of language and in the chapters to follow, we will discover time and again how Teika transforms a pattern or formula into something breathtakingly new.

In the following poem, we recognize Teika's sensitivity to the pressure of word against word:

Ajikinaku	Wretched,
tsuraki arashi no	The voice of the cruel storm
koe mo ushi	Torments me.
nado yūgure ni	Why have I grown accustomed
machinaraiken	To await him at dusk each day.
Teika, SKKS 1196	

In the first three lines of this poem, Teika skillfully differentiates and makes resonant three words, "ajikinashi," "tsurashi," and "ushi," that express emotional suffering. "Tsurashi" means "difficult to bear" and describes afflictions for which there is an agent. Thus in this poem, the wind is described as heartless and indifferent to the speaker's suffering. Previously, "tsuraki" had most often been used with "kokoro," "hito," "chigiri," and "mukui"--all words that have to do with human actions and emotions. Teika's ascription of it to a non-human agent, "arashi," is unqiue. "Ushi," too, involves an object of feeling, but it suggests a passive, inward suffering. "Ajikinashi," as discussed at length by the Japanese scholar, Akahane Shuku, involves a realization of purposelessness, a dreariness, or even a sickness of self arising from an awareness that one acts and is moved to no avail.[1] In Teika's poem, "ajikinaku" sets the tone of despair and self-disgust. It is unclear which of the following lines it modifies, and it should probably be considered a grammatically independent expression of the emotional core of the poem.

Teika's placement of the three words, "ajikinaku," "tsurashi," and "ushi," in a single poem is a tour de force of rhetoric. The technique whereby poetic value is reinforced reminds us of Shikishi's poem above. However, Teika does not permit his diction to flow together in

---

[1]Akahane Shuku, Teika no uta isshu (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1976), pp. 139-70.

our perceptions, but instead emphasizes the jagged edge of word placed against word. Teika makes purposely uncomfortable the cadence and aural qualities of the poem; each unit of meaning in the first three lines repeats alternating "a," "ki," and "shi," sounds, putting a damper on forward movement. Such diction mirrors the emotional suffocation of the speaker. It relentlessly underscores the lady's suffering in which seemingly nature itself conspires to inflict further pain upon her.

In one of Teika's most striking and successful poems in the Shin-kokinshū, he uses classic language of rich associations to transform mood and phantasms of the mind into the concrete substance of the poem. In its selection of diction, this poem is utterly traditional. At the same time, it stands in a relation to its predecessors in such a way that they now appear to be pale shadows that awaited Teika's final achievement. Let us examine this poem in some detail.

Haru no yo no	As the spring night ends,
yume no ukihashi	The floating bridge of dream
todaeshite	Breaks off,
mine ni wakaruru	And from the peak they depart
yokogumo no sora	The banners of clouds in the sky.
Teika, SKKS, I:38	

"Haru no yo," "haru no yo no yume," "yume no ukihashi," are rich in poetic implications. "Haru no yo" exemplifes the ephemerality of beauty and has traditionally stood for the brevity of time lovers can spend together. "Haru no yo no yume" intensifies the sense of brevity; the illusory experience of dream is all the more fleeting on a spring night, or taken another way, brevity of the night is transformed into illusion. "Haru no yo" and "yume" share associations of brevity and of an exquisite experience which is to be cherished precisely for its insubstantiality. The phrase occurs in a number of earlier love poems.

Haru no yo no	On a spring night
yume ni aritsu to	I met him in dream
mietsureba	As once he was,
omoi taenishi	And so, though I thought my love had ended,
hito zo matareru	Once more I await him in longing.
Ise, SKKS, XV:1381[1]	

---

[1]Lady Ise (?-?). Active in the period 877 to at least 938. Her poems first appear in the Kokinshū. She was admired by the Shinkokin poets; fourteen of her works are included in the Shinkokinshū.

Haru no yo no	On a spring night
yume no shirushi wa	In dream I clearly saw
tsurakutomo	That she remains cold.
mishi bakari dani	Yet, I have been granted a glimpse
araba tanoman	of her,
Moriakira no miko	So, let me take hope from that.

SKKS, XV:1381 (Yamato Monogatari 468)[1]

Both poems deal with the illusory nature of dream and the speakers' emotional response to the experience of dream. They hope where there is no hope. We can see, behind these poems, the old notion that a person would appear in one's dream if that person were thinking of one, but the insistence in both poems that the love affair had ended or even that the dream itself was unfulfilling points to the special poignancy of the dream of a spring night.

Teika builds upon that implication of "haru no yo no yume" in another striking poem.

Haru no yo no	On a spring night
yume ni masarite	Dreams fill us with yearning.
mono zo omou	Yet how much more
honoka ni mieshi	Am I troubled by your visage,
tsuki no utsutsu wa	Glimpsed so briefly in the moonlight.

Teika, Shūi gusō 12000

The actual, brief meeting with a lover on a moonlit night is more illusory and emotionally troubling than a dream. Teika subtly equates dream and reality; both are ephemeral experiences that stir the emotions to no purpose. Even reality itself offers no promise of fulfillment.

The second line of Teika's Shinkokinshū poem, "yume no ukihashi" is the title of the last chapter of the Genji monogatari. It is new in an imperial anthology, but Teika uses in it three other poems in his personal collection. Two are quoted below:

Nami no oto ni	By the sound of waves,
Uji no satobito	The people of the village of Uji--

---

[1]The Yamato monogatari is a collection of some 170 short episodes--poems with long headnotes--involving imperial family members and other courtiers of the ninth and tenth centuries. This two volume work somewhat resembles the Ise monogatari but is less coherently organized. It is sometimes attributed to Hanayama no In (r. 984-986) but no clear evidence exists. Modern scholarship places the work in the first half of the tenth century.

Yoru sae ya	Even at night
Netemo ayauki	In sleep--they are imperilled
Yume no ukihashi	On the floating bridge of dreams.
Teika, Shūi gusō 9535	
Kaze wataru	As the wind sweeps
ashi no kareha ni	Over the withered reeds,
todayunari	I hear it break off--
Naniwa no haru no	The floating bridge of dream
yume no ukihashi	Of springtime in Naniwa.
Teika (Shūi gusō 4077)[1]	

Neither poem is as daring as Teika's Shinkokinshū poem. In these poems, Teika carefully places "yume no ukihashi," within a network of traditionally associated words. Thus in poem 9535, "ukihashi" responds as an engo to "nami," and it also brings to mind the famous bridge of the Uji river. Similarly, in 4077, the scene of Naniwa bay easily calls a bridge to mind.

At the same time, Teika favored the phrase, "yume no ukihashi," because of its power to give a physical dimension to something which was insubstantial or illusory and at the same time to reinforce its essential fragility. The phrase attributes concreteness to dream by speaking of a bridge, but that concreteness is immediately assailed by the tenuousness of "uki" floating. In poem 9535, Teika uses "yume no ukihashi," to render psychological disturbances as a physical image. Even in sleep, the villages of Uji (in classical orthography, homophonous with "ushi") know no peace; their fragile dreams are sundered by the disturbing sound of the waves. Teika may also have had in mind the "Uji" chapters of the Genji monogatari.

Poem 4077 clearly alludes to Saigyō's famous poem:

Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu,
Naniwa no haru wa	The scene of spring at Naniwa Bay
yume nare ya	Was it but a dream?
ashi no kareha ni	The wind sweeps across
kaze watarunari	The withered leaves of reeds.
Saigyō, SKKS, VI:625	

---

[1]Poem 4077 does not appear in the Kokka taikan. The poem is number 4077 in Akahane Shuku, ed., Fujiwara Teika zenkashū zenku sakuin, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973).

By his use of "yume no ukihashi," Teika focuses our attention on the compelling yet ephermeral vision of the scene of spring in Naniwa. For an instant, the scene of spring is conjured up before our eyes, but it must fall before the reality of winter, broken by the wind and the jagged reeds.[1]

In Teika's Shinkokinshū poem, "yume no ukihashi," reinforces the quality of illusion and ephemerality we found in "haru no yo" and yet provides it with a strange substantiality. "Haru no yo no yume no ukihashi," is not as much a visual image as it is a tactile one that captures the interpenetration of substance and illusion.

The verb of the third line, "todaeshite," is generally used to mean that communication has ceased or that something has been interrupted or broken off. It suggests a physical act and thus echoes the substantiality of "ukihashi."

Teika has borrowed the fourth line of his poem "mine ni wakaruru," from the Kokinshū poem:

Kaze fukeba	When the wind blows,
mine ni wakaruru	The clouds on the peak
shirakumo no	Are swept away.
taete tsurenaki	So, too, your cruel heart
kimi ga kokoro ka	Has banished me.
Tadamine, KKS, XII:601	

Tadamine's poem is a love poem, and "mine ni wakaruru" is part of an ushin no jo (a preface whose meaning can be integrated into the poem). Teika uses the phrase as natural description, but the associations of love that the phrase carries from Tadamine's poem cannot be denied.

The fourth line of Teika's poem may also make reference to the Chinese legend of the Goddess of Mount Wu, who met the kinds of Ch'u

---

[1]Saigyō's poem is also an allusive variation of: "It was in the first month of the year. Nōin was in the province of Tsu, and he sent this poem to an acquaintance":

Kokoro aran	With one who comprehends,
hito ni misebaya	I wish I could share this sight.
Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu:
Naniwa watari no	The landscape of springtime
haru no keshiki wo	Around the Bay of Naniwa.
Nōin, GSIS, I:43	

in the dreams and vanished with the dawn. As described in the Wen Hsuan, her emanations were dawn clouds and dusk rain. In remembrance of her, King Hsiang built the Temple of the Morning Cloud.[1]

The fifth line of Teika's poem, "yokogumo no sora" is also related to Tadamine's poem. Teika borrows it more directly from a poem by Ietaka:

Kasumi tatsu	The haze rises
Sue no Matsuyama	On Matsu mountain,
honobono to	Dimly, dimly,
nami ni wakaruru	They part from the waves--
yokogumo no sora	The banners of clouds in the sky.
Ietaka, SKKS, I:37	

Ietaka's poem is also an allusive variation of the Kokinshū love poem.[2]

The subject of Teika's poem is spring dawn, yet each line and

---

[1]The Chinese poem is found in the Wen Hsuan, book 19. It is translated into English in Arthur Waley, "The Temple" and Other Poems (London: Unwin Brothers, 1922), pp. 65-66. Japanese commentators connect the tale of the Goddess of Mount Wu with two love poems in the Shin-kokinshū that also speak of clouds parting from a peak:

Kaze fukeba	If the fierce wind must blow,
mine ni wakaren	Then let the clouds that part
kumo wo dani	And vanish from the peak,
arishi nagori no	At least remind you of my love
katami to mo miyo	After you so cruelly left me.
Ietaka, SKKS, XIV:1292	

Omoiideyo	I hope you remember
taga kanegoto no	Whose promises they were
sue naran	That have come to this:
kino no kumo no	Yesterday's clouds have vanished,
ato no yamakaze	Leaving only the mountain gales.
Ietaka, SKKS, XIV:1294	

The first of these poems is also an allusive variation of Tadamine's Kokinshū work. The relationship between these two poems and the tale of the Goddess of Mount Wu is noted by Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:136, 142.

[2]Ietaka's poem is an allusive variation of:

Kimi okite	If I leave you,
adashi kokoro wo	And my heart should prove untrue
ware motaba	And betray you,
Sue no Matsuyama	Then let the waves of the sea
nami mo koenan	Rise to the peak of Matsuyama.
Anon., KKS, XX:1093.	

even many of the individual words have strong associations with love.[1] More important, this mood of love is vague, without a discernible core of emotion. Perhaps, a speaker has, on a spring night, dreamed of a lover. Perhaps he is a character in the Genji monogatari. Or perhaps he has dreamed of the world of the Genji or that of the Goddess of Mount Wu. We sense multiple possibilities that are united in an expression of a longing for the unattainable.

We discover more clearly the core of the poem in the relationship between the image in the last two lines and that of the bridge of dreams in the first three. In other words, the image of clouds that part from the peak and vanish in the sky conveys the same interpenetration of the substantial and the ephemeral as the earlier image. Scholars have traditionally glossed the relationship to mean that the speaker awakens from a dream and looks outdoors. There he sees that the clouds, too, vanish like a dream. Teika, however, avoids all mention of an agent or of human action, and the traditional explanation seems too prosaic. Perhaps, the clouds are the dream, or more precisely, the floating bridge of dream. In addition, even the distinction between metaphor, "the floating bridge of dream," and concrete description, "the clouds part from the peak," is actually denied in Teika's poem. If "yume no ukihashi" summons up memories of the world of the Genji, so too, the clouds

---

[1]Teika uses similar images in a much simpler love poem on the topic, "love and clouds":

Toki no ma ni	In an instant of time,
kiete tanabiku	They vanish and flicker--
shirakumo no	The white clouds.
shibashi mo hito ni	Ah, let me but behold her
aimiteshi kana	Even for a moment so brief.
Teika	

(Roppyakuban utaawase, 919, "Love and Clouds," Round 10, Left: Victory)

This poem also alludes to Tadamine's Kokinshū work. The first three lines are an ushin no jo, and they serve to draw out "shibashi" through the homophony of the first syllables of "shirakumo" and "shibashi." Interestingly, in the second line of this poem, Teika reverses the logical sequence of physical description. Clouds flicker in the sky and vanish; they do not vanish and then flicker. Teika may have intended to suggest a psychological dimension. The clouds and the speaker's lover have vanished. Yet, they linger, a haunting presence in his mind.

on the peak conjure up a vison of the Goddess of Mount Wu. In Teika's work, the everyday distinctions between the "reality" of clouds and the "illusion" of dream have no meaning. Both are equally real and equally ephemeral. This poem has no particular speaker to whom the dream belongs. Instead, Teika conveys the fact that no distinction is to be made between thoughts and emotions that are usually considered to belong to the mind and the phenomenal world without. All things fade alike to nothing.[1]

The richness of Teika's poem arises from his awareness that the juxtaposition of carefully selected words, even within the normal syntactic patterns of language, could bring to conscious appreciation implications of these words that had lain dormant in their traditional use. The conventions of the diction of court poetry also provided the Shinkokin poets with a formal, very traditional means of enriching the texture of their poems. These were engo and kakekotoba, patterns of diction that permitted the poet to defy syntax. The Shinkokin poets exploit them richly.

As mentioned above, engo are formalized sets of words that are associated by semantic reference or homophony. For example, "take," (bamboo) is an engo of "fushi" and "yo" (nodes) and also of "fushi" (occasion) and "yo" (age). The latter two are associated through homophony with terms for parts of the bamboo plant. Kakekotoba designates the use of a word such as "fushi" above to convey two discrete meanings by a single phoneme. We can divide kakekotoba into those that form the

---

[1]Shunzei's Daughter uses similar conceptions and diction in her poem:

Omoine no	In longing, I fell asleep,
yume no ukihashi	But the floating bridge of dreams
todaeshite	Is sundered now,
samuru makura ni	And I awaken on my cold pillow,
kiyuru omokage	His visage fading, leaving no traces.

Shunzei's Daughter, Shinshūishū, XI:993

This poem was originally composed for the Sengohyakuban utaawase. Although clearly influenced by Teika, Shunzei's Daughter does not exploit the substantiality of the image, "yume no ukihashi," in the same manner. Instead, her poem draws inward emotionally, and one senses the sorrowful ephemerality of the lady's dream of her lover.

juncture of two syntactically independent and discrete statements and those in which single words or phrases occurring in any part of the poem convey double meaning, with no reference to the primary semantic structure of the poem. Kakekotoba, of course, create density and fragmentation of expression. At the same time, the second type of kakekotoba as well as engo function to unify variously the texture of a poem.[1] So ingrained are engo groupings in the minds of the Shinkokin poets that illustrative poems are innumerable. Let us examine four poems that use engo and kakekotoba to quite different effects.

Chigiranedo	Although I made no vows,
hito yo wa suginu	I have passed the night here
Kiyomigata	At Kiyomi Bay--
nami ni wakaruru	Now, parting from the waves,
akatsuki no sora	The sky at daybreak.
Ietaka, SKKS, X: 969	

The engo in Ietaka's poem are "chigiru" (to vow) and "wakaruru" (to part). The subject of the poem is travel. However, by selecting these words, Ietaka imbues the poem with the atmosphere of love; the speaker spends a single night at Kiyomi Bay, and at dawn the clouds, as though taking leave of a lover, part from the waves.

Shunzei's Daughter composes the following poem with a tight network of engo:

Shita moe ni	Hidden flames--
omoi kienan	I suffer in longing and will fade away,
keburi dani	And the smoke that rises
ato naki kumo no	Will vanish in the clouds,
hate zo kanashiki	How sorrowful, leaving no traces.
Shunzei kyō no musume,	
SKKS,XII:1081	

"Moe" (to burn); "hi" (fire) of "omoi";[2] "keburi" (smoke); "kumo"

---

[1]For a detailed explanation of these techniques see, Hagitani Boku, "Engo," Gekkan Bunpō (February, 1969), pp. 56-60; Ide Itaru, "Kakekotoba," pp. 36-41; and Miura Kazuo, "Joshi," pp. 49-54.

[2]"Omoi" is used as a pivot in a similar fashion in this much simpler Kokinshū poem:

Hito shirenu	Unknown to him,
omoi wo tsune ni	I am consumed by ceaseless longing,
Suruga naru	Just as, in the province of Suruga,
Fuji no yama koso	Smoke rises from Fuji mountain
waga mi narikere	Although no one sees the flames.
KKS, XI:534 Anon.	

(clouds); and "kienan" (to vanish) are all engo. "Ato" (traces), "hate" (end), and "kienan" also seem related, not because they are formal engo but because they are very close in meaning. The topic of this poem is "love and smoke," the smoke that mingles with the clouds and vanishes being a metaphor for unrequited love. Shunzei's Daughter uses the numerous engo to create a concrete image of emotion. At the same time, the engo and other associated words knit the poem together in a manner which makes it difficult to follow the linear flow of thought. Long before we sort out, "Omoi kienan keburi dani ato naki kumo no hate," we realize that every word stresses ephemerality and loss. And finally, the single, direct expression of the speaker's emotions, "kanashiki," focuses that mood.

Again it is in Teika's poems that we find a tactile tension between layers of meaning.

Kiewabinu	To languish and vanish
utsurou hito no	Because of the autumn of indifference
aki no iro ni	Of my lover who fades,
mi wo kogarashi no	My being is in turmoil, dew clinging
mori no shitatsuyu	To trees in a wintry storm.
Teika, SKKS, XIV:1320	
Toko no shimo	Frost upon the bedding--
makura no kōri	Ice upon the pillow--
kiewabinu	Languish and vanish
musubi mo okanu	Because of the vows
hito no chigiri ni	My lover did not leave with me.
Teika, SKKS, XII:1137	

Teika has composed both poems almost entirely of groups of engo and other word associations. In the first poem, "kiyu" (to vanish) and "tsuyu" (dew) as well as "utsurou" (to fade) and "aki" (autumn) are engo. "Kogarashi" (storm) is an attribute of autumn. "Kogarashi" is also the name of a specific grove of trees in Suruga Province, present-day Shizuoka. "Aki" and "kogarashi" are also pivots; the former as usual means both autumn and to grow weary of, and the latter, a stormy wind and to pine for or yearn for. "Iro" also means both color and aspect. "Kiyu," "utsurou," and "aki" in both its meanings share implications of change and loss. "Kiewabinu" seems to be a word developed by Teika. He has combined "kiyu," which traditionally functioned as a metaphor

for emotional prostration and even death, and "wabu" meaning to languish or to grieve.

Furthermore, Teika creates a spiralling expansion of meaning in the poem in which each line or phrase embodies a tension between natural description and emotional significance.[1] We can take the first line, "kiewabinu," as an independent statement. However, because "kiyu" commonly means to vanish physically and is used to describe dew, both aspects of meaning are already present. "Utsurou" echoes this with its connotations of natural change and the fading away of emotional attachment. "Utsurou hito no aki no iro ni" (because I see that his emotions have faded and he has grown weary of me) provides the cause of the lady's grief. Likewise, the fourth line appears to describe the result of the lover's coldness; "I yearn to distraction." In this reading we take "kogarashi" as a verb syntactically parallel to "kiewabinu." But again, "kogarashi" pivots and its substantive meaning is also the subject of "kiewabinu." The noun phrase, "kogarashi no mori no shitatsuyu" is an image that portrays the speaker's plight. In the end, we return to "kiewabinu" as the core of the poem's emotional significance.

In the second poem, Teika also uses engo to bridge natural description and emotional meaning. Thus "shimo" (frost), "kōri" (ice), "kiyu" (to vanish), "musubu" (to promise or to adhere, in a physical sense), "oku" (to place); and "toko" (bedding), "makura" (pillow); as well as "musubu" (to promise) and "chigiru" (to vow) form separate fields of meanings. Again, "kiewabinu" is the axis around which Teika transforms description into emotional significance. Upon first reading, "Toko no shimo / makura no kōri / kiewabinu" gives us the impression that it is the ice and frost that vanish. At the same time, we are aware that the first two lines are very possibly metaphors for tears frozen

---

[1]Teika's poem may have been influenced by:

Hito shirenu	Unknown to him,
omoi Suruga no	I am consumed by the flames of longing,
kuni ni koso	My being in turmoil.
mi wo kogarashi no	For the grove where wintry gales blow
mori wa arikere	Can be found in Suruga Province.

Kokin rokujō 31923 Ono no Komachi

in the winter night. "Musubi mo okanu" describes both the lover's unfaithfulness to the speaker and the fact that the frost and ice cannot find rest on the lady's bedding. Only in the last line do we fully perceive that the poem describes a woman who has been betrayed by her lover. We also become aware that syntactically lines four and five are inverted with line three and that the upper two lines are a preface for "kiewabinu."[1]

The daruma-uta: The Search for New Connections Between Words

Teika's use of engo and kakekotoba to bind together different fields of meaning in a single poem illustrate how skillfully the Shinkokin poets exploited traditional patterns of diction toward a new end.

---

[1]The Japanese scholar, Gotō Shigeo, presents an interesting discussion concerning the relation between kakekotoba and other means of fragmenting syntax and the Shinkokin poets' emphasis upon the aural perception of poems. He discusses Shunzei's Daughter's autumn poem:

Tou hito mo	My lover visits me no longer,
arashi fukisou	As the stormy winds grow fiercer now
aki wa kite	In the autumn of his indifference
ko no ha ni uzumu	And the leaves scatter to bury beneath
yado no michishiba.	them,
SKKS, V:515	The path that led to my dwelling.

Gotō points out that the poem comprises several gramatically independent units, linked together by kakekotoba--"Tou hito mo araji" (There is no one to call upon me) (in classical orothography "arashi" [storm] and "araji"[does not exist] are homophonous); "arashi fukisou" (The stormy wind rages all the more fiercely): "Aki wa kite" (Autumn has come); and "Ko no ha ni uzumu yado no michishiba" (Buried by leaves is the path to my dwelling). "Aki" in the third line also pivots to mean weariness, so that the first three lines also suggest the meaning, "My lover no longer calls upon me. It is the season of his weariness of me, made more painful by the accompanying gales." The autumn wind is an image of the lover's cruelty. This association of wind and lover is continued in the last two lines. Not only is the speaker isolated, deserted by her lover, but she appears powerless against the coming of autumn and her lover's ill-treatment of her. The poem does not resolve into a single statement. Its effects arise within the temporal sequence of images and their shared associations. Gotō Shigeo, "Shinkokin no hyōgen no tokusei," in Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Matsuno Yōichi, Katano Tatsurō, eds., Shinkokin wakashū, Sankashū , Kinkai wakashū, Vol. 17 of Kanshō Nihon koten bungaku (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1978), pp. 394-402.

However, they also realized that it was only by breaking these patterns that their poems could illuminate the deepest level of tactile qualities and emotional implications of words.

For example, the Shinkokin poets restore the expressive power of traditional makura-kotoba, words and phrases which by the twelfth century increasingly fulfilled only a decorative function in poems. They exemplified the tendency in which poets would use a hackneyed phrase to signal automatically what phrase would follow. In the Shinkokin poet's use of makura-kotoba, this expectation is broken:

Yūzukuyo	The evening of the moon,
shio michikurashi	The tide appears to be rising
Naniwa e no	In the bay of Naniwa,
ashi no wakaba ni	White waves rise and spill over
koyuru shiranami	The young leaves of the reeds.
Hideyoshi, SKKS, I:26	
Honobono to	Dimly, dimly
haru koso sora ni	Spring has arrived
kinikerashi	In the sky,
Ama no kaguyama	The haze rises in banners
kasumi tanabiku	On heavenly Mt. Kaguyama.
Gotoba, SKKS, I:2	
Kasumi tatsu	The haze rises
Sue no Matsuyama	On Matsu mountain in Sue
honobono to	Dimly, dimly,
nami ni hanaruru	They part from the waves--
yokogumo no sora	The banners of clouds in the sky.
Ietaka, SKKS, I:37	

"Yūzukuyo" of Hideyoshi's poem was traditionally followed by vocabulary related to light, such as "akatsuki" (dawn), "obotsuka" (vague), "kiyoki" (clear, pure), and "honomeku" (glimmer). It is a makura-kotoba for "akatokiyami," "ogura," and "iru." Hideyoshi, however, makes no overt mention of light: the word that immediately follows "yuzukuyo" is quite remote in meaning. Rather, Hideyoshi makes active the interrelations of light and dark implicit in the phrase, that is, "yū," (evening), "tsuki" (moon), and "yo" (night). In Hideyoshi's poem, "yūzukuyo" alone expresses what in earlier poems had been further, and perhaps redundantly qualified by words such as "obotsuka," "kiyoki," and "honomeku." Here the phrase no longer demands such support but functions fully in terms of its own meaning. In the poem, the speaker gazes at the waves, white in the moonlight, and realized that the tide is rising.

"Yūzukuyo designates both the evening and the moon; the following four lines describes a scene that exemplifies the beauty of both.

The use of "honobono to" in the following two poems illustrates a similar freeing of a poetic word from a makura-kotoba role.[1] In earlier poems, "honobono to" had been followed by "akashi" (bright, or the placename, Akashi strait), and "akuru" (to grow light at dawn). Thus in the famous Kokinshū poem often attributed to Hitomaro, we find:

Honobono to	Dimly, dimly
Akashi no ura no	In the bay of Akashi
asagiri ni	In the morning mist
shimagakure yuku	In the morning mist
fune wo shi zo omou	It vanishes among the isles--

KKS, IX:409

"Honobono to" was also commonly used as a preface for "ho" (sprout) or "ho ni idenu" (to sprout).

Again both Shinkokin poets break such rhetorical connections and give the phrase independent significance in which the meaning of the previously paired words are absorbed. Further, the poets use "honobono to" express not merely a quality of light but a luminosity of motion.[2] In both poems, "honobono to" expresses the central quality for which the other lines supply the content. Thus in Ietaka's work, the phrase functions as a kind of pivot, relating to and qualifying both the first two lines and the last two. The mist rises luminously against the mountain, and the sky glows in the growing light of dawn. Similarly,

---

[1]Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "'Honobono to' kō--Shinkokin-teki jōkei kōsei no ron to tame ni," Kokugo Kokubun 43 (July, 1974): 30-39.

[2]Teika experiments with the use of the phrase, "honobono to" in relation to sound:

Samidare no	The evening showers have passed.
nagori no tsuki mo	The moon shines dimly
honobono to	Through the lingering clouds,
sato nareyaranu	And unaccustomed to its village home,
hototogisu kana	The thrush still falters in its song.

Teika, Shūi gusō 10656

"Tsuki mo honobono to" (The moonlight shines dimly) is well in keeping with the traditional implications of "honobono." However, Teika continues with "honobono to sato nareyaranu hototogisu kana" (the summer thrush, unaccustomed to the village sings dimly).

in Gotoba's poem, we can regard the first line as modifying both lines two and three as well as three and four. These pairs of lines, further, not only describe the same phenomenon, but do so in words--"haru," "sora," "Ama," and "kasumi"--that share expressive values of brightness and airiness. Gotoba uses "honobono to" to portray the manner in which bands of haze stream across the face of Kaguyama, a scene with captures quintessentially the arrival of spring.

The following poem by Masatsune is an example of a revitalization, or more precisely, a renewal of latent meaning within a makura-kotoba relationship:

Shirakumo no	In the rifts between
taema ni nabiku	The white clouds, they sway,
aoyagi no	The green willows
Katsuragi yama ni	Of Katsuragi mountain,
harukaze zo fuku	Where the spring wind blows.

Masatsune, SKKS, I:74

Masatsune's poem is the most successful of a number of Shinkokin era poems that attempt to give expressive life to the makura-kotoba, "aoyagi no." A poem attributed to Hitomaro established its early usage:

Aoyagi no	Green-willowed
Katsuragi yama ni	Katsuragi mountain
iru kumo no	The clouds come and go--
tatemo itemo	Coming and going, I cannot rest
kimi wo koso omoe	In my longing for you.

Kakinomoto shū 15250

The upper three lines of this poem are a mushin no jo (a preface used only to draw out a word or phrase through homophony). Further, the poet related "aoyagi no" to "katsuragi" because of the homophony of "Katsuragi" the name of the mountain and "katsura" or headdress. "Aoyagi no katsura" designates a headdress made of young willow branches.

However, in poems composed by Shinkokinshū poets we find:

Haru kureba	When spring comes
sakura kokimaze	They are mixed with blossoms,
aoyagi no	The green willows
Katsuragi yama zo	Of Katsuragi mountain,
nishiki narikeri	And they indeed display a brocade of

Ietaka, Shinshūishū, I:73[1] color.

---

[1]Ietaka's poem, no doubt, alludes to Henjō's work:

Fuku kaze ni	The wind blows
shitaba katsu chiru	And scatters the lower leaves
aoyagi no	Of the willows,
Katsuragi yama ni	On Katsuragi mountain
aki wa kinikeri	Autumn has come.
Gokuga no dajōdaijin,	
Shin shoku Kokinshū, IV:360	

These poems and Masatsune's tranform "aoyagi" into a part of an actual natural scene. Katsuragi becomes a mountain of willow trees. And clearly, Masatsune's poem is most striking. He has structured the images in his work so that from the small-scale, limited view presented in the first three lines, we are suddenly transported in lines four and five to a vast vista of a mountain in springtime. "Aoyagi no" becomes the means by which Masatsune creates an unusual image of a mountain on which, although they are obscured by clouds, we envision endless willow branches swaying in the spring breeze.

Again, Teika's transformations of pattern are distinguished in their boldness from those of other poets. In the following poem, he creates phrasing that acts in the poem as though it were a makura-kotoba:

Shirakumo no	White clouds--
haru wa kasanete	In spring, arise again
Tatsutayama	On Tatsuta mountain,
Ogura no mine ni	Where, on Ogura peak
hana niourashi	Blossoms are fragrant and luminous.
Teika, SKKS, I:91	

In this poem, Teika presents two phrases, "shirakumo no haru," and "hana niourashi," that strike us as being very traditional. He has invested a Manyō flavor into the latter by using the ancient suffix "rashi" and by using abrupt cadence. The words in line five break at 2-3-2 syllables rather than the more common 2-1-4 or 4-1-2. However, "shirakumo no haru" is entirely new. In earlier poems "shirakumo" had been followed by "tanabiku" (to stream), "yae" (eightfold), "taete" (to cease to exist),

---

Miwataseba	As I gaze afar, I see
yanagi sakura wo	Blossoms and willow boughs
kokimazete	All mingled together.
miyako zo haru no	Ah, the capital has become
nishiki narikeru	A rich brocade of springtime.
Henjō, KKS, I:56	

"taema" (rift), "ikani" (in what manner). At the same time, we are very familiar with "shirakumo" as a metaphor for cherry blossoms, and we know that spring is best exemplified by cherry blossoms. Thus there is a strong traditional connection between "shirakumo" and "haru." The succinct appropriateness and decorativeness of "shirakumo no haru" give it the status of a makura-kotoba.

Among Teika's poems, we can often find such usages in which the first line is attributed to an unexpected nominative. The following poem is among the most flamboyant:

Shimo mayou	The frost wavers,
sora ni shioreshi	In the sky, upon the drooping
karigane no	Wings of the geese
kaeru tsubasa ni	That now return
harusame zo furu	The spring rain fall.
Teika, SKKS, I:63	

"Shimo mayou" is problematic both in terms of its meaning and its relation to "sora."[1] Teika appears to have originated the phrase; he uses it once more in another poem.

Shimo mayou	The frost wavers,
oda no kari iho no	On the cold bedding
samushiro ni	In the hut in the fields,
tsuki to mo wakazu	And faintly reflects the moonlight
inegate no sora	That remains in the dawning sky.
Teika, Shūi gusō 10731	

We also find the phrase "shimo oki mayou" in:

Hitori nuru	It sleeps alone.
yamadori no o no	On the trailing plumage
shidari o ni	Of the mountain fowl,
shimo oki mayou	The frost wavers uneasily
toko no tsukikage	In the moonlight on the bedding.
Teika, SKKS, V:487	

"Shimo oko mayou" appears to convey a sense of the ephemerality of frost, with "oki mayou" stressing that it cannot long remain in any place. "Shimo mayou" seems to have the same implications.[2]

---

[1]Andō Tsuguo, Fukiwara Teika, Vol. 11 of Nihon kajin sen (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1977), pp. 154-57.

[2]"Oki mayou" is used in two other Shinkokinshū poems:

Shimo wo matsu	The chrysanthemums along my fence
magaki no kiku no	Still await the frost,
yoi no ma ni	Yet in the evening

At the same time, the image, "shimo mayou sora" is unrelated to any previous conception of frost. Although "shimo mayou oda" is in keeping with the traditional associations of frost--ground, bedding, etc.--and sketches a small scale scene, "shimo mayou" in the Shinkokin poem denies these conventions. We are presented with a strange image of frost wandering in the sky unable to find rest.

In addition, we can also ask to what season the phrase refers. It is generally assumed that the upper two lines refer to a scene of the previous autumn when the geese travelled south. However, it could also conceivably refer to the present time, that is, spring. "Mayou" would then suggest the instability of the frost in spring when the weather is increasingly warm. In that case, the phrase in an extremely innovative seasonal reference.

The ambiguity of Teika's poem arises from that fact he tries to sketch two instances of time, two separate occasions, in relation to a single, unchanged object. More commonly in this poetic tradition, we are shown phenomena changing in time. In Teika's poem, however, our attention is focused on the small space of the geese's wings that remain unchanged through the passage of time and their long journey.

Finally, in the following poem, Teika enriches the tactile implications of an ancient poetic word:

Tamayura no	Trembling jewels--
tsuyu mo namida mo	The dew and tears
todomarazu	Last but for a moment.
naki hito kouru	It seeks the one who is no more--
yado no akikaze	The autumn wind of the dwelling.

Teika, SKKS, XIII:788

Teika composed this poem when he visited his mother's dwelling in the autumn after her death. The word "tamayura" appears in the Manyōshū:

---

oki mayou iro wa	I am misled by their luminous whiteness
yama no ha no tsuki	In the light of the moon above the mountains
SKKS, V:507, Kunaikyō	
Iro kawaru	Its color now changed to crimson,
shimo wo ba sode ni	The dew on my sleeves
oki mayoi	Wavers restlessly.
uragareteyuku	How withered and blighted it becomes,
nobe no aki kana	The autumn of the fields.

Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, V:516.

Tamayura no	For a brief moment,
kinō no yūbe	last night, I envisioned her
mishi mono wo	In dream.
kyō no ashita ni	And yet, this morning,
koubeki mono ka	Must I thus lie in longing?
MYS, XI:2391	

The etymology of "tamayura" is unclear, but from such poems we can surmise that it means fleeting or for a short time.[1] Further, it has been suggested that it involves the sound of jewels shaken against each other, and thus conveys both a visual and an aural image.

The word is used in the twelfth century in three poems in the Horikawa hyakushu. One example is:

Hisakata no	On far distant
Ama no kaguyama	Heavenly Kaguyama
hototogisu	Oh, summer thrush,
tamayura kinake	Come and sing for a brief spell,
kumo no ma ni ma ni	Here and there among the clouds.
Morotoki	

In the other two poems too, "tamayura" indicates brevity of time.

In the Shinkokin period, "tamayura" is used to convey a sense of mutability, and poets also begin to exploit the imagistic potential of "tama." Gotoba writes:

Tsuyu shigeki	The autumn wind blows
tobuta no omo no	And spills the trembling jewels
akikaze ni	In the dew-drenched fields.
tamayura yadoru	Only for a moment it finds lodging--
yoi no inazuma	The flicker of lightning in the night.
Gotoba, FGS 557	

In Gotoba's poem, "tama" of "tamayura" functions as an engo for "tsuyu." Also, "tama" suggests the jewel-like quality of the droplets of dew in which the lightning so briefly lodges and which themselves are scattered in a moment by the autumn wind.

Teika himself uses the word in two other poems:

Kinō made	The rain sweeps by
kaorishi hana ni	The blossoms rich in fragrance
ame sugite	Until yesterday.
kesa wa arashi no	This morning the storm--
tamayura no iro	The color of trembling jewels.
Teika, Shūi gusō 11421	

---

[1] Akahane Shuku, Teika no uta isshu, pp. 154-57.

Haru yo tada	In springtime
tsuyu no tamayura	I can only gaze on them for a brief time
nagameshite	
nagusamu hana no	--brief as the jewels of dew--
iro wa utsurinu	As the blossoms fade
Teika, Shūi gusō 10061	That could give comfort to my heart.

In these and the Shinkokin poem above, Teika transforms the traditional adverbial use of "tamayura" to adjectival and even substantive uses. In the first poem above, "tamayura no iro" conveys not only the brevity of the time that the wind is colored by the scattering petals but their trembling luminosity as they are swirled in the wind. In the latter poem, "tamayura" is used as a nominative. "Tama" is a pivot; we read first "tsuyu no tama" (droplets of dew) and then "tamayura nagameshite" (gazed for a brief time), but the phrase "tsuyu no tamayura" makes concrete the notion of the ephemerality of dew.

To return to the Shinkokinshū poem, there, "tamayura" in its original meaning of a brief period of time, ought to modify "todomarazu." However, followed by the particle "no," it appears again to be an adjective and to modify "tsuyu" and "namida." "Tamayura," "namida" and "tsuyu" share implications of jewel-like beauty and ephemerality. The verb in the third line further reinforces what has aready been suggested by these images. In the last two lines, we learn that the dew and tears are scattered by the autumn wind and that their transiency only echoes the far greater loss of human life.

In the poems above, the Shinkokin poets reestablished the expressiveness of words that had been obscured by stereotypical patterns of diction. In several examples, the poets actually appeared to retrieve the true weight of words that had been forgotten during a long history of their use in poetry. The poems, therefore, have a repose that comes from reasserting the original expressiveness of poetic diction. In contrast, the most innovative poems seek to challenge more directly the boundaries between words and ultimately the things they name. We have noted, beginning with Shunzei's poems in the first section of this chapter, that the Shinkokin poets arranged words and images in order to illuminate their implications--emotional and sensual qualities--in ways that earlier poetic patterns could not, and that mere description was seldom their aim. In the poems that follow, the poets abandon at times

all semblance of describing a landscape recognizable as real. Instead, they are interested in portraying the essential quality of a time, place, or experience which remains hidden by normal patterns of perception and by distinctions of boundary between one object and another. The Shinkokin poets devise two techniques for this end. In the first, they create rich resonances between the shared qualities of images in a string of nominatives joined only a simple genitive particle that affords the loosest syntactic connection between words.[1] For example:

Ama no hara	On the plains of heaven
Fuji no keburi no	Smoke rises from Mt. Fuji--
haru no iro no	Spring-colored--
kasumi ni nabiku	Banners of haze stream
akebono no sora	Across the sky at dawn.
Jien, SKKS, I:33	
Kaze kayou	The breeze stirs
nezame no sode no	My sleeves at awakening
hana no ka ni	Scented by blossoms--
kaoru makura no	That perfume my pillow
haru no yo no yume	Of the dream of a spring night.
Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, II:112	

Except for the phrase, "ni nabiku," Jien's poem comprises a series of nominatives linked by the particle "no." We are given no overt signals as to how the relationships between the nouns are to be judged beyond the loose attributions that the particle provides. We perceive, though, that the poem is constructed of images of very similar values. "Ama no hara," which is a makura-kotoba for Fuji, Fuji itself, and "sora" convey vastness and grandeur. "Ama no hara" and "sora" both mean sky. Further, "keburi," "kasumi," "akebono," and even "haru" share qualities of nebulousness, paleness, and airiness. What unites these nominatives is "haru no iro," a phrase that may refer to "Fuji no keburi," "kasumi," or "akebono no sora," and which describes the quality of all the images.

The technique of Shunzei's Daughter's poem is very similar. Again syntactic connection is vague, and there are numerous substantives. The words and phrases she has chosen: "nezame no sode," "hana no ka," "kaoru," "makura," "haru," and "yume," also carry implications

---

[1]Tanaka Yutaka, "Shinkokinshū to sono shūhen--kafū no tokushitsu ni tsuite," Kōza Nihon bungaku, Vol. 5, Chūsei hen I, pp. 24-45.

of love. We perceive the poem in a succession of possible units of meaning--"kaze kayou," / "kaze kayou nezame" / "nezame no sode" / "sode no hana no ka" / "hana no ka ni kaoru" / "hana no ka ni kaoru makura" / "haru no yo no yume." We realize that Shunzei's Daughter describes a lady who has been awakened by the breeze softly brushing her sleeves and who discovers that the air is filled with the scent of blossoms. However, the poet ends the work with "haru no yo no yume," and the poem appears to end with dream. Perhaps "hana no ka ni kaoru makura no haru no yo no yume" describes the nature of the dream. Or, if we take the particle "ni" to mean "and," then "nezame no sode no hana no ka" and "kaoru makura no haru no yo no yume" become paralled grammatical constructions. There is no final resolution; the world of awakening and dream are one, united by the scent of blossoms.

In the most overtly flamboyant innovative use of language, the poets challenge patterns of diction in order to alter modes of perception. The poets abandon the familiar and accepted relations between phenomena in order to create a realm of qualities that no longer mirrors either phenomenal reality in an "objective" form or the poets' reactions as merely individual and subjective. This is the realm of phantasms which, according to the Shinkokin poets, is the true reality of things. These innovations exploit the ability of the mind to weigh and construct imaginatively relationships between previously unrelated words or phenomena. Even more than in the cases above where poets sought to illuminate shared qualities, poems of this kind force the reader to relinquish the idea that words are self-contained units that function to transmit meaning in a linear and logical fashion.

Let us examine the kinds of innovative expressions that the poets devised.[1] They can be broadly divided into nominative and predicate expressions.

---

[1]Ishida Yoshisada, Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Bungadō Ginkō Kenkyūsha, 1975), pp. 308-9, concentrates upon Teika's innovative poems in the period 1185-1199. Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), pp. 540-740 discusses chronologically the poems of the major innovative poets, Teika, Ietaka, Jien, Yoshitsune, in the same period.

Nominatives I

Tsuki kiyomi — The moon shines clear.
hane uchikawashi — Placing wing upon wing
tobu kari no — The geese are flying.
koe aware naru — How moving their voices
akikaze no sora — In the sky of the autumn wind.
Teika, Shūigūso 9231

Konogoro no — Were I to seek
kokoro no soko wo — Elsewhere, outside myself
yoso ni miba — For the depths of my heart of late:
shika naku nobe no — An evening of the autumn wind
akikaze no kure — When deer cry in the fields.
Yoshitsune, Roppyakuban utaawase 1067
("Love and animals," Round 24, Left: Draw)

Iro kawaru — Its color now changed to crimson,
tsuyu wo ba sode ni — The dew on my sleeves
oki mayoi — Wavers restlessly.
uragarete yuku — How withered and blighted it becomes,
nobe no aki kana — The autumn of the fields.
Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, V:516

Ogi no ha ni — On the reed leaves
fukeba arashi no — The wind blows fiercely.
aki naru wo — It is the autumn of storm.
machikeru yo ha no — And yet, as though awaiting this,
saoshika no koe — The cries of the deer.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, IV:256

"Akikaze no kure," "akikaze no sora," "nobe no aki," and "arashi no aki" violate the usual centripetal direction of nominatives joined by the particle "no." Phrases such as "aki no yūgure," "yuki no tamamizu," or "mori no shitatsuyu," have repose in part because they move from greater to smaller or from whole to part. In contrast, such phrases as those above invert normal order. By using these phrases, poets do not pointlessly complicate meaning but seek to isolate and thus heighten our perception of certain qualities of phenomena which, in normal word order, would go unremarked. Thus "aki no nobe" is a field in autumn, but "nobe no aki" makes autumn a quality that is manifested in the field. Similarly, "sora no akikaze" is merely the autumn wind blowing in the sky, but "akikaze no sora," denotes a particular sky whose essential character, whose existence, even, is determined by the autumn wind. Normal word order is based upon common sense understanding that "A" belongs to "B" or that "A" is an attribute of "B." According to

the Shinkokin poets, such relations have no absolute reality and need not be respected.

Nominatives 2

Ato mo naki	There are no traces
niwa no asaji ni	Of his visits, among the rank weeds
musubohore	That choke my garden path.
tsuyu no soko naru	From the depth of the dew,
matsumushi no koe	I hear the cries of the pine crickets.
Shikishi, SKKS, V:474.	
Hana no nochi	After the flowers have bloomed,
yae tatsu kumo	The sky is sealed
sora tojite	By eight-fold clouds.
haru ni uzumeru	Buried in springtime--
Miyoshino no soko	The depths of lovely Yoshino.
Teika, Shūi gusō 9153	
Musashino wa	In the fields of Musashino
yukedomo aki no	I travel ever onward but to not find
hate zo naki	The end of autumn.
ikanaru kaze ka	What manner of wind
sue ni fukuran	Sweeps at that far end?
Michimitsu, SKKS, IV:378	
Shirazarishi	I did not imagine
yo fukaki kaze no	How different would be the sound
oto mo nizu	Of the wind late at night.
tamakura utoki	I do not sleep, pillowed on his arm,
aki no konata wa	Here on the far side of his autumnal
Teika, Roppyakuban	indifference.
utaawase 931	
("Love and wind," Round 16, Left: Draw)	
Hitotose wo	As I unlatch my door
nagame tsukuseru	This dawn, and ponder in sorrow
asatode ni	The passing of the long year,
usuyuki kōru	A light snow lies frozen on the ground
sabishisa no hate	Here, at the far reaches of loneliness.
Teika, Roppyakuban utaawase 547	
("Winter morning," Round 4, Left: Victory)	

"Tsuyu no soko" and "Miyoshino no soko" (as well as "kokoro no soko" of Yoshitsune's Roppyakuban poem on the previous page) present new tactile images that treat essentially amorphous things as though they had definite physical dimensions. "Soko" means bottom, as in the bottom of a box or of a pit. In Shikishi's poem, "tsuyu" also carries the implications of tears, and in the image "tsuyu no soko" we see not only the insects crying in the depths of the grass and dew, but also

a lady, abandoned and oppressed by loneliness. The grounds of her dwelling are overgrown with weeds as she dwells in sorrowful isolation.

Teika's "Miyoshino no soko" is more flamboyant. The concreteness of "miyoshino no soko" is reinforced by the verbs "tojite" (closed or sealed off) and "uzumu" (buried), but the image refers not so much to a geographically ascertainable part of Yoshino, as to the ultimate depths of spring. Teika creates an image of a myriad-layered cloud of blossoms that rises above the essential core of springtime.

"Aki no hate," "aki no konata," and "sabishisa no hate," create images in which a season or an emotional state is given a spatial dimension. "Hate" used by Teika and Michimitsu possesses both a spatial and temporal meaning, and at times, even the emotional implications of "the bitter end." In Michimitsu's poem, autumn is endless spatially, because for the speaker, Musashino seems to be spread endlessly before him and because he is no longer in a real landscape that is governed by temporal change. Here it is always autumn, and the speaker can only advance further into its depths. Teika's "sabishisa no hate" is richer in implications. The poem portrays a state of mind in which all violence of emotion has died away and one is left only with a colorless, dull bitterness. All year, the speaker of the poem has gazed out, perhaps hoping for a visitor. If heavy snow covered the ground he could say that was the reason no visitors came, but there is only a thin layer, cold and lifeless as the speaker's emotions. In the last poem, Teika combines the temporal, emotional, and spatial aspects of meaning.[1] "Aki" of "aki no konata" is a kakekobota that means both autumn and indifference. Not only is autumn sorrowful, but the speaker of the poem suffers because of her lover's coldness. For the speaker, the world has changed; in

---

[1]Teika may have been influenced by the Izumi Shikibu poem: Composed after the death of Imperial Prince Tametaka,

Nezame suru	The sound of this wind
mi wo fukitōsu	That awakens me deep in the night
kaze no oto wo	And blows through my body--
mukashi wa sode no	In the past, I heard it
yoso ni kikiken	Somewhere far beyond my sleeves.
SKKS, VIII:783	

all ways she is distant from that time and season when her lover was faithful to her. She has slipped out of normal temporal progression into a place and an emotional state of perpetual autumn, which bears little relation to those seasons she has experienced in the past.

Predicates I

Uki mi ni wa	For my worthless self,
nagamuru kai mo	There is nothing to be gained
nakerikeri	By gazing.
kokoro ni kumoru	It is clouded in my heart,
aki no yo no tsuki	The moon of the autumn night.
Jien, SKKS 404	
Aki wo hete	Through the autumn
kokoro ni ukabu	The moonlight that floated
tsukikage wo	In my heart
sanagara musubu	Now appears to lodge
yado no mashimizu	In the clear stream of my garden.
Teika, Shūi gusō 9203	
Omoiyaru	In longing I spend my days
nagame mo ima wa	Gazing toward his dwelling.
taene to ya	Now, shall I be denied even that,
kokoro wo uzumu	By the clouds of evening
yūgure no kumo	That bury my heart beneath them.
Ietaka, Roppyakuban 924	

("Love and clouds," Round 12, Right: Draw)

These poems once gain set up metaphors in which feelings or emotions (kokoro) are treated as though they were concrete entities. Jien's poem makes use of well-established symbolism concerning the moonlight. The speaker cannot see the moon because of the tears in his eyes. At the same time, the moon has traditionally implied the Buddhist Law, and we realize that the speaker cannot clearly see the moonlight, or in other words, the Buddhist law, because of the worldly attachments and illusions he still harbors in his heart.

Teika's "kokoro ni ukabu" expresses metaphorically the manner in which the speaker has cherished the moonlight through the autumn. "Ukabu" is also an engo of "mizu," and Teika makes us aware of the interplay of meaning between "kokoro ni ukabu" (floating in the heart) and the more common perception of the moon reflected, as though floating in water.

"Kokoro wo uzumu yūgure no kumo" is a striking image of despon-

dency, the suffocating sorrow that, abandoned by her lover, the speaker of Ietaka's poem feels. Physically, the gathering clouds of dusk make it impossible for her to gaze in the direction where her former lover resides. She is thus made all the more alone, denied even the illusion of communication. Emotionally, she is closed off into herself as though the clouds themselves pressed down upon her.

Predicates II

Aki no tsuki	The light of the moon
shino ni yado karu	That lodges in the grasses
kage takete	Grows late,
ozasa ga hara ni	And in the field of bamboo grass
tsuyu fukenikeri	The dew grows old.

Ienaga, SKKS, IV:425

Sayo fukete	The night grows late.
arashi no oto ni	In the sound of the storm
yama sabite	The mountain becomes desolate.
ko no ma no tsuki no	How chill the moonlight
kage no samukesa	Piercing between the trees.

Yoshitsune, Akishino gesseishū 845

The implications of these metaphors are less obvious than those in the previous set of poems, although again there appears to be an attempt to confound the spatial with the temporal. "Fukete" (to grow old), "takete" (to grow late), and "sabite" (to grow desolate) involve changes in quality with the passage of time but do not convey any sense of physical movement. Thus in the poems above, time does not elapse; the dew and moonlight do not vanish. Instead, through a kind of spatial elongation, nocturnal things appear to age and decay, never moving in time towards the day. The poems sketch a world beyond common experience in which time itself is altered from a forward flow to a stillness where certain qualities grow ever deeper.

Chomei writes in the Mumyōshō:

> To compose in the manner of yūgen, one must be a poet who has mastered the fundamentals, who has advanced deeply into the realm of poetry, and who has atained the highest peak of understanding. Even under these conditions, the technique may sometimes fail and result in a poem that is unpleasing to the ear. If a less accomplished poet, one who has not mastered poetic conceptions and who has not attained proper understanding and control of diction, should attempt this feat, he would be like a rustic woman who smears her face with cosmetics in any manner that suits her fancy. Poets of this kind do not compose with originality but gather words used and

> discarded by other poets. Such expressions as "tsuyu sabite," "kaze fukete," "kokoro no oku," "tsuki no ariake," "aware no soko," "kaze no yūgure," and "haru no furusato," sound wondrous and fresh at first, but to use them a second time is to adopt words of no particular meaning or depth. Or again, believing that a poem should be vague and suggestive, a poet composes in a manner that even he cannot comprehend in the end. Such poems are not in the realm of yūgen but truly belong to the Daruma sect.[1]

Chomei lists as his examples of innovative expressions a number of the phrases we have examined above. He recognizes the dangers they present. First, they can easily degenerate into meaningless, bizarre combinations of words. Second, they essentially cannot be repeated. As he states, they are stunning and fresh at first, but their very distinctiveness makes them susceptible to mannerism and repetition as empty technique. These phrases must be generated and used only by poets whose craft is sufficient to sustain and give meaning to their effects. They are admissable only in exceptional poems whose conception demands that diction be thus transformed.

Given these criteria, it is again a poem by Teika that most successfully integrates innovative diction and the expression of startling new perceptions:

Samushiro ya	The cold rush matting!
matsu yo no aki no	In the awaiting evening, the autumn
kaze fukete	wind grows late
tsuki wo katashiku	And alone, she spreads out the moon-
Uji no hashihime	light,
Teika, SKKS, IV:420[2]	The Lady of the Uji Bridge

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, p. 20. Teika writes in the Kindai shūka: "The students of the art among the younger generation today . . . make a fetish of obscurity, changing what ought to be simple into something difficult, yoking together things that have no relation to one another--perhaps because it has become universal for people to choose the most inappropriate poems as models. Brower and Miner, Fujiwara Teika's "Superior Poems of Our Times," p. 43.

[2]Teika's poem is an allusive variation of the anonymous Kokinshū poem:

Samushiro ni	On the cold rush matting,
koromo katashiki	Does she spread out her robe,
koyoi mo ya	This evening too
ware wo matsuran	And wait for me?
uji no hashihime	The lady of the Uji Bridge.
KKS, XIV:689.	

In the type of usage, "matsu yo no aki," "kaze fukete," and "tsuki wo katashiku" are familiar to us from the above discussion. The syntactically independent first line, "Samushiro ya," gives concrete emphasis to the object, the rush mat bedding, and suggests in the pivot "samushi," not only cold but privation, desolation, and vulnerability. Further, the rush mat suggests human presence or at least human significance. However, in the second line, we find that it is the night that waits, and the wind that grows late. Human presence is dispersed into exterior phenomena. "Matsu yo no aki" heightens our perception of season but also suspends any resolution of meaning. We feel uneasy because of the ambiguity of "matsu yo no aki no" and "kaze fukete" and because the emotional significance sugested in the first line has become unsettled.

"Tsuki wo katashiku" completes the transformation of the initial desolation suggested by "samushiro," and we enter an ethereal world of timeless waiting in the cold, white light of the moon. The fourth line is the core of the poem and focuses the phantasmal beauty of the scene. Finally the multiple associations of "Uji no hashihime"--the goddess of the Uji Bridge, the ladies of Uji in the Genji monogatari--sustain the aura of fantasy. Teika lifts the reality of cold, desolation, and grief to a plane of mysterious beauty on which emotions themselves have been transformed to moods beyond pain and the ravages of change.[1]

---

[1]Akahane Shuku discusses this poem in relation to Teika's sense of time as an eternally unchanging moment. Akahane Shuku, "Teika ni okeru jikan," Notorudamu Seishin joshi daigaku kiyo (Kokugo kokubun hen) 5, No. 1 (1981): 17-35.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHINKOKIN STYLE II: POETIC STRUCTURE

The Shinkokin poets select and group words (images) in order to illuminate their shared qualities and implications. As we saw in the previous chapter, the interrelations created in this way were no longer fully encompassed by the linear rule of syntax. This was most apparent in the so-called "daruma" poems, but in the less exotic works as well, syntax contributed far less toward poetic effect than the multiple resonances created between words that were perhaps widely scattered in the poem. The unity of poetic statement was not a matter of an orderly progression, as though down an enclosed corridor, but of mutual illumination and the subtle accretion of implications.

We have examined these matters primarily as a question of the texture of a poem, the interweaving of the implications of individual words. We paid little attention to the larger structures of the poem, only noting that syntax tended to provide loose, minimal control over diction in the poems. However, the Shinkokin poets also seek to abandon hypotactic progression in their poems altogether in favor of effects created through the juxtaposition of syntactically independent units of meanings. To accomplish this, they use caesuras (first and third lines and less frequently second and fourth lines), as well as other kinds of fragmentation. Further, they do not merely break up syntax into smaller units which then remain in accord with the development of linear exposition. That is, they do not express what would have previously been quite satisfactorily said in one sentence in two or more short ones. Instead, they abandon such a notion of sequence and attempt to juxtapose lines and different

sections of a poem to create counterpoint; each part of a poem serves to advance and amplify the meanings of the others.

Frequently, the poets divide the poems into statement and images, making, especially in poems with third line caesuras, a statement in the first three lines and presenting in the last two an image that in some way corresponds to it. There are some 470 poems in the Shinkokinshū with fifth line nominatives (images) as well as more than 150 poems in which the last two lines are nominative phrases, ending either directly with a nominative or with such simple particles as ni, wo, or wa.[1] Caesuras are, therefore, designed in large part to enhance the effect of images. However, their use is not limited to that. In poems that are not imagistic, the poets juxtapose two or more statements to reveal the ambiguity and inconclusiveness that lies at the heart of all emotion. In both kinds of poems, the different sections are often linked by means of such techniques as the use of engo, which we discussed in the previous chapter, that highlight the extra-syntactic relations between words. However, the effectiveness of these poems lies in what is not spelled out, the spark that leaps from one part to another to make each part emblematic of the core meaning of the other.

These poems portray hon'i. No longer trudging along his familiar corridors, the poet must once more examine the weight and consequence of things. He has no guide to tell him which statements or images can be effectively juxtaposed to which others except his apprehension of the true nature of his subject matter. Further, objects and emotions depicted in the poems are never merely incidental things of the world. No matter how concrete or personal an image or statement may seem by itself, it simultaneously exists to focus the implications of the other. Each part is a concrete embodiment of hon'i.[2]

---

[1]Yamazaki Hideo, "Shinkokinshū no taigendome uta no shimo no ku kōzō" (Aichi kenritsu joshi daigaku) Setsurin 7(December, 1960): 1-16.

[2]The methodology adopted in this chapter has been used to make very minute and sensitive analyses of certain structural

Let us begin with an examination of the third line caesura, the most common form of Shinkokin poems.

Third Line Caesuras

From fairly early in the history of waka, poets regarded the five lines of the 5-7-5-7-7 syllabic form as naturally constituting two parts, the first three lines and the final two. In the Goshūishū period, we see the growing popularity of tan renga (capped verse) in which one poet composed the first three lines 5-7-5 and another the final couplet.[1] Further, the third line caesura and the first as well also appear related to the manner in which poems were customarily recited in utaawase. That is, the reciter would draw out the last syllable of the first line and pause for about three beats before proceeding. A shorter pause appears to have followed the second line; and at the end of the third line, the reciter once more would pause for about three beats. There was apparently little or no pause between the fourth and fifth lines.[2] A poet who wished to insure ready aural comprehension of his work might well select a syntactic form that took advantage of this style of recitation. However, more important, attention to the requirements of recitation may also have brought about a new understanding of the rhythmic structure of a waka poem. Kamo no Chōmei writes in his Mumyōshō:

> Once during one of our conversations, my teacher Shun'e said to me, "There is this poem by the priest Henjō":
>
> Tarachine wa — Did my mother--
> kakare toteshi mo — She of the milk-filled breasts--
> mubatama no — Ever dream of this,
> waga kuro kami wo — When she caressed my jet-black hair,
> nade ya ariken — That I should shave it as a priest?
> GSS XVIII: 1241

---

features of Shinkokin poems by Ishikawa Tsunehiko and by Fujio Kyōko. See their works listed in the bibliography.

[1] See Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "Tan-renga shi ni okeru Minamoto Shunrai," Kokugo kokubun 39 (October 1970): 21-52. Ishikawa considers the Goshūi period the formative period of tan-renga, and the period of Shunrai's Kinyōshū, the time of maturity.

[2] Clifton W. Royston, Jr., "Utaawase judgments as poetry criticism," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 34 (November, 1974): 109.

> "Tell me which of the lines you feel is particularly good." I answered, "The way in which Henjō has written, 'kakare toteshi mo,' and followed that with 'mubatama no' seems very good to me." Shun'e then remarked, "You are right. You have attained great understanding of the realm of poetry. A poet must be aware of such things. It is common practice to use the uta-makura, 'hisakata no,' before 'tsuki' and 'ashihiki no' before 'yama.' However, the reader feels little interest if those uta-makura are placed in the first line. If, however, he uses them in the third line in such a manner that not only do the lines flow smoothly but the uta-makura creates a pause, he makes us aware of his great craft. That line is called the 'hampi no ku.' It has no particular lexical purpose but is like a decorative accessory on a robe. In a waka, one must not waste a single syllable. However, this 'hampi no ku,' though seeming to serve no purpose, enhances the quality of the poem and embellishes its configuration. . . ." Now in gagaku there is a tune called sokō. Each of its first five measures is danced briskly. After that, the ha section is performed, and then the kyū. In the kyū, the performers never dance the first measure but only keep time with their feet. They resume their graceful dance in the second measure. This mode of dancing can without question be likened to the "hampi no ku." Although the way of poetry differs from that of dance, they are alike in their important points. This matter is of no interest to those who cannot apprehend the points of similarity. Thus one may speak of the dance of the soko tune as having a hanpi no ku, and likewise of a poem with a "hanpi no ku" as having the configuration of sokō tune.[1]

Shun'e and Chōmei attempt to describe the rhythmic structure of a poem. First, Shun'e makes a distinction between lines that advance lexical meaning and those which serve some other purpose. His example is uta-makura, which, according to his understanding, only serves to evoke the noun or noun phrase that traditionally follows it. When such an uta-makura is placed in the third line of a poem, it interrupts the flow of lexical meaning and creates a rhythmic pause. Shun'e does not carry this thought further and returns to the idea of embellishment, of a decoration on a static object. Chōmei, in contrast, transcends that notion in his description of the "hanpi no ku." He likens a poem to a dance with the rhythmic structure of the jo (slow, introductory section), ha (somewhat faster middle section), and kyū (the rapid closing section); he

---

[1] Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 61-63.

mentions specifically the performance of the sokō tune in gagaku in which the performers do not dance the first measure of the fast-paced kyū but pause to create contrast and to build anticipation. These effects of the dance, he suggests, can be likened to the role of the hanpi no ku in a poem.

In later centuries, the principle of jo, ha, and kyū would play an important role in the music and dance of Nō performance and also in the structure of renga sequences.[1] Chōmei does not yet explicate in any detail the correspondence of this principle to waka. However, he does, through his example of a dance, convey an understanding of the effectiveness of a structure that separates the first three lines from the last two of a poem, not in relation to lexical meaning but to tempo. His metaphor aptly underscores implications not only of interruption but of sensual contrast between parts--slowness and quickness of tempo, difference in mood--that suggest the existence of a structure of a different order from one that merely proceeds linearly from beginning to end.

The division of a poem into two parts, the first three lines and the last two, is basic in many ways to the Shinkokinshū style. The use of the third line caesura by the Shinkokin poets can be distinguished from that of their predecessors not only in sheer quantity but in the nature of the relation between the first three lines and the last.[2] This can best be seen by examining first, not the true third line caesura form, but other rhetorical forms that go back as far as the Kokinshū, which the Shinkokin poets attempt to transform

---

[1]See Konishi Jin'ichi, Sōgi, Vol. 16 of Nihon kajin-sen (Tokyo: Chikuma Shoten, 1976), pp. 109-24, for a discussion of jo, ha, and kyū as they relate to renga sequences.

[2]Morishita Kinjirō reports that 18 percent of the poems in the Shinkokinshu have third line caesuras. In contrast 6 percent of Manyōshū poems and 13 percent of Kokinshū poems have third line caesuras. Morishita Kinjirō, "Shinkokinshū no hyōgen keitai ni tsuite," Miyagi Gakuen Joshi Dai kenkyū ronbunshū 50: 29-47. Reprinted in Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō, 16, pt 3: 564-73.

to suit their own needs. A good example is the syntactic form of third line final ba, a form frequently used by poets beginning with the Kokinshū to establish strong logical and syntactic connection between the first three lines and the final couplet of a poem.

Grammatically, the conjunctive particle ba, follows the izenkei form of the verb, and it denotes a condition that already exists or suggests that the second clause is the most natural outcome of the condition expressed in the first clause. The verbs that immediately precede it can be divided into those that describe the action of the speaker of a poem and those that describe the state of some object which comes to his attention.[1] We will examine the latter group. In the Kokinshū, the relation between the first three lines and the latter two is one of cause and effect or action and result.

Kasumi tachi	When, in spring, the mists rise
ko no me mo haru no	And the tree buds grow full,
yukifureba	And still the snow falls
hana naki sato mo	Even in the village bereft of
hana zo chirikeru	blossoms
Tsurayuki, KKS I:9	Petals scatter from the sky.
Ōzora no	In the vast sky,
tsuki no hikari shi	When the wintry moon glitters
kiyokereba	Clear and cold,
kage mishi mizu zo	On the water that reflects its
mazu korikeru	light
KKS VI:346 Anon.	I see a sheet of ice.

Tsurayuki's poem exemplifies well the Kokinshū style of fanciful reasoning and wit. The poem participates in two poetic commonplaces; poets frequently likened blossoms to snow, and it was also believed that one of the hardships of dwelling in a remote place was that one was deprived of the beauty of the cherry blossoms. In

---

[1] In his study, "'Miwataseba' kō--dai sanku 'miwataseba' no Shinkokin e no heni," Ishikawa Tsunehiko examines the changes in the poems that use that izenkei verb phrase from the time of the Kokinshū to the Shinkokinshū. Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "'Miwataseba' kō--dai sanku 'miwataseba' no Shinkokin e no hen'i," Mukogawa Kokubun 4 (March, 1972): 19-34. Kitayama Masamichi undertakes a similar study using the phrase "nagamureba," in "'Nagamu' oboegaki," Kokugo kokubun 38 (October, 1969): 86-99.

Tsurayuki's poem, the speaker reasons that because it is already spring--there is haze in the sky and the trees are in bud--the unseasonal snow must scatter like blossom petals even in that remote village where no trees bloom. The suggestion of wonder and joy in the unexpected "blossoms" gives the poem a lyrical richness.

The anonymous poem presents a similar kind of reasoning. The water in which the speaker saw the reflected moonlight has frozen before all other waters because of the chillness of that light. The poet does not confound moonlight and ice, but he does suggest that the moonlight has imparted a special coldness to that water in which it was reflected. He reasons from his discovery that moonlight and ice share an essential quality of coldness.

In the eleventh century, specifically in the Goshūishū period, poets continue to use ". . . ba" as a means of displaying fanciful "logic." But they also begin to use the form to create relations between the first three lines and the last couplet that are more objectively descriptive and also to suggest the emotional consequences of a certain event. First, we can see the decline of the Kokinshū style even within complete faithfulness to its rhetorical patterns:

Awa yuki no	When the light snow
matsu no ue ni shi	Falls upon the pine trees,
furinureba	So long-lived,
hisashiku kienu	Even it does not vanish
mono ni zo arikeru	For countless ages.

Kuniyuki, GSIS, VI:403

The headnotes to this poem read, "Composed at the residence of Prince Shikibu on the topic 'snow on the pines,'" and on one level of meaning the poet expresses hopes that his host will enjoy long life and prosperity. At the same time, in constructing the "logic" of his work, Kuniyuki has relinquished all attempt to be faithful to empirical reality. Light snow usually melts quickly. However, the poet reasons, when it falls on pine trees, the snow does not vanish but instead becomes long-lasting. This is because pine trees, in poetry and in popular belief, exemplify longevity.

Yoshitada's poem is descriptive:

Hisaki ouru	In the reeds along the marsh,
sawabe no chihara	Over which spread the branches of
fuyu kureba	the oak,
hibari no toko zo	Now that winter has come
arawarenikeri	The nests of the skylarks
Sone no Yoshitada, SKS IV:139	Are exposed to view.

In his day, Sone no Yoshitada (active late tenth century) was considered an eccentric poet. Like Shunrai after him, he attempted to introduce more colloquial language into poetry as well as images of things that had not traditionally been considered the elegant stuff of poems in order to create fresh perceptions. In this particular poem, he borrows the images in the first two lines from the Manyōshū.[1] Further, poems like this one mark the beginnings of a more descriptive poetry. In the Kokinshū, we find few poems that simply present images of the things of nature; the poet's subjective judgment intervenes to make metaphors and other witty comparisons. In contrast, in such a poem as Yoshitada's, the things of nature themselves are felt to be of sufficient weight and interest to sustain the poem. Only the final suffix "keri," which has exclamatory force, suggests the speaker's emotional response. Otherwise, the poem depicts the change of seasons from summer to winter as a matter of consequence in and of itself.

Finally, the following poem by Tameyoshi portrays neither logic based on metaphor nor the objective result of a certain

---

[1]The Manyōshū poem is:

Nubatama no	As the night,
yo no fukeyukeba	Jet-black in darkness, deepens,
hisaki ouru	Along the river's pure bed,
kiyoki kawara ni	Where the oak trees spread their
chidori shiba naku	boughs
MYS VI:925 Yamanobe	The plovers are crying.
no Akahito	

A slightly revised version of this poem appears in the Shinkokinshū:

Mubatama no
yo no fukeyukeba
hisaki ouru
kiyoki kawara ni
chidori nakunari
SKKS VI:641 Yamanobe no Akahito

occurrence. Instead, he uses the familiar form to suggest the speaker's ineluctable response to a certain event.

Ozora no	When the moon shines clear
tsuki no hikari shi	And its light fills the vast sky,
akakereba	Then, in autumn,
maki no itado mo	Even the cypress board door
aki wa sasarezu	Cannot remain latched.

Minamoto Tameyoshi, GSIS, IV:252

The topic of Tameyoshi's poem is the autumn moon, and he attempts to convey the beauty of its light. The poem also portrays a state of mind. The speaker is a recluse who has renounced the world and sought his dwelling in the mountain fastness. The door of his hut symbolizes his separation from the world, both physically and emotionally. However, in autumn when the moon shines, even he cannot but unlatch his door to admire its light and thereby open his heart to attachment to the world. Tameyoshi makes an effective contrast between the brilliant moonlight that illuminates the sky and the small, dark door of the hut.

In the Senzaishū period, the poets still use the ". . . ba" form to elaborate metaphors, but with some important differences. The poets concentrate their images in the last two lines of the poem, and we see the beginnings of one kind of division of a poem into two distinct parts, statement and image. In addition, this placement confers new independence on the images; they, rather than the subjective judgment of the speaker, become the focus of the poem. The images are striking. Not only must they conclude the "logical" relation set up by the first three lines, but they must also have sufficient weight and interest to close the poem.

Aki no no no	On the fields of autumn,
chigusa no iro ni	when the myriad flowering grasses
utsuroeba	display their colors
hana zo kaerite	It is the blossoms that dye
tsuyu wo somekeru	The dew that lies upon them.

Shūkaku, SZS, VI:261

Takasago no	On Takasago Mountain
onoe no sakura	When the cherry trees of the peak
sakinureba	Are in bloom.
kozue ni kakaru	White waves in theoffing
okitsu shiranami	Spill over the treetops.

Narinaka, SZS, I:68

These poets are no longer content to display their subjective observations but seek to depict a natural scene. On first reading, Shūkaku's poem appears to be no more than a clever reversal of the familiar notion that the dew in autumn dyes the flowers and leaves. However, more than that, the poet conveys in his last two lines a vision of the rich colors of the autumn blossoms that appear to spill forth with the dew. Similarly, Narinaka presents in the final couplet of his poem a startling scene of whiteness in motion. He starts from two hoary conceits: that blossoms on the peaks of mountains look like clouds and that the white foam of waves resembles blossoms. Yet neither of these older metaphors had the sense of movement, of an impossible occurrence made real, that Narinaka's poem has.

Further, the logic that binds the first three lines to the last couplet in these poems is of quite a different nature from, for example, the Kokinshū poems we examined earlier. As was also the cases with Yoshitada's and Tameyoshi's poems above, the first three lines of these Senzai poems do not involve any particularized circumstances on which the logic of the poem hinges. They describe a natural event very straightforwardly with nothing that betrays an idiosyncratic judgment. At the same time, the scenes and times narrated in the first three lines--cherry blossoms on Takasago (an uta-makura), the autumn fields--are rich in associations. The images that follow in the closing couplets focus these associations. In a sense, the first three lines and the last two are no longer even sequential, but rather are co-equal, pointing to the same phenomena first narratively and then through images. The images are satisfying not because they fulfill the logic of a proposition but because they are concrete embodiments of the implications of beauty raised in the first three lines.

Finally, Narinaka's poem ends with a nominative phrase; the poet relinquishes altogether overt syntactic conclusion. The device can be seen more and more frequently from the Senzai period, and in the Shinkokinshū there are some 470 poems with fifth line nominatives. The use of such nominatives permits the poet to close the poem by focusing on a concrete place, time, or object, but also to render the

ending somewhat inconclusive. Associations and implications of the images themselves rather than a specific and subjective narrative provide the meaning. In another Senzai poem with third line ". . . ba", the poet closes the work with a poetic place name uta-makura.

Momijiba no	When the autumn leaves
mina kurenai ni	Are strewn upon the ground
chirishikeba	Like a crimson coverlet,
na nomi narikeri	It belies its name--
Shirakawa no seki	The Barrier of the White River
Chikamune SZS V:363	

Chikamune sets up the "logic" of his poem much more emphatically than either Narinaka or Shūkaku; when the crimson leaves of autumn lie in profusion the name Shirakawa no seki (Barrier of the White River) is no longer fitting. However, in this poem there is a more important caesura between the fourth and fifth lines, and the poet attempts to use the first four lines to define the nature of the place, Shirakawa no seki. He is not entirely successful in doing so, because he invests too much in making the contrast between "kurenai" and "shiro." But, the poet has structurally at least subverted the importance of this logical sequence by making it secondary to the juxtaposition of lines one through four and the final nominative of line five.

In the Senzaishū period, we also find poems in which both the first three lines and the final couplet are descriptions of natural scenes that interact in mood. The following poem by Shun'e, appears in the Shinkokinshū, but the poet had probably passed away by 1195, and his works properly belong to the earlier period of the Senzaishū.

Miyoshino no	In lovely Yoshino,
yama kakikumori	The mountains are shrouded in clouds,
yuki fureba	And it snows,
fumoto no sato wa	In the village at the foothills
uchishigure tsutsu	A cold rain falls and falls.
Shun'e SKKS VI:588	

The logic that binds the first three lines and the last two is simple: When it snows up in the mountains where it is cold, it rains in the lower foothills. Its role in the effect of the poem is minimal. More important, both the first three lines and the final

couplet present scenes that are very similar in quality. Both are monochromatic, silent, impenetrable. Again the poet avoids a definite conclusion by using in this case the continuitive form "tsutsu." The images have neither clear beginning nor end, but merge to convey a single mood of quiet loneliness. This poem, according to Chōmei, was Shun'e's favorite among his own works, the one which best exemplified his prescription for poetic excellence: "[A poem should] describe a scene using images in such a way that one understands through their aura the poet's feelings."[1]

Among the works of the Shinkokin poets recorded in that work, we can find poems very similar to Chikataka's and Narinaka's and Shun'e's.[2] There is one example, however, that is unlike any we have seen thus far:

Mado chikaki	Near the window,
isasa muratake	Clumps of bamboo grass,
kaze fukeba	When the wind blows,--
aki ni odoroku	Startled by autumn--
natsu no yo no yume	The dream of the summer night.
Kintsugu, SKKS, III:257	

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, p. 73. The entire passage is quoted in footnote one of page 104.

[2]For example, among poems using third line "nagamureba" we find:

Nago no umi no	Across the Sea of Nago,
kasumi no ma yori	Through rifts in the evening haze,
nagamureba	I gaze out and see,
iruhi wo arau	White waves in the offing
okitsu shiranami	Wash over the setting sun.
Sanesada, SKKS, I:35	

Wakanoura wo	Across Wakanoura Bay,
matsu no hagoshi ni	Through the leaves of the pine trees,
nagamureba	I gaze out and see,
kozue ni yosuru	The boats of the fisherfolk
ama no tsuribune	Draw to harbor among the boughs.
Jakuren, SKKS, XVII:1601	

Asato akete	As day breaks,
Fushimi no sato ni	In Fushimi village I lie abed
nagamureba	And gaze out and see
kasumi ni musebu	The waves of the Uji River
Uji no kawanami	Shrouded by the morning haze.
Shunzei, Shinchokusenshū, I:13	

In the earlier examples, the first three lines of the poem described a scene or object that led to the subjective perception of the same in the last two. Or, in several other cases, the two halves of the poem described two closely related scenes. Neither of these is true of Kintsugu's poem. First, "natsu no yo no yume," is neither an attribute of the bamboo grass nor of the wind. Further, Kintsugu preserves the basic relation of event and outcome, but that outcome appears, at least in terms of logic, rather remote from its cause. Instead, the last couplet introduces new implications and opens up possibilities of meaning that were not apparent in the images of the first three lines. There are a number of contrasts between the two halves of the poem. The first three lines are concretely descriptive; we are shown the relation between bamboo, window, and wind. Window also implies a dwelling and thus human presence. The final couplet is much more conceptual with "aki ni odoroku" and its contrast with "natsu no yo no yume." From concrete reality, we move into dream. What holds this poem together, besides any established association between bamboo and dreams, is that an idea, "autumn has come," has been transformed into a series of sensations.[1]

---

[1]Kintsugu's poem is an allusive variation of the Manyōshū work:

Waga yado no	Ah, this evening,
isasa muratake	In the clumps of bamboo grass
fuku kaze no	Out in my garden,
oto no kasokeki	I hear the sound of the wind
kono yube kamo	Rustling through the leaves.
Otomo no Yakamochi, MYS, IX:4291	

Likewise, the basic conception of Kintsugū's poem owes something to such works as:

Aki kinu to	There are no clear signs
me ni wa sayaka ni	That betray to our eyes
mienedomo	That autumn has come.
kaze no oto ni zo	Yet I am startled to realization
odorokarenuru	By the unaccustomed sound of the
Toshiyuki, KKS, IV:169	wind.

"Natsu no yo no yume," however, is a phrase entirely new to the imperial anthologies; it appears only once, in this poem by Kintsugu. Further, by introducing dream, Kintsugu underscores the element of illusory happiness, both of summer itself and perhaps of love. "Natsu

With its nominative ending and the remoteness of logical connection between the first three lines and last two, Kintsugu nearly achieves true juxtaposition within a syntactic and rhetorical form originally devised for quite different ends. That there are relatively few such poems points to the fact that the Shinkokin poets had other means of creating similar effects which permitted greater freedom in the kinds of relations that could exist between the two havles of the poem.

Among true third line caesuras, there was one form which the Shinkokin poets inherited from their predecessors: the third line final "keri" form. "Keri" is a suffix indicating past tense or the continuation of a state, and it also has strong exclamatory force. In poetry, its meaning is most often the last of these, that is, "poetic emphasis." Third line final "keri" indicates a full grammatical stop, and we find examples of its use to break a poem into two halves from about the time of the Goshūishū. Once more, however, we can see how the Shinkokin poets abandon emphasis on "logical" sequential exposition in favor of richer forms of juxtaposition.

In its early use, poems with third line final "keri" often present a paradox in the first three lines, denying an established fact or an expected response. The final couplet provides the reason for the idiosyncrasy of the statement above. For example:

Aki no no wa	In the autumn fields,
orubeki hana no	I find no blossoms
nakarikeri	That I may pluck,
koborete kienu	Because I hold so dear
tsuyu no oshisa ni	The dew that would spill and vanish.

Minamoto Chikanori, GSIS, III:309

Waga yado no	In my dwelling
sakura wa kai mo	The cherry trees bloom
nakarikeri	In futile splendor
aruji kara koso	For people only come to call
hito mo mini kure	If they feel affection for the host.

Izumi Shikibu, GSIS, I:102

---

no yo no yume" immediately brings to mind the more familiar "haru no yo no yume," and its associations of the ephemerality of love. The phrase itself is ambiguous; it can refer to a dream on a summer night or to a summer night which is a dream.

According to the speaker of Chikanori's poem, there are no blossoms in the autumnal fields for him to gather. This despite the fact that everyone (at least those familiar with court poetry) knows that the fields are covered with flowering grasses. In the last couplet, we learn that the speaker is not to be taken literally; there are indeed blossoms but he cannot pluck them lest he spill the dew that clings to them.

Similarly, in the first three lines of her poem, Izumi Shikibu makes the strange (for court poetry) statement that the cherry blossoms, the most admired of all flowers, bloom to no purpose. In the last two lines we learn the reason: people will come to admire them only if they also wish to see their owner. This latter statement is also a reversal of a common poetic notion that during the spring, if at no other time, one is not lonely because visitors will come at least to admire the blossoms. It is not clear whether Izumi Shikibu refers to society at large or to a specific person, a lover perhaps, but she makes an effective contrast between the sorrowful, yet reasonable statement in the first half of her poem and the abrupt bitterness of the closing couplet.

A Shinkokin poet may also use the device of a paradox as the starting point of his poem.

Naniwagata	Naniwa Bay,
kasumanu nami mo	Even the waves where no haze lies
kasumikeri	appear to be hazy.
utsuru mo kumoru	Reflections too are clouded
oborotsukiyo ni	In the night of the spring moon.
Tomochika, SKKS, I:57	

Lines two and three present a puzzle: The waves on which there is no haze become hazy. The answer, found in the last two lines, is that when the hazy spring moon is reflected in the waves, the waves themselves appear hazy. The reasoning itself is not very striking, and it is only a convenient way for the poet to portray a scene of hazy light in which boundaries of sky, moon, and water are erased. "Kasumanu nami mo kasumikeri" and "utsuru mo kumoru" describe the same phenomenon of changing light. The sky is hazy, and all through the night, the light from the moon constantly varies, now growing brighter now darker. These

changes of light are likewise reflected in the waves below.[1]

Further the poet has balanced two images with strong associations in the first and last lines of his poem. Naniwagata is an utamakura, and it stands independent from the following lines. Naniwagata is usually followed by such words as "ashi" (reeds), "irie" (inlet), "ura" (Bay), "shio" (tide) that name a particular attribute of the place, and the unusual word order, "naniwagata kasumanu . . . " stresses the independence of the first line. The four lines that follow depict a particular scene of Naniwagata in spring. Likewise, although "oborotsukiyo ni" is not a full nominative ending, the first four lines can be regarded as an exemplary description of such a night.

The two halves of a poem with a third line final "keri" may be linked by traditional associations of thought.

Kasugano no	On Kasuga Field
kusa wa midori ni	The fresh, spring grass
narinikeri	Has turned green.
wakana tsumamu to	Who has measured off the spot
tare ka shimeken	Where he will pick young shoots?

Tadami, SKKS, I:12

Tadami's poem, though included in the Shinkokinshū, is of the Kokin period. The two statements in his poem are related through commonly known associations of Kasuga Field.[2] The speaker's observation that

---

[1]Tomochika alludes to the Kokinshū work:

Kusa mo ki mo	The grasses and trees--
iro kawaradomo	Their colors change with the seasons,
watatsumi no	Yet in the wide sea,
nami no hana ni zo	Autumn does not come
aki nakarikeri	To the blossoms of the waves.

Bunya no Yasuhide, KKS, IV:250

[2]See for example:

Kasuga no no	On Kasuga Field,
Tobuhi no nomori	Oh guardian of the beacon fire,
idete miyo	Climb your tower and see,
ima ikuka arite	How many more days must I wait
wakana tsumiten	Before the young shoots can be plucked.

KKS, I:18, Anon.

Kasugano no	On Kasuga Field
wakana tsumite ya	Will they pluck the young shoots?
shirotae no	Their white hempen sleeves
sode furihaete	They wave to and fro in joy,
hito no yukuran	The courtiers who set out this day.

Tsurayuki, KKS, I:22

indeed the young shoots have turned green leads easily to the question of who has already staked a claim on that part of the field where he will pick young shoots. That person, whose eagerness and sensitivity to the season rivals that of the speaker, has preceded him to the fields.

This form is still used by Shinkokin poets on occasion to enlarge the meanings of two things that had hitherto seemed disparate.

Sazanami ya	Sazanami of rippling waves--
Shiga no hamamatsu	In Shiga the pines along the beach
furinikeri	Have grown old.
taga yo ni hikeru	In whose age were they drawn here
ne no hi naruran	For the ritual of the First Rat Day?
Shunzei, SKKS, I:16	

There is no conventional association between Shiga and the pines there along the beach and the Celebration of the First Rat. In poems about the latter, we usually find descriptions of courtiers returning to the capital with the pine seedlings they have dug up in the fields and which they then plant in their own gardens.[1] In Shunzei's imagination, the ancient pines along Lake Biwa are those planted by the courtiers of the Shiga Palace on some long ago day of celebration. More important, Shunzei uses this notion to make an ironic comment on the vanity of human actions and hopes. Already in the Manyō period, the Shiga

---

[1]For example:

Nenohi suru	On the Day of the First Rat,
nobe no komatsu wo	We turn homeward from the fields,
hikitsurete	Drawing along the pine seedlings,
kaeru yamabe ni	And on the path along the mountainside
uguisu zo naku	I hear the song of the bush warbler.
Yorimoto, Yorimoto shū 19757	

In the Genji monogatari, we find:

"Everything about the scene seemed to make manifest a bond that was meant to last a thousand years--and New Year's Day this year fell on the Day of the Rat. . . . He went inside to his daughter's room. Her page girls and young serving women were out on the hill busying themselves with seedling pines, too intoxicated with the occasion, it would seem, to stay inside. . . ." Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:410.

Palace was in ruins, having lasted less than a decade. Only the pines the courtiers of that city planted in hopes of good fortune and happiness have lasted through the ages.

The formula of using the two halves of a poem with third line "keri" to establish the speaker's idiosyncratic experience takes another fresh turn in the Shinkokin period. This is the development of the new rhetorical form in the last two lines, "kanarazu--aranedo" or "naranedo":

Kiri no ha mo	The pawlownia leaves, too,
fumiwakegataku	So thick they lie, they would
narinikeri	Impede his way.
kanarazu hito wo	Even though it is not as if
matsu to nakeredo	I still await his visits. . . .

Shikishi, SKKS, V:534

Shikishi's poem is one of the most successful uses of third line caesuras in the Shinkokinshū. The speaker, as in many of her poems, is a woman whose lover has long since ceased visiting her or perhaps had never visited her at all. She gazes out at the path leading to her dwelling and notes that with the yellow pawlownia leaves lying so thick upon it, it would be difficult for her lover to traverse the path. The "mo" (also) of "kiri no ha mo" suggests that the leaves on the path are just one of the signs that her dwelling has become increasingly dilapidated. In the last two lines of her poem, she attempts to deny that she awaits a lover and that she feels any concern for him. "Kanarazu . . ." renders somewhat equivocal the negation contained in the clause, and its effect in this poem is to stress the feebleness of the lady's protest and to portray her efforts to suppress her feelings.[1]

---

[1]Morishige Bin, "'Nari' no hyōgen kachi," part 2, Kokugo kokubun 39 (July, 1970):34-54. Morishige discusses Shikishi's poem within the context of an examination of changes in the use of "naruran."

The closely related form, "kanarazu . . . naranedo(mo)," is found in two poems in Shinkokinshū:

Aki kinu to	Autumn has come--
matsu fuku kaze mo	So I am informed by the wind
shirasekeri	That sweeps among the pines.
kanarazu ogi no	Although not in the reeds
uwaba naranedo	Which, they say, tell us of autumn.

Shichijō no In no Gon no Daibu, SKKS, IV:306

Tsuyu wa sode ni	These droplets of dew,
mono omou koro wa	How thickly they lay upon my sleeves

Perhaps she had somewhat forgotten her lover until she saw the leaf-covered path. And her response was not resentment but concern. Her own tenderness had betrayed her, and in the last two lines, she quickly moves as though out of shame, to deny that feeling.

Full correspondence of meaning, rather than any kind of sequential development, between the two halves of a poem is achieved by the three famous autumn evening poems in the Shinkokinshū:

Sabishisa wa	Loneliness
sono iro to shi mo	Has no clear outward form
nakarikeri	Nor distinguishing color:
maki tatsu yama no	In the mountains where cypress stand,
aki no yūgure.	Autumn evening.
Jakuren, SKKS, IV:361	
Kokoro naki	Although my heart is unformed,
mi ni mo aware wa	Yet, even I, in my body must know,
shirarekeri	The pathos of things:
shigi tatsu sawa no	A snipe takes flight from a marsh
aki no yūgure.	On an autumn evening.
Saigyō, SKKS, IV:362	
Miwataseba	When I gaze about,
hana mo momiji mo	Of autumn leaves and spring blossoms,
nakarikeri	I find no trace:
ura no tomoya no	A fisher's hut near the bay
aki no yūgure	In autumn evening.
Teika, SKKS, IV:363	

These three poems which are thus placed side by side in the Shinkokinshū are very much alike in several ways. All three use third line final "keri" and images, with a nominative ending, in the final couplet. The statements in the first three lines all involve negation of some kind, and further, they do not simply narrate an event which is then presented again in images in the last two lines.[1] Thus in Jakuren's

---

sazona oku	When I was burdened with sorrow
kanarazu aki no	No, it cannot be that my tears
narai naranedo	Fall thus only in autumn.

[1]In his article, "'Nagamu' oboegaki," Kitayama Masamichi notes a similar change in the connotations of "nagamu" from gazing in revery, to gazing out over a distance and seeing and finally to seeking to see that which is absent. The poems quoted above in footnote 12 fall into the second category. In the final category, which Kitayama considers most characteristic of the Shinkokinshū, he places these two poems:

Hana wa chiri	The blossoms have scattered,
sono iro to naku	Their color and form have vanished

and Saigyō's works, the first half does not speak of a natural scene at all but instead of the abstract qualities of "sabishisa" and "aware." The closing couplets present the imagistic equivalents of these qualities. On one level, Jakuren uses the pivoting meanings of "iro," that is both color and distinguishing quality, to link the statement in the first three lines to the images that follow. Yet their correspondence goes much further and suggests an essential likeness in mood between the experience of loneliness and the manner in which the darkness of dusk imperceptibly but finally wholly extinguishes both trees and sky. We may regard such a scene as the cause of the speaker's loneliness. Simultaneously, it portrays the nature of loneliness. In other words, loneliness is the absence of active emotional response; no particular events may mark its inception or progress, yet it fills the mind.

Saigyō's poem, we have examined before in relation to yūgen. In comparison to Jakuren's poem, the first three lines present a more complex thought, enhancing thereby their weight in the poem. First, within the first three lines, "kokoro" (heart) is contrasted to "mi" (body). "Kokoro naki" suggests a person without refined or cultivated sensitivities. According to Saigyō, even such a man cannot but know "aware" (pathos of things) for it is the inevitable response of his physical being. Second, the long verb that takes up the whole of the third line also emphasizes the subjectivity of the statement and draws it away from the images that follow. The images Saigyō presents are again of autumn evening, with all its implications of sorrow, decay,

---

nagamureba	As I gaze out and see
munashiki sora ni	The nothingness of the sky
harusame zo furu	Whence the Spring rain falls.
Shikishi, SKKS, II:149	
Yo no naka wo	Long I have pondered
omoitsuranete	Upon the meaning of this world,
nagamureba	And I gaze out to see
munashiki sora ni	White clouds that vanish
kiyuru shirakumo	Into the emptiness of the sky.
Shunzei, SKKS, XVIII:1846	

Kitayama Masamichi, "'Nagamu' oboegaki," pp. 86-99.

and death. In the growing darkness, a solitary snipe takes flight from a marsh. The speaker and the bird are both incidental and momentary existences. The understanding of aware is not a matter of the sentimental posturing of an elegant courtier but, according to Saigyo, rests within the true realization of one's own imperilled place in nature.

In his poem, Teika attempts to create a correlation between the two halves of his poem without resorting to the use of an abstract term in the first three lines that reveals the significance of the image in the couplet.[1] His poem comes perhaps as close as possible to a complete equation of images. There is, however, quite a difference in the nature of the images in the first half of the poem and those in the latter. Teika begins his poem with "miwataseba," a line that demands to be followed by a description of what the poet sees. He speaks of "hana" and "momiji" and brings to mind a scene of incomparable beauty; blossoms and autumn leaves exemplify in court poetry the height of the beauty of spring and autumn, but because they are so exemplary and because they belong to different seasons, they can only be linked conceptually. In the third line, we discover that he does not see these things at all, and that they are the very things that are absent. What he apparently does see is the scene presented in the last two lines, the poor fisher's hut by the bay. "Ura no tomoya" is a far less familiar image in court poetry than "hana" or "momiji," and is far removed from traditional aesthetics.[2]

---

[1]Teika's poem is accompanied by the headnote, "When Teika composed a hundred-poem sequence at the urging of the priest Saigyō," Like Saigyō does in his work, Teika appears to contrast the courtly ideal and a real scene of nature. However, the attitude toward this scene of nature differs between the two poets. Saigyō, in his work, embraces the reality of nature. Teika does not. He, too, knows that the courtly ideal no longer reflects reality. Yet in his poem, it remains a compelling presence in the mind.

[2]In recent years, several Japanese scholars have advanced a new interpretation of Teika's poem which places the speaker within the hut rather than gazing at the fisher's hut in the twilight. If this is the case, then Teika avoids all description of what the speaker sees in place of the blossoms and autumn leaves. See Suzuki Jun, "Teika 'Hana

Edo commentators fault Teika for expressing surprise at the absence of blossoms and autumn leaves where such things could hardly be expected in the first place. Clearly however, Teika was well aware of the appropriate season and place for these images. He uses them in this poem not as plausible parts of a real landscape but precisely the opposite, as exemplary images of the courtly notion of beauty. By themselves the first three lines of the poem seem to speak with regret of the passing away of the blossoms and colored leaves, of perhaps even the beauty of the courtly world. Because the poet does not deny them until the third line, the images of blossoms and leaves become superimposed on the image of the real, that is, the fisher's hut, and fade slowly from the reader's mind. The relationship between the two halves of the poem, does not neatly resolve into one of image and implication. Instead they remain locked in contrast, depicting sensuously the relations between past and present, absence and presence, illusion and reality.[1]

These three "keri" poems illustrate one final achievement of the third line caesura form. By juxtaposing a statement of meaning with its imagistic equivalent, the poets enrich the significance of both. The first three lines which, taken by themselves, may read only

---

mo momiji mo nakarikeri' no uta to sono kaishaku," Wakabungaku kenkyū 37 (September, 1977):25-26; Yoshioka Hiroshi, "Sakusha no iru fukei," Musashino bungaku 14 (1967):24-28; and Oda Tsuyoshi, "Futatabi, "Miwataseba hana mo momiji mo nakarikeri,' no uta ni tsuite," Shiga Dai kokubun 15 (July, 1978):44-50.

[1]Teika's poem may also allude to the following passage in the "Akashi" chapter of Genji monogatari:

"Ito sashimo kikoenu mono no oto dani, ori kara koso wa, masaru mono naru wo, harubaru to mono no todokorinaki umizura naru ni, naka naka, haru, aki no hana, momiji no sakarinaru yori mo, tada, sokohaka to no shigereru kage domo namameshiki ni. . . ."

Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 2:71.

"Even the most ordinary music can seem remarkable if the time and place are right; and here on the wide seacoast, open far into the distance, the groves seemed to come alive in colors richer than the bloom of spring or the change of autumn. . . ."

Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:255.

as a personal opinion or as a rather general and abstract pronouncement become, in relation to the images, a narrative of their emotional core. We see that the speaker has expressed the universal significance of the images. Similarly, the images, in conjunction with the first three lines, do not merely name a certain place or time, but become the imagistic equivalent of the emotions portrayed in those lines.

There are a number of other poems in the Shinkokinshū that display similar relations between the first three lines and the final couplet. Among the seasonal poems we find:

Furisomuru	Even this morning
kesa dani hito no	When the snow began to fall
mataretsuru	I could still await a visitor:
miyama no sato no	In a village deep in the mountains
yuki no yūgure	A snowy evening.
Jakuren, SKKS, VI:663	
Koma tomete	To stop my horse
sode uchiharau	And brush off my sleeves--
kage mo nashi	There is no shelter:
Sano no watari no	Near the Sano Crossing
yūki no yugure	A snowy evening
Teika, SKKS, VI:671	

As was also the case in Teika's "Miwataseba" poem above, Jakuren avoids naming in the first three lines of his poem, a concept or emotion of which the images that follow are a concrete embodiment. The speaker of the poem dwells deep in the mountains. According to poetic notions of such places, once the snows begin, all roads become impassable, and residents are isolated for the duration of winter. "Kesa dani" suggests that he has dwelt in loneliness awaiting a visitor for a long time, and now that the snows have begun, he must abandon his hopes altogether. The poet contrasts "kesa" (morning) and "yūgure" (evening) and conveys the passage of time in which the speaker's hopes slowly died away. Further, by narrating the speaker's emotions at the earlier time, Jakuren raises as overtones in the images, the speaker's present sorrow.

In another winter poem, Teika once more attempts to define significance in relation to the absence of something. Teika attempts to avoid all intrusion of subjective sentiment. Instead, he attempts to suggest emotional significance by speaking of the absence of some

concrete object.[1] In the first three lines of his poem, he describes

---

[1]This technique was used frequently by Teika. For example:

Miyamaji ya	Oh path deep in the mountains!
mine ni mo o ni mo	The peaks and the ridges as well
kirikomete	Are shrouded in mist.
matsu hito mo nashi	No one awaits a visitor;
tou hito mo nashi	No one hastens to make a call.
Teika, Shūi gusō 11572 (2559)	

Koromo utsu	As the sound of the fulling block
hibiki ni tsuki no	Echoes through the cold night,
kage fukete	The moon grows late,
michiyuki hito no	And the travellers on the road--
oto mo kikoezu	No sound I hear of their passage.
Teika, Shūi gusō 9236 (689)	

Aki fukaku	Deep in autumn,
kiri tatsu mama no	A cold mist still rises,
akebono wa	As day breaks,
omou sonata no	And there where my beloved dwells
sora wo dani mizu	The sky is sealed in whiteness.
Teika, Shūi gusō 8894 (447)	

Wakuraba ni	That even rarely,
towareshi hito mo	He came to call upon me
mukashi nite	Is now in the past,
sore yori niwa no	And from that time all traces of his
ato wa taeniki	footsteps
Teika, SKKS, XVII:1684	Have vanished from my garden.

For a detailed discussion of Teika's use of negation in his poems, see Akahane Shuku, "Teika no hitei-teki hyōgen," Notorudamu Seishin joshi daigaku kiyō (Kokugo kokubun hen) 1 (March, 1977):7-15. The numbers given in parentheses after Teika's poems above are those used by Akahane in his article and correspond to the numbering system in Akahane Shuku, ed., Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū zenku sakuin, 2 vols., (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973).

Teika's "Wakuraba ni," poem above is an allusive variation of the Kokinshū work: "During the reign of Emperor Montoku, the poet had occasion to be exiled to a place called Suma in the province of Tsu. He sent this poem to someone who served at the court":

Wakuraba ni	On rare occasions,
tou hito araba	If someone should ask of me,
Suma no ura ni	Tell them that in Suma
moshio taretsutsu	I dwell with the fishers who make salt,
wabu to kotae yo	My sleeves drenched by the waves and
Ariwara no Yukihira,	tears.
KKS,XVIII:962	

a traveller on horseback who seeks shelter to brush the snow from his sleeves. But there is, we find in the third line, no such shelter. "Mo nashi" (not even) suggests that there is no shelter of any kind, certainly no inn or farmhouse, that there is nothing at all except the dark expanse of water, land, and snow. There is nothing in the landscape that can intercede between man and the forces of nature. Nor is there any possibility of a sentimental response that can reduce the landscape to familiar terms. Teika's poem is an allusive variation of a Manyō work.[1] It is no accident that he uses a Manyō place name, Sano no watari, and a time marker, "yuki no yūgure," that are relatively unfamiliar in court poetry.[2]

In love poetry, the last two lines portray by means of images the speaker's state of mind:

Nagamewabi	Tired of gazing,
sore to wa nashi ni	In empty revery, I muse
mono zo omou	on this and that.
kumo no hatate no	Distant banners of clouds
yūgure no sora	In the evening sky.

Michimitsu, SKKS, XII:1106

Michimitsu's poem is an allusive variation of a Kokinshū love poem:

---

[1]See Chapter V for the honka.

[2]Sano no watari is found in this poem by Teika, its Manyōshū honka (also Shinchokusenshū 500 and Shoku Kokinshū 924), Shin Gosenshū 570, and Shin Shūishū 811. Teika uses the phrase in another poem:

Yukue naki	I know not where to turn,
yado wa to toeba	And ask, "Where shall I find shelter,"
namida nomi	But only my tears fall,
Sano no watari no	Here near the Sano Crossing
murasame no sora	Under a sky of spring rain.

Teika, Shūi gusō 10995 (2428)

"Yuki no yūgure" is found in Jakuren's poem, SKKS, VI:663, and, among the other imperial anthologies, Fūgashū, VIII:816. Teika again uses the phrase in another poem:

Naku shika mo	The deer that cry,
yoso no momiji mo	The colored leaves of autumn elsewhere--
tazunekozu	Neither approach this place:
Tokiwa no mori no	The evergreen grove of Tokiwa
yuki no yūgure	On a snowy evening.

Teika, Shūi gusō 11978 (3365)

Yūgure wa	In evening, I gaze,
kumo no hatate ni	toward distant banners of clouds
mono zo omou	And ponder,
amatsu sora naru	Because I long for a lover
hito wo kou tote	Far away in the heavens.
Anon., KKS, XI:484	

In this Kokinshū poem, the speaker, most likely a woman, gazes at the distant banners of clouds because either her lover resides in that direction or because he is a high-ranking personage whom she has no hope of meeting. In Michimitsu's poem, however, the speaker no longer gazes in longing but in empty revery. Instead of emotional turmoil, we have the quiescence of exhaustion. The image of the banners of clouds in the darkening sky, silent and monochromatic, suggests the flickering movements of thought emptied of direction or focus. "Sore to wa nashi ni" finds resonance in "sora," sky or emptiness.

There are remarkably few poems in the Shinkokinshū that take this form of a clear division between subjective narration and image that we have observed in the three autumn evening poems and the several poems immediately above. The reason for this may be because the form appears to limit the poet both as to the kind of statement that can be made in the first three lines and the kinds of images that can be used in the final couplet. First, the statements in the first half of the poem tend to be rather abstract or general. We have seen "aware" and "sabishisa" in two of the autumn evening poems, and in other poems not quoted here, we find "kokoro" (Heart, feelings). Teika attempts to overcome this abstraction, but he does so not by juxtaposing two concrete images but by negating the first of them. It was clearly helpful to the poet to name a specific concept which then could be concretely embodied in images.

Second, of the twenty-five or so poems in the Shinkokinshū in which the fourth and fifth lines comprise nominative phrases, seven poems end in "aki no yūgure"; four in "yūgure no sora"; and three in "haru no akebono." The Shinkokinshū is not a random sample of poems written in the period of its compilation, and these figures may reflect the compilers' taste just as much as they do the requirements of a poetic form. However, it may not be entirely coincidental that "aki no yūgure," the closely related "yūgure no sora" (the reference in all

cases is to autumn), and "haru no akebono" are images the associations and implications of which have been firmly fixed from at least the time of Sei Shonagon.[1] In addition, the love poems that take this structural form tend to be allusive variations of earlier works in which the images are used, usually in a metaphorical manner. The implications of the image in the new work are thus guided by the earlier use. Likewise, all the images are time words or rather nebulous descriptions (i.e., "sora"). None name a specific object.

---

[1]The famous opening passage of Sei Shonagon's Makura no sōshi (Pillow Book) reads: "In spring it is the dawn that is most beautiful. As the light creeps over the hills, their outlines are dyed a faint red and wisps of purplish cloud trail over them. . . .

In autumn the evenings, when the glittering sun sinks close to the edge of the hills and crows fly back to their nests in threes and fours and twos; more charming still is a file of wild geese, like specks in the distant sky. When the sun has set, one's heart is moved by the sound of the wind and the hum of the insects" [Morris, trans.]. Ivan Morris, The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 1:1. For the Japanese original, see Ikeda Kikan, Kishigami Shinji, and Akiyama Ken, eds., Makura no sōshi Murasaki Shikibu nikki, Vol. 19 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 43.

How deeply rooted such aesthetic judgments were can be seen from the following judgment by Shunzei in the Roppyakuban utaawase:

Iza inochi	Life, I forsake thee.
omoi wa yoha ni	In the conflagration of desire, by
tsukihatenu	nightfall
yūbe mo mataji	I shall be consumed.
aki no akebono	I will not await the coming of evening;
Jien Right 802	This daybreak in autumn when we parted.

It is customary to speak of "haru no akebono," and indeed that phrase is most elegant (en). It strikes me that "aki no akebono" is perhaps a bit new-fangled. . . . (Roppyakuban utaawase, Love IV, "morning love," Round 11, Right: Victory.) Konishi Jin'ichi, ed., (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 285. Shunzei objects to "aki no akebono" because this image does not carry the rich emotional associations of "haru no akebono." Jien's poem, nevertheless, is awarded victory because Teika's poem, with which it is matched, is criticized by the members of the right as "From beginning to end the poem is undesirable." Shunzei concludes, "Because, it seems, such severe faults have been found with the poem of the left, I award victory to the poem of the right."

The poems we have examined above achieve complete equation of parts and represent one culmination of the search for non-sequential poetic effects. However, the Shinkokin poets did not restrict themselves to this form which demanded a strict, clearly defined reciprocity between parts. They also sought other means to create more varied and allusive resonances, especially where images were used. This is not to say that the Shinkokin poets abandon the third line caesura form. It remains basic to their poems as they discover other ways of using the principle of juxtaposition of two halves of a poem.

Thus more numerous by far are poems in which there is a less clear-cut division between the two halves of the poem, that is, between what appears to be a subjective statement and objective images. Instead, the fourth line acts, not as a simple description, but as a means of focusing the meaning of the first three lines prior to a closing image in the fifth line. We know that the poets themselves gave particular attention to the fourth line. In the Yakumo kuden (Eiga no ittei), we find a list of what are known as "nushi aru kotoba" (words with owners), expressions taken primarily from poems of the Shinkokin period the distinctiveness of which warranted prohibition of their use by poets other than their originators.[1] Among the thirty lines that Tameie selected from seasonal poems, twenty-seven are fourth lines. (Four are fifth lines; one is clearly a first; and one a second.) Among the eleven lines from love poems, nine are fourth lines, and of the three lines selected from among travel poems, two are fourth lines and one a fifth. Of the twenty-seven fourth lines among the seasonal poems, eighteen are selected from poems in which the fifth line is a nominative phrase.

We are accustomed to regarding the fifth line nominative as one of the major characteristics of the Shinkokin style, and so the

---

[1]The Yakumo kuden or Eiga no ittei is a poetic treatise written by Teika's son Tameie for his son Tameyo. It was written sometime between 1264-1275. Texts are found in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., Karonshū I, Chūsei no bungaku, pp. 349-90 (Hisamatsu includes three variant texts); and Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., Nihon kagaku taikei, 3:388-401. The list of "nushi aru kotoba" are found in Hisamatsu, pp. 362-64, and in the Nihon kagaku taikei, pp. 398-99.

preponderance of fourth lines in Tameie's list is at first surprising. The poets themselves evidently invested much more craft in their fourth lines than in their fifth. In general, the first and third lines of a poem with only five syllables each are perhaps too short for the poet to display in them great inventiveness. We should also recall in this connection Chōmei's description of the third line as a rhythmic pause. It is in fact in the fourth line that poets concentrate the force of the first three lines in order that it can both sustain and be closed by the fifth line nominative. It is in the fourth line that we find the most striking images and metaphors, and especially where the fifth line is an image, the fourth provides a focused statement of its significance. For example, the fourth line of the following poem was chosen by Tameie as one of the exceptional "nushi aru kotoba":

Omoitsutsu	In longing,
henikeru toshi no	Have I spent these years
kai ya naki	To no avail?
tada aramashi	And yet I hope, "If only . . ."
yūgure no sora	When I see the evening sky.
Gotoba, SKKS, XI:1033	

This poem of course has a third line caesura. In the first three lines, the speaker, a woman, asks bitterly if she has wasted years in longing for a man she perhaps has never met. We know the answer is yes. In the fourth line, however, she turns once more to hope; gazing at the evening sky she cannot but await her lover. "Tada aramashi no," conveys the involuntariness of her emotional response as well as her objective reflection upon her own folly. The poem ends with the nominative "yugure no sora," and in one sense the emotional turmoil portrayed in the lines above is a particular expression of the significance of autumn evening. It is the fourth line that makes possible the transition from the subjective narration of the speaker's emotions to the more objective appreciation of the emotional significance of autumn evening.

Similarly, we find:

Kono hito no	He does not visit me.
aki no keshiki ya	Do the ravages of autumn
fukenuran	grow deeper?

urami ni yowaru
matsu mushi no koe
Jakuren, SKKS, XIV:1321

Enfeebled by bitterness
The voice of the pine cricket.

Jakuren's poem commingles two separate events: the deepening of autumn and the speaker's suffering because of her lover's inconstancy. In the first half of the poem, this is accomplished by a pivot; "aki no keshiki" means both the landscape of autumn and the lover's demeanor of indifference. The final couplet fuses the meaning of these two events. On first reading, the fourth line appears to refer to the speaker herself, that is "I grow weak because of my consuming resentment." The grammatical subject, however, is the pine cricket, which, as autumn progresses and the weather becomes colder, gradually weakens and dies. In one sense, we can understand these last lines to mean that the speaker's attention shifts from her emotions to the suffering of the insects, and she discovers that they share the same fate. At the same time, we once more step away from the display of emotion to apprehend the speaker's plight through the overtones of an image.

Teika uses this form to convey simultaneously two separate meanings for a single image:

Kaerusa no
mono to ya hito no
nagamuran
matsu yo nagara no
ariake no tsuki
Teika, SKKS, XIII:1206

Does he gaze upon it now
As he bids farewell to her
And turns homeward?
Awaiting him, I beheld it all night,
The moon in the dawn sky.

The speaker of this poem is a woman who has awaited her lover in vain through the night. In the first three lines, she imagines him taking leave sorrowfully of another woman and turning homeward, guided by the pale moonlight. Numerous poems have depicted just such a scene. For the speaker, however, the coming of dawn only means that she can no longer keep waiting and hoping. She must accept the fact of her lover's betrayal. Both the conjecture of the first three lines and the fourth line, which narrates the lady's own experience, are about the moon; it is with that single image that Teika closes the poem. He yokes together the woman and her lover by means of an image that ironically reveals the utter discontinuity of their emotions and experiences.

Teika uses this form to more complex ends in the following love poem:

Wasurezu wa	If he has not forgotten,
nareshi sode mo ya	Then are his sleeves, which once we
koruran	shared,
nenu yo no toko no	Frozen as well?
shimo no samushiro	How cold the sleepless night,
Teika, SKKS, XIV:1291	On a rush mat covered with frost.

The speaker of this poem is again a woman who conjectures about her lover. However, there is no single image in the poem that acts as a reference point for their respective experiences. The conjecture in the first three lines concerns the lover's sleeves, with "sode mo ya" implying that the lady's sleeves are also frozen. On one level, the fourth and fifth lines provide the reason. "Samushi(ro)" pivots to mean both cold and rush matting, and the tears freeze forming frost because of the coldness of the night the lovers must spend apart. At the same time, the final couplet presents an image of the lady's bedding. "Shimo no samushiro" is a far less common image than "ariake no tsuki," one whose associations are not as well-defined. We are left, therefore, with the concreteness of the object. One image is imagined by the lady and thus reveals her state of mind. The other involves a pivot that provides the reason for the lady's (and possibly her lover's) suffering. Finally, however, the two images stand juxtaposed, united in their portrayal of cold, glittering whiteness.

When the image in the fifth line names a specific object, in contrast to the more nebulous nature of such images as "aki no yugure" or "akebono no sora," the relation between the first three lines and the final couplet is not one of strict reciprocity of meaning. Instead, poets use the division of a poem into two parts to present two different versions of a single event, one revealing objective understanding, the other a direct perception of the same event:

Tague kuru	Their sounds commingled--
matsu no arashi ya	Does the stormy wind in the pines
tayumuran	Now grow weak?
onoe ni kaeru	I hear the cry of the deer
saoshika no koe	Returning to the depths of the
Yoshitsune, SKKS, V:444	mountains.

Ukaibune	Cormorant boats,
takase sashikosu	Do the fishers now guide them
hodo nareya	Across the swift rapids?
musubohoreyuku	The light of their flares
kagaribi no kage	Wavers unsteadily in the dark.
Jakuren, SKKS, III:252	

The conjectural form is reminiscent of the old Kokinshū form of fanciful metaphors. However, these poems do not celebrate the poet's idiosyncratic response to an event of nature, and the images are not contrived to support a metaphor. Instead, the poets explore the discrepancy between the intellectual understanding of a scene and the way it is sensually perceived. In the poems, the latter is no less real than the intellectual understanding, and we are shown that all our perceptions are illusory, contingent upon occurrences we may be unaware of.

In Jakuren's work, the speaker asks, "Do the cormorant boats now cross the shallow rapids of the river"? What he sees in the darkness is only the wavering light of the flares. The beauty of the image of flickering light within the darkness delays for a moment the speaker's understanding of the suffering of the fishers who in their trade violate the Buddhist prohibition against the taking of life. In Yoshitsune's poem, the speaker wonders if the fierce wind in the pines, which had carried down to him the cries of the deer, has now died down. The cries of the deer have grown faint as though the deer themselves were moving away deeper into the mountains.

Saigyo uses this rhetorical form in an interesting fashion in his famous poem:

Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu,
Naniwa no haru wa	The scene of springtime at Naniwa Pay
yume nare ya	Was it but a dream?
ashi no kareha ni	The wind sweeps along
kaze watarunari	The withered leaves of reeds.
Saigyō, SKKS, VI:625	

Again, the poem is divided into a statement of intellectual comprehension and actual perception. However, in this case, the perception in the last two lines cannot be reorganized in the mind to yield another reality, but represents reality itself. What ought to have been real, the scene of springtime, is only a dream.

Not all poems with third line caesuras use images or end with them. Especially in love poetry, poets often juxtapose two statements. These poems of course lack the clear reciprocity that can be created between statement and image, and at first therefore they seem less striking. However, they portray by using the third line caesura subtle shifts in mood and feeling and the interplay of objective reflection and emotion. These poems are no less removed from mere linear exposition than the poems we have examined above. They do not describe emotions but instead depict their inconclusiveness and contradictory natures, which no single statement can encompass:

Tsuraki wo mo	Do not take me as a standard.
uramin ware ni	I who do not even speak with anger
narau na yo	Of your cruelty.
uki mi mo shiranu	There are other women less aware
hito mo koso are	Of their own unworthiness.
Kojijū, SKKS, XIII:1227	
Wasurete wa	Forgetting,
uchinagekaruru	I begin to lament his absence
yūbe kana	At dusk.
ware nomi shirite	Though I alone have known
suguru tsuki hi wo	Of the empty passage of these days
Shikishi, SKKS, XI:1035	and months.
Mini soeru	Let her visage
sono omokage mo	That ever clings to my being
kienanan	Vanish away.
yume nari keri to	Until I can believe
omou bakari ni	That all was but a dream.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, XII:1126	

Kojijū's and Shikishi's poems incorporate basic contrasts between the first three lines and the last two. Kojijū's work offers the contrast of self (ware) and others (hito): Shikishi's poem, the specific evening (yūbe) and the larger passage of time (tsuki hi).[1] More important, Kojijū's poem conveys in turn the speaker's bitterness towards her lover who will bestow his favors on other women as well as self-loathing. The closing couplet provide of course further clarification of the first three lines and the specific content of what it

---

[1]For a detailed discussion of this and other works by Shikishi see, Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "Ruikei to kosei--Shikishi Naishinnō 'Tama no o' no baai," Kokugo Kokubun 36 (June, 1977):32-44.

is the lover should not take for granted in the future. However, the two sections together convey beautifully a complex emotional state, a shift from outward directed bitterness to ironic self-reproach.[1]

In Shikishi's poem the first three lines and the last two are syntactically inverted, and the final couplet explains what it is that the speaker, again a woman, has forgotten at dusk. The first three lines deal with her feelings as evening falls. This is the time when lovers meet, and she too yearns sorrowfully for a visit. She does not, however, grieve because her lover has been unfaithful; instead, he has never known of her feelings. Thus in the last two lines, our initial concern with a single evening expands to encompass a long stretch of time in which there must have been many such evenings. We understand the force of her emotions that is stronger than her realization of her own folly, and we see their pathos. They have been the only real thing in the barren stretch of time.

Yoshitsune's poem juxtaposes "omokage" and "yume" to depict the inescapability of emotional attachment. The first three lines present a haunting description of obsessive thought. The speaker cannot escape the memory of his lover; her visage seems to cling to his very body. The last two lines appear at first to be utterly straightforward: "Let me dismiss my memory of her as though she were no more than a dream." However, especially in the love poetry of the Shinkokinshū, dreams are not easily dismissed, and their effect on the psyche is no less than that of reality.[2] It is no coincidence that the poem previous to Yoshitsune's work in the Shinkokinshū and the one following speak of precisely that quality of dream. In fact, "mi ni

---

[1]Kojijū's poem is an allusive variation of:

Sent to a woman who was cruel to him,

Ikabakari	Fiercely indeed,
hito no tsurasa wo	I would reproach your coldness,
uramimashi	My beloved,
uki mi no toga to	If I did not believe that all
omoinasazu wa	Was the result of my unworthiness.

Kamo no Narisuke, SKS, VII:198

[2]See Chapter VI for a discussion of dream in the Shinkokinshū.

soeru sono omokage," could be taken, without other explanation, as describing the aftermath of a dream. The speaker wishes for escape in vain.

These are the true third line caesuras that are recognizable by their syntactic structure. But in the Shinkokinshū, the tendency to juxtapose two sections of a poem with minimal intrusion of syntactic direction goes much further. First, the poets also resort to the familiar technique of pivots to link the first three lines to the last two. Second, they discover that one of the most effective ways to create paratactic relations between parts of a poem is not the true caesura but the seemingly most innocuous of syntactic connections. We noted in the previous chapter the use of the particle "no" to link nominatives very loosely. Likewise, in the third line final position, we find many poems with the verbal suffix "te" and the particle "ni," both of which basically mean no more than "and."

In a sense, these poems are at the opposite end of the spectrum from, for example, the three autumn evening poems we examined above. Poems without true caesuras make no effort to underscore a certain correlation between the two halves of the work or to emphasize any part, word, or image over any other; in them, the poets seek precisely this apparent freedom and fluidity of meaning in which one part appears simply to be added to another. Both the true third line caesura and these other forms arise from the same impulse to supplant linear exposition with more complex resonances. The poets, however, find that the latter form permits richer interplay of associations because, with a passing nod to the requirements of syntax, they can concentrate on juxtaposing words and images that illuminate the implications of each other. Let us briefly examine these forms beginning with the third line pivot.

Pivots have always been an accepted way for poets to link lines and phrases, using the homophony of some of the words in them to link them together. Thus by their nature, they permit poets to disregard syntax and logical interconnections. For the Shinkokin poets this meant that they could establish interconnections that functioned only on the level of sound and that did not intrude on to the level of logical connections. Conversely, those interconnections were

familiar enough so that their audience would not be affronted by what in fact was a very free yoking based only on associations. For example:

Sayo chidori	The plovers of the night,
koe koso chikaku	Their cries now sound nearer
Narumigata	In the Bay of Narumi,
katabuku tsuki ni	As the moon tilts downward
shio ya mitsuran	Does the tide begin to rise?
Hideyoshi, SKKS, VI:648	
Miyako ni mo	In the capital too
ima ya koromo wo	Does she beat the fulling block?
Utsunoyama	On Utsu Mountain,
yūshimo harau	I brush aside the evening frost
tsuta no shitamichi	On the path beneath the ivy.
Teika, SKKS, X:982	
Toshi mo henu	The years have passed
inoru chigiri wa	And my prayers to win her love
Hatsuseyama	Have been in vain.
iriai no kane no	The temple bell of Hatsuse mountain
yoso no yūgure	Sounds elsewhere from my evening.
Teika SKKS, XII:1142	

Most often, as in the case of the first two poems above, the pivotting third line is a poetic place name (uta-makura). In Hideyoshi's poem, "chikaku naru" (become closer and also sound closer) pivots with the place name, Narumigata. Likewise, in Teika's first poem, "koromo wo utsu" (to beat garments on a fulling block) pivots with Utsunoyama. As a result, the poet manages to divide his poem into three distinct parts: the first three lines with the first reading of the pivot, the place name which stands independently, and the last two lines. The place name, further, functions as the core of the poem. In Hideyoshi's poem, the first section and the last describe an exemplary scene of the Bay of Narumi. They do not entirely stand parallel however. The scene of the first section is actually experienced by the speaker, the latter is a conjecture.

In Teika's poem, the poet once again explores the significant implications of an uta-makura, in this case Utsunoyama, but Teika's poem is more complex. First, he alludes to an episode in the Ise monogatari in which Narihira journeys to the eastern provinces. We find in the Ise:

> At Mount Utsu the road they were to follow was dark, narrow, and overgrown with ivy vines and maples. As they contemplated it with dismal forebodings, a wandering ascetic appeared and asked, "What are you doing on a road like this"? [Narihira], recognizing him as someone he had once known by sight, gave him a message for a lady in the capital:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Suruga naru | Beside Mount Utsu |
> | Utsu no yamabe no | In Suruga |
> | Utsutsu ni mo | I can see you |
> | Yume ni mo hito ni | Neither waking |
> | Awanu narikeri | Nor, alas, even in my dream. |
>
> (McCullough, trans)[1]

"Tsuta no shita michi" in Teika's poem is a direct reference to the Ise episode. In the first three lines, he places a conjecture about the speaker's wife or lover in the capital. This again is in keeping with the Ise episode as well as the more general emotional world of travel, but it also draws upon another set of associations. The fulling block itself has clearly established implications of a woman yearning for her absent lover and beating the block in an effort to communicate with him.[2] The two sets of associations appear to fuse easily, but we

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 75.

[2]Among the older poems in the Shinkokinshū, we find:

Furusato ni	In the ancient village
koromo utsu to wa	She beats his robes on her fulling
yuku kari ya	block.
tabi no sora ni mo	Will the sky-flying geese
nakite tsuguran	Tell her husband that she awaits
Tsunenobu, SKKS, IV:481	As they journey to the far lands?

Kari nakite	The geese are crying,
fuku kaze samumi	And the wind blows colder now,
Karakoromo	And so, my husband,
kimi machigate ni	I pound your robes on my fulling block
utanu yo zo naki	Night after night, awaiting your
Tsurayuki, SKKS, IV:482	return.

Tsunenobu's work alludes to a couplet from a Chinese poem:

> Across Ursa Major
> The geese fly in the northern sky,
> Beneath the moon at the South Tower
> She beats the cold garments.
> Wakan rōeishū 346 Liu Yüan-shu ("Ch'ieh po ming")

Kawaguchi Hisao and Shida Nobuyoshi, ed., Wakan rōeishū, Ryōjin hishō, Vol. 23 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), p. 135.

should not therefore disregard Teika's originality in yoking them together. The strong associations of the fulling block give weight to the first three lines. Further, Teika once more successfully juxtaposes two quite different images and enhances the concreteness of the less familiar image, "tsuta no shitamichi," by giving it a position equal in the poem to the more established image of the fulling block.

In his second poem, Teika once more transforms the use of a third line placename. The first three lines of this work are related to Shunrai's poem:

Ukarikeru	Her cruelty to me
hito wo Hatsuse no	Has been like the mountain gales
yamaoroshi yo	That sweep from Hatsuse mountain.
hageshikare to wa	Although I did not beseech the gods
inoranu mono wo	That her coldness toward me be
Shunrai, SZS, XII:707	increased.

The speaker of Teika's poem has spent years offering prayers to the Hase Temple at Hatsuse in order that his love affair be successful. All his prayers have been in vain; "Hatsu" of "Hatsuseyama" pivots to mean "to end." The meaning of the images in the last two lines is more problematic. Given the structure of the poem with the third line placename, we expect to find in the last two lines a description of a particular scene of Hatsuseyama. "Iriai no kane" is just such an attribute of Hatsuse, and it provides concreteness to the image of Hatsuseyama beyond its function as a pivot. However, Teika quickly denies the existence of the temple bell and speaks instead of an evening somewhere apart from Hatsuse.

This is not merely a matter of geography. It has been suggested that "yoso no yūgure," refers to an evening when other lovers are meeting but which, because of the failure of the speaker's love affair, has no meaning for him. Yet, according to Teika, it is the evening itself that stands apart from the temple bell, and there is a sense that the failure of the speaker's prayers has transformed evening into something altogether alien to the temple bell. The failure of love has caused an essential breach in the natural world itself.[1]

---

[1]For a discussion of this poem in relation to time in Teika's

Izuku ni ka	Where shall I find
koyoi wa yado wo	Shelter this evening? The belt
karigoromo	Of my traveller's cloak
hi mo yūgure no	I tie, as the sun sets
mine no arashi ni	And a fierce wind blows in the peaks.
Teika, SKKS, X:952	

This poem by Teika is one of the few of this type that does not use a place name in the third line to marshall the implications of the other images, and there are pivots both in the third and fourth lines. Instead, the poem comprises three distinct statements: "Izuku ni ka koyoi wa yado wo kari," (Where shall I find shelter for the night); "Karigoromo himo yū," (I tie the belt of my traveller's cloak); and "hi mo yūgure no mine no arashi ni" (Because the sun is setting and the fierce wind blows in the peaks [it is getting cold]). The second and third of these are loosely linked in a relation of cause and effect. However more important, Teika juxtaposes the narration of the speaker's feelings in the first three lines with the setting, a cold dusk in the mountains, to portray an exemplary experience of travel. The pivots prevent the parts of the poem from attaining true reciprocity of meaning, and instead, the poet makes his point by means of the accretion of the implications of the several distinct parts of the poem.

The use of the continuitive "te" at the end of the third line has a similar effect of accretion and of fusing subjective statements with more objective descriptions. Its importance can be gauged from the fact that although there are only two poems among the seasonal works of the Senzaishū that take this form, in the Shinkokinshū the figure has grown to twenty. Some of the most striking of Teika's works that we examined in the previous chapter in relation to how the poet selects words and images to illuminate shared implications and sensual qualities use the third line final "te":

Haru no yo no	As the spring night ends,
yume no ukihashi	The floating bridge of dream
todaeshite	Breaks off,

---

poetry, see Akahane Shuku, "Teika ni okeru jikan," Notorudamu Seishin Joshi daigaku kiyō (Kokubun hen) 5 (January, 1981):17-35.

mine ni wakaruru yokogumo no sora Teika, SKKS, I:38	And from the peak they depart, The banners of clouds in the sky.
Samushiro ya matsu yo no aki no kaze fukete tsuki wo katashiku Uji no hashihime Teika, SKKS, IV:420	The cold rush matting! In the awaiting evening, the autumn wind grows late, And alone, she spreads out the moon- light, The Lady of the Uji bridge.

Likewise, we find:

Yoshino yama hana no furusato ato taete munashiki eda ni haru kaze zo fuku Yoshitsune, SKKS, II:125	Yoshino mountains-- The ancient home of blossoms-- Its traces have vanished, And the spring breeze whispers Among the empty boughs.
Makura ni mo sode ni mo namida tsuraraite musubanu yume wo tou arashi kana Yoshitsune, SKKS, VI:633	On my pillow, And my sleeves as well, my tears Have frozen as ice. Ah, the wintry wind blows Seeking the dream that eludes me.

By using "te," the poet in effect declines to specify an exact relation between the two halves, most often both comprising images, of his poem. The minimal syntax does little more than hold the images in place; the more important interconnections and resonances are between words and images that are placed in the two sections of the poem. In Yoshitsune's first poem, the lines closely repeat each other, in such a way that the poem moves from a more general abstract statement in the first three lines to more concrete images in the final couplet. "Yoshino yama" is the "hana no furusato," the latter phrase being a metaphor that brings together the notions of Yoshino as a place famed for cherry blossoms and the site of an ancient palace. "Munashiki eda" (empty, barren branches) also closely echoes "ato taete" (traces have vanished). The first three lines describe nothing concretely but rather create a mood of deep sorrow and loss. That mood then is answered by the more concrete image of the last two lines. They provide an imagistic, concrete equivalent of "hana no furusato ato taete."

At the same time, "hana no furusato ato taete," focuses the significance of these images. As in the case of so many poems with

true third line caesuras, the images without the preceding subjective narration would remain only descriptive of a certain scene somewhere. Although we would, with "munashiki," comprehend that the blossoms have vanished, the subjective statement provides deeper implications of loss, not only of the most beautiful of blossoms but also of an earlier period of glory that has proved just as ephemeral. The scene of nature that remains is the aftermath of both.

Yoshitsune's second poem comprises a dense network of associated words (engo). "Makura" (pillow) is an engo of "yume" (dream); "Musubanu" (does not find rest) of "tsuraraite" (frozen as ice). "Sode" is also related closely both to "namida" and "makura." Although syntactically there is no full caesura, the first three lines and the last two present two strong and distinct images which, this time, move from the more concrete to the phantasmal. The speaker of the poem is unable to sleep and dream because of some deep sorrow, most likely of love, and because of the cold and the sound of the wintry wind. There is a strong tactile contrast between the image of the tears frozen rigid on the speaker's sleeves and pillow and that of the wind seeking the nonexistent dream as though it were a physical object.

The following poem by Yoshitsune, also with third line final "te" is deceptively simple. There are no pivots, no engo, no syntactic inversions. It is, however, characterized by a remarkable fluidity of structure.

Sora wa nao	As yet, in the sky,
kasumi mo yarazu	There are no banners of mist,
kaze saete	The wind is cold,
yukige ni kumoru	And it is clouded with the promise of
haru no yo no tsuki	snow,
Yoshitsune, SKKS, I:23	The moon of the spring night.

The first line of this work, "sora wa nao," can modify any and all of the following three lines. It is only when we read the fifth line that we become aware of the fact that the fourth line modified it and not "sora." However, "tsuki" (moon) is itself an attribute, one part of the sky. Framed by the two images, sky and moon, the parallel middle lines portray the inconclusivenss of the change from winter to spring. Further, the descriptions of the middle three lines literally intervene between us and our final perception of the spring moon. As a

result, they build a new perception of the spring moon quite contrary to the usual expectations of soft light and haze.

First Line Caesuras

The second most common type of caesura, often found together with the third line caesura, is the first line. The first line of a waka is only five syllables long, and it is therefore more difficult for poets to create reciprocal relations between the first line and the remaining four lines of the poem. Thus there are far fewer poems with strong first line caesuras than those with third line.[1] Most commonly, poets use first line caesuras to make a concentrated statement of emotion, often in the form of an address to a lover, to the self, or to an exterior object. The poem is divided into an expression of emotion and its object or more particular contents. For example:

Mata ya min	Shall I see it once more?
Katano no mi no no	The festival of blossom viewing--
sakuragari	On the lovely fields of Katano.
hana no yuki chiru	The snow flakes of petals scatter
haru no akebono	On this spring dawn.
Shunzei, SKKS, II:114	

Chigiriki ya	Was this your promise?
akanu wakare ni	That the dawn when we parted,
tsuyu okishi	Our desires still unsated,
akatsuki bakari	Amidst the tear drops of dew,
katami nare to wa	Should be my last memory of you.
Michitomo, SKKS, XIV:1301	

Yume ka to yo	It must have been a dream!
mishi omokage mo	Your visage that once I saw
chigirishi mo	And the vows we made,
wasurezu nagara	Although I have not forgotten them,
utsutsu naraneba	Neither are they real any longer.
Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, XI:1390	

Aware nari	How pathetic it is.
utatane ni nomi	As brief as a dream while dozing
mishi yume no	Was our time together,

[1] According to Morishita Kinjirō, 5 percent of the poems in the Shinkokinshū have first line caesuras. This is in contrast to 1 percent in the Kokinshū and none in the Manyōshū. Morishita Kinjirō, "Shinkokinshū no hyōgen keitai ni tsuite," p. 29 (Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō, 16, pt. 3:566).

nagaki omoi ni	And yet I am now afflicted
musubohorenan	By a tenacious longing.
Shunzei, SKKS, XV:1388	

Shunzei's first work is a spring poem. The first line is the speaker's response to the lovely scene depicted in the following four lines of the poem. In this poem, Shunzei speaks as an old man, one whose life may end before the coming of another spring, and the scene therefore is given particular consequence. In addition, the poem alludes to an episode in the Ise monogatari:

> There was once an imperial prince named Koretaka. He owned a house at Minase, beyond Yamazaki, where he went each year when the cherry trees were in full bloom always taking with him [Narihira]. . . . On one excursion, he noticed some exceptionally lovely cherry blossoms at the Nagisa House in Katano. He and some of the others dismounted, seated themselves under the trees, decorated their caps with sprays of flowers, and began to compose poems. [Narihira] recited,
>
Yo no naka ni	If this were but a world
taete sakura no	to which cherry blossoms
nakariseba	Were quite foreign,
haru no kokoro wa	Then perhaps in spring
nodokekaramashi	Our hearts would know peace.
(McCullough, trans.).[1]	

The scene in Shunzei's poem of the petals scattering like snow flakes in the spring dawn is hauntingly beautiful and fully justifies the speaker's desire to see it once more. Yet further, that scene is one which recalls Narihira's world of romance. There is an underlying sense of regret in Shunzei's poem, focused in the first line, but it is carefully balanced. with the celebration of timeless beauty.

The following three works are all love poems, and in all three the second through fifth lines give an expanded narration of the emotion, in the form of an accusation or of a reflective statement, which is the focus of the first line. In Michitomo's poem lines four through five provide the specific content of the lover's betrayal, which the speaker bitterly calls his vows. Shunzei's and Shunzei's Daughter's poems both use the last four lines to explore a paradox. Shunzei divides his poem into a rather general statement, "aware nari," and then

---

[1] McCullough, The Tales of Ise, pp. 124-25.

supplies in the following lines the speaker's particular experience. There, the brevity and insubstantiality of the lovers' actual meeting is compared to the endless emotional anguish that is its aftermath.

Shunzei's Daughter's poem is more complex. It is structured around the contrasts of "yume" (dream), and "utsutsu" (awakened state, reality), as well as of "chigiri" (vows) and "wasururu" (to forget)." There is also a possible third line caesura that makes "mishi omokage mo chigirishi mo" (Your visage and the vows we made) the specific content of the dream as well as the subject of the closing couplet, "wasurezu nagara . . ." The convoluted reasoning portrayed in lines two through five conveys the bitterness that has led to the ironic conclusion of the first line.

This kind of first line caesura can, in conjunction often with other caesuras, portray a gradual shift in mood or emotion.

Tama no o yo	Oh, my soul!
taeneba taene	If it is to be, let it be consumed!
nagaraeba	If I linger in life,
shinoburu koto no	Even my resolve to conceal my feelings
yowari mo zo suru	Will finally waste away.
Shikishi, SKKS, XI:1034	

Shikishi's love poem on the topic "hidden love," is divided into three parts, each of which is longer than the previous and which together chart a gradually diminishing force of emotion. The first line is a direct address, "tama no o" being a metaphor for life spirit or soul. ("O" also begins a network of associated words: "Tae," "nagarae" and "yowari.") The second line continues the address, this time as a desiderative. The metaphor ends with the second line, and the impatient abruptness of these lines gives way in the following lines to an expression of helplessness, a sense of pleading with the self. The brave determination of the first two lines is revealed to be the pathetic expression of fear. We sense in the very cadence of the poem, the speaker's weakening resolve.[1]

In a number of poems, the first lines are narrative statements, complete unto themselves, that establish the mood of the poem.

---

[1]See Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "Ruikei to kosei--Shikishi Naishinnō 'Tama no o' no baai," pp. 32-44.

Fukenikeri	It has grown late.
yama no ha chikaku	Near the edge of the mountains
tsuki saete	The moon shines cold and clear,
tōchi no sato ni	And in the faraway village of Tochi,
koromo utsu koe	The sound of the fulling block.
Shikishi, SKKS, VI:485	
Sato wa arenu	The village is desolate.
munashiki toko no	Near me, in the vicinity
atari made	Of my barren bed,
mi wa narawahi no	My accustomed companion,
akikaze zo fuku	The autumn wind, sweeps by.
Jakuren, SKKS, XIV:1312	
Hito zo uki	He is cruel.
tanomenu tsuki wa	The moon which never bade me wait
megurikite	Now has returned.
mukashi wasurenu	The past is not forgotten
yomogiu no yado	In the dwelling the mugworts.
Hideyoshi, SKKS, XIV:1281	

Among first line caesuras of this type, it is again difficult to find examples of true juxtaposition. Instead, the first lines narrate some fact that then shapes our perception of the rest of the poem. Thus Shikishi's poem, "Fukenikeri" conveys not only a sense of the speaker's sudden realization that the night has grown late but a sense of regret at the empty passage of time. The speaker has remained awake and alone through the night, lost in revery. Suddenly, she becomes aware of the distant sound of a fulling block, a sound that suggests the faraway presence of a woman yearning for her lover, and notes that the moon has descended towards the mountains. We are told nothing specific about the speaker's emotions; her sorrows are made apart of the cold and loneliness of the deep night.

Jakuren's and Hideyoshi's works are love poems. They develop their poems using the first line caesura, however, in quite different directions. Jakuren's poem moves from a very general statement to focus gradually upon the speaker's experience of love. Thus "Sato wa arenu" taken by itself could be unrelated to love. It raises, however, implications of abandonment, a place deserted by its inhabitants. "Munashiki" (empty or barren) echoes these implications, and our attention is shifted from the village in general to a bed. It is only in the fourth line that the poet introduces a clear human presence. "Akikaze" suggests the usual pivot: "aki" means both autumn and a

lover's indifference. It is the lover's coldness that lies at the center of the desolation, causing the decay of all that surrounds the speaker.[1]

Hideyoshi's poem, in contrast, moves from a direct statement of the speaker's feeling toward the more objective. In lines two and three, the speaker, again a woman abandoned by her lover, compares him to the moon, which, without making any vows, returns to the sky each month. The fourth line at first appears to narrate the speaker's emotion directly, but in fact, it modifies the fifth line. "Yomogiu no yado" is the lady's dwelling; since her lover has left her the garden, untended, has become overgrown with mugworts. The moon is faithful, and the lady (and her dwelling) do not forget the past. Only the lover is inconstant. The closing nominative is the imagistic equivalent of the emotional statement of the first line and provides the repose of an objective recapitulation.[2]

---

[1]Jakuren's poem is an allusive variation of:

Tamakura no	As I sleep alone,
sukima no kaze	Pillowed upon my arm,
samukariki	How cold it blows,
mi wa narawashi no	Now my accustomed companion
mono ni zo arikeru	The wind that blows through the crevices.
SIS, XIV:901	

The poem which follows Jakuren's work in the Shinkokinshū uses the same first line:

Sato wa arenu	The village is desolate.
onoe no miya no	Here, where once stood the Palace of
onozukara	Onoe,
machikoshi yoi mo	And it was long ago
mukashi narikeri	That, thinking perchance he might
Gotoba, SKKS, XIV:1313	come today,
	I still awaited him.

Gotoba's poem in turn alludes to:

Takamado no	The Onoe Palace
Onœ no miya wa	On Takamado mountain
arenu tomo	Is desolate now.
tatashishi kimi no	Yet, how shall I ever forget,
mi na wasuremeya	The name of my lord who built it.
Ōhara no Imakinomahito, MYS, XX:4507	

[2]Kubota Jun notes that Hideyoshi's poem may be related to the

In love poetry, the first line caesura is also used to yoke together metaphoric and non-metaphoric expressions within a poem. Teika's poem "Kiewabinu . . ." (SKKS, 1320), which we discussed in the previous chapter in relation to engo (associated words) falls into this category, as do the following two poems:

Kiene tada	Let them vanish away.
Shinobu no yama no	The clouds that conceal
mine no kumo	The peak of Shinobu mountain,
kakaru kokoro no	Until all traces are gone
ato no naki made	Of my secret feelings.
Masatsune, SKKS, XII:1094	
Nabikaji na	She will not be swayed.
ama no moshiobi	Although the salt maker's fire
takisomete	Has been lit,
keburi wa sora ni	And the smoke rises
kuyuriwabu tomo	Fitfully into the sky.
Teika, SKKS, XII:1082	

In Masatsune's poem, the first line is a desiderative, and the lines that follow describe the objects towards which that desire is directed. There are two objects: the clouds and the speaker's feelings. Technically, "shinobu no yama no . . . kakaru" is a preface for "kokoro," with "kakaru" pivotting to mean both overhanging [clouds] and these [feelings]. ("Shinobu" also pivots to mean both the place, Shinobu mountain, and to conceal or bear in silence.) However, the preface also acts as a metaphor for the speaker's desires: "Just as the clouds vanish from the peak, let my emotions, which I have so painfully concealed, disappear without a trace."

Teika avoids such an easy relationship between the tenor and vehicle of his metaphor. In his poem, the first line itself is a

---

following passage in the Genji monogatari "Yomogi" chapter: "He did not seem to notice that the wormwood was asking to be cut back. The rushes were so thick that one could not be sure whether they grew from land or water. Wormwood touched the eaves, bindweed had firmly barred the gates. This last fact would perhaps have given comfortable feelings of security had it not been for the fact that horses and cattle had knocked over the fences and worn paths inside. Still more impolite were the boys who in spring and summer deliberately drove their herds through. . . ." Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:291-92, and Yamagichi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 2:140. See Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyoshakū, 6:113-14.

pivot and means both "She will not be compliant." and "The smoke does not flutter." In the lines that follow, the poet describes this smoke, which, this being a love poem, is a metaphor. It is not, however, as might be expected, a metaphor for the lady the speaker loves. Instead, it describes the speaker's own feelings. On one level the poem is entirely descriptive and reads, "It will not flutter, although the saltmaker's fire has been lit and the smoke rises fitfully into the sky." On another level, Teika juxtaposes a statement of conjecture concerning the speaker's lover and a metaphoric description of the speaker's plight: "She will not be swayed by me, although my yearning for her consumes my being and like smoke can no longer be concealed."

Finally, among the seasonal poems, we find a series of poems in which the poet uses the first line to evoke certain moods and associations. He attempts to create full reciprocity between the first line and those that follow, free of linear, syntactic interconnections. The first lines of such poems constitute a noun plus the exclamatory ya.[1] They can be divided into those which have a poetic place name (uta-makura), place (common noun), time, and object, in the first line. The first type are by far the most numerous.

Ausaka ya	Oh, Ausaka!
kozue no hana wo	When it blows amidst the blossoms
fuku kara ni	Of the treetops,
arashi zo kasumu	The stormy wind grows hazy.
seki no sugimura	The cypress grove of the Barrier.
Kunaikyō, SKKS, II:129	
Shiga no ura ya	On, the sea of Shiga!
tōzakariyuku	From amidst the waves
nami ma yori	That recede from the shore,
kōrite izuru	Frozen, it rises into the sky,
ariake no tsuki	The dawn moon.
Ietaka, SKKS, VI:639	
Mishimae ya	Oh, the inlet of Mishima!
shimo mo mada hinu	On the leaves of reeds
ashi no ha ni	Still moist with frost,
tsunogumu hodo no	As though to summon fresh greenery
harukaze zo fuku	The spring wind blows.
Michimitsu, SKKS, I:25	

---

[1]See Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "Shokugire 'ya' no baai--Shinkokin shokugire no ron no tame ni," Kokugo kokubun 36 (August, 1967):1-32; and "'Hakanashi ya'--Shinkokin-teki shokugire no ron no tame ni," Mukogawa kokubun 5 (March, 1973):34-44.

Uta-makura are placenames celebrated in poetry from the time of the Manyōshū. They do not merely name given spots on a map, but instead each involves a whole cluster of well-defined implications and associations. In the Shinkokin period, poets begin to use uta-makura not only to modify their traditional attributes, for example "Suminoe no matsu . . ." or "Matsushima no ama," but as independent words. We noted in the previous chapter how the poets set about to deny these traditional patterns of modification in order to evoke the place itself. The use of uta-makura in the first line is another part of this process. By evoking a poetic placename in the first line of a poem, the poet immediately arouses in his reader a given range of expectations of meaning and mood, and in the following lines, provides an exemplary scene of the place that makes concrete its implications.

In Kunaikyō's poem, the relation of Ausaka to "kozue" (treetops) and "seki no sugimura" (the cypress grove of the barrier) is of whole to its attributes. The interplay of color and movement--the dark green cypress trees and the white petals of cherry blossoms that swirl in the wind--in the images is lovely and fully sustains the exclamatory force of the first line. Similarly, Michimitsu presents images that tell of the first faint signs of spring among the still remaining traces of winter. The poet's expression of wonder at the minute indications of the change of seasons balances well with the first line. In Ietaka's poem, the use of "ariake no tsuki," something that is not an immediate attribute of Nio no umi, adds to the independence of the four lines that culminate in the nominative. Ietaka's image of the waves receding before the ice and the dawn moon rising from a distant point on the horizon conveys utter coldness, giving spatial dimensions to ultimate coldness.[1]

In comparison to uta-makura, common nouns that name a place, time, or object, usually have less strongly delineated implications and

---

[1] Ietaka's poem is an allusive variation of:

Sayo fukuru	As the night grows late,
mama ni nagisa ya	The waters along the shore
kōruran	Must surely freeze.
tōzakariyuku	The waves recede into the distance
Shiga no ura nami	Here at the Bay of Shiga.

Kaikaku, GSIS, VI:419

and associations. When a poet evokes one of these, he cannot be as confident that his reader will immediately grasp the value he has discovered in the nominative. These common nouns have in themselves a concreteness that uta-makura, as a cluster of associations, do not. Thus the poets evoke common nouns in order to explore and fix implications. The following poem uses a common noun place name:

Yamakage ya	Oh, the mountain shade!
sarade wa niwa ni	Excepting this, there would be no
ato mo nashi	trace
haru zo kinikeru	In the garden
yuki no muragie	That spring has arrived;
Ariie, XVI:1436	The patches of thawing snow.

Ariie uses the second through fifth lines of his poem to explore both the physical and emotional implications of "yamakage." "Yamakage" means a place in the shadow of a mountain, and implies coldness and unnoticed seclusion. Spring comes late there not only because it is in the mountains but because it is a spot the sun does not readily reach. It is also a lonely spot, without visitors. "Sarade wa niwa ni ato mo nashi" suggests both that there are no signs, footsteps, of spring, except the patches of melting snow and that there are no traces of the footsteps of visitors. "Yuki no muragie" is itself a rather uncommon image (It first occurs in an imperial anthology in the Shinkokinshū) but with its suggestion of something unsettled and incomplete it effectively gives concreteness to both sets of implications of Yamakage.[1]

---

[1]The phrase "yamakage ya" appears to have been in vogue among the Shinkokin poets. We find some twenty examples of its use in their private collections of poetry. Many of these poems share with Ariie's work a mood of loneliness and desolation. For example:

Yamakage ya	Oh, the mountain shade!
aki wa harawanu	Autumn has not swept away
niwa no omo no	All the paulownia leaves;
kiri no ochiba ni	They are still strewn about my garden
sumeru yo no tsuki	And now reflect the clear winter moon.
Gotoba, 1173	
"moon over a mountain dwelling	

Waka shi kenkyū kai, ed., Shikashū taisei, 8 vols (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1973-76) v. 4: Chūsei II, p. 30.

Yamakage ya	Oh, the mountain shade!
arashi no io no	The wintry gales rage about my hut,

Michimitsu uses a time word in the first line of the following poem:

Akebono ya	Oh, the dawn!
kawase no nami no	Riding the waves of the river
takasebune	Does the boat
kudasu ka hito no	Now descend the rapids?
sode no asagiri	A sleeve in the morning mist.

Michimitsu, SKKS, V:493

The poet alludes to a Goshūishū work:

Akenuruka	Is it dawn?
kawase no kiri no	For I see here and there
taedae ni	Along the river
ochikatabito no	Within the clearing mist
sode no miyuru wa	The sleeves of travellers faraway.

Tsunenobu no haha, GSIS, IV:324

This Goshūishū work establishes the basic connection between dawn and the sleeves of travellers' seen in the river mist. However, in Michimitsu's poem the relation between the two is no longer mere cause and effect. Instead, the still misty river and the brief glimpse of a sleeve within the whiteness become in the Shinkokin poem an exemplary scene of dawn. "Sode no asagiri," literally the morning mist of the sleeve, heightens our perception of the tactile qualities of these

---

sasa makura	And on my bamboo grass pillow,
fushimachi sugite	Not even a waning crescent moon
tsuki mo toikozu	Shines down to give me solace.

Teika, Shūi gusō 10527
"A traveller's shelter"

The phrase, "fushimachi" refers to the phase of the moon after the nineteenth day of the lunar month. It pivots to mean to lie down and wait.

Yamakage ya	Oh, the mountain shade!
nokiba no koke no	The eaves of my dwelling decay
shita kuchite	Beneath the covering moss,
kawara no ue ni	And the boughs of the pine tree
matsu zo katamuku	Incline upon my rooftiles.

Yoshitsune, Akishino gessei shū 2259
"mountain dwelling."

Yamakage ya	Oh, the mountain shade!
matsu no toboso no	The rough-hewn door of pine
uzumorete	Lies deeply buried;
tsuki zo sashiiru	The moonlight filters through the roof
yuki no makura ni	And shines upon my pillow of snow.

Ietaka, Minishū 13557
"dwelling in seclusion"

two things: the amorphous whiteness of the mist and the colored patch of cloth.

Finally, there are in the Shinkokinshū, two poems that evoke an object in the first line:

Asajiu ya	The tangled weeds!
sode ni kuchinishi	The autumn frost has decayed
aki no shimo	Upon my sleeves.
wasurenu yume wo	The wintry storm blows
fuku arashi kana	Amidst the unforgetting dream.
Michimitsu, SKKS, XVI:1562	
Samushiro ya	The cold rush matting!
matsu yo no aki no	The awaiting evening's autumn
kaze fukete	Wind grows late,
tsuki wo katashiku	And she spreads out the moonlight--
Uji no hashihime	The lady of the Uji Bridge.
Teika, SKKS, IV:420	

Both these poems, which name concrete objects in their first lines, place in the following lines a phantasmal scene in which the normal relations between things and even the passage of time are suspended. The poets juxtapose mundane reality, anchoring their poems there, with the depiction of its ultimate meaning in the form of an altogether different reality. We examined Teika's poem in detail in the previous chapter. In Michimitsu's poem, the first line evokes a place and mood of desolation. Poets most often mention "asajiu" in autumn poems and also to suggest the decaying, lonely dwellings of those whom the world has forgotten, especially women who have been abandoned by their lovers. The topic of Michimitsu's poem is "stating personal feelings in relation to the wind," and although it does not deal specifically with love, his speaker too is a person who because of some deep sorrow in the past languishes alone in his dwelling. The first line, lines two and three, and the final couplet have no obvious syntactic connection. Instead, they relate through shared implications of betrayal and desolation. The frost decays on the speaker's sleeves. The wind blows to shatter his dream. Only he remains ever unchanged in his memory and sorrow.

Second and Fourth Line Caesuras

Second and fourth line caesuras are relatively rare in the Shinkokinshū. Of them, the second line caesura differs little from

that of the third line.[1] Poets have twelve syllables in the first two lines in which to create an independent statement, and they tend to fill the five syllables of the third line with a makura-kotoba or similar kind of modifier. Two examples will suffice:

Yume kayou	Even that path
michi sae taenu	On which dreams travel is sundered.
kuretake no	The Chinese bamboo
Fushimi no sato no	In the village of Fushimi
yuki no shitaore	Break under the weight of snow.
Ariie, SKKS, VI:673	

Orifushi mo	As the seasons
utsureba kaetsu	Come and go, so it too is changed.
yo no naka no	In this world,
hito no kokoro no	A sleeve dyed the color of the
hanazome no sode	blossoms
Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, III:179	Of a lover's heart.

In Ariie's poem, the first two lines and the last three are first of all linked in a cause and effect relationship. The speaker dwells in a mountain village where the roads have been made impassable by the snow. He seeks escape from loneliness in dream; at least in dream, he may be visited by a friend, perhaps even a lover, who yearns for him. However, he is awakened by the sound of the bamboo snapping under the weight of accumulating snow. "Kuretake" (Chinese bamboo) is a makura-kotoba for Fushimi. Fushimi itself pivots to mean both the placename and "to see something while lying abed" and it is also an engo of "yume," (dream). In addition to the narrative relation between the first two lines and those that follow, Ariie conveys through the images in the last three lines, the speaker's state of mind. It is he who is oppressed by an isolation that grows more and more complete as the snow continues to accumulate. When, in the natural world the bamboo breaks, his anguish becomes complete. "Shitaore" suggests not merely that the lower branches of the bamboo snap, but that this

---

[1] Morishita Kinjirō reports that 4 percent of the Shinkokinshū poems have second line caesuras, and 3 percent fourth line caesuras. In contrast 17 percent of Kokinshū and 14 percent of Manyōshū poems have second line caesuras. Five percent of Kokinshū and 14 percent of Manyōshū poems have fourth line caesuras. Morishita Kinjirō, "Shinkokinshū no hyōgen keitai," p. 34. (Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō, 16, p. 3:566.)

breakage is hidden, muffled deep in the snow. So, too, the speaker's last hopes of establishing contact with another are shattered.

Shunzei's Daughter's poem alludes to Ono no Komachi's famous work:

Iro meide	What swiftly changes,
utsurou mono wa	While we do not see its colors fade,
yo no naka no	in this world,
hito no kokoro no	Is the flower that blossoms
hana ni zo arikeru	Within a lover's heart.
Komachi, KKS, XV:797	

as well as to another, anonymous Kokinshū work:

Yo no naka no	In this world,
hito no kokoro wa	The hearts of men
hanazome no	Are blossom-dyed
utsuroiyasuki	Their colors so fickle
iro ni zo arikeru	They quickly fade away.
KKS, XV:795, Anon.	

Unlike the original poems, Shunzei's Daughter's work is a summer poem about the court custom of changing from winter to summer garments, and she interweaves that conception with a lament of a lover's inconstancy. The first two lines yoke these two meanings together; the string of nominatives that follows conveys an unusual mood that commingles resignation that all lovers are inconstant and celebration of the beauty of the new summer garments.

The fourth line caesura has much the same limitations as does the first line in terms of the number of syllables that are available to the poet to make an independent statement. In addition, the fifth line must also conclude the entire poem. In other words, a fifth line, separated from the rest of the poem with a caesura, must simultaneously correspond to the lines above and focus their significance. In the majority of poems that appear to have a fourth line caesura, the fifth line is a direct address to some object, place, or time. Such poems are excluded from our present discussion, and otherwise, we find:

Ada ni chiru	On their pillows of dew,
tsuyu no makura ni	That spills incessantly, the quail
fushiwabite	Find no rest,
uzura nakunari	And they cry in anguish upon their pallets.
Toko no yamakaze	The wind on Toko mountain.
Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, XV:514	

Samushiro no	On a rush matting,
yoha no koromode	My sleeves in the night
saesaete	Grow cold,
hatsuyuki shiroshi	And the first snow of winter lies white.
okanobe no matsu	The pine upon the hillock.
Shikishi, SKKS, VI:662	
Mata mo kon	They will return
aki wo tanomu no	In autumn, yet even the geese
kari dani mo	In the fields
nakite zo kaeru	Cry in sorrow as they depart.
haru no akebono	On a spring dawn.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, XIII:1186	

The fifth line of Shunzei's Daughter's poem involves a pivot; "Toko no yama" is a placename but "toko" also means bedding or pallet. In this latter meaning, "toko" is an engo of "makura" (pillow) in the second line. The fifth line provides the reason for the events which the poet describes in the lines above. It is because the wind blows that the dew spills and the quail cry, finding no rest on their evanescent pillows of dew. Further however, when we read the last line as meaning "Toko mountain," the poem suddenly moves from a description of a small scale scene of quail among the dew to a perception of the wind sweeping across a mountainside. In the first four lines, the poet describes one small even hidden event on the mountain and juxtaposes that with an image which reveals the fierce indifference of the wind to the suffering it causes.

It is easy to overlook the fourth line caesura in Shikishi's poem. However, "shiroshi" is a sentence final form, and the line comes to a full grammatical stop. The poem subtly shifts our attention from the speaker's boudoir to the exterior of her dwelling, and in mood turns from sorrow to a celebration of a fresh beauty that transcends personal emotion. The speaker has spent the night alone, sleepless because of the cold. At dawn, she discovers the first snow of winter in her garden and on the more distant pine. If we assume that the fifth line refers to the presence of a single pine tree, the image becomes resonant with the speaker's own isolation and loneliness. The strongest impression we receive from it, however, is of the beauty of the pristine snow upon the dark boughs of the tree. "Okanobe no matsu" is used here for the first time in an imperial anthology, and it does not

yet have strong emotional implications. Therefore, although it is part of the poet's depiction of the speaker's state of mind, it also delivers us, and the speaker too, from an anguish that seems to dwell deep in her mind to a freer confrontation with the world outside.

Yoshitsune's love poem attempts to use the fifth line nominative as an imagistic equivalent of emotion in a manner very much like the way in which the closing couplet was used by poets in many poems with third line caesuras. In spring, geese leave Japan for their summer home in the north, and they return in the autumn. According to the speaker of Yoshitsune's poem, their return is assured, yet they, too, grieve at leaving the beautiful spring dawn. He implies that his own sorrow is even greater because he has parted from his lover with whom, according to the sentiments of court poetry, he may never be permitted another meeting. The spring night has been brief. Now all around him the geese echo the speaker's own grief, and the special beauty of the time and season adds poignancy to his leave-taking from his lover. The two sorrows, that of the geese and the speaker of the poem, portray the ultimate meaning of spring dawn.

We noted that poets often used third line caesuras in love poems to indicate changes in mood, the inconclusiveness and contradictory nature of thought. Again, such use of the fourth line caesura is rare, primarily because the fifth line is so short. There is, however, at least one striking example:

Omoi araba	Consumed by love,
sode ni hotaru wo	Would that I could conceal fireflies
tsutsumite mo	Within my sleeves,
iwabaya mono wo	And by their glow reveal my longing.
tou hito mo nashi.	Yet, no one would even notice.
Jakuren, SKKS, XI:1032	

Jakuren's poem is based on two earlier poems:

Yūsareba	When evening comes,
hotaru yori ke ni	My feelings burn brighter
moyuredomo	Than the fireflies,
hikari minebaya	Yet, does she not see their light
hito no tsurenaki	That she remains so cruel to me?
Ki no Tomonori, KKS, VI:562	

Tsutsumedomo
kakurenu mono wa
natsu mushi no
mi yori amareru
omoi narikeri
Anon., GSS, V:209
(Yamato monogatari)

What will not stay hidden,
Although one conceals them
Are the flames of love,
Which, like the glow of summer insects,
Cannot be quenched within oneself.

Jakuren's poem preserved the idea, developed in the Yamato monogatari, of hiding fireflies within one's sleeves in order to make known one's feelings to a lover. This notion, further, is based on the homophony between "hi" (fire) and the final syllable "hi" of "omoi" (love or longing). In the first four lines of his poem, Jakuren presents with "araba," "te mo," and "iwabaya mono wo" the convoluted movement of thought. The last line, in contrast, is a simple and abrupt denial of all hope. The poet uses the caesura to suggest that the speaker's desires and reality are irreconcilable, and that the speaker himself is aware of the illusory nature of the vision that beguiles him.

The Shinkokin poets' use of caesuras to free their poems from the limitations imposed by linear syntax culminate in works in which nearly every line of a poem is an independent statement or image. For example:

Aki fukenu
nakeya shimo yo no
kirigirisu
yaya kage samushi
yomigiu no tsuki
Gotoba, SKKS, VI:517

It is late autumn,
Cry, oh crickets, in the
Frost-laden night.
Its light, too, grows gradually colder,
The moon among the mugworts.

Gotoba's poem has a first, third, and fourth line caesura, of which the first and third are the strongest. The second line is also fragmented; "Nakeya" is an imperative addressed to the crickets. Gotoba borrows his images from an earlier work:

Nakeya nake
yomogi ga soma no
kirigirisu
sugi yuku aki wa
geni zo kanashiki
GSIS, IV:273

Cry, oh, cry,
You crickets, who dwell
Among the mugworts.
The autumn that so quickly passes
Truly is a sorrowful thing.

The Goshūishū poem is explanatory. In contrast, Gotoba presents similar images in an ordered sequence so that our perception of the meaning of late autumn is created from the sum of their implications. The first

line fixes the season; it is late autumn, near winter. Lines two and three begin to introduce a specific scene, and they are also the emotional core of the poem. There, the speaker's attention turns outward in sympathy for the plight of the crickets who will soon perish, the force of the imperative conveying his own sorrow. The closing couplet focuses our attention on another aspect of the cold autumn night as we move from sound to visual images. "Yaya kage samushi yomogiu no tsuki" presents a scene of glittering moonlight reflected in the frost that lies upon the mugworts. As the moon light grows colder, the suffering of the crickets who dwell in the grasses increases. Further, the presence of mugworts implies that the speaker himself lives in seclusion in a rustic, desolate place.

Gotoba's poem comprises three sections that differ greatly in mood and effect: the quiet, factual narration of line one, the imperative of lines two and three, and the small-scale, jewel-like image of light in the last two lines. All together they portray an exemplary scene of late autumn, the keynote of which is the approaching extinction of life.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE USES OF LITERARY TRADITION: THE POETRY AND POETICS OF THE SHINKOKINSHU

VOLUME TWO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF FAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

ROSELEE BUNDY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE, 1984

CHAPTER V

THE SHINKOKIN STYLE III: ALLUSIVE VARIATIONS

In the previous two chapters, we have seen that the Shinkokin poets relinquished linear semantic progression in favor of various kinds of juxtaposition of images and other units of meaning in their poems. This principle is manifested in yet another way in a technique in which the poets, in a sense, juxtapose whole poems against related works from the past. This is the technique of honkadori and honzetsu, whereby a poet makes an allusion in his poem to a specific older composition, a poem in the case of honkadori and a prose work for honzetsu, by selecting words and phrases from it.

The emergence of honkadori as a serious poetic technique illustrates the manner in which the significance of tradition had changed for the Shinkokin poets. Such techniques, which approach borrowing, were shunned by poets of earlier periods.[1] Thus in the

---

[1]The beginnings of the technique of honkadori can be seen in the Manyōshū. For example, Hitomaro's poems (hanka) in that anthology:

Sasanami no	Cape Kara in Shiga
Shiga no Karasaki	At Sasanami
sakiku aredo	By the rippling waves,
Ōmiyabito no	You are as before, but I
fune machikanetsu	Wait for the courtiers' boats in
Hitomaro, MYS, I;30	vain.
	(Levy, trans. The Ten Thousand Leaves, p. 54)
Sasanami no	Waters, you are quiet
Shiga no Ōwada	In deep bends of Shiga's lake
yodomu tomo	At Sasanami
mukashi no hito ni	By the rippling waves

eleventh century, Fujiwara Kintō wrote in his treatise the Shinsen

---

mata mo awawame	But never again may I
Hitomaro, MYS, I:31	Meet the men of ancient times.
	(Levy, trans., pp. 54-5)

These two envoys are based upon earlier poems by Nukada no Ōkimi and Toneri Yoshitoshi:

Kakaramu no	If I had known
kokoro shiriseba	It would come to this,
Ōmifune	I would have tied signs of inter-
hateshi tomari ni	diction
shime yuwamashi wo	Around the harbor
Nukada no Ōkimi, MYS	Where the imperial craft did berth.
I:151	(Levy, trans., p. 108)
Yasumishishi	Does Cape Kara in Shiga
waga okimi no	Wait in longing
Ōmifune	For the Imperial craft
machika kouramu	Of our Lord, sovereign
Shiga no Karasaki	Of the earth's eight corners?
Toneri Yoshitoshi, MYS	(Levy, trans., p. 108)
I:152	

Nukada no Ōkimi's and Yoshitoshi's poems were composed on the occasion of Emperor Tenchi's death in the Ōmi capital. Hitomaro's echoing of them gives his poems the widening reverberations of history. See Itō Hiroshi, Kodai waka shi kenkyū, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1974-76), 2:25-29. The translations above are from Ian Hideo Levy, The Ten Thousand Leaves, vol. 1 (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981).

In his article "Honkadori to Fujiwara Teika," Tashiro Keiichirō also points out the similarity in the relation between a foundation poem and its allusive variation and that between the two poems of a poetic exchange. In other words, in a poetic exchange the responding poet tends to borrow a/portion of the poem that was sent to him. Further, Tashiro points out that espeically in the Kokinshū period poets frequently transformed the thereby "modernized" earlier poems. For example:

Miwayama wo	Thus do they hide Miwa Mountain?
shikamo kakusu ka	Would that the clouds, at least,
kumo dani mo	Had sympathy,
kokoro aranamo	For is it right
kakusaubeshi ya	That they should conceal it?
Nukada no Ōkimi, MYS	(Levy, trans., p. 47)
I:18	

The above poem is "borrowed" by Tsurayuki in his poem:

zuinō, "To take an old poem as the foundation of one's own poem is not to be spoken of."[1] In the twelfth century, Shunrai states in the Shunrai zuinō that it is permissible only if the new poem surpasses the old in quality. However, Shunrai concludes, "Since it is so difficult to surpass the old poem, one should take care not to compose along the lines of an earlier poem."[2] In their period, when poets still sought novel conceits for their poems, the practice of borrowing from an earlier work was, of course, seen as counterproductive. A poet who wrote such a work would be castigated for imitation and face the real danger of producing merely a pale echo of the original.

To the Shinkokin poets, in contrast, honkadori offered an opportunity to display concretely their allegiance to tradition by borrowing the very words of an earlier poem and also the opportunity to show the manner in which they could use that same poem as a springboard for the

---

Miwayama wo	Miwa mountain,
shikamo kakusu ka	Thus is it concealed?
haru kasumi	Oh, springtime haze,
hito ni shirarenu	Do lovely blossoms adorn the peak,
hana ya sakuran	Which no man has ever seen?
Tsurayuki, KKS, II:94	

Nukada's hanka above and the chōka it accompanies involve a notion of the sacrality of Miwa mountain. In addition, as the speaker of the poem journeys from Nara through Yamashiro to Ōmi, she looks upon the mountain as a landmark of her familiar home in Nara. When she can no longer turn back to gaze upon the peak of Miwa, she realizes that she has indeed entered an alien province where she faces uncertainty and perhaps even danger. In contrast, Tsurayuki's poem emphasizes an elegant conceit. Miwa mountain is renowned for its evergreens, in particular the cryptomeria, and there are no blossoms there. Thus "hito ni shirarenu hana" are blossoms that exist only in the imagination of the speaker of Tsurayuki's poem. He toys with the notion of unearthly blossoms hidden beyond the clouds. See Tashiro Keiichirō, "Honkadori to Fujiwara Teika," in Itō Hiroshi, ed., Jojō to dentō (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1969): 47-82.

[1]Fujiwara Kintō, Shinsen zuinō, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū nōgakuronshū, p. 29.

[2]Minamoto Shunrai, Shunrai zuinō, in Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, Karonshū, pp . 107-9.

creation of their own quite distinctive works. They discovered that the technique could enrich the configuration of a poem, could create myriad implications in its conception, and could be the means of creating overtones.

First, in relation to the diction and configuration of a poem, honkadori makes a virtue of the closed nature of poetic tradition. Because the Shinkokin poets limited themselves to the words used in the Sandaishū, much of the diction in their poems was bound to have been used before. By using this technique, however, they make us aware of the specific history and implications of certain words and phrases they have selected from the past. Their new compositions conjure up a memory of earlier poetic uses of the same words and set up a dynamic interplay between those uses and the new ones which the poet claims for himself.

The Shinkokin poets developed precise guidelines for the effective use of words and phrases from a honka. Teika writes in the Kindai shūka:

> 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 a foundation poem. For example, without using over and over such conventional phrases as "Iso no kami furuki miyako; hototogisu nakuya satsuki; hisakata no ama no Kaguyama; or tamaboko no michiyukibito" it would be impossible to compose any poems at all. But I was taught that one must not use such famous lines as "toshi no uchi ni haru wa kinikeri; tsuki ya aranu haru ya mukashi no haru naranu; sodè hijite musubishi mizu no; sakura chiru ko no shitakaze wa." Next, with regard to poems by one's fellow poets, even if they are no longer living, if they have been composed so recently that they might be said to have been written today or yesterday, I think it is essential to avoid using any part of such a poem, even a single line, that is distinctive enough to be recognized as the work of a particular poet.[1]

---

[1]Brower and Miner, Fujiwara Teika's "Superior Poems of Our Times," pp. 44-5. The lines which Teika states are inappropriate for use in allusive variations are taken from the following poems:

And in the Maigetsushō:

As for selecting a foundation poem, to use an allusion to a

Toshi no uchi ni — It is still the twelfth month,
haru wa kinikeri — Yet already spring has arrived.
hitotose wo — Which year am I in?
kozo to ya iwan — Shall I speak of last year?
kotoshi to ya iwan — Shall I speak of the new year?
Ariwara no Motokata, KKS, I:1

Tsuki ya aran — Is this not the same moon?
haru ya mukashi no — Is this spring not that spring
haru naranu — Of yesteryear?
waga mi hitotsu wa — Only this body of mine
moto no mi ni shite — Is the same body that was.
Ariwara no Narihira, KKS, XV:747 (Ise monogatari, ep. 4)

Sode hijite — The spring whence I drank,
musubishi mizu no — Droplets of water moistening my
kōreru wo — sleeves,
haru tatsu kyō no — Was frozen through the winter.
kaze ya tokuran — But today, on the first day of spring,
Ki no Tsurayuki, KKS, I:2 — The breeze must be melting the ice.

Sakura chiru — The breeze that stirs,
ko no shitakaze wa — Here beneath the boughs of scattering
samukarade — blossoms
sora ni shirarenu — Is not cold.
yuki zo furikeru — Ah, snowflakes swirl about me
Ki no Tsurayuki, SIS I:64 — Which the sky has never known.

In the "kensō bon" Kindai shūka, Teika adds among his comments on the illustrative poems: "Among the twenty-five poems I have listed here, those that use the poems 'Toyama mo soyo ni sayaku shimo yo,' 'Sukumo takubi no shita kogare,' 'Shigi no ha shigaki,' and Ise no hama ogi,' have excellent configurations. If one borrows any more from the original poem, the final product does not sound like one's own work." Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Karonshū I, Chūsei no bungaku, pp. 283-4. The poems and their allusive variations are:

1. Sasa no ha wa — The leaves of bamboo grass
miyama mo saya ni — Tremble and rustle
sayagedomo — Deep in the mountains,
ware wa imo omou — Yet I am steadfast in my thoughts,
wakare kinureba — Longing for my wife I left behind.
Hitomaro, MYS, II:133

Allusive variation:

blossom poem in a poem about blossoms or an allusion to a moon poem in a poem about the moon is for accomplished poets. One should

---

Kimi kozu wa	If you do not come to me,
hitori ya nenamu	How shall I sleep alone,
sasa no ha no	On such a night as this,
miyama mo soyo ni	When the bamboo grass rustles and trembles
sayagu shimo yo wo	
Kiyosuke, SKKS, VI:616	And a cold frost covers the mountainside?

This Hitomaro poem is also the foundation poem for SKKS, 615 by Yoshitsune.

2.

Tsu no kuni no	On Naniwa Bay,
Naniwa tatamaku	The brushwood fire smolders,
oshimi koso	The smoke loath to rise,
sukumo takuhi no	So, too, my love smolders in my breast
moto ni kogaruru	For I fear my name will rise in rumors.
Ki no Naishinnō, GSS, XI:770	

Allusive variation:

Naniwa me no	On Naniwa Bay,
sukumo taku hi no	The brushwood fire the fisher maid tends
moto kogare	
ue wa tsurenaki	Smolders, no flames nor smoke arising,
waga mi narikeri	And though my heart be in turmoil
Kiyosuke, SZS, XI:664	So, too, I am outwardly composed.

3. Shunzei's poem below refers to a legend about a woman who bade her suitor to sleep on his carriage rest outside her dwelling for a hundred nights before she would meet him. Teika apparently had in mind the poem:

Akatsuki no	As day breaks,
shigi no hashigaki	He would cut a notch on his carriage rest,
momoyogaki	
kimi ga konu yo wa	But on this hundredth night,
ware zo kazu kaku	When he did not come to me
KKS, XV:761 variant	I cut the notch myself.

Allusive variation:

Omoikiya	Never did I imagine
shiji no hashigaki	That I would cut a notch as you bade me
kakitsumete	
momoyo mo onaji	On my carriage rest,
marone semu to wa	And for a hundred nights sleep alone
Shunzei, SZS, XII:778	With no one to unclasp my belt.

endeavor to change a spring poem to a fall or winter; or a love poem to a miscelaneous or seasonal, and further endeavor to make it clear that one is making an allusion. One should select about two phrases one feels are central and of the essence and place them, one in the first three lines and one in the last two of one's composition. For example, if one were to use "yugure wa kumo no hatate ni mono zo omou / amatsu sora naru hito wo kou tote," as a foundation poem, one might select the phrases, "kumo no hatate" and "mono zo omou" and place them in the first three and last two lines of a seasonal or miscellaneous poem. Recently, there have been poems that also use the word "yūgure." They do not necessarily sound bad. It is not good practice to select striking phrases that are central to the foundation poem. However, if one's allusion is too obscure, it serves no purpose.[1]

---

4. Kamikaze no
Ise no hama ogi
orifusete
tabine ya suramu
araki hamabe ni
Wife of Go no Dan'ochi
MYS, IV:500 (SKKS, X:911, Anon.)

In the land of Ise
Where the winds of the gods blow,
Does he now spread out
The reeds he cut and gathered
And sleep upon the rocky shore?

Allusive variation:

Atara yo wo
Ise no hama ogi
orishikite
imo koishirani
mitsuru tsuki kana
SZS, VIII:499

On this enchanting evening,
I spread out the reeds I have cut
On the shore of Ise,
And, yearning for my beloved,
I gaze upon the moon.

In the Shinkokinshū, the Manyō poem is the foundation of at least three works, SKKS 943,944, and 959. Kiyosuke's "Kimi kozu wa" poem transforms a travel/love poem into a seasonal work. In his poem, "sasa no ha no miyama no soyo ni sayagu" is taken directly from the honka. Kiyosuke's "Naniwa me no" poem and its honka are both love poems. However, the placement of "sukumo takuhi no moto kogare" is changed, as is the speaker from a woman to a man. Shunzei's "Omoikiya" poem and its honka are also both love poems. Again the speaker is changed from a woman to a man. The last pair of poems are both about travel, and in both "Ise no hama ogi orishikite (orifusete) occupy the same lines. Shunzei, however, speaks in the persona of the husband of the Manyō poet.

[1]Fujiwara Teika, Maigetsushō, in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū nōgakuronshū, pp. 132-3. Teika refers to the Kokinshū love poem:

Yūgure wa
kumo no hatate ni
mono zo omou
amatsu sora naru
hito wo kou tote
KKS, 484, Anon.

In evening,
I gaze toward distant banners of clouds
And yearn,
For I long for my lover
Who dwells in the heavens.

Chōmei writes in the Mumyōshō:

> Further, there is a way of borrowing from old poems. One should enter into an old poem which possesses interesting diction and select those words or phrases that will be decorative and arrange them in an incomparable fashion. For example,
>
> Natsu ka aki ka — Is it summer or autumn?
> toedo shiratama — Although I ask, I cannot tell:
> iwane yori — The white jewels
> hanarete otsuru — Spill from among the rocks--
> Kiyotaki no mizu — The waters of the Kiyotaki Fall.
> (Teika, Shūi gusō 9481)
>
> [The honka is
> Nushi ya tare — To whom does it belong?
> toedo shiratama — Although I ask, it does not answer,
> iwanaku ni — This white jewel.
> saraba nabete ya — Then, let me hold dear
> aware to omowan — All of her that wore it.
> Kawara no Sadaijin, KKS XVIII:873]
>
> This is the form I am talking about. However, if one simply has come to know that "stealing" from old poems is one traditional technique and has no discernment of good or bad words and chooses words haphazardly and strings them together, it is very regrettable. One should also select so that the borrowing is quite apparent. It is bad to veil one's borrowing.
>
> Further, one should not select particularly masterful lines from old poems. One should take care to select words or phrases that are somewhat unfamiliar yet still interesting. Someone took the phrase "sora ni shirarenu yuki zo furikeru" and composed in a poem on the topic "moon," "mizu ni shirarenu kori narikeri." This cannot be called anything but stealing. My teacher said that this is like a new serving maid in a good establishment stealing a garment and recutting it as a short jacket.
>
> At an utaawase at the palace of the retired emperor, someone composed on the topic "deer at daybreak":
>
> Ima kon to — Has his mate vowed
> tsuma ya chigirishi — To return to him this evening
> nagatsuki no — In the ninth month?
> ariake no tsuki no — I hear the deer cry
> oshika nakunari — Until the dawn moon rises.
>
> [The honka is
> Ima kon to — Because he vowed
> iishibakari ni — He would return this evening
> nagatsuki no — In the ninth month

ariake no tsuki wo machiidetsuru kana
Sosei, KKS, XIV:691]

I have awaited him
Until the dawn moon rises.

This poem was judged "the matter of the poem is elegant." and won the match. However, the lord Teika criticized it on that occasion saying that it differed from Sosei's poem in only two lines. [He said that] when a poem is so similar to its foundation poem, the lines should be rearranged by, for example, moving the upper lines to the lower position. This poem should be faulted for keeping the lines in their original places and merely changing the middle and last lines.[1]

We notice immediately the extreme attention paid to the proper relationship between a new composition and its foundation poem. That is what distinguishes honkadori from mere borrowing. Both poets give a number of rules. Chōmei and Teika agree that a new poem must take enough of the foundation poem to make the allusion known and thus effective but not too much of it. Failure in this regard would draw a poem under the shadow of the earlier work. Likewise, the poet is cautioned against using famous phrases from earlier poems and against using any phrases from very recent poems. In the former case, these words or phrases are too firmly fixed in everyone's mind as belonging to a specific poem, and in the latter, recent poems have not yet been assimilated into the traditional pool.

In addition, Teika demands that the borrowed words or phrases be split into the first three and the last two lines of the new composition, and that as much as possible, poets select as honka poems that are of a different subject from their own work. The splitting of the borrowed portion forces the poet to relinquish the semantic patterns of his foundation poem. Similarly, if one uses a love poem, for example, as a foundation for a seasonal work, one insures that the final product will be a quite different kind of poem from the original. According to Teika, the closer in subject and conception the new composition and the honka are, the more difficult it is

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 92-93.

to create an effective tension between the two works. Above all other poets, Teika was aware of honkadori as a means of signallying his break from the waka of the past.

Teika considered honkadori an important technique. Not only did he use it extensively in his own poetry, but he addressed the problem of honkadori on numerous occasions in his career. It has even been suggested that the collection of poems in the Kindai shūka and the Nishidaishū, Teika's personal selection of poems from the Imperial anthologies from the Kokinshū to Shinokinshū, were made to be used as a model of the range of language permissible in honkadori.[1] The use of honkadori is clearly tied in Teika's mind to reverence for the traditional language of poetry. In the Kindai shūka, Teika immediately follows his prescription, "If in diction you admire the traditional, if in treatment you attempt the new . . ." with the discussion of honkadori, a discussion which takes up the remainder of the essay.

It is also in Teika's writings that we learn how the technique of honkadori can be used to align the individual expressive impulse of the poet, his kokoro, with the quintessential significance of his topic. In the Tamekane kyō waka shō, Teika is reported to have said,

> One should place the topic in one's heart and compose with the feeling that indeed the matter must be just so. Then one's poem will be deeply moving and will resemble the form of ancient poems. However, if one proceeds more deeply into the topic, one will come to feel as though one were the exiled lady herself who yearns for her home as she lies awake through the night, listening to the rain, and who feels unbearable sorrow, morning and evening. In

---

[1] Tanaka Yutaka speaks of the Kindai shūka as a work that not only furnished models of excellent poems but also examples of honkadori. Tanaka Yutaka, Chūsei bungakuron kenkyū, p. 210. Fujihira Haruo adds that the Jihitsu bon Kindai shūka is a collection of poems that display the diction permissible in honkadori. He discerns a similar function in Teika's Nishidaishū. Fujihira Haruo, Shinkokin kafū no keisei, p. 214.

> such a poem where the poet has become entirely one with the lady, pathos is deep. It seems to me a truly worthy poem. Thus in the case of love poetry . . . one should reflect upon the topic until one is moved to tears. The poems of those who do not do this may be smooth and interesting, but they will somehow lack depth and force and thus differ from the poems of the ancients.[1]

And, in the Teika kyō sōgo, we find, "When composing love poetry, one must abandon one's customary self and recall to mind Narihira's deportment and make oneself entirely at one with him."[2] Both these passages deal with the importance of the poet immersing himself in a topic and its hon'i. In particular, the Shinkokinshū poets recognized that a love poem could not be merely a generalized statement but had to display the force of what we perceive to be a real situation working back on the poet's mind. Love poetry necessitated a sense of engagement above all. In the Shinkokinshū period, the poet's engagement is not the response to an actual event. Rather, it arises when he merges himself with the quintessential significance, the hon'i, of the topic which he has gleaned through long study and contemplation of past poetry.

Honkadori then is a prime means by which the poet may enter the world of hon'i. To take Teika's examples, Narihira's poem and the Chinese verse dealing with the exiled lady express that which is quintessential in the experience of love. When a poet elects to use one of these as a honka, that which is merely individual, his kokoro, is reshaped and aligned with hon'i, and what is more, he makes that process apparent. In other words, we are shown the specific link he makes with tradition. At the same time, hon'i is given the immediacy of life and emotional engagement. It achieves concrete expression. Honkadori allows the Shinkokinshū poets to convey in their poetry the depth of personal conviction, concreteness, and to express the quintessential according to their poetic ideal.[3]

---

[1]Fujiwara Tamekane, Tamekane kyō waka shō in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, Karonshū Nōgakuronshū, p. 163.

[2]Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Karonshū I, p. 333.

[3]Fujihira Haruo, "Shinkokin no hōhō: Shūkan tōka o megutte," Mahiruno 27 (April, 1972):78.

Finally, the Shinkokin poets use foundation poems to convey overtones of meaning that "hover above a poem." By selecting a few images from an earlier poem, especially a love poem or a poem from a monogatari, a poet could conjure up in a seasonal poem, for example, the remembrance of an earlier "event," the vestiges of which still linger in a natural landscape. In this poetry, poets sought to free meaning from the linear, syntactic patterns of the past and instead to summon the multifarious implications of their diction. The technique of allusive variation permitted them to give their poems another "dimension," that is, to create resonances between their works and the diction and meanings contained in altogether separate works. Within these resonances would be born the overtones that appear to surpass the expressive capacity of the mere thirty-one syllables that were alloted to each poem.

Therefore, In the Shinkokinshū, honkadori goes far beyond mere borrowing and any ordinary thematic or linguistic relations between past and present poetry. First, it may create artistic effects of language that enhance sugata. More significantly, it provides a means for the poet to attain the hon'i his poem must express. The poet weaves threads of language and meaning from the past into new relations in his composition; the use of tradition becomes a means of complex, new creation.

The Shinkokinshū poets' choice of poems to use as foundation poems reflects their perception of tradition. If we count the number of instances of honkadori in the Shinkokinshū designated by three modern commentaries, Minemura Fubito's (Nihon koten bungaku zenshū) Shinkokinshū, Kubota Jun'a Shinkokinshū zen hyōshaku, and the (Iwanami koten bungaku taikei) Shinkokinshū, we find roughly four hundred cases.[1] Among the honka, the greatest number by far are taken from the

---

[1]Minemura Fubito, ed., Shinkokin wakashū, Vol. 26 of NKBZ (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1973): Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 9 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976-78), and Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazaki Toshio, and Gotō Shigeo, eds., Shinkokin wakashū, Vol. 28 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958). Because there is no hard and fast rule for determining when a certain poem is an allusive variation of another, commentators differ in their decisions on this matter. The

Kokinshū. We find 257 poems used as honka from the Kokinshū. It is followed in frequency by the Manyōshū with 45 poems, the Shūishū with with 57 (The Shūishū honka are quite often originally Manyōshū poems), Gosenshū with 27, and Goshūishū with 24. Kubota also reports that eleven poems in the Shinkokinshū allude to Chinese verse, either from the Wakan rōeishū or directly from Chinese sources.

In addition, the Shinkokinshū contains a large number of poems that allude to poems or prose contexts of monogatari. These fictional tales had long been considered an inappropriate source of honka for formal levels of waka composition. For example, we find two poems that are allusions to the Genji monogatari in the Kinyōshū, one in the Shikashū, and four in the Senzaishū.[1] We can find no allusions in the four imperial anthologies before the Kinyoshū. However, in the Shinkokinshū, there are more than thirty poems which are allusive variations of poems or prose passages in the Genji.[2] We can see the effect of the reverence for the Genji that Shunzei had voiced so strongly. Other Heian monogatari are also represented. We find three honka from the Yamato monogatari, and two from the Sagoromo. Incidentally, we find sixty poems that use poems from the Ise monogatari as honka. This work, which purportedly traces the life of Ariwara no Narihira, was not classed as a fictional monogatari. Nearly all the Ise monogatari poems that are used as honka in the Shinkokinshū can also be found in earlier imperial anthologies, most often the Kokinshū.

Further, the number of poems that are allusive variations of earlier works varies significantly among the volumes of the Shinkokinshū. We find the greatest number in the volumes of love and seasonal poetry, with 35.5% and 31.4% respectively of the total number of poems

---

figure four hundred, therefore, represents the total number of poems that are mentioned in any of the texts above. It is slightly higher than the number of allusive variations that are cited in any single text.

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, "Genji monogatari to Shinkokin-teki hyōgen," Murasaki 12 (June, 1974):27.

[2]See Teramoto Naohiko, Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō, pp. 271-74.

in these volumes. Among the other volumes, we find 24.4% in the celebratory, 20.4% in travel, 11.7% in the miscellaneous volumes, 6% in lament, and 1.9% in parting. Honkadori is, of course, more prevalent among the contemporary poems of the Shinkokinshū, and this fact is reflected in the percentages above. The greatest number of contemporary poems are found in the volumes of love, seasons, and travel. At the same time, when we examine these volumes from a slightly different perspective, we realize that these are the volumes that contain the most formal poetry, poetry composed on set topics. In the miscellaneous volumes and the volume of lament, the Shinkokin poets prized personal emotion and regarded the craftsmenship of honkadori as being out of of place.

We can divide honkadori in the Shinkokinshū into five categories.[1] First, borrowing of words and phrases from a honka without reference to its poetic conception; second, the composition of a new version of an earlier poem; third, the composition of different variations; fourth, deepening of the conception of the original poem; and fifth, the creation of atmosphere. These categories are by no means exclusive of each other. They are only attempts to define relationships between new compositions and foundation poems, which, when complex, may involve several of these groupings. Nor are they based on poetic quality. We will find striking poems in all categories, and one of the things we will become aware of is the variety and richness of the use that the Shinkokin poets make of their honka. The five categories, however, do reflect the two major aspects of honkadori suggested in the quotes above, that which relates to the heightening of the effects of diction per se, and that which relates to hon'i. The first three categories belong primarily to the former, while the latter two involve hon'i more deeply.

---

[1]Other classification schemes for honkadori can be found in: Ishida Yoshisada, Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū, enlarged and rev. ed., p. 610; Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū, pp. 580-84; Machiya Yōko, "Shinkokin wakashū--honkadori ni tsuite," Kokubun Tsurumi (March, 1973), pp. 19-30; Tashiro Keiichirō, "Honkadori to Fujiwara Teika," in Itō Hiroshi, Jojō to dentō, pp. 47-82.

Category 1. Borrowing of Discrete Elements of Diction

In the Shinkokinshū, it is difficult to find examples of honkadori that use words or phrases from a foundation poem but do not allude to its poetic conception. The few that can be found reveal a delicate appreciation of the meaning and texture of poetic language. The Shinkokinshū poets display new and richer uses of given words and phrases. Let us begin with a poem by Shunzei on "the first day of spring":

Kyō to ieba	On this day,
Morokoshi made mo	When spring reaches far away
yuku haru wo	as distant China,
miyako ni nomi to	Here in the capital
omoikerukana	I thought it belonged to us alone.
Shunzei, SKKS, I:5	

The honka is an autumn poem

Harukanaru	That which reaches
Morokoshi made mo	As far away as distant china
yuku mono wa	Is the feeling.
aki no nezame no	That possesses our hearts
kokoro narikeri	When we awaken on an autumn morning.
Daini no Sammi, SZS, IV:301	

Shunzei borrows the phrase, "morokoshi made mo yuku" from the honka and places it in the same position that it occupies there. However, the phrase has greater life in Shunzei's poem. First, in terms of the conception of Shunzei's poem, "Morokoshi" is effectively contrasted with "miyako." To the Heian courtier, the former implies a place almost unimaginably distant while "miyako" is his world. The homophony of Shunzei's "haru" (sring) and Daini no Sammi's "haruka" (distant) may be coincidental, but we hear in Shunzei's usage an echo of the sense of far-reaching and distant. Further, in Shunzei's poem, the grand, bold image of "morokoshi made" sustains the joyous tone of the poem. We read first the emphatic "kyō to ieba," which is followed by the expansiveness of "Morokoshi . . ." Then, in the lower lines, Shunzei turns to light self-reflection. The beauty of spring this day in the capital had caused him to feel spring belonged only to the capital, that such beauty could not be found elsewhere. Shunzei carefully balances the objective thought and bold cadence of the upper

lines with the more quiet reflectiveness of the lower lines, which nevertheless underscores the special beauty of spring in the capital.

Sakura saku	On distant peaks,
tōyama dori no	The cherry trees are in bloom.
shidari o no	Never shall I tire of their splendor,
naganagashi hi mo	Though this spring day be long,
akanu iro kana	Long as the trailing plumage of the
Gotoba, SKKS, II:99	mountain fowl.

The honka is a Manyōshū poem:

Ashihiki no	Where they spread out reeds,
yamadori no o no	On distant mountains,
shidari o no	The fowl's plumage trails long--
naganagashi yo wo	Long as is this night,
hitori kamo nen	That I must sleep alone.
Hitomaro, SIS,XII:778 (MYS, anon.)	

Gotoba selects a distinctive Manyōshū phrase, " . . . dori no shidari o no naganagashi . . ." and exploits its aural and imagistic qualities. Gotoba's poem was composed to be placed on a screen commemorating Shunzei's ninetieth birthday--the headnote tells us that the scene of the screen depicted mountain cherry blossoms--and the poem celebrates that auspicious occasion. In the Shinkokinshū, it is placed at the head of the second volume among poems on cherry blossoms. As in Shunzei's honkadori above, Gotoba places the borrowed phrase in the same position as it occupies in the honka. However, he contrasts "hi" (day) with "yo" (night). Further, in both poems, the phrase acts as a jo (preface). Yet, it is the Manyōshū phrase that gives Gotoba's poem special richness and strength. The phrase does not merely convey length of time. Rather we experience its repetitive vowels, the o's, i's and a's as a strong, leisurely cadence. In addition, we envision the rich, full plumage of the fowl. The mood thus created resonates with that of the celebration of blossoms and of Shunzei's long life.

In the following example, a Shinkokinshū poet puts phrases from a foundation poem to different technical use as well as exploiting its implications further.

Au koto wo	For our meeting today
kyō matsugae no	I wait--prayer grasses knotted
tamukegusa	On the pine.
iku yo shioruru	Yet those countless nights my sleeves
sode to ka wa shiru	were drenched,
Shikishi, SKKS, XII:1153	Does he even now know of them?

The honka is a Manyōshū poem:

Shiranami no	On the beach of white waves,
hama matsugae no	Prayer grasses are knotted
temukegusa	On the pine.
iku yo made ni ka	How many ages have passed
toshi wo henuran	Since some traveller placed them here?

Kawashima no miko, MYS, I:34 (SKKS, XVII:1586)

The Manyōshū work is a travel poem. In it, "hama matsugae no temukegusa" describes grass talismans that a traveller has placed on a pine branch. The poet discovers them, and in his poem wonders about the people who have passed this way long ago. Shikishi's work is a love poem on the topic of "love and waiting." She transforms the natural description of the Manyō poem into a complex pattern of pivots and associated words. "Matsu" pivots to mean both pine tree and to await. "Tamukegusa," which basically functions as a jo for "ikuyo" (how many evenings) also adds the suggestion of prayers, the prayers which the speaker has offered for a meeting with her love. In addition, "iku yo" of Shikishi's poem naturally brings to mind the "iku yo" (how many ages) of the honka and strengthens our perception of the length of time she has awaited, unbeknownst to him, for her lover's visit.

Within the category of linguistic honkadori, we can distinguish a practice of selecting jo from ancient poems, especially of the Manyōshū and Kokinshū, and transforming them into elements of natural description. The Japanese scholar Kuwabara Hiroshi points out that 166 Kokinshū jo are used in later imperial anthologies in new ways. Fourteen of these are found in the Shinkokinshū.[1] Such a practice exemplifies the way in which poetry turns inward to itself as a source of language and material.[2] When for example the Shinkokin poets devise a natural scene from a jo, they create not a reflection of mundane, ever-changing reality but a landscape which by its very nature exists in the realm of poetry. The landscape is newly emancipated yet it has

---

[1]Kuwabara Hiroshi, "Kokinshū joshi no yōgo to Shinkokin jidai no kajin tachi," (Tōyō Daigaku bungakubu kiyō kokubungaku hen) Bungaku ronsō, No. 29 (February, 1965):32-39; No. 32 (November, 1965): 70-77; and No. 33 (May, 1966):27-33.

[2]Fujihira Haruo, "Shinkokin no sekai--Teika Hachidaishū kara mita," Kokubungaku kenkyū 29 (March, 1964):27-36.

existed for ages in potential form within the ancient poems. Both in terms of language and material, the Shinkokin poets draw upon that which is essentially poetic. The following two Shinkokinshū poems transform the jo of Manyōshū poems:

Iwane fumi	Trampling on rocky paths,
kasanaru yama wo	I wend through and sever
wakesutete	the layered mountains.
hana mo ikue no	And behind them stretch the blossoms--
ato no shirakumo	A myriad layers of white clouds.
Masatsune, SKKS, II:93	

The honka is:

Iwane fumu	Trampling on rocky paths,
kasanaru yama wa	In layered mountains--
aranedomo	Such is not the case with me,
awanu hi kazu wo	Yet many are the days I do not see
koi ya wataran	you
Sakanoue no iratsume, SIS, XII:969 (MYS, XI:2422)[1]	And suffer in longing.

The Manyōshū work is a love poem with a jo: "Iwane fumu kasanaru yama wa aranedomo" acts to draw out "awanu" (do not meet). From it, Masatsune creates a beautiful, fresh scene of layers of mountains and white clouds of blossoms that seem to spread endlessly

---

[1] In the present-day Manyōshū texts the poem reads:

Iwane fumi
henareru yama wa
aranedomo
awanu hi manemi
koiwataru kamo
MYS, XI:2422

See Takagi Ichinosuke, Gōmi Tomohide, and Ōno Susumu, ed., Manyōshū, 4 vols., Vols. 4-7 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957-62). Kubota Jun suggests that the Shinkokinshū poem is also related to the Ise monogatari work:

Iwanefumi	You and I are separated
kasanaru yama ni	By no craggy mountains
aranedomo	Rising one above the other--
awanu hi ōku	Yet how many are the miserable days
koiwataru kana	I must spend without seeing you.
Ise monogatari, ep. 74	[McCullough, trans].

Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyoshakū, 1:296. Translation taken from McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 119.

before and behind the speaker as he proceeds through the landscape.

Hitori nuru	Sleeping alone.
yamadori no o no	On the trailing plumage
shidari o ni	of the mountain fowl,
shimo oki mayou	The frost wavers uneasily
toko no tsukikage	In the moonlight on the bedding.

Teika, SKKS, V:487

The honka is the same above as that of Gotoba's poem in celebration of Shunzei's ninetieth birthday, above:

Ashi hiki no	Where they spread out, reeds,
yamadori no o no	On distant mountains,
shidari o no	The fowl's plumage trails long--
naganagashi yo wo	long, as is this night,
hitori kamo nen	That I must sleep alone.

Hitomaro, SIS, XII:778 (MYS, anon.)

Teika's poem is one of the most striking examples of his ethereal style, a style which conveys to us a world of fantasy through fleeting impressions of qualities. As an allusive variation on the Manyōshū poem, Teika's work, on one level, transforms the fowl of the jo of the former into a part of the scene he seeks to depict. Further, Teika's topic is the autumn moon, and he creates a phantasmal scene of shimmering moonlight and frost along the fowl's rich plumage. "Hitori nuru" carries associations of love; some have said that the image of the fowl itself implies in Teika's poem that of a beautiful woman lying alone in the chill night. The startling image of chill light and its ambiguous emotional implications are for Teika the essence of the wondrous beauty of the autumn moon.

Category 2. Re-Creations and New Versions of the Honka

The Shinkokinshū compositions of this category re-create their foundation poems. The poet seems here to choose to rewrite the honka and to display the poem he might have written at that time and place. He is remarkably faithful to the terms of his foundation poem, but the resulting allusive variation is unmistakably a poem of the Shinkokinshū period. We can sense the poet returning to an earlier poetic era and reclaiming it. Finally, as the examples will show, the foundation poems are often ancient poems whose style differs markedly from that

of the Shinkokinshu period. These ancient poems convey moods that the Shinkokin poets strongly associated with the earlier periods.

We find two excellent examples among Ietaka's poetry. Generally, we can characterize Ietaka's honkadori in the Shinkokinshū as tending to stay close to the mood and tone of the honka. Such poems as the two below refine and subtly enrich their honka.

1. Omou dochi — With my companions,
soko to mo shirazu — I have wandered till evening
yuki kurenu — To this unknown place.
hana no yado kase — Lend me your blossom's lodging
nobe no uguisu — Oh, warbler of the fields.
Ietaka, SKKS, I:82

The honka is:

Omou dochi — With my companions,
haru no yamabe ni — In the spring mountains,
uchimurete — I frolicked,
soko to mo iwanu — And in this place we do not know
tabine shiteshiga — Shall we find traveller's lodging?
Sosei, KKS, I:126

2. Tanikawa no — Let the river waves too,
uchiizuru nami mo — In the stream of the valley
koe tatete — Raise up their voices
uguisu sasoe — And summon the warbler,
haru no yamakaze — On, spring breeze of the mountains.
Ietaka, SKKS, I:17

The two honka are:

Tanikawa ni — The waves that spill forth
tokuru kori no — From each crevice of ice
himagoto ni — In the stream of the valley
uchiizuru nami ya — They must indeed be
haru no hatsuhana — The first blossoms of spring.
Masazumi, KKS, I:12

Hana no ka wo — Let me send forth
kaze no tayori ni — The perfume of spring blossoms
taguete zo — Upon the pring breeze,
uguisu sasou — As a beckoning sign
shirube ni wa yaru — To summon the warbler.
Tomonori, KKS, I:13

The first of Ietaka's poems above was composed for the Roppyakuban utaawase on the topic "no asobi" (pastoral outings). In that utaawase, Shunzei criticizes the work for taking too much from Sosei's poem.[1] Merely in terms of diction, Shunzei's criticism is unfounded:

---

[1] Roppyakuban utaawase, poem 72. Shunzei's judgment is: "The

Ietaka takes only the phrases "omou dochi" and "soko to mo" from the honka. But more importantly, Ietaka closely recreates the situation of the speaker of Sosei's poem, an elegant courtier who with his companions has wandered from the capital in search of blossoms. So intent were they in their search that they have lost their way. Thus the speaker of Sosei's poem suggests that they must spend the night there in the mountains. Ietaka, however, engenders even greater elegance in the last two lines of his poem. Traditionally in poetry, courtiers went out into the fields in early spring to seek out the warbler in order to hear its first song. To come upon one unexpectedly among the cherry blossoms adds to the delight of the speaker of Ietaka's poem, and his personification of the warbler as an "innkeeper of the blossoms" clearly conveys his postured tastefulness. By adding the image of the warbler, Ietaka makes all the more poetic Sosei's description of the courtiers' elegant pastime.

Similarly, in the second example, Ietaka skillfully combines the rich lyricism of the two Kokinshū poems. The "mo" in the second line of Ietaka's poem effectively emphasizes the waves, which, as we know from Masazumi's poem, are the first "blossoms" of spring. In addition, we are led to anticipate the spring breeze, which, as in Tomonori's poem, will also beckon the warbler. Ietaka does not mention the fragrance of the blossoms, but the force of "mo" especially in connection with spring breeze draws in even that notion from Tomonori's poem. Not only will the breeze carry the scent of the blossoms but it will now in Ietaka's poem urge the waves, by causing them to spill forth, to raise up their voices to beckon the warbler as well.

The Rokujō poet Kenshō uses a Manyōshū foundation poem in a similar way to re-create distinctive moods and perceptions.

Hagi ga hana	Their sleeves bedecked,
masode ni kakete	With blossoms of the autumn hagi,
Takamado no	Who are those maidens

---

poem of the right seems to have taken too much from Sosei's poem, 'Omou dochi. . . .' But it also asks the warbler to lend the shelter of the blossoms. Therefore, it is not old-fashioned. Let this match be a draw." Konishi Jin'ichi, ed., (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1976), p. 34.

onoe no miya ni
hire furu ya tare
Kenshō, SKKS, IV:331

Waving their trailing scarves
In the palace of Takamado?

The honka is:

Miyabito no
sodetsukegoromo
aki hagi ni
nioi yoroshiki
Takamado no miya
Ōtomo no Yakamochi, MYS, XX:4315

The courtiers' sleeves
are bedecked with the blossoms
of the autumn hagi,
Fragrant and luminous
Is the palace of Takamado.

For the Shinkokin poets, the Manyōshū represented an essentially alien world, and they sought to use only those portions of it which they considered elegant or which they could use to create effects of archaic grandeur. This poem by Kenshō fits well with that understanding. The words that Kenshō uses in common with Yakamochi are "hagi," "sode," "Takamodo"--a Manyō placename and the site of one of the ancient palaces. "Hagi ga hana" is also Manyō diction.[1] The scene he portrays is likewise very similar to Yakamochi's poem. And in addition, Kenshō emphasizes human movement, specifically of the ladies waving their flower-decked sleeves, and we are made to recall the perceptive mode of the Manyōshū, so filled with movement. The speaker of the poem does not seem to know the ladies he observes from a distance. In Kenshō's poem, style, scene, and reference are distant but somehow filled with remembrance.

The following examples show how a traditional conceit can be effectively used in an allusive variation.

Katsuraki ya
Takama no sakura
sakinikeri
Tatsuta no oku ni
kakaru shirakumo
Jakuren, SKKS, I:87

In the Katsuraki range,
The blossoms of Takama
Are now in flower.
Far in the distance, Mt. Tatsuta
Stands veiled in white clouds.

The honka is:

Sakurabana
sakinikerashimo
ashihiki no

The cherry blossoms
Indeed, they must have flowered.
Where we spread reed matting--

---

[1] "Hagi ga hana" is used six times in the Manyōshū, once in the Kokinshū, and once in the Senzaishū.

yama no ai yori — Among those mountain peaks
miyuru shirakumo — I see white clouds.
Tsurayuki, KKS, I:59

The subject of Jakuren's allusive variation and of Tsurayuki's foundation poem is cherry blossoms. Both poems use the traditional conceit that cherry blossoms seen at a distance resemble white clouds. Tsurayuki's poem is an excellent example of the wit and sense of discovery that had enlivened that conceit. The long conjectural verb, "sakinikerashimo" expresses the speaker's delight that indeed spring has come to the distant mountains. However, in Jakuren's poem, the conjectural form is replaced by the past form suffix "keri," and the sense of discovery becomes less important. With the honka and innumerable usages of the conceit behind him, Jakuren takes for granted that the white clouds are blossoms. Instead, he selects three poetic place names that have been traditionally associated with blossoms and transforms the poem into an evocation of these associations. The place names give weight to the poem's cadence, and Jakuren creates a lofty, distant scene of whiteness.

Sakura iro no — Once cherry-hued,
niwa no haru kaze — There is no trace of the breeze
ato mo nashi — In the garden.
towaba zo hito no — If one were to ask, he would see
yuki to dani min — Only snow upon the ground.
Teika, SKKS, II:134

The honka is:

Kyō kozu wa — If I had not come today
asu wa yuki to zo — They would have fallen tomorrow
chirinamashi — Like snow.
kiezu wa ari tomo — Though they have not yet melted away,
hana to mishimaya — They are scarcely true flowers.
Ise monogatari 44 (episode 17) [McCullough, trans.][1]

Teika's poem speaks of the time after the blossoms have scattered. The visitor of whom the Ise poem speaks has not come. We may thus consider Teika's poem as a honkadori of variation in which the allusive variation and the foundation poem are linked by a narrative time sequence. However, what is most distinctive about Teika's poem is his transformation of the traditional conceit that petals scattered on the ground

[1]McCullough, Tales of Ise, p. 82.

resemble snow. In Teika's poem, we see that conceit baldly stated in his lower lines. However, he has balanced it with the innovative conception and use of language in the upper lines. Thus Teika does not once mention the word blossom. Instead he speaks of the cherry-hued wind. We realize, of course, that this image describes petals swirling in the wind, yet we are also made aware by means of the distinctive phraseology of "sakura iro niwa no haru kaze" that blossoms exist only as a fleeting aspect of another phenomenon. Teika does not mention blossoms because they exist only as two strikingly different aspects, the cherry-hued wind and the snowy petals. Teika transforms the traditional sentiment of ephemerality into a tactile perception that change is absolute; that things exist only in momentary aspects having nothing to do with their past or future stages.

Further, in this type of honkadori, the Shinkokin poet's sensitivity to the poetic value of language may distinguish his composition from a very closely related foundation poem.

Honobono to	Dimly, dimly--
haru koso sora ni	The season of spring
kinikerashi	Has come to the sky
Ama no kaguyama	Across heavenly Kaguyama
kasumi tanabiku	Lie banners of mist.
Gotoba, SKKS, I:2	
Hisakata no	On far distant
Ama no kaguyama	Heavenly Kaguyama
kono yūbe	This very evening
kasumi tanabiku	Lie banners of mist--
haru tatsurashimo	Spring must now have arrived.
Hitomaro, MYS, X:1812	

Gotoba takes as his foundation poem a work by Hitomaro, the opening poem of volume ten of the Manyōshū. Both are spring poems. However, in contrast to the evening of the original poem, Gotoba describes a scene of spring morning. ("Honobono to" traditionally refers to morning light.) In terms of diction, Gotoba borrows the lines, "Ama no kaguyama" and "kasumi tanabiku" from the Manyōshū poem and also uses the Manyō suffix "rashi," In diction and imagery, Gotoba seeks to recreate the grandeur of the Manyōshū poem. At the same time, Gotoba's crafted language distinguishes his work from Hitomaro's. Thus Gotoba has put together his poem with words--"Ama," "Honobono to," "haru,"

"sora," "kasumi,"--that share poetic values of lightness, brightness, and airiness. Each word echoes the poetic value of the others. In addition, in terms of structure, the first line "honobono to" refers both to the second and third lines "haru koso . . ." and to the fourth and fifth lines, "Ama no Kaguyama . . ." "Ama no Kaguyama kasumi tanabiku" is the concrete image of "haru koso sora ni kinikerashi." "Honobono to" isolates the essential quality of the scene. In effect each of the three structural units of the poem reinforces the others. A poem such as Gotoba's was made possible by the Shinkokin poets' sensitivity to poetic language. His poem brings new artistry to the recreation of an ancient Manyōshū perception of the coming of spring.

Finally, this type of honkadori also reveals how the Shinkokin poet may subtly shift away from his foundation poem. The subject of the allusive variation and foundation poem may be the same, but we detect that the Shinkokin poet, after all, inhabits a different world from that of his honka. Again, allusive variations of Manyōshū poems provide the most striking examples. Both Shinkokinshū poems below are based upon the same Manyōshū honka:

Iku yo ware tsuki wo aware to nagamekite nami ni orishiku Ise no hama ogi Echizen, SKKS, X:943	How many nights Have I journeyed Moved by the beauty of the moon, To spread out now upon the waves, The reeds on the shore at Ise?
Shirazarishi yasose no nami wo wakesutete katashiku mono wa Ise no hama ogi Tango, SKKS, X:944	It did not know it. That I would journey here, Cleaving the myriad rapids To spread out as bedding, The reeds on the shore at Ise.

The honka is:

Kamikaze no Ise no hama ogi orifusete tabine ya suran araki hamabe ni Wife of Go no Dan'ochi, MYS, IV:500 (SKKS, X:911 Anon.)	In the land of Ise Where the winds of the gods blow Does he now spread out The reeds he cut and gathered And sleep upon the rocky shore?

In the Manyōshū poem, the wife of the traveller imagines and describes her husband's hardships. The speaker of Echizen's and Tango's poems is a traveller, perhaps the traveller described in the Manyōshū poem. However, the understanding of travel that Tango and Echizen hold is no

longer that of the Manyōshū. From the time of the Manyōshū, the court poet had regarded travel as an experience of uncertainty and danger away from his familiar world. Thus the wife of the traveller in the Manyōshū speaks with sorrow of the hardships she imagines her husband must endure. However, Echizen and Tango go further to speak of the utter alienness of their speakers' experience of travel. Both emphasize "Ise no hama ogi" very strongly by placing that image as the fifth line nominative, and it acts to exemplify the hardship and rusticity of the speakers' journey. Tango particularly emphasizes the unfamiliarity of the reeds themselves through the use of "Shirazarishi" and "katashiku mono wa." In Echizen's poem, it is time that acts to separate the speaker from his familiar world. Countless evenings have passed as the traveller journeyed farther and farther from the capital. By bringing in the image of the moon, Echizen also gives her poem a touch of elegance. However, in travel poems the moon serves generally to arouse the traveller's memories of the capital and loved ones, for the moon visible to him is also visible to others in the capital. Thus the traveller's plight is made more pathetic. Echizen's traveller too finds at the end of his journey only the reeds on the beach which he must cut as bedding alongside the waves.

Category 3. Variation

This category comprises the most common and easily recognizable examples of honkadori. Poems in this category include those that reverse or deny a proposition stated in the foundation poem; that describe an event which appears to follow the original poem in time; or that use the original poem as a basic premise which is then enlarged upon. The following three examples illustrate the first of these, reversal, in an increasingly complex use of that formula:

Niho no umi ya	In the sea of Niho
tsuki no hikari no	When the light of the moon
utsuroeba	Reflects upon the waves,
nami no hana ni mo	Even in those blossoms
aki wa miekeri	We can see that it is autumn.
Ietaka, SKKS, IV:389	

The honka:

Kusa mo ki mo
iro kawaru domo
Watasumi no
nami no hana ni zo
aki nakarikeru
Bunya no Yasuhide, KKS, IV:250[1]

The grasses and trees--
Their colors change with the season,
Yet in the wide sea
Autumn does not come
To the blossoms of the waves.

At the most basic level, Ietaka denies the clever conception of his honka--that autumn changes the grasses and trees but not the "blossoms" of the waves. We have already seen the metaphor of blossoms for waves in the Kokinshū honka of Ietaka's "Tanikawa no" poem above. In effect, Ietaka's poem argues that when the autumn moon, whose color is said to change in autumn, is reflected in the waves, they too are changed.

More interestingly, Ietaka presents a way of seeing the natural world that is quite different from his honka. First of all, he discovers change in what was once perceived as unchanging. Further, he stresses the interrelations of change. Nothing remains unchanged, and as the moonlight becomes autumnal, even the waves of the lake, which only reflect the moonlight, follow to assume an autumnal aspect. And finally, Ietaka creates a beautiful scene of the interplay of light and darkness, the moonlight shifting and scattering upon the waves.

Hana sasou
Hira no yamakaze
fukinikeri
kogiyuku fune no
ato miyuru made
Kunaikyō, SKKS, II:128

Enticing the blossoms,
The mountain breeze of Hira
Sweeps down upon the lake
Until the floating petals make visible
The wake of the boat that rows away.

The honka is:

Yo no naka wo
nani ni tatoen
asaborake

This world--
To what shall I compare it?
In the morning haze,

---

[1]Bunya no Yasuhide's Kokinshū poem is also the honka of this work by Teika:

Toki wakanu
hana sae iro ni
Izumigawa
hahaso no mori ni
arashi fukurashi
Teika, SKKS, IV:532

Even those blossoms,
Which, they say, are untouched by time,
Are dyed a different hue.
Ah, the autumn gales must rage
In that grove of beech trees in Hahaso.

Here the "color" of the waves is that of the autumn leaves which have been carried downstream from the grove of hahaso trees.

kogiyuku fune no	The white wake of a boat
ato no shiranami	That rows away.

Mansei, SIS, XX:1327 (MYS)[1]

Mansei's poem is one of the most famous in the traditions of court poetry, and it is the definitive statement of mujō, the transiency of all existence. When we first read Kunaikyō's poem we are struck with two aspects: the cleverness of her conception that the wake of a ship has been made visible by petals of blossoms and thus been seemingly robbed of transiency, and the incomparable beauty of the image of the petals swirling down from Mt. Hira in such great number they cover the surface of Lake Biwa. However, further examination reveals that Kunaikyō, no less than Mansei delineates transiency; and that the image of the blossom's on the wake of the boat is no more than the speaker's pathetic illusion of permanence. That is, if the wake of a boat has been an image of transiency, even more so have been the cherry blossoms in countless poems of the court tradition. The blossoms that so beautifully color the waves last only for a moment. Beckoned down to the surface of the lake by the breeze, their life and season have already passed. The breathtaking beauty that the speaker has discovered here points to transiency with even greater pathos than Mansei's poem.

Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu--
Naniwa no haru wa	The scene of spring in Naniwa
yume nare ya	Was it then a dream?
ashi no kareha ni	The wind sweeps across
kaze watarunari	The withered leaves of reeds.

Saigyō, SKKS, VI:625

The honka is:

Kokoro aramu	With one who comprehends,
hito ni misebaya	I wish I could share it--
Tsu no kuni no	In the province of Tsu

---

[1]The Manyōshū original of this Shūishū poem is:

Yo no naka wo
nani ni tatoemu
asabiraki
kogiinishi fune no
ato naki gotoshi
Mansei, MYS, III:351

Naniwa watari no	The scene of springtime
haru no keshiki wo	On the shore of Naniwa
Nōin, GSIS, I:43	

Saigyō's poem is placed in the Shinkokinshū among poems on winter's blight. It is the only instance of a honkadori by Saigyō in the Shinkokinshū.[1] Nōin's poem, which conjures up a scene of young reeds in Naniwa bay, celebrates a new discovery of beauty. It is one of the three poems in the Goshūishū on the subject of reeds, a subject which appears in imperial anthologies there for the first time.[2] It

---

[1]It has been suggested that Saigyō's poem,

Kokoro naki	Although my heart is unformed,
mi ni mo aware wa	Yet, even I, in my body must know
shirarekeri	The pathos of things:
shigi tatsu sawa no	A snipe takes flight from a marsh
aki no yūgure	On an autumn evening.
Saigyō, SKKS, IV:362	

was also composed in response to Nōin's "Kokoro aramu" poem cited here. See Nishizawa Yoshihito, "Saigyō no Nōin ka juyō: 'Naniwa no haru' kara 'Shigi tatsu sawa,'" Kokugo to kokubungaku (November, 1980), pp. 65-82. In addition, Saigyō was no stranger to the technique of honkadori. Itoga Kimie points out in her study, "Saigyō ni okeru koten sesshū no isō--Kokinshū no baai," in Chūsei no jojō (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979), pp. 217-54, some one hundred instances in which Saigyō makes a reference in his own works to a poem from the Sandaishū. Among Saigyō's poems in the Shinkokinshū, Itoga notes a relation between Saigyō's SKKS, XVIII:2032 and KKS, 992 as well as between Saigyo's SKKS, XII:2079 and KKS, 952.

[2]The other two poems in the Goshūishū are:

Mishimae ni	On Mishima Bay,
tsunogumi wataru	The roots of the reed stalks
ashi no ne no	Send forth new shoots,
hito yo no hodo ni	And after a single night had passed
harumekinikeri	I see springtime all along the bank.
Sone no Yoshitada, GSIS, I:42	

Naniwagata	The spring breeze
ura fuku kaze ni	Sweeps across Naniwa Bay
nami tateba	Stirring ripples in the water.
tsunogumu ashi no	Now I see the young reeds along the
miemi miezumi	bank;
Anon., GSIS, I:44	Now they are hidden from view.

also gives rise in the Senzaishū to the spring subject "Naniwa ho haru,"[1] and its influence can perhaps be seen in the selection of "reeds" as a spring subject in the Shinkokinshū.[2]

Therefore, in one sense, Saigyō's poem conveys the greatness of the changes that nature has wrought. The scene of spring so praised by Nōin and celebrated by poets after him has utterly disappeared, blighted by winter. In addition, for Saigyō Nōin was a fellow priest of an earlier generation who shared with him an intense interest in poetry. Years ago, Nōin had expressed a wish to share the beauty of Naniwa's spring with someone who would understand. Saigyō has now come to that place, but it is too late, too late in season and too late in time to share the experience with Nōin. In his time, Saigyō cannot recover Nōin's experience.

Further, dream suggests illusion. We may ask whether the dream was Nōin's or Saigyō's, for the poem calls into question the very nature of all personal experience, which must fade away beyond recognition. The pristine scene of spring exists now only in Nōin's poem and in Saigyō's mind, and he is left to question its reality.

The second type of honkadori of variation we will examine is that of a progression in time. In poems of this type, the Shinkokinshū poets use a honka to establish a "past" to which their new composition

---

[1]The Senzaishū poem is:

Kokoro naki	I do not count myself
waga mi naredomo	Among men of refined sensibilities,
Tsu no kuni no	Yet in the Province of Tsu,
Naniwa no haru ni	Even one such as I am loath to leave
taezu mo aru kana	This lovely scene of springtime.
Suemichi, SZS, II:106	

This poem is also an allusive variation of Nōin's work cited above.

[2]In the Shinkokinshū, we find in the first volume of spring poems:

Mishimae ya	Oh, the inlet of Mishima!
shimo mo mada hinu	On the leaves of reeds
ashi no ha ni	Still moist with frost,
tsunogumu hodo no	As though to summon fresh greenery,
harukaze zo fuku	The spring breeze gently stirs.
Michimitsu, SKKS, I:25	

This poem is an allusive variation of Sone no Yoshitada's Goshūishū poem above.

alludes. We can find two excellent examples among Yoshitsune's poems. Yoshitsune uses this form of honkadori to sketch a world of nostalgia and gentle melancholy in which past and present richly intermingle in the speaker's mind.

1. Isaribi no	The light from the past--
mukashi no hikari	The flares of the fisher folk
ho ni miete	Dimly glow.
Ashiya no sato ni	In the village of Ashiya
tobu hotaru kana	The fireflies hover in the air.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, III:255	

The honka is from the Ise monogatari:

Haruru yo no	Might they be the clear night's stars,
hoshi ka kawabe no	Or fireflies by the river bank,
hotaru ka mo	Or perhaps fires
waga sumu kata no	Kindled by the fisherfolk
ama no taku hi ka	Near my dwelling?
Narihira, Ise monogatari 174 (episode 87)	(McCullough, trans.)[1]

Yoshitsune's second poem is:

2. Mukashi kiku	Hearing of its past,
Ama no kawara wo	I have come to the banks
tazunekite	of the "River of Heaven."
ato naki mizu wo	But I can only gaze
nagamu bakari zo	Upon the waters that bear no traces.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, XVII:1652	

The honka is again from the Ise monogatari:

Kakikurashi	Having hunted until dark
tanabatatsume ni	Let us borrow a lodging
yado karan	From the Weaver Maid,
Ama no kawara ni	For we have come to the banks
ware wa kinikeri	Of the River of Heaven.
Narihira, Ise monogatari 162 (episode 82)	(McCullough, trans.)[2]

The honka of Yoshitsune's first poem occurs in an episode of the Ise monogatari in which Narihira and some companions are out riding in the vicinity of Ashiya, where Narihira owns an estate. With the coming of night, they seek shelter in the dwelling of one of the courtiers, and Narihira composed the poem as he gazes toward his Ashiya estate. In his composition, Yoshitsune alters the playful,

---

[1] See McCullough, Tales of Ise, p. 130.

[2] Ibid., p. 126.

"elegant bewilderment" of the original Ise poem to a momentary hallucination in which the speaker sees the flickering lights of a scene from the past. Commentators differ in their opinion whether the speaker sees both the fishers' flares and the fireflies as part of the present scene or only the latter. Given the structure of the poem, it is very possible that both are present and are thoroughly intertwined in the speaker's perceptions. In other words, the speaker of Yoshitsune's poem dimly sees before him what could be the scene summoned up in the past by Narihira in the apparent continued presence of fishers' flares and fireflies. He now stands in the place of Narihira, long since dead, and discovers the continuity of the natural scene and of Narihira's perception of it.

According to the Ise monogatari, Narihira composed the poem that is the honka of the second of Yoshitsune's poems above in response to a challenge from Prince Koretaka, his friend and patron. They and other courtiers were on an outing and at dusk came upon a river called Amanogawa (River of Heaven). There Prince Koretaka commanded Narihira to compose a poem on the topic "Coming to Amanogawa after a hunt at Katano." In his poem, Narihira cleverly plays upon the place name Amanogawa--literally the River of Heaven but also the name of an actual river--and introduces the conceit that he seeks lodging of the Weaver Maid.

Yoshitsune returns to that scene. Interestingly, although Yoshitsune uses this poem in a utaawase, it is not a composition on a set topic but is seemingly based upon actual experience Therefore, he visits the Amanogawa in commemoration of Narihira. But, he finds the river flowing ceaselessly, revealing no trace of the visit of Narihira and his companions. Yoshitsune does not, or cannot in his time, ask the Weaver Maid for shelter. All that he can do is gaze at the flowing waters of the river.[1]

---

[1]The tone of melancholy nostalgia expressed in the "Isaribi no . . ."poem and the "Mukashi kiku . . ." poem was favored by Yoshitsune. Another striking example in the Shinkokinshū is:

Hito sumanu	No one dwells here.
Fuwa no sekiya no	Beneath the wood-planked eaves,
itabisashi	Of the ancient barrier of Fuwa,

In this type of honkadori, the poet need not refer explicitly to a past event in the conception of his poems. However, our knowledge of a past derived from a honka deepens the implications of the new composition. This is the case with the following poem by Lady Tango:

Yo mo sugara	All through the night
ura kogu fune wa	The boats rowed about the bay.
ato mo nashi	Now they have vanished.
tsuki zo nokoreru	The moon still remains
Shiga no Karasaki	Over the Cape of Kara.
Tango, SKKS, XVI:1505	

The honka is a Hitomaro poem from the Manyoshu.

Sazanami ya	In Shiga of the rippling waves
Shiga no Karasaki	The Cape of Kara
sakiku aredo	Prospers as before,
ōmiyabito no	Yet it waits in vain
fune machikanetsu	For the pleasure boats of the
Hitomaro, MYS, I:30	courtiers.

Hitomaro's poem is one of two envoys to his chōka, "On passing the ruined capital of Ōmi." In it, he mourns the destruction of Emperor Tenji's court at Ōtsu as a result of the Jinshin War. The capital was in Ōtsu for a mere five years between 667 and 672. In Hitomaro's day, no trace remained of it, and in vain did one wait for the courtiers' boats to return.

Without reference to Hitomaro's poem, Tango's work appears to describe an evening when courtiers rowed their boats out onto Lake Biwa to admire the moon. The topic of the poem is "moon above the lake." By dawn, the boats have returned to shore, and the moon remains alone over Karasaki. However, Tango's poem seems to say much more. First, Japanese commentators also associate her poem with Mansei's composition:[1]

---

arenishi nochi wa	And in the aftermath of destruction,
tada aki no kaze	Only the autumn gales.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, XVII:1599	

[1]Kubota Jun also points out that Tango's poem is most likely related to the following poem in the Goshūishū:

Suma no ama no	In Suma Bay,
ura kogu fune no	The boats of the fisherfolk
ato mo naku	Leave no wake behind.
minu hito kouru	Why do I persist in this folly,

Yo no naka wo	This world--
nani ni tatoen	To what shall I compare it?
asaborake	In the morning haze,
kogi yuku fune no	The white wake of a boat
ato no shiranami	That rows away
Mansei, SIS, 1327 (MYS)	

By relating Tango's work to Mansei's poem, we are made aware of the significance of the vanished boats as an image of transiency and of the pathos of the lingering moon. Second, when we recall Hitomaro's envoy, our understanding of transiency is crystallized in a shared experience of sorrow. In Tango's poem, not only Karasaki but now the moon is left to await those who will never return. In addition, just as Hitomaro transformed his personal sorrow into an aspect of the natural scene, so too the speaker of Tango's poem does not intrude into the scene she depicts. In the end, the boats of the previous evening to which the speaker appears to refer are eclipsed by the memory of the ancient boats that had already vanished by Hitomaro's time.

The following poem by Teika relates to its original both as a kind of reversal of a proposition and as a narrative continuation. Again he uses this simple formula to create a remarkable, distinctive work:

Matsuyama to	My beloved
chigirishi hito wa	Who vowed he was as constant as
tsurenakute	Matsuyama,
sode kosu nami ni	Has grown cruel;
nokoru tsukikage	In the waves that rise above my
Teika, SKKS, XIV: 1284	sleeves
	The moonlight lingers.

The honka:

Kimi okite	If I leave you
adashi kokoro wo	And my heart should prove untrue
ware motaba	And betray you,
Sue no Matsuyama	Then let the waves of the sea
Nami mo koenan	Rise to the peak of Matsuyama.
Anon., KKS, XX:1093	

In the Kokinshū love poem, a man vows eternal faithfulness to his

---

ware ya nani naru	Loving her whom I have never seen.
Minamoto Takaakira, GSIS, XII:652	

Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyoshakū, 7:161.

lover, likening the possibility of his betrayal to that of the waves from the sea rising to the peak of Matsuyama.[1] In Teika's poem, these events have become reality. "Sode kosu nami" of course refers to tears, but given this honka, we perceive for a moment the impossible movement of the waves somehow billowing across the lady's sleeves. In the phantasmal vision of moonlight and waves, we find the previously inconceivable response of the natural world to the speaker's pain.

The third type of honkadori of this category that we will examine exhibits a striking structural characteristic. That is the Shinkokinshū poets place the allusion to their foundation poem in the first three lines of their composition and the new aspect of conception in the last two lines. It is true that in general we can observe a tendency in the Shinkokinshū poems toward a clear-cut third line caesura, and nowhere is this more clear than in many honkadori of this type. Further, this type of honkadori reminds us of linked verse, as the new composition caps the images or conception of the honka in such a way as to shift suddenly our perceptions and understanding. We can see the basic form in the following poem by Gotoba:

Uguisu no	The warbler sings.
nakedomo imada	And yet the snow of winter
furu yuku ni	Still falls.
sugi no ha shiroki	White are the cryptomeria leaves
Ōsaka no seki	At the Osaka Barrier.
Gotoba, SKKS, I:18	

The honka is a Kokinshū poem.

Ume ga e ni	On the plum branch,
kiiru uguisu	The warbler has alighted and sings
haru kakete	Now that it is spring.
nakedomo imada	Yet the wintry snow lingers
yuki wa furitsutsu	And still falls and falls.
Anon., KKS, 1:5	

We can immediately see that the basic conception of the Kokinshū poem, "Although it is spring and the warbler sings, the snow still

---

[1] This Kokinshū poem is also the honka of SKKS, 37, 705, 970, and 1473. Aoyagi Keisuke, "Sue no matsuyama--hitotsu no honkadori ron," traces historically the use of this Kokinshū poem as a foundation poem by poets up to the time of the Shinkokinshū. Aoyagi Keisuke, "Sue no matsuyama--hitotsu no honkadori ron," Seijō bungaku, 82 (1972):1-13.

falls," is placed in concentrated form in the first three lines of Gotoba's poem. In the Kokinshū poem, the poet's point is to express elegant bewilderment at the discrepancies between what he knows spring should be and what he finds in the natural world. In contrast, Gotoba shifts suddenly, in his fourth line, to a large vista of evergreens in the snow. "White are the cryptomeria leaves" provides a concreteness of imagery which the honka does not have, and Gotoba's final line, "The Barrier of Ōsaka," adds a specific setting, absent from the honka, that of one of the most frequently invoked poetic place names of the tradition. As a result, the upper four lines are transformed into a representative description, one that fulfills the associations of the utamakura of the fifth line.[1]

---

[1]Gotoba did not randomly choose the place name, "Ōsaka no seki." There was an old notion in poetry that the new year, that is spring, crossed over the Ōsaka Barrier into the capital. For example:

Hito shirenu	Unknown to others,
mi wa isogedomo	How I have yearned to hasten to your side,
toshi wo hete	
nado koegataki	But though the years have passed,
Ōsaka no seki	Why can I not meet you,
GSS, XI:732.	Banished here beyond Ōsaka barrier?
Matsu hito wa	I have been told
kinu to kikedomo	That the man I await
aratama no	Will not return.
toshi nomi koyuru	All alone the New Year
Ōsaka no seki	Will cross Ōsaka Barrier.
GSS, XVIII:1304	
Aratama no	I shall not wait
toshi ni makasete	For the coming of the new year
miru yori wa	To meet with her.
ware koso koeme	No, I shall be the first to cross
Ōsaka no seki	The Barrier of Ōsaka mountain.
Kentoku Kō, SKKS, XI:1005	

In the above three poems, the first syllable of "Ōsaka" pivots with "au" to meet. Kentoku Kō's poem, though included in the Shinkokinshū, dates from the tenth century. The poet alludes to Gosenshū poem 1304 above.

Ōsaka no	Springtime too
seki wo ya haru mo	Must have crossed
koetsuran	The Ōsaka Barrier!
Otowa no yama no	This morning I see the haze

The poet may use this form of honkadori to shift the context of the poem and thereby give new significance to the basic conception of the foundation poem. Ietaka does this in the following poem.

Au to mite	I envisioned her,
koto zo to mo naku	And yet, with no fulfillment
akenunari	The dawn came.
hakana no yume no	Ah! the empty token of remembrance
wasuregatami ya	Bestowed by the ephemeral dream.
Ietaka, SKKS, XI:1386	

---

kesa wa kasumeru	Trailing across Otowa Mountain.
GSIS, I:4	

Mention of the sugi of Ōsaka barrier can be found from the time of the Goshūishū:

Ōsaka no	In the eighth month,
sugi no muradachi	When, through the grove of cryptomeria,
hiku hodo wa	They cross the Ōsaka Barrier,
obuchi ni miyuru	Ah, the herd of "full moon" horses
mochizuki no koma	Appear to be dapple gray.
GSIS, IV:278	

Ōsaka no	At Ōsaka Barrier,
sugi ma no tsuki no	If the brilliant light of the moon
nakariseba	Did not filter through the cryptomeria,
iku ki no koma to	How would we ever know
ikade shiramashi	How many horses entered the capital?
SKS, III:121	

The above two poems refer to the horses which in Heian times were brought each year in the eighth month to the capital from Mochizuki in the province of Shinano. On the fifteenth day of the eighth month, the emperor viewed these horses and others offered to him from the various stock-farms across the country.

Ōsaka no	On Ōsaka mountain,
seki no sugihara	A brilliant light baths the floor
shita harete	Of the cryptomeria grove,
tsuki no moru ni zo	Ah, on this lovely night it is the moon
makasetarikeru	
SKS, IX:306	That is the guardian of the barrier.

"Moru" pivots to mean both to guard and to filter through.

Mention of the summer thrush begins with the Kinyōshū:

Wagimoko ni	On Ōsaka mountain
Ōsaka yama no	He has met his beloved,
hototogisu	The summer thrush,
akureba kaeru	And at dawn he takes leave of her,
sora ni nakunari	I hear his cries in the sky.
KYS, II:133	

The honka is:

Aki no yo mo	"Autumn night is long,"
na nomi narikeri	So they say, but I did not find it so,
au to ieba	We were together,
koto zo tomonaku	And yet it came to naught,
akenuru mono wo	For the dawn came so swiftly.
Komachi, KKS, XII:635	

Both are love poems. Komachi bases her poem on the poetic notion that autumn nights, in contrast to those of spring or summer, are long.[1] Yet, she says, this autumn night she has passed with her lover has passed all too swiftly. Ietaka turns the night into a dream, and even in a dream the speaker finds that the night has passed without fulfillment. In the Shinkokinshū, Ietaka's poem is placed among works that describe the last phase of a love affair, when the lovers are already estranged. By this stage, the only occasion on which one could hope to meet one's lover is in a dream. For the speaker of Ietaka's poem, that dream, which was to be his or her remembrance of a lover, proves to be empty.

We also find the following summer poem by Teika in which he makes us doubly aware that he is juxtaposing something new to an earlier poem by using a pivot, rather than a simply syntactic connection, to link the old and the new:

Tamaboko no	All messages
michiyuki hito no	From my love, who travels the road
kotozute mo	Straight as a jewelled spear,
taete hodo furu	Have ceased, while the spring rains
samidare no sora	Fall on and on from the sky.
Teika, SKKS, III:232	

The honka:

Koishinaba	"If you are dying of love,
koi mo shine to ya	then simply die," are those his thoughts?
tamaboko no	From my love
michi yuku hito no	Who travels the road, straight as a jewelled spear,
kotozute mo naki	I receive no word.
Hitomaro, SIS, XIV:937 (MYS)[2]	

---

[1] Komachi's poem is also the honka of SKKS, 304 and 1570.

[2] The Manyōshū original reads:

Koi shinaba
koi mo shine to ka

Teika's poem is an example of a seasonal work the honka of which is a love poem. As such, it technically belongs in Category V. However, it also illustrates the manner in which a poet can structure a poem so that we are led from the honka to a new vision of its implications. The first four lines of Teika's poem are almost a repetition of the honka: "Much time has passed since all communication with my lover ceased." However, in the fifth line, he introduces an image, and we realize that in the fourth line, "hodo furu" was a pivot meaning both much time has passed and (the rain) continued to fall. In one sense, we can understand this poem narratively; the lady who waits in vain for her lover is further oppressed, somehow enclosed by the wearying nothingness of the spring rain. At the same time, the topic of this poem is "samidare," and the first four lines that speak of the lady and her love illuminate the emotional implications of "samidare no sora." We can relinquish a speaker and reference to a specific "event" of the past and still appreciate that the description of thwarted love in the first three lines of the poem gives concrete delineation to that mood of oppressive melancholy generally associated with the spring monsoon rains.

In the following two instances of allusive variation, the poet combines two foundation poems in his new composition. He uses one of them to establish the setting of his own poem, and one or both to define the metaphoric meaning of the images in his composition. The first poem is by Jien; the second, by Teika.

1. Kokoro koso
yukue mo shiranu
Miwa no yama
sugi no kozue no
yūgure no sora
Jien, SKKS, XIV:1327

It is my heart,
That knows not where to turn;
On Miwa mountain
The sky at dusk grows ever darker
Above the cryptomeria trees.

The honka are:

Waga koi wa
yukue mo shiran

My loving heart
Knows not where to turn

Tamaboko no
michiyuku hito no
koto mo tsugenaku
XI:2370

hate mo nashi
au wo kagiri to
omou bakari zo
Mitsune, KKS, XIII:611

And has no boundaries.
All that I can hope for
Is a single meeting with her.

Waga iho wa
Miwa no yamamoto
koishiku wa
toburai kimase
sugi tateru kado
Anon., KKS, XVIII:982

I dwell in a hut
Near the foot of Miwa mountain.
If you should yearn for me,
Come and seek me there
At the gate near the cryptomeria trees.

Teika's poem:

2. Shirotae no
sode no wakare ni
tsuyu ochite
mi ni shimu iro no
akikaze zo fuku
Teika, SKKS, XVI:1336

On the parting
Of white hempen sleeves
The dew falls,
And, its color piercing my being,
The autumn wind blows.

The two honka:

Shirotae no
sode no wakare wa
oshikeredo
omoi midarete
yurushitsuru kamo
MYS, XII:3186

The parting of
our white hempen sleeves
Was painful, and alas,
Because my feelings were in disarray,
I permitted you to leave me.

Fukikureba
mi ni mo shimikeru
akikaze wo
iro naki mono to
omoikeru kana
Tomonori, Kokin waka rokujō 31301

Now as it blows
It pierces my being--
This autumn wind--
Ah, I thought in the past
That it was a thing without color.

The context of Jien's "kokoro koso" poem is closely related to the anonymous Kokinshū poem, and he appears to speak as the person who has received the invitation to visit.[1] Further, he takes the helplessness and directionless of love of which Mitsune speaks and gives them new significance in spatial terms, beyond the purely metaphorical meaning of the original.[2] The speaker of Jien's poem is not only physically lost in the mountains, but his feelings, too, which have brought him so far, have been robbed of their proper object. In the gathering of darkness, the speaker has no further hope of finding his lover's

---

[1]The anonymous Kokinshū poem is also the honka of SKKS, 1062 and 1652.

[2]Mitsune's poem is also the honka of SKKS, 1135.

dwelling. The image of the dark boughs of the cryptomeria standing against the darkening sky convey the closing in of helpless anguish.

Teika's poem, which is composed on the topic "love and wind" combines honka of two different thematic areas, parting and autumn. The Manyōshū poem of parting provides the basic setting, that of lovers taking leave of each other at daybreak, and the image of white hempen sleeves; Tomonori's poem, the notion of the "color" of the autumn wind. Teika uses these to convey imagistically a woman's realization of the fading away of love. He does so, further, by reversing the normal order of perception in which we see an image and them its metaphoric meaning. In his poem, metaphoric meanings, established by the honka, give way to the concreteness of the image itself.

In the Manyō poem, "Shirotae" functions only as a makura-kotoba for sleeve (sode), and we readily accept "shirotae no sode no wakare" as a metaphor for the lovers' parting. Teika's first three lines, in contrast, act as a concrete description. Dew falls on the parting of the white hempen sleeves. We are not permitted to resolve the metaphor through a statement of emotion as in the Manyōshū poem. "Tsuyu" is of course a metaphor for tears, but we are aware most of all of the haunting image of dew (tears), themselves white or colorless, spilling upon white sleeves.[1]

A similar relation exists between the last two lines of Teika's poem and Tomonori's work. In the latter, the notion that the wind has color arises as a response to "shimu," which pivots to mean both "to pierce" and "to imbue with color." In Teika's poem, we need no longer consider whether the autumn wind has color or not. The sleeves and dew are white; the wind possesses color which pierces the being. Because Teika so stressed whiteness in the first three lines, we ponder what manner of color that might be. Again, "aki" of "akikaze" is a pivot and means both color and the lover's demeanor of growing indifference to the lady. But we are shown only objects--sleeves, dew,

---

[1]The dew, as tears, may also suggest crimson tears of blood. Andō Tsuguo, Fujiwara Teika, pp. 196-200.

tears, and wind--a world of whiteness in which somewhere a woman has begun to realize that her lover will soon leave her.

In the most common type of variation, the foundation poem acts as a paradigm, providing a core of established meaning. The poet selects a well-known poem and creates a variation that embellishes upon certain facets of the original. Because his foundation poem is so well-known, the poet can take for granted his audience's familiarity with the basic terms of his own composition; he is free to explore there select parts of meaning or mood or to summon up an alternate vision that challenges the canonical status of the original.

The following poem by Shikishi illustrates how dependent the new composition may be on the foundation poem and, at the same time, rich in its own identity:

Sari tomo to	"And yet he might return,"
machishi tsuki hi zo	So I thought, and the days and months
utsuriyuku	Passed away,
kokoro no hana no	While I entrusted myself
iro ni makasete	To the color of the blossoms of his
Shikishi, SKKS, XIV:1328	heart.

The honka is Ono no Komachi's famous poem:

Iro miede	What changes,
utsurou mono wa	While we do not see its colors fade
yo no naka no	In this world,
hito no kokoro no	Is the flower that blossoms
hana zo arikeru	Within a lover's heart.
Komachi, KKS, XI:797[1]	

Clearly, Komachi's poem defines the basic assumption on which Shikishi's poem rests. Shikishi echoes Komachi's conclusions in the last two

---

[1]Komachi's poem is also the honka of Shunzei's Daughter's summer poem:

Orifushi mo	As the seasons
utsureba kaetsu	Come and go, so it too is changed,
yo no naka no	In this world,
hito no kokoro no	A sleeve dyed the color of the
hanazome no sode	blossoms
SKKS, III:179	Of a lover's heart.

The subject of this poem is the yearly ritual of changing from winter garments to those of summer. Here, "hana no iro" is simultaneously a metaphor for the changes in people's feelings and the actual color of the summer garments.

lines of her poem. The allusive variation, however, possesses a mood of quiet sorrow that is quite different from Komachi's poem. Shikishi achieves this mood by means of a syntactic inversion of the lines of her poem and the subtle contrast of moods between the first three lines and the last two. In Shikishi's poem, lines four and five should grammatically be placed before lines two and three. But by inverting these lines, Shikishi isolates the objective description of the passage of the days and months in the first three lines, and in the last two, presents a metaphor in a tone of self-reflection that differs from that of the previous lines. In addition, because there is no grammatical closure in the last line, the mood of quiet sorrow simply continues to reverberate. Shikishi's speaker has always known the truth of which Komachi spoke--there is no sudden discovery of the fickleness of the human heart--here and yet she had made herself wait for her lover as the days and months passed by.

There is a similar relationship between the following composition by Takakura no In and its honka:

Hitori nomi	All alone I gazed
nagamete chirinu	As the blossoms of the plum
ume no hana	Scattered.
shirubakari naru	In vain I awaited the one
hito wa toikode	With whom I could share their beauty.

Hachijō In no Takakura,
SKKS, I:54

The honka:

Kimi narade	If not to you
tare ni ka misemu	To whom shall I show them?--
ume no hana	The blossoms of the plum--
iro wo mo ka wo mo	Only people who truly know can savor
shiru hito zo shiru	Their perfume and their color.

Ki no Tomonori, KKS, I:38

We can read Takakura's composition as following Tomonori's in time; the discerning friend has failed to respond to the speaker's invitation. But such a direct connection is not necessary. As in Shikishi's poem, Takakura's makes succinct reference to the honka in the last two lines of her poem. Also, as in the previous poem, there is a syntactic inversion involved; in more proper order, lines four and five should precede lines one through three. The grammatical inconclusiveness of the poem and its muted tone permits us to return to the

"event" of the original, and the resonance between the two poems enriches our perception of the allusive variation.

In the following two examples, the Shinkokin poet changes the speaker of the honka in his own composition:

1. Kayoi koshi
yado no michishiba
karegare ni
ato naki shimo no
musubohoretsutsu
Shunzei kyō no musume,
SKKS, XIV:1335

The grasses along the path
He followed to my dwelling
Are blighted,
And no trace of him remains,
Where the frost clings in disarray.

The honka is from the Sagoromo monogatari:

Tazunubeki
kusa no hara sae
shimogarete
tare towamashi wo
michishiba no tsuyu
Sagoromo monogatari, 1595

Even the fields of grass,
Where I might seek for her
Are blighted in the frost
And who shall inquire of it--
The dew upon the grassy path?

2. Kakiyarishi
sono kurokami no
suji goto ni
uchifusu hodo wa
omokage zo tatsu
Teika, SKKS, XV:1389

Each strand
Of her black tresses that I once caressed
And swept from her face,
Now appear before me as a phantasm
As I lie alone in longing.

The honka is:

Kurokami no
midare mo shirazu
uchifuseba
mazu kakiyarishi
hito zo koishiki
Izumi Shikibu, GSS, XI:755

I take no heed
That my tresses are in tangled disarray.
When I lie here alone,
I yearn above all things
For him that once caressed them.

All four are love poems. The speaker of the Sagoromo poem is a man; of Shunzei's Daughter's, a woman. Izumi Shikibu speaks as a woman; Teika speaks as a man. There is no narrative connection within each pair of poems. The new composition presents an alternate version of the same or very similar emotional experience portrayed in the honka.

In the honka to Shunzei's Daughter's poem, Prince Sagoromo speaks of his sorrow on being told of his lover's death.[1] "Kusa no hara" refers to fields where she has been cremated; even those fields

---

[1]See Mitani Eiichi and Sekine Yoshiko, ed., Sagoromo monogatari, Vol. 79 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 119.

are withered in winter and bear no traces of the lady. In contrast, the speaker of Shunzei's Daughter's composition is a woman who has been abandoned by her lover. Her use of language is more complex; "karegare" functions as a pivot meaning both to wither and to grow estranged; "ato naki" conveys that the lovers have drifted apart and that the withered grasses bear no trace of the lover's visit; "musubohoretsutsu" describes both the frost clinging in disorder to the grasses and the lady's helpless, suffocating sorrow. Her lover is not dead, yet the perception of death from the honka colors our understanding of the lady's anguish.

Teika's "kariyarishi" poem presents a kind of reverse mirror image of the original, which, further, intensifies emotional significance. In the traditions of court poetry, Izumi Shikibu's poem is unusual in its physical detail--the woman's dishevelled hair (usually suggesting emotional abandon in the sexual act) and her longing for her lover's touch. No doubt Teika chose it as a foundation poem for this reason. However, he places the woman's hair in her lover's memory; each strand of her flowing black hair appears before him as a phantasm. The physicality of Izumi Shikibu's poem is transformed into an image in the mind, which nevertheless, conveys, to the degree permitted in court poetry, the nature of passion.

Category 4. Deepening of the Conception of the Original Poem

The Shinkokinshū poems in this category give new depth and complexity to the conception (kokoro) of their foundation poems. What distinguishes the allusive variations here from those of the previous categories is the central role which hon'i, "quintessential significance," plays in determining their nature. The poet explores the hon'i of the foundation poem in greater depth in his new composition. As a result, we see the foundation poem as an antecedent that has awaited the greater attainment of the allusive variation. The following two seasonal poems are good examples:

1.	Shiga no ura ya tōzakariyuku nami ma yori	Oh the Bay of Shiga, From beyond the waves that recede Far into the distance

kōrite izuru	The frozen moon of the dawn
ariake no tsuki	Rises into the sky.
Ietaka, SKKS, VI:639	

The honka:

Sayo fukuru	As the night grows late,
mama ni migiwa ya	The water of the inlet
kōruran	freezes more and more.
tōzakariyuku	The waves of the Bay of Shiga
Shiga no uranami	Recede into the distance.
Keikaku, GSIS, VII:419	

2.	Koma tomete	There is no shelter
	sode uchiharau	Where I might rest my horse
	kage mo nashi	And brush my sleeves,
	Sano no watari no	In the vicinity of Sano Ford
	yuki no yūgure	On an evening of snow.
	Teika, SKKS, VI:671	

The honka:

Kurushiku mo	How troublesome,
furikuru ame ka	This incessant rain.
Miwa no saki	At Sano Ford
Sano no watari ni	Near the Cape of Miwa
ie mo aranaku	There is no house to shelter me.
Okimaro, MYS, III:265	

Both Ietaka's poem and his honka are winter poems. The latter describes the manner in which lake water begins to freeze from the shore outward, so that it appears as though the waves (water) are receding from the shore. Ietaka is more interested in presenting an image of utter coldness. He accepts the proposition of the honka, but it is now near dawn, and the waves have receded far into some distant place of quintessential coldness. From that place, rises the cold, pale moon of dawn. Moonlight has often been likened metaphorically to ice in this poetry; in Ietaka's work we discover that both originate in a distant, unknown source of coldness.

Teika's poem and his Manyōshū honka are also close in basic conception, and again, Teika explores the hon'i, this time of the hardship of travel, more deeply. Teika changes rain to snow and the dwelling to shade, and he eliminates the narrative comment, "kurushiku mo." The time in his poem is winter dusk. Where the Manyōshū poem speaks of individual suffering, Teika's poem loses the person in the landscape. We are explicitly shown only the sleeves of the solitary

figure in relation to, moreover, an act, brushing his sleeves, that does not even take place. Perhaps for a moment, the speaker is motionless, reflecting upon his surroundings before he proceeds on his journey. Around him, the snow swirls in the growing darkness. Soon, no trace of his presence will remain. Such words as "suffering" have no place in Teika's vision of the human figure in the vast and changing world of nature.

The Shinkokin poets demanded the greatest depth of conviction in the composition of love poetry. Thus in this category of honkadori we find many examples of love poems that intensify the emotions expressed in the foundation poem. In the three love poems below, the Shinkokin poets take well-known love poems of the past and make us aware of the rich complexity their core conception can still yield.

1. Itsumo kiku
mono to ya hito no
omouran
konu yūgure no
akikaze no koe
Yoshitsune, SKKS, XIV:1310

Can he believe
That it is the same sound
I used to hear?
The voice of the autumn wind
On the evenings he does not come to me.

The honka is:

Konu hito wo
matsu yūgure no
akikaze wa
ikani fukeba ka
wabishikaruran
KKS, XI:727, Anon.

On these evenings
I await but he does not come--
In what manner
Does the autumn wind blow
That it sounds so sorrowful.

2. Nagame wabi
sore to mo nashi ni
mono zo omou
kumo no hatate no
yūgure no sora
Michimitsu, SKKS, XII:1106

Weary of gazing,
I sit listlessly and ponder
In vague yearning:
Distant banners of clouds
In the evening sky.

The honka is:

Yūgure wa
kumo no hatate ni
mono zo omou
amatsu sora naru
hito wo kou tote
KKS, XI:484, Anon.

In evening,
I gaze toward distant banners of clouds
And yearn,
For I long for my lover
Who dwells in the heavens.

3. Awarenaru
kokoro no yami no
yukari to mo
mishi yo no yume wo

Pitiable,
Who is able to judge
If the dream
Of the night I spent with you

tareka sadamen — Was born of the darkness of my heart?
Kintsune, SKKS, XIV:1300

The honka is:

Kakikurasu — I too have groped
kokoro no yami ni — In utter darkness.
madoiniki — Can you not determine tonight
yume utsutsu to wa — Which it might have been--
yobito sadameyo — Whether dream or reality?
Narihira, KKS, XI:418 — (McCullough trans.)[1]
(Ise monogotari, episode 82)

In Yoshitsune's honka, a lady asks why it is that the autumn wind seems more sorrowful than usual when her lover does not visit her.[2] ("Aki" of "akikaze" pivots to mean both autumn and to grow weary of.) It is of course not the wind that has changed but the lady's emotional state, and the poem speaks of the subjective nature of perception. Yoshitsune transforms the query of the honka into a bitter accusation that reveals the utter discrepancy between the emotions and perceptions of the lady who is the speaker and her lover.[3] Whether

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 116.

[2]Besides the honka, Yoshitsune's poem is influenced by Teika's work:

Kaerusa no — Does he gaze upon it now
mono to ya hito no — As he bids farewell to her
nagamuran — And turns sadly homeward?
matsu yo nagara no — Awaiting him, I beheld it all night,
ariake no tsuki — This moon in the dawn sky.
Teika, SKKS, XIII:1206

[3]The following poem by Yoshitsune is another instance in which he transforms a self-reflective poem into one of direct address:

Iwazariki — Such was not your promise,
ima kon made no — When you vowed quickly to return,
sora no kumo — That I should grieve so
tsuki ni hadatete — As the months go by, and the moon
mono omoe to wa — Remains hidden beyond the clouds.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, XIV:1293

The honka of this work is:

Ima kon to — Because you vowed
iishi bakari ni — You would return to me,
nagatsuki no — Now in the ninth month,
ariake no tsuki wo — I have spent the whole night waiting
machiidetsuru kana — Until the dawn moon rises.
Sosei, KKS, XIV:691

the wind is now more sorrowful in and of itself or because of her state of mind is no longer an issue. It has changed for the lady. The absent lover remains oblivious to the fact that his betrayal has altered the world which the lady inhabits, the only world that exists for her.

Michimitsu's poem differs more strikingly from its honka and conveys a more complex emotional state. In the honka, the speaker gazes out at the banners of clouds on the horizon, thinking of someone far away. "Amatsu sora" can also mean the imperial court, in which case the speaker's lover may be a high-ranking personage with whom he or she has no hope of meeting. In comparison, in Michimitsu's poem the object of love is unclear. We need not necessarily suppose it is the same as in the honka. Rather, the first three lines of Michimitsu's poem describe thought which has lost its object, a numbness arising from the exhaustion of thought. The speaker has passed beyond passionate longing to emotional quiescence. In the last two lines, the banners of clouds moving in the distance reflect the speaker's state of mind. The mind now tranquil is filled with the movement of the clouds.

Kintsune introduces depth and complexity into the conception of dream. The honka of Kintsune's poem was composed by Narihira in response to the Priestess of Ise's query whether the night they had passed together had been dream or reality. Her poem is:

Kimi ya koshi	Did you, I wonder, come here,
ware ya yukikemu	Or might I have gone there?
omoezu	I scarcely know . . .
yume ka utsutsu ka	Was it dream or reality--
nete ka samete ka	Did I sleep or wake?
Anon., KKS, XIII:624	(McCullough, trans.)[1]
(Ise monogatari, episode 69)	

Narihira replies that he is lost in the darkness of illusion and cannot reply. In Kintsune's poem, the speaker is a woman who, further, no longer asks whether her love affair was a dream or reality. There is no question it was an illusion, an illusion that is hers alone and not even shared with a lover. Because of her lover's coldness, she concludes that all that has occurred and all that she has felt are only illusions that arose from the darkness of her own heart. Further,

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 116.

"kokoro no yami" also suggests illusion and emotional attachments in a Buddhist sense, which prevent one from achieving enlightenment. The speaker of Kintsune's poem is no longer deluded by dream, but she is still trapped in the "reality" which her emotions have shaped.

Category 5. Creation of Atmosphere

In the Maigetsushō excerpt quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Teika called for the use of love poems as foundation poems in seasonal works, and seasonal or miscellaneous poems for love. According to Teika, if the new composition belonged to a different subject area from the honka, the poet would be more likely to create a distinctive work. In addition, the use of love poetry and and also selected poems from monogatari as honka for seasonal poems is directly related to the efforts of the Shinkokin poets to create poetic effects through overtones that appear to surpass the lexical meaning of individual words. We noted above that the use of monogatari poems as foundation poems for formal composition only won acceptance in the Shinkokin period and that Shunzei was a strong supporter of this movement, especially in relation to the Genji monogatari. He was also the first poet to envision a kind of honkadori using poems from monogatari in which the poet would not merely borrow a few words or make reference to the "event" of the tale, but would reproduce the atmosphere of the original.[1] Honkadori of this category do not recreate the conception of the foundation poem, but instead use it to evoke fleeting memories, in Shunzei's terminology omokage, of the tale and to summon up suggestions of emotional meaning in descriptive, seasonal poems. A few words borrowed from the original poem sustain a memory of the context that charged them with meaning.

Shunzei presents us with an excellent example:

Yūsareba	When evening falls,
nobe no akikaze	The autumn wind of the fields
mi ni shimite	Pierces the being,
uzura nakunari	And I hear the quail cry

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, "Genji Monogatari to Shinkokin-teki hyōgen," p. 27.

Fukakusa no sato	In the Village of Deep Grasses.

Shunzei, SZS, IV:258

The honka (honzetsu) is taken from an episode in the Ise monogatari:

> Once a man gave this poem to a lady at Fukakusa--someone in whom it seems he was gradually losing interest.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Toshi wo hete | Were I to leave this house, |
> | sumikoshi sato wo | Where I have dwelt |
> | idete inaba | These years, |
> | itodo Fukakusa | Might the luxuriant garden |
> | no to ya narinan | Become a tangled wilderness? |
>
> The lady's reply.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | No to naraba | If it be a wild field |
> | uzura ni narite | Then I shall be a quail |
> | nakioran | Calling plaintively-- |
> | kari ni dani ya wa | And surely you will at least |
> | kimi wa kozaramu | Come briefly for a hunt. |
>
> The man deeply moved no longer felt inclined to leave (McCullough, pp. 148-49).[1]

Shunzei's work, an autumn poem, is one of his most beautifully rendered. The speaker of the poem has wandered out into the autumn fields near the ancient village of Fukakusa. Dusk approaches and the wind grows cold. Somewhere in the grasses, perhaps in memory of the lady of the Ise monogatari or perhaps because the lady has indeed been transformed, the quail cry. "Uzura" and "Fukakusa" in Shunzei's poem refer explicitly to the Ise love poems, and "akikaze" pivots to mean both autumn wind and the wind of weariness, underscoring the atmosphere of love. In addition, the haunting power of the poem derives from the subtle balance of description and emotion, objectivity and subjective perception. In the first two lines, evening, fields and autumn wind evoke through their poetic values a dark, chill sorrow which is then focused by the third line. Grammatically, "mi ni shimite" modifies "uzura"--the speaker surmises that the quail cry because of the chill autumn wind. Yet when we read the third line, we may assume that "mi" refers to the speaker, and clearly it is the presence and empathic experience of the speaker that gives the poem its depth of feeling. With the fifth line nominative, "Fukakusa no sato" we realize the first four lines of the poem have defined quintessentially the

---

[1] McCullough, The Tales of Ise, pp. 148-49.

implications of that well-known poetic place. The seemingly personal experience of the speaker and the traces of the sorrows of an ancient romance he finds in the dark autumn fields are given ultimate significance as the hon'i of Fukakusa no sato.[1]

---

[1]Shunzei's poem is also noteworthy because it gives a new focus to the traditional implications of the uta-makura, Fukakusa no sato, by attaching a specific "event" to them. In doing so, he also changes the Ise monogatari story so that it better conforms to these implications. Earlier poems on Fukakusa often dealt with death:

To mourn for their father, all of the children had gathered in one place. Now only she remained and composed,

Fukakusa no	From this day, his home
yado ni narinuru	Shall vanish among the deep grasses.
yado moru to	How frail the hope it offers,
tomareru tsuyu no	This evanescent dew, my life,
tanomoshigenasa	That remains to preserve this dwelling.

Michitsuna no haha, Kagerō nikki 326, (Michitsuna no hana shū I:8)

This poem is not included in the Kagerō nikki proper but can be found in the Michitsuna no haha no ie no shū appended to it. Michitsuna no haha shū in Waka shi kenkyūkai, ed., Shikashū taisei 8 vols. (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1973-76) Vol. 1: Chūko I, p. 628. Also see, Suzuki Tomotarō, Kawaguchi Hisao, Endō Yoshimoto, Nishishita Kei'ichi, eds Tosa nikki, Kagerō nikki, Izumi Shikibu nikki, Sarashina nikki, Vol. 20 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974):327.

The memorial hall for his father's grave was in Fukakusa. Thus he journeyed there and composed:

Toshi wo hete	Through the years,
mukashi wo shinobu	My heart which yearns for the past
kokoro nomi	Alone is still unchanged,
uki ni tsuketemo	And how deep remains my sorrow
Fukakusa no sato	In this village of deep grasses.

Hōgan Chōshin, SZS, IX:600

In the early twelfth century, we find the following poem by Tametada, Shunzei's father-in-law and the father of his first wife:

Sumi arashi	All is desolate.
uzura dani konu	Not even the quail now visit
yado nareba	This dwelling among the grasses,
koke Fukakusa no	Where the moss lies deep
tsuyu mo tomarazu	And the dew spills ceaselessly.

Tametada, Tametada shū 255 "uzura"

Tametada shū in Shikashū taisei, Vol. 2: Chūko II, p. 500.

A dark mood of sorrow and loss is evident in these poems. The existence of such work allows Shunzei to write his poem in which, completely contrary to the Ise monogatari, it seems that the lady has been

In the Shinkokinshū, Ietaka displays a similar sensitivity to

---

abandoned by her lover and has transformed herself into a quail.

For the younger Shinkokin poets, Shunzei's honkadori defined not only the manner in which the Ise episode was to be used when making an allusive variation but also defined the hon'i both of Fukakusa and of "uzura" (quail). We find in the Shinkokinshū:

Fukakusa no	Still faithful
tsuyu no yosuga wo	To the tenuous vow
chigiri nite	Made among the dewdrops,
sato wo ba karezu	Autumn does not forsake the village
aki wa kinikeri	But returns to these deep grasses.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, IV:293	

Yoshitsune's poem refers not only to episode 132 but also 48 in the Ise monogatari. The latter episode reads:

> Once a man planned an entertainment for someone who was going away, but the guest failed to come. The man sent him this:

Ima zo shiru	Now that I know
kurushiki mono to	How hard it is to wait,
hito matamu	I shall call faithfully
sato wo ba karezu	At houses
toubekarikeri	Where I am expected.
	(McCullough, trans.)

McCullough, The Tales of Ise, pp. 102-3.

Fukakusa no	The moon that shines
sato no tsukikage	In the village of deep grasses,
sabishisa mo	And the loneliness too--
sumikoshi mama no	All are as once I knew them--
nobe no akikaze	The autumn gales in fields.
Michitomo, SKKS, IV:374	

Aki wo hete	As autumn passes,
aware mo tsuyu mo	The dew and the pathos
Fukakusa no	Grow deeper,
sato tou mono wa	And only the quail seek the village
uzura narikeri	Here among the deep grasses.
Jien, SKKS, V:512	

Omoiiru	Long I have yearned,
mi wa Fukakusa no	My life now the frail autumn dew
aki no tsuyu	That clings among the deep grasses.
tanomeshi sue ya	Is this the aftermath of his vows,
kogarashi no kaze	The fierce wintry gales?
Ietaka, SKKS, XV:1337	

Ietaka also refers to Michitsuna no haha's poem which is quoted above.

the manner in which images from love poetry can be used to summon up atmosphere in a seasonal work. We find the following among his spring poems:

Ume ga ka ni	Amid the scent of plum trees
mukashi wo toeba	I inquire of the past.
haru no tsuki	The spring moon--
kotaenu kage zo	Its light does not reply
sode ni utsureru	And only reflects upon my sleeve.
Ietaka, SKKS, I:45	

The poem is based on an episode of the Ise monogatari:

> Once when the ex-empress was living in the eastern Fifth ward, a certain lady occupied the western wing of her house. Quite without intending it, a man fell deeply in love with the lady and began to visit her; but around the Tenth of the First Month she moved away without a word. . . . When the plum blossoms were at their height in the next First Month, poignant memories of the year before drew him back to her old apartments. He stared at the flowers from every conceivable standing and sitting position, but it was quite hopeless to try to recapture the past. Bursting into tears, he flung himself onto the floor of the bare room and lay there until the moon sank low in the sky. As he thought of the year before, he composed this poem:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Tsuki ya aranu | Is not the moon the same? |
> | haru ya mukashi no | The spring |
> | haru naranu | The spring of old? |
> | waga mi hitotsu wa | Only this body of mine |
> | moto no mi ni shite | Is the same body. . . . |
>
> He went home at dawn still weeping. (McCullough trans.)[1]

In the Shinkokinshū, this poem from the Ise monogatari generates six allusive variations.[2] We should recall that it was greatly admired

---

[1] McCullough, Tales of Ise, pp. 148-49.

[2] This Ise poem is also the honka of SKKS, 45, 46, 1136, 1449, 1540, and 478. The last of these is an autumn poem on the subject "kinuta" (fulling block):

Sato wa arete	The village is desolate.
tsuki ya aranu to	Who gives vent to her resentment,
uramite mo	Asking, "Is this not the moon,"
tare asajiu	While beating garments on a fulling
koromo utsuran	block
Yoshitsune, SKKS, IV:478	Deep among the rank weeds?

A poem on the subject "kinuta" usually deals with a woman who is pounding the fulling block in autumn and yearning for her husband who

by Shunzei and Teika as epitomizing Narihira's style of overtones, and in addition, poets of their age valued this episode of the Ise as an ultimate portrayal of love.

The subject of Ietaka's poem is plum blossoms. Gone are the intensity and relentless rhetorical questions of Narihira's poem, and in their place are resignation and quiescence of emotion. The speaker of Ietaka's poem may be a person who mourns a lost love or simply yearns for the past. As in Narihira's poem, the moonlight and blossoms remain ever the same. They do not respond to the speaker's inquiries concerning the past, and we realize that no answer was expected. There is only tranquil presence; the moonlight, as though gently touching the speaker, is reflected in the tears on his sleeves.

In the following poem, Ietaka eliminates even the speaker who might serve as a narrative link to the "event" of the original love poem.

Kasumi tatsu	The morning mist rises
Sue no Matsuyama	On Matsuyama in Sue,
honobono to	Dimly, dimly
nami ni hanaruru	The banners of clouds
yokogumo no sora	Take leave of the waves of the sea.

Ietaka, SKKS, I:37

The honka is:

---

is far away. The source is a poem by Po Chü-i (Wakan rōeishū 345; in the Muromachi period, the subject of the Nō play Kinuta.) In Yoshitsune's poem, the speaker hears the sound of the fulling block and conjectures that somewhere deep among the grasses of her desolate dwelling there is a woman who beats the block in resentment of her lover. Yoshitsune brings two previously separate "events" together and illuminates the implications of loss that they share.

Teika uses his poem as an occasion to present a startling image:

Ume no hana	Upon my sleeves--
nioi wo utsusu	Doused in the fragrance
sode no ue ni	Of the plum blossoms--
noki moru tsuki no	Filtering through the broken eaves
kage zo arasou	The moonlight vies for a place.

Teika, SKKS, I:44

It is a common notion that moonlight is reflected in the tears on one's sleeves. In Teika's work, the perfume of the plum blossoms permeates the moistened sleeves of the speaker, vying for place with the moonlight.

Kimi okite	If I leave you,
adashi kokoro wo	And my heart proves untrue
ware motaba	And betrays you,
Sue no Matsuyama	Then, let the waves of the sea
nami mo koenan	Rise to the peak of Matsuyama.
Anon., KKS, XX:1093	

Ietaka presents a scene of hazy light, soft motion, and utter silence. Except for the suggestion of parting in "hanaruru," the poem has no explicit connection with love. Yet the waves have risen to the peak of Matsuyama, and somehow love has been betrayed.[1] The beauty of the scene, however, surpasses all sorrow. "Honobono to" (luminosity) defines the essential quality of the images: the mist rising against the mountain and the banners of clouds drifting up above the waves on the peak. We are distant from the scene as we are from the ancient lovers. Ietaka leaves us with a memory of emotion.

Another Ise episode is the source of some ten poems, all with the subject tachibana, in the Shinkokinshū. The episode is:

> Once there was a man whose palace duties kept him so busy that his wife, tired of being neglected, ran off to another province with someone who had promised to treat her better. Some time later the first man was appointed Messenger to Usa. As he was journeying toward the shrine he learned that his former wife was now married to one of the local officials responsible for providing him with accommodations on the way. He gave orders that the lady was to serve his wine. "Otherwise I shall not drink it," he said. When she presented the cup, he took a tangerine from a dish of relishes and recited this poem:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Satsuki matsu | Scenting the fragrance |
> | hanatachibana no | Of tangerine flowers |
> | ka wo kageba | Blossoming in the Fifth Month, |
> | mukashi no hito no | I recall the perfumed sleeves |
> | sode no ka zo suru (KKS, 139) | Of someone I loved. |
>
> The lady, deeply ashamed, became a nun and entered a mountain retreat. (Ise monogatari, ep. 60, McCullough, trans.)[2]

[1] Aoyagi Keisuke, "Sue no Matsuyama--hitotsu no honkadori ron," pp. 1-13. Aoyagi's thesis that Ietaka's poem speaks of the waves rising over Matsuyama runs counter to much of the traditional interpretation of this poem. However, he backs up his conclusion with convincing historical data concerning the use of the Kokinshū poem "kimi okite . . ." as a honka by poets of the Heian period. The allusive variations consistently suggest that the waves have indeed risen to the peak of the mountain.

[2] McCullough, The Tales of Ise, pp. 108-9.

In the Kokinshū, this poem, without reference to the Ise, is placed among those about the hototogisu; "mukashi no hito" is then a metaphor for the "hototogisu" for whom the speaker waits. In the imperial anthologies that follow the Kokinshū, there are a number of poems on "tachibana" that refer merely to its scent and to the fact that this scent is carried for some distance. The conception is not unlike that found often in poems about the plum. In the Shinkokinshū, all the contemporary poems on "tachibana" make reference to the Ise episode and deal with the subject in relation to remembrance, the loss of love, and as the ultimate loss, death itself. Four of these poems are:

Tare ka mata
hana tachibana ni
omoiiden
ware mo mukashi no
hito to narinaba
Shunzei, SKKS, III:238

In the ages to come
Shall someone remember me as well
In the scent of the flowering orange?
When I too have become
A person of the past.

Kaerikon
mukashi wo ima to
omoine no
yume no makura ni
niou tachibana
Shikishi, SKKS, III:240

It will not return,
The past, I envision as the present--
As I lie asleep--
On my pillow of dreams,
The scent of the flowering orange.

Tachibana no
niou atari no
utatane wa
yume mo mukashi no
sode no ka zo suru
Shunzei kyō no musume,
SKKS, III:245

When I doze
Among the fragrant blossoms
Of the flowering orange,
Even my dreams are filled with the perfume
Of his sleeves of long ago.

Yūgure wa
izure no kumo no
nagori tote
hana tachibana ni
kaze no fukuran
Teika, SKKS, III:247

In the evening,
Drawn by a memory of which
Of the clouds,
Does the wind now blow
Among the blossoms of the flowering orange?

In his poem, Shunzei laments his mortality and expresses his hope that someone in the future will remember him, just as he had cherished the memory of loved ones and of the poets of the past.[1]

---

[1] In the miscellaneous volumes of the Shinkokinshū, we find a similar poem by Shunzei:

Composed when he was compiling the Senzaishū and examining poems composed by people of the past:

Yukusue wa
In the ages to come,

Both Shikishi and Shunzei's Daughter speak of dream, a motif which itself, until the time of the Shinkokinshū, was rarely seen among seasonal poems.[1] As discussed previously, the speaker of Shikishi's poem is well aware of the illusory nature of her dream; the poem begins "kaerikon mukashi"--the past that will not return--and concludes with "niou tachibana"--the cause of her illusion. In contrast, the speaker of Shunzei's Daughter's dream appears to revel in her dream. "Yume mo mukashi no sode no ka zo suru" speaks of the power of the "tachibana" to summon up a dream of her lover in which she not merely catches a glimpse of him but becomes aware of the perfume of his sleeves, a scent she would have become familiar with during their sexual encounters.

Teika's poem most explicitly deals with the implications of death. His poem is based on another honka as well, one from the Genji monogatari:

Mishi hito no	As I gaze upon the clouds
keburi wo kumo to	As the traces of the smoke
nagamureba	From her funeral pyre
yūbe no sora mo	Even the evening sky
mutsumajiki kana	Now seems dear to me.

Genji monogatari, "Yūgao" 796

The speaker of the "Yūgao" poem is Genji, who speaks of his sorrow after the death of Lady Yūgao.[2] The clouds of evening remind him of the smoke that rose from her funeral pyre, and thus the sky itself becomes a keepsake of the lady. In Teika's poem too, the clouds are the last traces of the smoke from a crematory fire. In evening, the wind, which had dispersed the smoke among the clouds, now returns, as though seeking a keepsake, and blows among the "tachibana."

---

ware wo mo shinobu	Will there be someone then
hito ya aran	To cherish my memory?
mukashi wo omou	Because of the propensity of the
kokoro narai ni	heart
Shunzei, SKKS,	To think upon the past.
XVIII:1845	

[1]See Nakajima Yō, "Kokin to Shinkokin ni okeru yume ni tsuite," Kyōto Furitsu Daigaku Kokugo kokubungaku kaishi (April, 1959), pp. 18-26.

[2]Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:80; Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 1:169

It is not clear who has died. Most likely, it is the speaker's lover. The speaker has been gazing into the sky, seeking the last traces of his or her existence. Now they have vanished, and the wind, also in mourning, blows among the orange blossoms and carries their perfume to the speaker, the perfume so reminiscent of the lover's sleeves.

We saw earlier in the category of variations how a poet would transform images that function as part of a preface or as metaphors in a foundation poem into concrete description in his own work. This technique yields the most striking results when the original is a love poem and the new work, a seasonal poem. In the following poems by Yoshitsune, images become emblematic of human emotions and also retain their independent identities as descriptions of the natural world.

1. Uchishimeri — Deeply moistened,
ayame zo kaoru — The iris exudes a rich perfume.
hototogisu — The summer thrush,
naku ya satsuki no — Does it sing? In the fifth month,
ame no yūgure — on this evening of rain.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, III:220

The honka is a Kokinshū love poem:

Hototogisu — The summer thrush,
naku ya satsuki no — Does it sing in the fifth month,
ayamegusa — Among the iris?
ayame mo shiranu — My heart is in disorder
koi wo suru kana — As I awaken to love.
Anon., KKS, XI:469

2. Sasa no ha wa — The leaves of bamboo grass
miyama mo saya ni — Tremble and rustle
uchisoyogi — Deep in the mountains,
kōreru shimo wo — And the wintry wind,
fuku arashi kana — Sweeps across the icy frost.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, VI:615

The honka is a Manyōshū poem:

Sasa no ha wa — The leaves of bamboo grass
miyama mo saya ni — Tremble and rustle
sayagedomo — Deep in the mountains.
ware wa imo omou — Yet I am steadfast in my thoughts,
wakare kinureba — Longing for my wife I left behind.
Hitomaro, MYS, II:133 (Hitomaro, SKKS, X:900)[1]

---

[1]In modern Manyōshū texts, the third line of this poem reads, "midaretomo." In the Shinkokinshū, the same poem appears in the form:

Sasa no ha wa
miyama mo soyo ni

The honka of Yoshitsune's first poem is the opening work of the four volumes of love poetry in the Kokinshū. It describes the first stirrings of love, and the speaker, who is most likely a man, has not yet met the lady in question, but has only glimpsed her shadowy form behind a screen or seen a small sample of her calligraphy. The first three lines function as a jo (preface) to draw out "ayame mo . . ." in the fourth line and to establish the setting. "Ayame mo shiranu koi wo suru kana" describes the speaker's bewilderment over his strangely agitated emotions. In the confusion of his senses, he is no longer even sure he has heard the summer thrush, whose elusive first song, all courtiers eagerly awaited each year.

Yoshitsune's poem, on the subject iris, describes a rainy dusk of early summer through the use of rich images that fill our senses. "Uchishimeri" conveys the heavy moisture of the misty rain and suggests the fine droplets that cling to the iris blossoms. Perhaps a slight breeze carries the perfume of the blossoms, and somewhere the warbler sings, breaking the silence of the gathering darkness. The speaker does not see the blossoms or the warbler. We imagine him deep within his dwelling that grows darker now at dusk. The dense atmosphere of the poem also conveys the lethargy and passivity of emotions that have passed through great agitation to become formless reveries.

The honka of Yoshitsune's second poem is an envoy to Hitomaro's chōka on parting from his wife. Hitomaro compares himself to the bamboo grass of the mountain that is agitated, blown this way and that by the wind, while he remains steadfast in his thoughts of his wife. In Yoshitsune's poem, it is not clear whether we should imagine a speaker in the scene. Nevertheless, the intense cold of the scene described, the rustling of the bamboo grass in the fierce wintry

---

midarumeri
ware wa imou omou
wakare kinureba
Hitomaro, SKKS, X:900

storm, and the icy frost recall the sorrow of parting expressed in the honka.[1]

The following poem exemplifies the romanticism that characterizes Yoshitsune's poetic vision:

Furusato no	In the ancient village,
moto ara no kohagi	Since the sparse-leaved hagi plant
sakishi yori	Has been in bloom,
yona yona niwa no	Night after night in the garden
tsuki zo utsurou	The moonlight is reflected in the
Yoshitsune, SKKS, IV:393	dew.

The honka and honzetsu are:

Miyagino no	In the fields of Miyagi
moto ara no kohagi	The dew lies heavy
tsuyu omomi	Upon the sparse-leaved hagi.
kaze wo matsu goto	As it awaits the wind,
kimi wo koso mate	So too, I wait for you.
Anon., KKS, XIV:694	

Miyagi no no	On Miyagi field,
tsuyu fuki musubu	I hear the sound
kaze no oto ni	of the dew-laden wind.
kohagi ga moto wo	My thoughts turn to the plight
omoi koso yare	Of the sparse-leaved hagi plant.
Genji monogatari "Kiritsubo" 762	

Tsuki kage bakari yaemugura ni mo sawarazushite iritaru.

Only the moonlight, unimpeded, found shelter among the mugworts. "Kiritsubo" (Seidensticker, trans.)[2]

Yoshitsune's autumn poem is on the topic "Flowering grasses before the moon." One of its honka is a Kokinshū love poem. The first three lines of this poem, a description of the dew-laden hagi, is a metaphor

---

[1]Hitomaro's poem is also the honka of the poem that immediately follows Yoshitsune's in the Shinkokinshū:

Kimi kozu wa	If you do not come to me,
hitori ya nenan	How shall I sleep alone,
sasa no ha no	On such a night as this,
miyama mo soyo ni	When the bamboo grass rustles and
sayagu shimo yo wo	trembles
Kiyosuke, SKKS, VI:616	And a cold frost covers the mountain-side?

This is one of the poems mentioned in Teika's Kindai shūka (kensōbon) as an excellent example of an allusive variation.

[2]Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:8-9; Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 1:36.

for the lady, who in tears, awaits her lover.[1] The honka from the "Kiritsubo" chapter of the Genji expresses the emperor's concern for Genji after Genji's mother had passed away. In this poem, "kohagi ga moto" refers to Genji, who is being cared for by Lady Kiritsubo's mother in her home. The prose passage describes the neglected garden of her dwelling.

Yoshitsune's poem also presents a scene of a garden, probably overgrown, in a forgotten ancient village. There are no human visitors; only the moon sends down its light night after night to lodge in the dewdrops on the hagi. Perhaps in the dwelling a lady still awaits an unfaithful lover, or perhaps it has been deserted for a long time. Although there is no overt personification, the image of the moonlight lodging faithfully night after night in the dew is reminiscent of the Kiritsubo emperor's love for Genji, and it also conjures up a memory of the lady who waited in vain for a lover so long ago. By focusing on the small act of the moon, Yoshitsune makes us aware of the greater absence that is the significance of the autumnal scene he describes.

The Shinkokin poets develop a type of seasonal poem in which a speaker discovers in a natural scene the vestiges of human relations and emotions from the past. As in Yoshitsune's poem above, metaphorical elements of the foundation poem are transformed into images in a landscape that somehow re-enact the past.

1. Nohara yori
tsuyu no yukari wo
tazunete mo
waga koromode ni
akikaze zo fuku
Gotoba, SKKS, V:471

From the grassy fields,
Seeking the traces of the dew
To which it had affinity
The autumn wind
Now sweeps across my sleeves.

The honka is from the Genji monogatari:

Sode nururu
tsuyu no yukari to
omou ni mo
nao utomarenu
yamato nadeshiko
Genji "Momijiga" 849

It is only a keepsake
Of the dew that drenches my sleeves--
So I think,
And yet, I cannot forsake
The blossom of the flowering pink.

---

[1]This Kokinshū poem is also the honka of SKKS, 1564.

2. Kage tomeshi	Remembering
tsuyu no yadori wo	The dwelling of the dew
omoiidete	Where it found brief shelter,
shimo no ato tou	The moonlight in the tangled grasses
asajiu no tsuki	Seeks the traces of the frost.
Masatsune, SKKS, VI:610	

The honka is again from the Genji:

Asajiu no	Having left you
tsuyu no yadori ni	In the dwelling of the dew
kimi okite	Among the tangled grasses,
shiho no arashi zo	The fierce wind blowing,
shizugokoro naki	My heart cannot find rest.
Genji "Sakaki" 910	

Gotoba's honka is a poem by Lady Fujitsubo, in which she expresses her regret for her love affair with Genji and her pity for their child. The court at large accepted the child as that of the emperor, Genji's half-brother, yet guilt and fear of discovery darkened Fujitsubo's life and, many years later, the life of her son. In her poem, "tsuyu" suggests tears, and "tsuyu no yukari" (a keepsake or reminder of her sorrow) as well as "yamato nadeshiko" refer metaphorically to her child.[1]

Gotoba's work is an autumn poem. In his dwelling, the speaker gazes out toward the fields. The autumn wind blows across his sleeves as though to seek out the tears that moisten them. We are not told why the speaker of Gotoba's poem is sorrowful, but we can assume he mourns the passing of autumn. There is no direct relation between the conception of the Genji poem and Gotoba's work. Yet, the suggestion of cold and autumnal blight in Gotoba's poem as well as the action of the wind seeking the speaker's tears reverberate with the greater tragedy of Fujitsubo's love.

Masatsune's poem has a very similar conception in which emotions and relationships find eternal resonance in the natural world. The honka is a poem that Genji sends to Murasaki, still a young child, when he is on a religious pilgrimage and contemplating leaving the world. "Tsuyu" again suggests slight and fleeting. Just as dew is quickly spilled and scattered by the fierce winds of winter, so too

---

[1] Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:140; Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji mongatari, 1:285.

Murasaki, without Genji's protection, would be at the mercy of the vicissitudes of the world. Genji's concern for her makes it impossible for him to seek a religious life.[1] In Masatsune's poem, the moonlight returns in winter to seek the frost, remembering its former, brief lodging in the dew. One Japanese commentator has suggested that the underlying conception of Masatsune's poem is of a man seeking out the dwelling of a lady who has passed away, and clearly, the honka and all that we know of the relationship of Genji and Murasaki as well as the pathos of Masatsune's composition convey to us an understanding of the endlessness of love and the loss that necessarily accompanies it.[2] Again, from a simple perception of cyclical change and desolation in nature, we are led to a deeper understanding of the essence of loss and the pathetic efforts of remembrance that are endlessly repeated in the world. We realize finally that we look upon not a scene of nature but a construct of the imagination in which we discover ever deepening meanings of hon'i.

In Teika's innovative poems, what is atmosphere or mood in a work of another poet takes on the concreteness of reality:

Samushiro ya	The cold rush matting!
matsu yo no aki no	The awaiting evening's autumn
kaze fukete	Wind grows late,
tsuki wo katashiku	And she spreads out the moonlight--
Uji no hashihime	The lady of the Uji Bridge.
Teika, SKKS, IV:420	

The honka:

Samushiro ni	On the cold rush matting,
koromo katashiki	Does she spread out her robe,
koyoi mo ya	This evening too
ware wo matsuran	And wait for me?
Uji no hashihime	The lady of the Uji Bridge.
Anon., KKS, XIV:689[3]	

---

[1]Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:199-200; Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 1:391.

[2]Minemura Fubito, Shinkokin wakashū, p. 198.

[3]This Kokinshū poem is also the honka of SKKS, 518, 611, 636, 637, and 742. Among them, Gotoba's poem SKKS, 632 is also influenced by Teika's work:

Hashihime no	Her robe is cold,
katashiki koromo	Which the lady of the bridge has spread

The honka is fairly straightforward. The speaker is a man who imagines his lover awaiting him in Uji. "Uji no hashihime" may refer to a deity of the Uji Bridge or to a courtesan to whom the man likens his lover.

The topic of Teika's poem is the autumn moon, and as he did in the "hitori nuru" poem discussed earlier in the chapter, he sketches a phantasm. The lady who lies in her cold bedding of moonlight, yearning for her lover, is a phantasmal image of the pure, cold light of the autumn moon. "Uji no hashihime" in Teika's poem also conjures up a memory of the ladies of Uji who are the heroines of the Uji chapters in the Genji. In this poem, there is no hovering atmosphere that tenders brief glimpses of the past. In the uneasy, shifting relations between units of syntactic meaning and in the wondrous image of the moonlight spread out as bedding, Teika has succeeded in portraying directly, the unreal, visionary qualities that are the hon'i of the autumn moon.

---

samushiro ni	Upon the straw matting.
matsu yo munashiki	In vain, her night of waiting has
Uji no akebono ⌐	passed.
Gotoba, SKKS, VI:636	Day breaks on the Uji river.

In poem SKKS, 518, Yoshitsune combines the Kokinshū poem cited here and a poem attributed to Hitomaro (SIS, 778):

Ashihiki no	Where they spread out reeds,
tōyama dori no	On distant mountains,
shidari o no	The fowl's plumage trails long--
naganagashi yo wo	Long as is this night,
hitori kamo nen	That I must sleep alone.
Hitomaro, SIS, XII:778, (MYS, Anon.)	

Yoshitsune's work is an autumn poem about crickets:

Kirigirisu	Shall I sleep alone?
naku ya shimo yo no	Spreading out my garment
samushiro ni	On the cold straw matting,
koromo katashiki	This frost-laden night
hitori kamo nen	When crickets cry in the cold.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, V:518	

CHAPTER VI

THE VISION OF THE SHINKOKIN POETS: THE REEMERGENCE OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIOUSNESS

As we noted in the introductory chapter, the Shinkokinshū was compiled in the aftermath of a period of disorder. The courtiers in the capital had witnessed in the late twelfth century, battles between opposing military clans in which the court became a pawn, a series of natural disasters, and a final loss of power and prestige when a new center of government was established in Kamakura.[1] The earlier antiseptic vision of change--the charm of ephemerality--could no longer provide comfort to them, and the courtiers were forced to recognize a much more radical impermanence in which nothing has a stable existence. At the same time, as the exterior structures of society, which for centuries had defined one's place in the world and the meaning of one's life, became less and less reliable, courtiers and others began to reestablish a personal relation between themselves and the outer world. Where order had collapsed, the individual became the new source of order. For many courtiers and increasingly members of the Buddhist and Shinto clergy, meaning resided in the preservation of the cultural heritage of the court not merely as artifacts to be treasured but as the core of their personal emotional sensibilities. Many people, including members of the two groups above, sought personal salvation by leaving the capital and living as recluses in the mountains and fields. They discovered a freedom from the imperma-

---

[1]For the general discussion of the court's response to the events of the late twelfth century, see Nishida Seikō, Mujō kan no keifu, Nihon bukkyō bungei shisōshi: Kodai, Chūsei-hen (Tokyo:Ōfūsha, 1970), pp. 112-290.

nence of things by, paradoxically, relinquishing all claims to permanence.

These two factors, a sense of the instability of all things and a simultaneous realization that the individual is profoundly implicated in structuring his world and even in creating his own salvation, influence the Shinkokinshū throughout and give it its distinctive character. In the previous three chapters, we have examined the techniques of the Shinkokinshū style poetry, from the point of view of how the poets made use of and enriched their poetic heritage. These techniques, however, are but one result of the poets' experience of change. It is time, therefore, to consider the Shinkokinshū not so much as a solution to formal problems of poetic composition as it is a response to greater changes that entailed new relations between poets and the outer world. We need to examine what precisely, under the rubric of hon'i they sought to portray in their poetry.

We find the following three poems in the Shinkokinshū. First, by Teika in the first volume of spring poems:

Haru no yo no	As the spring night ends,
yume no ukihashi	The floating bridge of dreams
todaeshite	Breaks off,
mine ni wakaruru	And from the peak they depart
yokogumo no sora	The banners of clouds in the sky.
Teika, SKKS, I:38	

By Shunzei, in the miscellaneous volumes:

Composed when making selections for the Senzaishū and reading the poems of the ancients:

Yukusue wa	In the ages to come
ware wo mo shinobu	Will there be someone then
hito ya aran	to cherish my memory?
mukashi wo omou	Because of the propensity of the
kokoro narai ni	heart
Shunzei, SKKS, XVIII:1845	To think upon the past.

The closing poem of the anthology, by Saigyō:

Yami harete	The darkness clears away,
kokoro no sora ni	And does not the moon that shines
sumu tsuki wa	clear
nishi no yamabe ya	In the emptiness of my heart
chikaku naruran	Draw near the mountains
Saigyō, XX:1979	That lie in the west?

These three poems differ greatly in subject matter, style, and mood.

Teika and Shunzei refer to the courtly tradition of poetry in a way Saigyo does not. Although it is perhaps less perceptible in this poem that in some others by Saigyō, he inhabits a different world from the court poets, and the confidence and the awareness of self he exhibits in this poem are not to be found among the courtiers. For this reason, Saigyō is often considered either an anomaly in the Shinkokinshū or an exemplar of a new age who, along with other priest poets, challenges the sterile artifice of court poetry. At the same time, to return to these three poems, we can just as readily isolate Teika's work from Shunzei's and Saigyō's. The latter two are personal poems while Teika's clearly is not. By this argument, the Shinkokinshū can be divided into compositions on set topics and personal poetry, in other words those that display the poet's seclusion into the imagination and a direct engagement with life. Finally, Saigyō's and Teika's works use images in similar fashion as emblems of thought. Teika, as we have discussed earlier, takes his images from court poetry; Saigyō, from the Buddhist tradition.[1]

More important that the differences between these poems, therefore, is their congruity. Each of the poets seek that which is of ultimate meaning beyond all change, an ultimate which paradoxically is only brought into existence through individual effort or only exists in the individual mind. They are, in fact, alternative versions of the same vision. The compilers of the Shinkokinshū were themselves aware of this fact. Teika, Ietaka, and Gotoba, the leading innovative poets of the time, chose to include ninety-four of Saigyō's works alongside their own works. Shunzei's seventy-two poems are easier

---

[1]For a discussion of Teika's and Saigyō's similarities and differences in their approach to poetry, to nature, and to their times, see the following articles: Kamijō Shōji, "Nikushin e no nasake," pp. 64-70; Akahane Shuku, "Shizenkan, bi ishiki," pp. 71-77; Miki Norihito, "Jidai ishiki," pp. 78-83; Itoga Kimie, "Shinkokin wakashū," pp. 84-91; Yamamoto Kōichi, "Bungaku rinen--Jikaawase han ni miru," pp. 92-98; and Fujihira Haruo, "Shikashū to karon to," pp. 99-105. These articles are gathered under the common heading, "Saigyō to Teika--Sono sōi," in Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō, Vol. 41 (June, 1976).

to understand because his poetic principles were the foundation of the Shinkokin style. However, the compilers highlight a characteristic voice in Shunzei's poems, and to an even greater degree in Saigyō's, in the selection of their poems and their placement in certain volumes of the anthology. It is therefore in relation to these three poets, Teika, Shunzei, and Saigyō, or the traditions they represent that we should examine the question of hon'i in the Shinkokinshū. We examine first the poems of the courtly tradition, exemplified by Teika's works in the seasonal and love poems of the Shinkokinshū.

Teika and the Innovative Poets: All the World as the Mind

There are six volumes of seasonal poems in the Shinkokinshū, two of spring, one each of summer and winter, and two of autumn. Each of these volumes can be further subdivided into subjects.[1] The spring volumes, with a total of 174 poems, comprise these subjects: in the first volume, beginning of spring, young shoots, the pine drawing festival, spring breeze, spring snow, spring moon, reeds, melting snow, warbler, bracken, spring haze, spring dawn, plum, hazy moon, departing geese, spring showers, green willows, and young grasses; in the second, cherry blossoms, globe flower, wisteria, end of spring, and the last day of the third month. The summer volume, the shortest among the seasons has 110 poems on the subjects: summer garments, rape blossoms, iris, summer grasses, thrush, rope across a rice field, summer showers, flowering orange, intercalary fifth month, summer trees, cormorant fishing, flares, bamboo, summer moon, seeking coolness, evening showers, locust, fireflies, end of summer, and purification rites. The two autumn volumes consist of 152 and 114 poems respectively. The subjects are: in the first, beginning of autumn, fall wind, seventh night festival, bush clover, flower-dyed garments, flowering pink, "purple trouser" blossoms, blossoms on a fence, flowers of an autumn

[1]For a thorough examination of the subjects included in the seasonal volumes of the Shinkokinshū and a comparison of these subjects with those found in earlier imperial anthologies, see Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Shinkokin wakashū no kiso-teki kenkyū, pp. 281-380.

field, morning glory, pampas grass, reeds, autumn evening, autumn thoughts, autumn wind, moon, and lightning; in the second, deer, autumn fields, harvest, dew, insects, fulling block, moon, autumn night, mist, chrysanthemum, insects, quail, frost, deep autumn, colored leaves, autumn drizzle, and the end of the ninth month. Finally, the winter section consists of 156 poems on the beginning of winter, falling leaves, winter wind, drizzle, winter moon, winter birds, winter storm, frost, winter withering, winter, ice, plovers, mandarin ducks, wild ducks, hail, snow, geese, fire, the court hunt, and the end of the year.

Overall, the choice of seasonal poems in the Shinkokinshū is traditional; the compilers have followed their predecessors' lead in gathering poems that depict the cycle of the seasons and the various court festivals that mark the passing of a year, one that exemplifies all years for all time. We should note quickly, however, several points that distinguish the Shinkokin seasonal volumes from those in previous imperial anthologies. First the compilers seem to have sought to include poems on nearly every subject that ever appeared among the seasonal volumes of an imperial anthology. One would expect that as each anthology added new subjects, subsequent works would include those subjects as part of their inherited tradition. This, however, is not the case. The added subjects disappear and reappear apparently at random until the Shinkokinshū. There they are conscientiously all included, as though the compilers sought to make a final, comprehensive summation.

Second, there are a number of subjects that are altogether new; in spring, "hazy moonlight," and "spring moon"; in summer, "thunder showers," and "bamboo"; in autumn, lightning," and "harvest"; and in winter, "winter withering." Other subjects are greatly expanded in comparison to previous anthologies; "spring snow," and "spring rain" in spring; "flowering orange," in summer; "autumn moon" in autumn. The winter category, especially the latter half, is greatly expanded. Third, there is a clear division between subjects for which we find poems by Shinkokin poets and those with poems by more ancient poets. The new and relatively new subjects as well as those which are expanded

in the Shinkokinshū almost without exception comprise poems by Shinkokin poets.

We find two trends in these changes. A number of subjects appear to be introduced or expanded because the poets wished to pay homage to certain works of the past. For example, the poems on "quail" and "flowering orange" relate to specific works in the Ise monogatari.[1] The presence of three poems on "plovers" in the volume of winter poems, probably is owing to the compilers' admiration for Tsurayuki's poem:

Omoikane	Afflicted with longing,
imogari yukeba	I set out to seek my love
fuyu no yo no	On a winter's night.
kawakaze samumi	In the piercing cold of the river
chidori nakunari	wind,
Tsurayuki, SIS, IV:224	I hear the plovers crying.

Although this poem was not included in the Kokinshū itself, it is included among the poems of the "style of overtones" (yojō tei) in the Wakatei jusshu.[2] Closer to the time of the Shinkokinshū, Shun'e described this poem, saying, "no poem possesses a richer aura (omokage) than this."[3] Even where the poems in the Shinkokinshū are not explicit honkadori, their presence implicates the older work in the creation of the anthology. As we shall see more clearly in the examination of the non-contemporary poems in the Shinkokinshū, the encyclopedic approach of the compilers, of which the inclusion of such subjects is a part, is a means of justifying the poetic innovations of their day and of preserving for all time the grandeur of their heritage.

In contrast, the seasonal volumes of the Shinkokinshū also include subjects that one does not readily associate with the elegant and courtly: for example, thunder showers, summer grasses, winter

---

[1]Most of the poems on the subject "flowering orange" in the Shinkokinshū are related to the Ise monogatari episode 60; the poems on the "quail" often appear related to episode 123. See Chapter IV.

[2]Wakatei jusshu, in Sasaki Nobutsuna, Nihon kagaku taikei, 1:45-49.

[3]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, p. 90.

withering, cicadas. In one sense, the efforts of such poets as Sone no Yoshitada, Minamoto Tsunenobu, and his son Shunrai have borne fruit in the Shinkokinshū; poets have turned their attention to fresh images that are relatively unencumbered by fixed associations and emotional implications. At the same time, these images lack the Manyō provenance which so many of the images introduced by the three poets above had. Thus we also see the breakdown of the insularity of the courtly vision. Things that do not fulfill conventional standards of charm and elegance become, in the Shinkokinshū, worthy of notice.[1]

Finally, an elegiac tone pervades much of the seasonal volumes. Certain themes related to a notion of impermanence--dreams, memories of the past, lament of old age--occur throughout the seasonal poems. Poems on the remembrance of the past go back as far as the Manyōshū and were no doubt nurtured by the Chinese example. However, nearly one-third of all references to the past ("mukashi") among the first eight imperial anthologies and the Manyōshū are to be found in the Shinkokinshū. Similarly, dreams had been used in popular Buddhist thought as metaphors for the ephemerality of life and the illusory nature of existence. It was also a familiar motif in love poetry; in an excess of yearning, one's soul would leave the body and journey to the loved one to appear in his or her dream. In the Shinkokinshū, dreams are evoked just as often in the seasonal poems and explored as a highly desirable state of being.

In the Shinkokinshū, the possibility of multiple individual responses to nature such as we find, for example, in the Kokinshū no longer exists. In the later work, nature is conjured up as though

---

[1]A number of the new images which enter court poetry at this time are derived from Chinese poetry. For an examination of such images see, Satō Tsuneo, "Teika, Jien no Hakushi monjū juyō," Chūsei bungaku 18 (1973): 1-7; "'Ame sosoku,'" Nihon koten bungakkai kaiho 64 (February, 1979): 4; "Shinkokin-teki hyōgen no kiban to shite to Heian-chō Kanshi," Nihon bungaku 28 (June, 1979): 25-33; and "Shinkokin-teki hyōgen seiritsu no ichi yōso--'munashiki eda,' 'tsuyu mo made hinu," in Tokyo kyōiku daigaku chūsei bungaku kenkyūkai, ed., Chūsei bungaku to waka, Minemura Fubito Hakase taikan kinen ronbunshū, pp. 167-81.

it were a beautiful object set apart and kept behind glass. For the Shinkokin poet, nature is no longer merely his immediate physical surroundings, the scenes and events of his own life or that of any individual. This is not to imply that these are in any way less real than some remote ideal form, the poet does not seek hidden or allegorical meaning. Yet, his vision of nature is highly selective. Individual experience is important only insofar as it manifests ultimate meaning, meaning which the poet comes to understand through the contemplation of the poems of the classic period. Likewise, "apartness" is sustained by the nature of the images themselves. Particular details of objects and scenes have no place in the portrayal of their ultimate form, and as we have seen, images do not so much seek to depict an exact likeness of a scene as to convey its overall tactile, sensual qualities. Further, the microcosm of nature sanctioned by tradition is not merely populated with the objects and scenes that are the proper subjects of poetry but also defines for all time their emotional implications and associations. As we noted in the discusion of hon'i, the Shinkokin poet does not cultivate his unique sensibilities; instead, he aligns them with canonical meaning, and only then may he enter the poetic realm of nature.

At the same time, there is in the Shinkokinshū poems a breakdown of clear distinctions between speaker and the natural world. By the end of the process by which the poet attains hon'i, what he possesses is no longer an idea of hon'i separate from himself. Instead, his very perceptions and responses to the natural world comprise hon'i. Having initially turned away from the world he reaffirms the primacy of concrete perceptions. Ultimate meaning resides nowhere but in the things of the world themselves. Further, in the tranquil contemplation which Shunzei likened to the Tendai meditational practice of shikan, the poet comes to apprehend that nature and mind, the perceiver and the perceived are not to be differentiated. The individual frame of reference of the older poems that therefore permitted variations of perceptions and responses rested on a sense of the independent and singular existence of things. In contrast, when a poet has attained hon'i, neither perceiver nor perceived can be regarded as

an absolute. According to the Mo-ho chih-kuan (Maka Shikan) itself, "One can only discuss the thing in terms of its changing characters or the characters in terms of the changing thing."[1] Likewise, the mind cannot be grasped as a separate entity. Again in the Mo-ho chih-kuan we read:

> If one derives all dharmas from the one Mind, this is a vertical relationship. If the Mind all at once contains all dharmas, this is a horizontal relationship. Neither vertical nor horizontal will do. All one can say is that the Mind is all dharmas and that all dharmas are the Mind.[2]

The poet and the things he will depict in his works are fused together with no possibility of either slipping outside the relation to establish a separate point of view or existence.

Therefore, despite the fact that the world portrayed in the Shinkokinshū seasonal poems often appears mundane, with events and actors that we recognize from imperial anthologies of the past, in truth it is a world of quite different order. Most basically, there is no longer a sense of confrontation between a speaker in a poem and nature. This gives the Shinkokin poems in general a great tranquility; things appear to come into being and vanish away before an observer who simply accepts this vision. Further, the poets celebrate the interdependence of perceiver and the perceived, the manner in which each is implicated in the existence of the other. All things including the poet are not only impermanent but cannot even be isolated as a singular whole. Yet this potentially fearful understanding becomes a means of asserting in a new way the primacy of subjective response, for there can be no dissonance between an "ultimate Reality" and one's own sensory perceptions. In the poems themselves, the exterior world is strongly colored even indistinguishable at times from the inner workings of the speaker's mind.

In the Shinkokinshū seasonal poems, we find a new manner of perception in which the discrete, absolute existence of things is

---

[1]Theodore de Bary, ed., The Buddhist Tradition in India, China, and Japan (New York: Random House, 1969; Vintage Book, 1972), p. 166.

[2]Ibid.

called into question. This is a different matter from either metaphoric comparison or a notion of the ephemerality of things. In the first of these, the poet records a likeness between two things that are inherently different. In fact, the greater the initial distance between the two objects, the more effective the metaphor is. Similarly, to call a thing ephemeral still involves a judgment about the discreteness of its existence. Cherry blossoms and autumn leaves pass away swiftly, but in so doing they act in accordance with fixed cycles of change that set them apart from other things. In contrast, the Shinkokin poets would argue that one can never see a thing wholly in and of itself but is aware only of its momentary characteristics, which, further, are contingent on the characteristics of all other things around it. The poets, therefore, portray a world full of movement and change in which the objects of nature commingle. Further, because nothing has a single, absolute form, one's perception of a phenomenon may differ from someone else's and at the same time be equally valid. This is not a license for idiosyncrasy. These poets comprehend hon'i, and their perceptions are in keeping with its values is precisely because the rightness of their perceptions is insured, that the poets can begin to readmit individual variations of experience.

For example, in these two relatively simple poems, the poets toy with the established notion that moonlight shines equally on all places.

Tsuki wa nao	Do they still
matsuran mono ka	Await the rising of the moon?
murasame no	The villagers who dwell
hare yuku kumo no	There in the distance beneath the
sue no satobito	rain clouds
Kunaikyō, SKKS, IV:423	That still conceal the clear night
	sky.

Taedae ni	Unequally,
sato waku tsuki no	The moon casts its light on some
hikari kana	villages
shigure wo okuru	But not on others.
yoha no muragumo	Patches of dark rain clouds
Jakuren, SKKS, VI:599	Move swiftly across the night sky.

The older perception of moonlight can be seen in this poem from the Genji monogatari:

Sato wakanu	It sheds its rays impartially
kage wo ba miredo	here and there,
yuku tsuki no	And who should care what mountain
irusa no yama wo	it sets behind?
tare ka tazunuru	(Seidensticker, trans.)[1]
Genji "Suetsumuhana" 835	

Both Jakuren's and Kunaikyō's works reject this static view, and permit individual variation in the experience of a single phenomenon. Kunaikyō speaks of the rain clouds sweeping across the sky. As they clear away overhead, the moonlight shines unimpeded, but the people who dwell where the sky is still covered by clouds still await the moon. Jakuren likewise envisions a scene of constant change, light shifting to darkness and darkness to light as the clouds move across the sky. The speaker's experience at any given moment is not that of someone else in another place nor of his own a few moments hence.

The commingling of the characteristics of various objects in a natural scene takes several different forms in the Shinkokin poems. Most basically, the poets portray nature as a series of relations. As we noted in the discussion of the use of caesuras, the poets juxtapose discrete images that all together convey the mood of a scene. The following two poems are sriking examples:

Murasame no	On cypress boughs
tsuyu no made hinu	Still moistened by the droplets
maki no ha ni	From a passing shower
kiritachinoboru	The mist swiftly rises
aki no yūgure	On an autumn evening
Jakuren, SKKS, V:491	
Tabibito no	The traveller's sleeves
sode fukikaesu	Are turned back
akikaze ni	By the autumn wind,
yūhi sabishiki	And the chill evening sun
yama no kakehashi	Shines on the rope-bridges in the
Teika, SKKS, X:953	mountains.

Jakuren conveys a striking tactile contrast in his poem between the small yet individually defined droplets of rain that cling to the needle-like leaves of the cypress and the amorphous clouds of mist that rise against the mountain. Likewise, we can visualize several,

---

[1]Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:115. See also Yamagishi Tokuhei, Genji monogatari, 1:241.

contrasting motions: that of the sudden shower, that of the droplets of water that continue to fall quietly from the laves of the cypress, and that of the silent, rising mist. The swiftness with which one is replaced by another, according to Jakuren, defines autumn evening.[1]

Teika focuses one's attention in turn on four separate objects in a landscape: the traveller's sleeves; the autumn wind, which turns the sleeves back; the last cold rays of the sun; and the rope-bridge which the traveller is crossing. Another poet perhaps would have closed the poem with a more familiar image, specifically a poetic place name or a time word. Had he done so, the images in the first four lines would have described the particulars of a place or time (as those of Jakuren's poem do), and the poem would have had an easy repose. In Teika's poem, however, no image is stressed more than any other, and all are equally concrete. The poet has conveyed the sorrows and hardships of travel in the portrayal of a single moment, one in which he invests no permanence whatsoever.

Jakuren's poem, therefore, is in one sense simpler than Teika's. However, the former also illustrates the Shinkokin poets' preoccupation with changes and movement in a landscape. In many poems, landscape becomes a process of change. For example:

Yūdachi no	The rain clouds
kumo mo tomaranu	Do not linger in the sky,
natsu no hi no	As the summer sun
katabuku yama ni	Descends toward the mountains
higurashi no koe	Where the evening cicadas cry.
Shikishi, SKKS, III:268	
Sora wa nao	As yet, in the sky
kasumi mo yarazu	There are no banners of haze;
kaze saete	The wind is cold,
yukige ni kumoru	And clouded with the promise of snow,
haru no yo no tsuki	The moon of this spring evening.
Yoshitsune, I:23	

Shikishi speaks of a late afternoon at the end of summer as a series of changes and movements. The cooling thunder showers have come and gone. The sun descends toward the distant mountains, where the cicadas

---

[1]See p. 348, n. 1 above for Satō Tsuneo's article discussing the phrase "tsuyu mo mada hinu," in relation to Chinese verse.

begin to sing. This sound echoes back toward the speaker. Each phenomenon comes into being, passes away, and is replaced by another.

Yoshitsune's poem, as we noted previously, is composed on the topic "lingering cold." Here, instead of a clear-cut sequence of events, the poet portrays the indeterminancy of change. In Yoshitsune's poem the only attribute of spring is the moon, and between it and the speaker are the cold wind and the clouds that still promise snow.

Finally, a single event or change may be manifested simultaneously in quite different ways:

Tsuyu sugaru	Droplets of dew still clinging,
niwa no tamazasa	The bamboo grass in the garden
uchinabiki	Gently sways.
hito mura suginu	Overhead, a bank of rain clouds
yūdachi no kumo	Moves across the sky.
Kintsune, SKKS, III:265	

The speaker of the poem gazes out into his garden and sees the bamboo grass suddenly sway, scattering the droplets of rain that still cling to it. In the sky, a mass of rain clouds sweeps overhead. Both movements, the one so small as to be scarcely perceptible, the other much larger, are caused by the wind. If one chooses one or the other as exemplifying the action of the wind, one fails to account wholly for its attributes. More important, events that appear unrelated or even random possess in fact a unity, a unity that is obscured so long as one mistakes the passing characteristics of a thing for its absolute existence.

In the portrayal of such landscapes full of movement and change, the Shinkokin poets revel in the creation of striking images that illustrate the manner in which the perceived characteristics of one phenomenon depend on those of other things around it. In other words, the poets present perceptions as they are before one intellectually unravels their sensory information. These perceptions are not illusory. On the contrary, they represent the true existence of things, while to explain them intellectually involves the imposition of a spurious order. These images take several forms in the poems. The most common involves light:

Naniwagata kasumanu nami mo kasumikeri utsuru mo kumoru oborotsuki yo ni Tomochika, SKKS, I:57	Naniwa Bay: There is no mist in the waves Yet they too appear misty. Even its reflections cloud-- The hazy spring moon,
Ashihiki no yamaji no koke no tsuyu no ue ni nezame yobukaki tsuki wo miru kana Hideyoshi, IV:398	Where reeds are spread-- In the droplets of dew on the moss Beside the path deep in the mountains I awaken late at night And gaze upon the reflected moon.
Ukaibune takase sashikosu hodo nare ya musubohoreyuku kagaribi no kage Jakuren, III:252	Cormorant boats, Do the fishers now guide them Across the swift rapids? The light of their flares Wavers unsteadily in the dark.
Aki no yo wa yado karu tsuki mo tsuyu nagara sode ni fukikosu ogi no uwakaze Michitomo, SKKS, IV:424	On an autumn evening, The droplets of dew and the moonlight That lodges there, Are together transported to my sleeves By the wind blowing among the reeds.

Hideyoshi's poem is one of a number of poems in the Shinkokinshū which explore the nature of light as reflection. As usual, dew suggests tears, and the poet portrays in this poem the sorrows of travel. Further, however, he conveys the beauty of the moon, seen not directly in the sky, but instead scattered in a myriad points of lights.

Tomochika's poem also involves reflected light and its source, but he adds the element of constant and interrelated changes. The waves of the sea reflect the soft spring moonlight and thus sea and sky are made one. Further, as the moon is clouded by the haze, so too the light in the waves grows dim.

Jakuren speaks of light as characterized by movement. The poet fuses the disparate objects, the rapids of the river, the boats, and the flares on the boats, into a single image of light wavering and moving in the darkness.

Finally, Michitomo creates a striking image of moonlight and the dew in which it is reflected transported by the wind to the speaker's sleeves. There, they become one with his tears, which also

reflect the moonlight. Mote-like spheres of light traverse the darkness.

Less frequently, the poets experiment with the commingling of sounds.

Tague kuru	Their sounds commingled--
matsu no arashi ya	Does the stormy wind in the pines
tayumuran	Now grow weak?
onoe ni kaeru	I hear the cry of the deer
saoshika no koe	Returning to the depths of the
Yoshitsune, SKKS, IV:444	mountains.

The speaker hears the cries of the deer within the sound of the wind. As the wind dies down, the cries of the deer also grow fainter, as though the deer themselves were moving away from the speaker.

In other poems, one object is "colored" by another:

Yama takami	High in the mountains
mine no arashi ni	The blossom petals that are scattered
chiru hana no	By the gales of the peaks
tsuki ni amagiru	Stream across the moonlight
akegata no sora	In the pale dawn sky.
Nijō In no Sanuki, SKKS, II:130	

Miyoshino no	In lovely Yoshino
takane no sakura	The blossoms high in the peaks
chirinikeri	Have scattered
arashi mo shiroki	And even the mountain gales are white
haru no akebono	In the spring dawn.
Gotoba, SKKS, II:133	

Sakura iro no	Once cherry-hued,
niwa no harukaze	There is no trace of the breeze
ato mo nashi	In the garden.
towaba zo hito no	If one were to ask, he would see
yuki to dani min	Only snow upon the ground.
Teika, SKKS, II:134	

All three poets focus on the perception of the wind made white (or in Teika's work, cherry-blossom colored) by the swirling blossom petals. Sanuki, presents an interplay of three shades of white: the blossoms, which stream across the sky; the moon, which descends to the west and grows fainter, and the growing light of the dawn sky. Gotoba also speaks of the whiteness of the petals filling the dawn sky. Teika's poem is more complex. Unlike the other two poets, he avoids all mention of blossom petals and speaks only of the cherry-colored wind. Further, this wind itself has already vanished without a trace, leaving behind what appears to be snow on the ground. This

notion that petals scatter like snow flakes is ancient; Teika in fact borrows it directly here from the Ise honka of this poem.[1] However, he uses it no longer merely as a metaphor but in order to suggest that blossoms exist, or are perceived in two entirely separate forms, the cherry-colored wind and the "snow" that lies on the ground. By singling out "cherry-colored" rather than the more common whiteness of the blossoms, Teika even suggests that the colors of the blossoms swirled about in the wind and of those fallen beneath the trees are somehow different.

Finally, from such poems the Shinkokin poets move to synesthesia, as well as toward the complete breakdown of distinction between a thing and its passing attributes:

Ōzora wa	All the sky above
ume no nioi ni	Is hazy now with the rich perfume
kasumi tsutsu	Of the plum blossoms
kumori mo hatenu	And, its light not wholly dimmed,
haru no yo no tsuki	The lovely moon of the spring night.
Teika, SKKS, I:40	

Ume no hana	Upon my sleeves
nioi wo utsusu	Doused in the fragrance--
sode no ue ni	Of the plum blossoms,--
noki moru tsuki no	Filtering through the broken eaves
kage zo arasou	The moonlight vies for a place.
Teika, SKKS, I:44	

The first of these poems is based upon a work, itself in the Shinkokinshū, by the ninth century poet Ōe no Chisato:

Teri mo sezu	It lacks brilliant clarity,
kumori mo hatenu	Yet never is it utterly concealed
haru no yo no	by clouds,
oborotsukiyo ni	The moon of the spring night.
shiku mono zo naki	What could ever equal
Ōe no Chisato, SKKS, I:55	The charm of its hazy light?

---

[1]Teika's poem is an allusive variation of the Ise monogatari work:

Kyō kozu wa	If I had not come today
asu wa yuki to zo	They would have fallen tomorrow
furinamashi	Like snow.
kiezu wa ari tomo	Though they have not yet melted away,
hana to mimashiya	They are scarcely true flowers.
	[McCullough, trans.]

McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 82.

In Teika's work, it is the rich perfume of the plum blossoms that fills the air and thereby clouds the spring moon.

The second work is related to Narihira's famed "Tsuki ya aran" poem from the Ise monogatari.[1] The speaker of Teika's work mourns the past and perhaps the loss of a lover. He lives in a dilapidated dwelling, the moonlight streaming unimpeded through the eaves. His sleeves are bathed in tears, and in those tears the perfume of the plum blossoms and the moonlight appear to vie for a place.

The latter characteristic, the rejection of any sense that there are concrete objects in the world that exist prior to their changing attributes, is marked in poems that we have discussed previously among those with the most flamboyant diction. For example:

Tsuki kiyomi	The moon shines clear.
hane uchikawashi	Placing wing upon wing,
tobu kari no	The geese are flying.
koe aware naru	How moving their voices
akikaze no sora	In the sky of the autumn wind.

Teika, Shūi gusō 9231 (684)[2]

Iro kawaru	While its colors change
tsuyu wo ba sode ni	The dew on my sleeves
oki mayoi	Wavers restlessly.
uragarete yuku	How withered and blighted it becomes,
nobe no aki kana	The autumn of the fields.

Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, V:516

Both "akikaze no sora" in Teika's poem and "nobe no aki" in Shunzei's Daughter's reverse the normal relation of phenomena and their attributes. Common sense tells us that the autumn wind should belong to the sky and the fields to autumn. However, by transforming the attributes into the concrete phenomena and vice versa, the poets reveal that any object can simultaneously be perceived as the characteristic of yet another. The normal "sora no akikaze" describes an autumn wind that blows in the sky; "akikaze no sora," a sky the essential character of which is determined by the autumn wind. Likewise, "aki no nobe"

---

[1]Episode 4. See McCullough, The Tales of Ise, pp. 71-72.

[2]The number in parentheses is that of this poem in Akahane Shuku, Fujiwara Teika zenkashū zenku sakuin.

in an autumnal field, and "nobe no aki" that quality of autumn which is manifested through the appearance of the field.

Likewise, if one cannot ascertain absolutely that one thing is a passing attribute of another, then it is possible to link characteristics with objects in hitherto unimagined ways.

Aki no tsuki	The light of the moon
shino ni yado karu	That lodges in the grasses
kage takete	Grows old,
ozasa ga hara ni	And in the field of bamboo grass
tsuyu fukenikeri	The dew grows late.

Ienaga, SKKS, IV:425

As noted earlier, "fukuru" (to grow late) usually modifies night; and "takeru" (to grow old past the prime) modifies a season, year, or, in one example, the moon. Thus in one sense, Ienaga has substituted for night one of its attributes, the dew; and similarly for the moon, moonlight reflected in the dew. In so doing, however, he has also altogether denied our usual perceptions of the relation between dew and moonlight and temporal change. Poets speak of these things as ephemeral; the moonlight lodges only for a moment in the dew, which itself vanishes quickly, spilled by the wind. Here in Ienaga's poem, they age. Time still moves forward, but not in a cyclical fashion in which things come into being and pass away. Instead time accumulates in a stillness in which the qualities of things grow ever deeper

The landscapes portrayed in these last few poems are the final product of the Shinkokin poets's vision of the indeterminacy of all things. In other words, one cannot speak of an absolute definition of a thing apart from the way it appears to be. Further, these poems illustrate the degree to which nature in the Shinkokinshū belongs to the imagination of the poet. No one would argue that these poems describe a landscape through the detached eyes of a botanist. In addition, the subjectivity of the poems is altogether different from that of the earlier metaphoric style of the Kokinshū in which the poet sought to depict his idiosyncratic response to nature. Instead, the perceptions in the Shinkokin works clearly belong to the individual perceiver, for he creates them, and at the same time, they reflect ulitmate reality. So many of the images in the poems above are elusive, to be sensed like fleeting phantasms in the darkness rather than

held fast for scrutiny. The Shinkokin poets revel in these visions of the mind.

Therefore, just as the poets sunder the boundaries between the objects of nature in various ways, so too they question those between the speaker and the exterior world. We noted in the previous three chapters how the Shinkokin poets transmuted emotions and thought into images, and the fusion of speaker and the natural world is fundamental to Shinkokinshū poetry.[1] Far more poems use images in this fashion than merely describe a landscape. Here we will examine first those poems that deal explicitly with the interpenetration of emotion and landscape and second the manner, especially in love poetry, in which the speaker's self is transformed into an object of contemplation.

In a fairly large number of poems, the poets explicitly explore the interrelation of human observer and the exterior world, seeking to distinguish them only to conclude that they are indistinguishable:

Kurekakaru	As darkness falls
munashiki sora no	I gaze upon the autumn
aki wo mite	Of the empty sky.
oboezu tamaru	Ah, unbeknownst to me, the dew
sode no tsuyu kana	Now lies in profusion on my sleeves.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, IV:358	
Oshinabete	Even within those people
mono wo omowanu	Who have never given much thought
hito ni sae	To the meaning of things,
kokoro wo tsukuru	The first wind of autumn
aki no hatsukaze	Shapes an awareness of pathos.
Saigyō, SKKS, IV:299	
Aki wa tada	In autumn,
kokoro yori oku	I once believed the evening dew
yūtsuyu wo	That issues from my heart
sode no hoka to mo	To belong instead to that world
omoikeru kana	That lies beyond my sleeves.
Echizen, SKKS, IV:297	

These poems are among the nearly fifty in the autumn volumes and the ten or so in the winter that speak of the ineluctable sadness of these seasons. In court poetry, autumn and winter have always been considered times of increasing sadness, but in these poems sadness itself

---

[1]See Yoshioka Hiroshi, "Sakusha no iru fukei," Musashino bungaku 14 (1967): 24-28 for an interesting examination of this aspect of Shinkokin poetry.

is no longer an issue. Instead, the speakers of the poems ponder wher precisely the sorrow resides. Thus in Yoshitsune's poem, the speaker responds to the scene before him with no conscious awareness of his own response. His response, further, is physical. Although he has been unaware of any feelings of sorrow, his sleeves are drenched with tears, which mingle with the dew. Dew is a common metaphor for tears, and in this poem, the poet suggests that just as the dew is a natural by-product of autumn evening, so too are tears. In addition, there is nothing in the sky itself to which the speaker, having become aware of his response, can point as its cause. In one sense, if the cause existed apart from the speaker, it could be intellectually isolated, and this is not the case. Further, the poet writes "munashiki sora no aki" instead of "aki no munashiki sora" and implies that autumn is not to be defined as this or that characteristic but the loss of all distinguishing qualities. This meaning is further heightened by "kurekakaru," with its implications of the end of the day, the season, and life itself. The speaker recognizes without conscious effort the common fate of extinction.

Saigyō's work is a simpler version of his famous "Kokoro naki" poem. Here Saigyō states, the coming of autumn causes the perceiver to be transformed into a person of understanding. "Mono omowanu" literally means a person who does not think about things, commonly in poetry a person who does not feel deeply the sorrows of human relations and of the passage of the seasons. One who is affected by these sorrows possesses "kokoro," an awareness of the meaning of things. Thus according to Saigyō, a person does not need to seek after meaning or possess a cultivated sensibility in order to be moved by autumn. Simply because he is present in the world, he is acted upon and will come to understand the nature of things. "Kokoro wo tsukuru" is an unusual phrase; nature constructs a heart where it was absent and thus brings the speaker and his sensivitity into being.

In Echizen's poem, the natural world becomes an extension of the speaker's emotional state. This poem has a honka:

Ware naranu	Although separate from me
kusaba mo mono wa	The leaves of grass also
omoikeri	Have feelings.--

sode yori hoka ni — The white droplets of dew
okeru shiratsuyu — Found elsewhere than on my sleeves.
Fujiwara Tadakuni, GSS, XVIII:1282

Tadakuni sets up a comparison between the speaker, who is a human being and thus capable of feeling sorrow, and the grasses, which are insentient. He concludes that they too must have feelings because they are drenched in dew, dew which so resembles the tears on his sleeves.

This notion of a likeness, based on a simple metaphor, between two essentially separate entities no longer exists in Echizen's poem. Here, the speaker discovers that what she had always believed to be the dew of autumn evening actually issued from her own heart. In any other season, when there is no dew, there would be no question that what lies on her sleeves are tears. But in autumn, she had noted only the presence of the dew. She now becomes aware that her sleeves, and perhaps, all else are moistened by her own tears.

The Shinkokin poets also use the motifs of dream and recollection of the past as occasions to explore the boundary between self and the outer world. As we briefly noted above, both appear to be part of an emphasis in the Shinkokinshū on the transiency of all things--dreams because they are brief and illusory, memory as an act of recollecting a lost time or experience. Further dream and memory attest to the inseparability of the inner workings of the mind from the outer world. In dream and recollections of the past, a person appears to withdraw into a world that is his alone, existing only in his own mind. However, in the Shinkokinshū, the nature of these memories and dreams are not independent of the exterior world but instead are subtly shaped by it.

In the poems, therefore, the poets explore the manner in which the subjective world in the mind and the exterior one interpenetrate. We can see this most clearly in the treatment of dreams, in which further the relation of outer and inner world shifts according to season.

In the spring and summer dream and reality gently fuse:

Kaze kayou — The breeze stirs
nezame no sode no — My sleeves at awakening--
hana no ka ni — Scented by blossoms--
kaoru makura no — That perfume my pillow
haru no yo no yume — Of the dream of a spring night.
SKKS, II:112, Shunzei kyō no musume

Tachibana no	When I doze
niou atari no	In the vicinity of the flowering
utatane wa	orange
yume mo mukashi no	Whose fragrance fills the air,
sode no ka zo suru	Even my dream is perfumed
SSKS III:245, Shunzei	With the scent of his long ago
kyō no musume	sleeves.

We have discussed Shunzei's Daughter's first poem earlier in relation to diction and the later as an example of allusive variation.[1] Both poems relate the manner in which the fragrance of blossoms, perhaps in the speaker's garden, fills even her dream. In the "tachibana" poem, the scent summons up the memory of the perfume of a lover's sleeve. "Utatane" is usually associated with love; a lady who is weary of pondering upon her love affair briefly dozes off. Likewise, "mo" (even) in the fourth line of the poem suggests that the speaker had been thinking of the past. The scent of the flowering orange fills her perceptions both while she is awake and in dream.

The spring poem by Shunzei's Daughter more completely confounds the awakened state and dream. "Kaze kayou nezame no sode no hana no ka" tells us that the speaker has been awakened by a breeze stirring against her sleeves, which, she realizes, are steeped in the scent of blossoms. At the same time, "hana no ka ni kaoru makura no haru no yo no yume," suggests that the scent of blossoms clings to her sleeves and to her pillow and fills her dream on this spring night. We proceed in this poem not from dream to awakened awareness, but from the latter back into dream, where, seemingly, the scent of sleeves is somehow recalled in memory.

---

[1] Shunzei's Daughter "Tachibana no" poem is an allusive variation of the Ise monogatari work:

Satsuki matsu	Scenting the fragrance
hanatachibana no	Of the tangerine flowers
ka wo kageba	Blossoming in the Fifth Month,
mukashi no hito no	I recall the perfumed sleeves
sode no ka zo suru	Of someone I loved.
	[McCullough, trans.]

McCullough, The Tales of Ise, pp. 108-9.

By late summer and autumn, dreams are increasingly interrupted by occurrences in the exterior world:

Mado chikaki	Near the window,
isasa muratake	Among the clumps of bamboo--
kaze fukeba	When the wind blows,
aki ni okoroku	I am startled by autumn and awaken
natsu no yo no yume	From a dream of a summer night.
Kintsugu, SKKS III:257	
Naku shika no	Awakened,
koe ni mezamete	By the cries of the deer
shinobu kana	I harbor in my mind
mihatenu yume no	The reveries of autumn
aki no omoi wo	From my unfinished dream.
Jien, SKKS V:445	
Chitabi utsu	By the sound
kinuta no oto ni	Of countless blows on the fulling block,
yume samete	I am awakened from my dream,
mono omou sode no	And the dew drops on my sleeves
tsuyu zo kudakuru	shatter
Shikishi, SKKS V:484	As I lie is sorrowful thought.

In these poems the emphasis is more clearly on the transition from dream to an awakened state. In Kintsugu's work, the speaker is awakened from dream by the soft rustling of the bamboo outside his (or her) window. The coolness of this wind is the first sign of autumn. While the speaker was lost in dream, the season had begun to change, from the warmth of summer to the cold and sorrow of autumn. Still, this is a summer poem, and it does not dwell upon the emotional implications of autumn. Instead, it portrays simply the moment that the speaker becomes aware of change while leaving us, once more, back in dream.[1]

The speaker of Jien's poem is awakened by the cry of deer in the night. In this poem the sorrow of autumn fills both the dream and the outer world. It is related to two Kokinshū poems:

Inochi ni mo	What I bewail
masarite oshiku	More than I would the loss
aru mono wa	Of life itself
mihatenu yume no	Is the unfinished dream
samuru narikeri	From which I have been awakened.
Mibu no Tadamine, KKS XII:609	

---

[1]Kintsugu's poem is an allusive variation of Manyōshū IX:4291. See p. 235 , n. 1 .

Yamazato wa	In a mountain village
aki koso koto ni	Autumn is sad beyond all
wabishikere	Other seasons.
shika no naku ne ni	Time and again I am awakened
me wo samashitsutsu	By the cries of the deer.
Tadamine, KKS IV:214	

Jien borrows the setting from the second of these Kokinshū poems. As in Tadamine's poem, the speaker of Jien's is awakened in the night by the mournful cry of the deer, which is a constant reminder of one's own sorrow in this season. Tadamine's first poem is a love poem; the speaker has been dreaming of his lover, with whom no doubt he cannot meet in any other fashion, when even that meeting in dream is cruelly interrupted. The speaker of Jien's poem, however, is not dreaming of a lover but evidently of autumn itself. He is awakened from dream to the sorrows of autumn, and in dream too he had known of them. The poem suggests that the remnants of the dream which the speaker harbors in his mind will gradually fade to become one with the sadness of the world around him.

Shikishi's poem is similar if less explicit about the correlation of mood in the dream and in the exterior world. Again, the speaker is awakened by a disturbing sound; in this case it is the sound of the fulling block, on which women are said to pound garments while yearning for absent lovers or husbands. In Shikishi's poem, "Mono omou sode no tsuyu" suggests that the speaker too grieves, perhaps also because of love. Her dream provided a brief respite from her thoughts. Further "utsu" (to pound) and its engo "kudakuru" (to shatter) convey graphically the manner in which the exterior world assails the speaker's sensibilities as though it were mounting a physical assault upon them.

Finally, in winter, dreams are no longer possible:

Makura ni mo	On my pillow
sode ni mo namida	And my sleeves as well, my tears
tsuraraite	Have frozen as ice.
musubanu yume wo	Ah, the wintry wind blows
tou arashi kana	Seeking the dream that eludes me.
Yoshitsune, SKKS VI:633	
Yume kayou	Even that path
michi sae taenu	On which dreams travel is sundered.
kuretake no	The Chinese bamboo

fushimi no sato no	In the village of Fushimi
yuki no shita ore	Break under the weight of snow.
Ariie, SKKS VI:673	

We have examined both these poems in previous chapters. In Yoshitsune's poem, the speaker's tears have frozen in the cold night on his pillow and sleeves. He is unable to sleep because of the intense cold and because of the disturbing sound of the wind as it appears to seek after the non-existent dream. In Ariie's poem, the speaker dwells in the remote village of Fushimi. All roads to the capital have been made impassable by the deep snow, and the sound of the bamboo snapping under the weight of the snow disturbs the speaker's sleep. As we noted before, this image of the bamboo is emblematic of the speaker's feelings. The branches of the bamboo, naturally pliable, are gradually bent under the snow until they finally break as though from weariness. So too, the speaker experiences, not violent grief, but a despair that marks the end of all emotion.

Through the personification of natural objects, the Shinkokin poets confound their own emotional responses with the meanings of occurrences in the exterior world:

Aki fukaki	Deep in autumn,
Awaji no shima no	Awaji Island is bathed
ariake ni	In the pale light of dawn,
katabuku tsuki wo	And the sea breeze sweeps across the inlet
okuru urakaze	
Jien, SKKS V:520	Trailing behind the departing moon.
Kage tomeshi	Still remembering
tsuyu no yosuga wo	The dwelling of the dew
omoiidete	Where it found brief shelter,
shimo no ato tou	The moonlight in the tangled grass
asajiu no tsuki	Seeks the traces of the frost.
Masatsune, SKKS VI:610	

Masatsune's poem is an allusive variation of a poem from the Genji. In that poem, "asajiu no tsuyu no yadori" (the brief dwelling place of the dew among the weeds) served as a metaphor for Murasaki's precarious position in society if Genji were to abandon the world. In Masatsune's poem, the moon seeks the frost in remembrance of the dew in which it so briefly lodged in the autumn. We need not attempt to establish a one-to-one correspondence between the events of the two

poems. The atmosphere of the tale hovers about Masatsune's work, enlarging the pathos of seasonal changes and loss.[1]

Jien's poem has no specific reference to another work, but again it summons up an atmosphere of love. Dawn is the time when lovers' part. The moon which had shone above the island through the night departs and sinks in the west. The sea breeze as though bidding farewell trails behind.

The most haunting example of this type of poem is Ietaka's work:

Kasumi tatsu	The haze rises
Sue no Matsuyama	On Matsu mountain--
honobono to	Dimly, dimly--
nami ni hanaruru	They part from the waves--
yokugumo no sora	The banners of clouds in the sky.
Ietaka, SKKS I:37	

The only hint of personification is "hanaruru" (to part from) with its suggestion of lovers' leave-taking at day break. More important, the image of the clouds parting from the waves on the peak of Matsuyama is, we know from the honka of this poem (KKS XX:1093), emblematic of the betrayal of love. The poem is not sorrowful; the drama of the lovers is far in the past, just as the landscape is seen far in the distance. A mood of love hovers about the poem like an elusive memory, grief transformed by time into a quiet wonder.

Finally, it is Teika who most fully embraces the freedom to assert the substantial reality of landscapes summoned up in the mind.

Samushiro ya	The cold rush matting!
matsu yo no aki no	The awaiting evening's autumn
kaze fukete	Wind grows cold,
tsuki wo katashiku	And she spreads out the moonlight--
Uji no hashihime	The lady of the Uji Bridge.
Teika, SKKS IV:420	
Hitori nuru	Sleeping alone.
yamadori no o no	On the trailing plummage
shidari o ni	Of the mountain fowl
shimo okimayou	The frost wavers uneasily
toko no tsukikage	In the moonlight spread upon the bedding.
Teika, SKKS V:487	

---

[1] Masatsune's poem is an allusive variation of a work in the "Sasaki" chapter of the Genji monogatari. See Chapter V.

Both are autumn poems.[1] Teika composed the first on the topic "moon," which, most likely is also the subject of the latter work. The poet makes no attempt to describe the mundane physical reality of the autumn moon, nor is he content, as another poet might have been, to summon up moods that appear to drift about a poem. Instead, the phantasmal scenes he presents are the crystallizations of the nature of the autumn moon. What one ordinarily considers the physical "reality" of the moon has been supplanted by the stuff of its ultimate form. In the first poem, Teika invokes a memory of the lady of the Uji Bridge (perhaps also the Uji sisters of the Genji), who eternally awaits her lover, spreading out the moonlight as her bedding. In the latter work, the poet speaks of a mountain fowl, whose long plumage glistens with frost and moonlight. This image, further, summons up a vision of a woman with her long black tresses, lying alone in her dilapidated dwelling on the cold autumn night.

For Teika, physical reality and the mind are coterminous:

Miwataseba	When I gaze about
hana mo momiji mo	Of autumn leaves and spring blossoms,
nakarikeri	I find no trace;
ura no tomoya no	A fisher's hut near the bay
aki no yūgure	On an autumn evening.
Teika, SKKS IV:363	
Haru no yo no	As the spring night ends,
yume no ukihashi	The floating bridge of dreams
todaeshite	Breaks off,
mine ni wakaruru	And from the peak they depart
yokogumo no sora	The banners of clouds in the sky
Teika, SKKS I:38	

In the autumn poem, Teika conjures up a scene of cherry blossoms and crimson autumn leaves only to deny dwiftly its existence. What does lie before the speaker is a desolate scene of poor fishers' huts along a bay in the autumn dusk. In the face of this reality, the lovely scene of blossoms and leaves fades from one's mind. Yet the landscape of the shore will also quickly fade into the darkness of the night. One is no more real nor lasting than the other,

---

[1] Teika's "Samushiro ya" poem is an allusive variation of KKS XIV:689; the "hitori nuru" poem is an allusive variation of SIS XII: 778. See Chapter V.

Likewise in the spring poem, the floating bridge of dream, for other poets only a metaphor for the insubstantiality of dream, is sundered and fades just as the clouds on the peak also vanish into the emptiness of the sky. There is no speaker in this poem. Instead, Teika presents one image that simultaneously conveys the ephemerality as well as the concreteness of thought and another image from what one usually considers exterior reality. The clouds are not merely like the dream. They are subject to the same limitations of existence.

In their love poetry, the Shinkokin poets seek in a similar fashion at once to implicate the poet's self in the poem as the source of meaning and to transcend the limitations of his individual experiences and sensibilities. First, the poet's personal engagement with the subject is emphasized. Teika wrote in his Maigetsushō, expressing an opinion he shared with the other innovative poets, that it is in the writing of love poems that the poet must display the greatest depth of conviction and authenticity of emotion. Love poetry exemplifies the nature of poetry as a means of communicating one's deepest feelings, and this ideal remains unchanged even in a period when far more love poems were composed on set topics than were sent as missives to lovers. At the same time, it is in composing this kind of poetry that the poet is also most strongly enjoined to study the works of the ancients until his every sentiment is made one with theirs. The poet does not render his own feelings but rather the emotions sanctioned by tradition and which the poet has wholly embraced as his own.

As a result, the Shinkokin poets seek neither simply to express their feelings nor to provide a paraphrased explanation of them. The poets of course do not countenance the old conceits that so obliquely touched upon emotion. In addition, this is not a poetry that celebrates the outpouring of emotion, and thus it does not have the engaging quality of such poetry that permits the poet a freedom of response. Instead, the Shinkokin poets seek to portray the ultimate nature of human emotion beyond all changes of mundane experience.

The intense scrutiny of emotion gives Shinkokin love poetry a curious solipsistic quality. Often, the speaker's attention is focused solely on his own feelings; all others including the lover are

banished from his world. Love poetry in the court tradition had always stressed the solitary sufferings of love over the joys of consummation, but in the Shinkokinshū this characteristic becomes more pronounced.[1] Likewise one senses even in poems in which emotions, passion or anguish for example, have outrun reason, the cold, still gaze of the speaker fixed upon himself. This makes for a poetry of new psychological sophistication. Slight shifts of mood or changes in feeling are rendered with exquisite precision in these poems in which the speaker is both an actor and an observer who contemplates the workings of his own mind.

Further, the poets turn to natural landscapes as a means of portraying emotion and thus complete the transformation of them into objects of contemplation. The natural world becomes a mirror for the speaker's self, for, if in a seasonal poem, personal emotion can focus the mood of a landscape, the landscape can also be summoned up to portray that emotion. In these poems, the poets abandon all pretense of expressing feelings directly; they become more interested in the manner in which personal emotions and the implications of a natural scene telescope into each other than in depicting a particular speaker.[2]

---

[1]Akahane Shuku makes an interesting observation: "In the Heian period, a concern with the activity of awaiting a lover--the amount of time thus spent, the psychological tension, the obsessive thoughts, and at times the boredom involved in this activity--is a thread that runs through the literature; it is in fact a major theme. At twilight one anticipates a visit from a lover, but this hope turns to disappointment and, with the coming of dawn, to despair. The daylight hours pass in emptiness, and with the coming of twilight, one once more begins to hope, Such were the days that the courtiers were accustomed to passing; such was the rhythm of time itself. They were ruled, both mind and body, by these endless cycles of waiting. . . ." Akahane Shuku, "Teika ni okeru jikan," Notorudamu Seishin joshi daigaku kiyō (Kokogo kokubun hen) 3, No, 1 (1981): 18.

[2]For discussions of the manner in which the Shinkokin poets introduce natural imagery into their love poems see Tanaka Yutaka, "Koi no imeeji," Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 15 (October, 1970): 39-44. Suzuki Mifuyu, in his article "Koi no uta ni okeru Shinkokin kafu no keisei--Roppyakuban utaawase no uta no kōsatsu," argues that the difference between the poems of the conservative and innovative poets in that poetry contest can be understood as the

At the same time, the poets do not relinquish the privacy of emotional experience. Images in this poetry have the same implications for everyone. That is why they can serve as emblems of emotion, giving them a form that is universally accessible and valid.[1] However, the poet's own experience and the tradition of love poetry tell him that all deep emotions, including love, isolate one and cannot be shared with others. This has been a constant theme in Heian love poetry. In addition, the Shinkokin poets assert that, because the perceiver of a natural scene and what is perceived cannot be distinguished, one's emotions cannot only be affected by the exterior world but can also transform it. In this way, one's experience of the exterior world may

---

difference between the narration of the emotion of love and the use of images to depict the speaker's emotional experience. See Kokugo to kokubungaku 53 (March, 1973): 25-37.

In this connection, Yashima Shōji, in his article "Shinkokin kafū no seiritsu no ichi sokumen--koi dai no henshitsu ni tsuite," examines love poetry from the standpoint of its topics. He concentrates on the topics of the Roppyakuban utaawase and the Minase dono koi no jūgoshu utaawase (1202), and divides love poetry into three types. The first belogs to the ancient tradition of "tatoe uta" ("likening poems") in which the emotion of love and the references to the exterior world through which it is depicted are not integrated. In the second type, the two frames of reference are integrated on the level of language by use of engo, jo, kakekotoba, and so on. In the third, the two kokoro are unified, in a sense, previous to the composition of the poem, and the reference is integrated as the setting in which the speaker exists. According to Yashima, type two best characterizes the love poetry of the Shinkokinshū period; type three is fairly uncommon and achieved only by Teika and several others among the innovative poets. Yashima also notes that while there are some twenty-five "yosoru dai" (such topics as love and bridges, love and flutes that involve relating the emotion of love to some outside reference), in the Roppyakuban, there are only two in the Minase. Instead, one finds in this latter poetry contest such topics as love and travel that call upon the poet to fuse two previously distinct subject areas. See Bungei to hihyō 2 (July, 1964): 56-76.

[1]Ishikawa Tsunehiko describes a cycle that images in this poetry pass through. New images are introduced into the poetry that have concrete descriptive force. Soon, however, their implications and associations become fixed so that these can be invoked by using the images. Images, according to Ishikawa, then serve much the same function as do uta-makura. See "'Miwataseba' ko," Mukogawa Kokubun 4 (March, 1972): 34.

differ from that of all other persons. Some of the most interesting love poems in the Shinkokinshū explore precisely this question of the dissonance between private experience and common meaning.

The first characteristic, the intense contemplation of self can be readily seen for example in Shikishi's love poems:

Tama no o yo taeneba taene nagaraeba shinoburu koto no yowari mo zo suru Shikishi, SKKS XI:1034	Oh, the thread of my soul, If you are to sunder, let it be so. For if I linger in life My resolve to conceal my feelings Will gradually waste away.
Wasurete wa uchi nagekaruru yūbe kana ware nomi shirite suguru tsuki hi wo Shikishi, SKKS XI:1035	Forgetting once again, I begin to lament his absence At twilight, Though I alone have known Of the empty passage of these days and months.
Au koto wo kyō matsugae no tamukegusa iku yo shioruru sode to ka wa shiru Shikishi, SKKS XII:1153	For our meeting today, I wait, prayer grasses knotted On the pine, Yet those countless nights my sleeves were drenched Does he even know of them?

Shikishi composed the first two poems on the topic "shinoburu koi" or "concealment of love," and tradition dictates that at this stage of the love affair, the speaker must strive to conceal his or her feelings from everyone including the loved one. Therefore, the preoccupation with self in these poems is at least in part made necessary by the topic itself. However, Shikishi's scrutiny of her own feelings also yields a subtle balance between emotion and the more detached awareness of the folly of that emotion. In the first poem, the speaker's direct address to herself ("tama no o" is a metaphor for soul or life) leads down to the almost pleading "shinoburu koto no yowari mo zo suru." Likewise, in the second work, the speaker reflects that having forgotten, she once more mourns the absence of her lover at dusk. In the last two lines, we discover that what the intensity of her feelings has made her forget is that no one, including the lover, knows of her feelings.

In the third poem, which occurs much later in the love affair, the speaker's hopes for a meeting with her lover have finally been

granted. However, the resentment she feels toward him poisons the moment. Her lover's expected presence cannot relieve her of the sorrows she had experienced, sorrows of which he remains unaware. From their first meeting, the lovers are estranged as emotions remain incommunicable.

The most intense experience of love occurs in the physical absence of the lover. Among Teika's works, we find:

Kakiyarishi	Each strand,
sono kurokami no	Of her black tresses that once I
suji goto ni	caressed
uchi fusu hodo wa	And swept from her face,
omokage zo tatsu	Now appears before me as a phantasm
Teika, SKKS XV:1389	As I lie alone in longing.

It is extremely unusual for poets of this tradition to describe the physical act of love. Izumi Shikibu's work, on which Teika's is based, is a rare exception.[1] There, she speaks of her long black tresses and her yearning for her lover's touch. Teika changes the speaker to a man who conjures up a vision of his lover in his mind. The speaker's yearning for his absent lover gives shape to a phantasm, one far more compelling than her actual presence because he possesses it utterly in his mind.

Similarly, the entire experience of love has no certain reality outside the mind:

Tsuyu harau	I awaken,
nezame wa aki no	And, as in that autumn of the past,
mukashi nite	Sweep away the dew and tears.
mihatenu yume ni	In my unfinished dream
nokoru omokage	His visage still lingers before me.
Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS XIV:1326	

Aware naru	How pitiable!
kokoro no yami no	Who shall be able to judge,
yukari to mo	If that dream
mishi yo no yume wo	Of the night I spent with you
tare ka sadamen	Was born of the darkness of my heart?
Kintsune, SKKS XIV:1300	

Shunzei's Daughter's and Kintsune's works are among the more than twenty poems in the volumes of love poetry that explore the theme of

---

[1] Teika's poem is an allusive variation of a work by Izumi Shikibu, GSS XI:755. See Chapter V.

dream. As noted previously, poets had always treated dream as a means by which one could communicate with a lover when meetings were impossible and as a metaphor for the ephemerality of human relations. In the Shinkokinshū, dreams also become the occasion for exploring the indeterminacy of reality. The poets accept love as illusory, but instead of dismissing it therefore, they celebrate the "reality" which each person imposes on the world.

Shunzei's Daughter's poem refers to a late stage in a love affair. The lovers no longer meet, and the woman's grief has even abated somewhat. Still in another autumn, she dreams of her lover and awakens to find her bedding drenched in dew, with which her tears mingle. "Mihatenu yume" suggests that she was interrupted while dreaming of a happier past. However, it also appears to have more complex meanings. The woman's love affair itself was like a dream from which she had been awakened before her time. Or again, her emotions still seal her within the memories of her affair. Although she is awakened from sleep, her lover's visage still lingers before her, a vision summoned up by an attachment to her lover she cannot relinquish.

The speaker of Kintsune's poem explicitly asks whether her love affair had any reality apart from her emotion. She does not doubt that the night she passed with her lover was a dream. She only asks whether that dream issued from the illusions she harbors within her own heart.[1]

From the time of the Kokinshū and even of the Manyōshū, poets had used images of nature in love poems in the form of metaphors or that of the rhetorical devices of jo (prefaces), often in conjunction with kakekotoba (pivot words), and engo (associated words). This tendency was furthered by the topics of love poetry which asked the poet to integrate natural references into his works; the poet faced such topics as love and mountains, love and the sea, love and the wind, the clouds, the rain, the moon, the dew, and so on. In both metaphor and the techniques of homophony, there is a clear distinction between

---

[1]Kintsune's poem is an allusive variation of a work in the Ise monogatari, episode 82. See Chapter V.

emotion and those things in terms of which the poet chooses to depict emotion. These, however, are also the starting points of the Shinkokin poets:

Moshio yaku ama no isoya no yukeburi tatsu na mo kurushi omoi taenade Hideyoshi, SKKS XII:1116	Above the poor huts Where the fishers tend salt-making fires Smoke rises in the evening, So too, painful rumors rise of my love, Its flames never abating.
Suma no ama no sode ni fukikosu shiokaze no naru to wa suredo te ni mo tomarazu Teika, SKKS XII:1117	The salt breeze That flutters the sleeves Of the fishers of Suma-- One grows accustomed to its sound Yet never can it be held fast in the hand.

The topic of Hideyoshi's poem is "love the evening," and of Teika's, "love and the seashore." The poets, therefore, faced the task of integrating images that in the former related to evening and in the later to the seashore into the portrayal of love. Both poets chose to use prefaces. In Hideyoshi's poem, "Moshio yaku . . . tatsu" is a preface, with "tatsu" pivoting to mean both the smoke rises and, as "tatsu na," I have become an object of gossip. Further, the last syllable of "omoi" is homophonous with "hi" (fire). Thus we read, "The flames of my emotion, like the fires of the fisherfolk, do not die down." Finally, whether or not we take the images of the first three lines to be actually before the speaker, they establish a mood of dark sorrow.

Teika's poem, on first reading, can easily be mistaken for a seasonal poem or one that simply describes a landscape. As in Hideyoshi's work, "Suma no ama . . . naru" can be considered a preface. "Naru" pivots to mean both (the wind) makes a sound and, in relation to love, she has been swayed by my feelings. "Te ni mo tomarazu" refers both to the wind, which cannot be held fast in one's hands, and to the speaker's realization that his lover somehow still remains beyond his reach. Again the image of the cold wind conveys the insubstantiality of the relationship of the lovers.

In the following poems, the poets use images as metaphors:

Nabikaji na ama no moshiogi takisomete keburi wa sora ni kuyuruwabu tomo Teika, SKKS XII:1082	She will not be swayed, Although the salt maker's fire Has been lit And the smoke rises Fitfully into the sky.
Morasu na yo kumo iru mine no hatsushigure ko no ha wa shita ni iro kawaru tomo Yoshitsune, SKKS XII:1087	Let it not spill forth The first rains of autumn in the clouds That hide the peak. Although the lower leaves of the trees Are dyed an autumnal crimson.
Kaji wo tae Yura no minato ni yoru fune no tayori mo shiranu okitsu shiokaze Yoshitsune, SKKS XI:1073	Its rudder shattered, The boat that seeks the haven Of Yura Port Drifts about helplessly, Oh, salt breeze of the offing.

We have examined Teika's poem on the topic the beginning of love, previously for its use of a first line caesura. The poem conveys two separate sets of meanings. First, as natural description it reads: "Although the smoke of the fishers' salt fires has begun to rise fitfully into the sky, it will not waver." Second, in relation to love: "She will not yield to me, although my feelings, smoldering within me, no longer can be hidden and have revealed themselves like smoke."

Yoshitsune's first poem, on the topic "hidden love," likewise has two readings. First it describes the autumn drizzle: "Do not let the droplets of rain from the cloud-covered peak spill down although the lower leaves of the trees turn to autumnal colors." Further, however, "Morasu na yo" pivots to mean "Do not divulge my feelings." "Ko no ha" is a metaphor for the speaker's sleeves; "iro kawaru" suggests that he sheds crimson tears of blood; and "shita ni" once more stresses that the tears are hidden. Thus we read, "Although my tears may color them crimson, oh sleeves, do not divulge their presence to others."[1]

---

[1]Yoshitsune's poem was composed on the topic "shinoburu koi" (hidden love) in the Roppyakuban utaawase. Among the twelve works on that topic in the Roppyakuban, only Yoshitsune and Teika attempted imaginistic definitions of the emotions invoked by this topic. Teika's poem is:

In Yoshitsune's second work, the metaphor cannot be understood unless one is familiar with the poem's honka, which is placed two poems previous in the Shinkokinshū:

Yura no to wo	The fishermen
wataru funabito	Who seek to cross the Bay of Yura,
kaji wo tae	Their rudder shattered,
yukue mo shiranu	Know not which way to turn.

Kōri iru	In the frozen inlet,
mirume nagisa no	The mirume is confined beneath the ice.
Tagui kana	
ueseku sode no	Ah, so too is my love;
shita no sazanami	Beneath the calm surface of my sleeves,
Teika, 621 Left	The rippling waves of tears.

The second line of Teika's poem, "mirume naki," pivots to mean unseen by others. The first three lines appear at first to introduce a metaphor that will be explained in the last two lines. Teika, however, places yet another image in lines four and five. This latter image of the rippling waves of tears beneath the speaker's sleeves brings freshness to the familiar notion of the sleeves that dam up the speaker's ceaseless flow of tears.

Other poems composed on the same topic include:

Koishisa wo	This yearning I feel,
ikani shite kawa	Where shall I find the means
nagusamemu	To assuage it?
ware yori hoka ni	When in all the world only I
shiru hito wa nashi	Even know of my feelings of love.
Tsuneie, 616 Right	

Iro ni idete	The only comfort I find
Iwamu omoi no	As I thus conceal my feelings
nagusame wa	And speak naught of them,
hito no tsurasa wo	Is that I shall be spared the suffering
shiranu bakari zo	That would come from her coldness toward me.
Ietaka, 612 Right	

Shinobi tsutsu	If my life should end
kono yo tsukinaba	As I thus conceal my yearning,
Omou koto	Then shall my love
koke no shita ni ya	Be buried along with me
tomo ni kuchinan	To decay beneath the moss?
Ariie, 623 Left	

Konishi Jin'ichi, ed., (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, pp. 228-32.

koi no michi kana
Sone no Yoshitada, SKKS XI:1071

So too, my journey on this path of love.

In Yoshitada's poem, the first three lines are a preface for "yukue no shiranu. . . ." Just as the fishers whose boat has lost its rudder drift every which way the currents carry them, so too the speaker is lost on the path of love. Yoshitsune no longer needs to repeat the comparison of love and the rudderless boat, and he simply presents the scene of the Bay of Yura. Further however, in his poem "yura no minato" is a metaphor for the woman, and the ship, for the man who is trying to win her love.

The poems above create complex interrelations between emotion and a landscape, and in such works as Yoshitsune's last, we can no longer designate a specific speaker, as the poem appears to portray without reference to particular circumstances the beginning of a love affair. However, in these poems, the poets relied primarily on linguistic bridges, the homophony between words in particular, to link emotion and nature, and they did not attempt to transmute emotions directly into images that correspond to them in mood. This development can be seen in other poems, more characteristic of the Shinkokin poets' vision of the interpenetration of the exterior world and the individual mind:

Konogoro no
kokoro no soko wo
yoso ni miba
shika naku nobe no
akikaze no kure
Yoshitsune, Roppyakuban utaawase 1067

Were I to seek
Elsewhere outside myself
For the depths of my heart of late:
An evening of the autumn wind
When deer cry in the fields.

Nagame wabi
sore tomo nashi ni
mono zo omou
kumo no hatate no
yūgure no sora
Michimitsu, SKKS XII:1106

Weary of gazing,
I sit listlessly and ponder
Vaguely on this and that:
Distant banners of clouds
Flicker in the evening sky.

Sabishisa wa
miyama no aki no
asagumori
kiri ni shioruru
maki no shita tsuyu
Gotoba, SKKS V:492

Loneliness:
The morning clouds of autumn
Deep in the mountains,
The droplets of dew that fall
From the cryptomeria drenched by the mist.

Each of these poems present images as the direct equivalents of emotion. In Gotoba's autumn poem, the poet presents two images that exemplify loneliness: the mountains in autumn covered with a heavy mist and the dew that falls from the cryptomeria leaves made limp by the heavy moisture. Likewise, the speaker of Yoshitsune's poem on the topic "love and animals" explicitly seeks in the natural world for a scene that conveys the mood of his feelings. From an actor, he transforms himself into an observer of events in a natural landscape.[1]

As noted before, Michimitsu borrows the images of the last two lines of his work from its honka:

Yūgure wa	In evening,
kumo no hahate ni	I gaze toward the distant banners of
mono so omou	clouds,
amatsu sora naru	And yearn,
hito wo kou tote	For I long for my beloved
Anon. KKS XI:484	Who dwells in the heavens.

However, in Michimitsu's poem they serve to portray the speaker's state of mind. The speaker, weary of thought, gazes absently at the evening sky. There, bands of clouds flicker in the distance, soon to vanish into the dark night.

If it is possible as in the poems above to create a landscape of emotion, poets can also speak of the spatial dimensions of emotion. The following two examples are from the Roppyakuban utaawase:

Shirazarishi	I did not imagine
yo fukaki kaze no	How different would be the sound
oto mo nizu	Of the wind deep in the night.
tamakura utoki	I do not sleep, pillowed on his arm
aki no konata wa	Here, on the far side of his autumnal
Teika, Roppyakuban utaawase 931	indifference.

Omoiyaru	In longing I spend my days
nagame mo ima wa	Gazing toward his dwelling.
taene to ya	Now, shall I be denied even that
kokoro wo uzumu	By the clouds of evening
yūgure no kumo	That bury my heart beneath them?
Ietaka, Roppyakuban utaawase 924	

Teika's poem is on the topic "love and wind." The speaker describes the aftermath of her lover's betrayal not merely as a state of mind but as a place and season to which she has been banished. There at the far reaches of autumn and her lover's indifference, even the

sound of the wind differs from that of her accustomed world.

Likewise in Ietaka's poem, the clouds in the sky obscure the speaker's view of the direction in which her lover resides. Without even the illusion of communication with him, she is trapped in her dwelling and in her thoughts as though the clouds themselves pressed down upon her heart.

In a similar fashion, the Shinkokin poets use landscape as settings in which the speaker of a poem is but one part. Again, the speaker does not so much express emotions as he reports his sensory perceptions. We see a natural scene from the subjective viewpoint of the speaker, and in turn observe him and his response as part of the emotional significance of the scene:

Tsukuzuku to omoi Akashi no ura chidori nami no makura ni naku naku zo kiku Kintsune, SKKS XIV:1331	In anguished longing, I lie awake here along Akashi Bay Where I hear, On a pillow of waves, Plovers crying in the offing.
Tanome okishi asaji ga tsuyu ni aki kakete konoha furishiku yado no kayoiji Tadayoshi, SKKS XII:1128	He bade me wait here. But now autumn resides among the dewdrops In the rank weeds And the leaves have scattered to cover The pathway that leads to my dwelling.
Waga koi wa niwa no murahagi uragarete hito wo mo mi wo mo aki no yūgure Jien, SKKS XIV:1322	My love affair-- Clumps of bush clover in my garden-- Withered and dead. I am filled with loathing, of him And of myself, this autumn evening.

Kintsune places the speaker of his poem on the seashore at Akashi. There, far from the capital and from his lover, the speaker spends a sleepless night in yearning, listening to the cries of the plovers on their pillows of waves. "Nami" (waves) suggests "namida" (tears), and we know that the speaker too sheds tears, listening to their cries. It was to Akashi that Genji was exiled, and to the Heian courtier the unaccustomed sound of the waves and the cries of the plovers were harsh and disturbing. In this poem, the place and

its mood are emblematic of the sorrow of love.[1]

Tadayoshi's poem is an allusive variation of a work in the Ise monogatari:

Aki kakete	"In autumn. . . ." I said,
iishinagara mo	But it was not to be--
aranaku ni	Our relationship has proved no deeper
ko no ha furishiku	than a shallow creek
e ni koso arkikere.	Strewn with fallen leaves.
	[McCullough, trans.][2]

The Ise monogatari poem is composed by a woman who had promised to meet her lover in autumn. But before that meeting could be arranged, her elder brother had come to take her away. This poem was left behind for her lover to find. In Tadayoshi's poem, in the usual Shinkokin pattern, the speaker is a woman who has been betrayed by her lover. The lover had promised to return in autumn, but the dew now lies on the rank weeds of her garden and the path to her door is strewn with fallen leaves. Instead of bringing her lover, autumn has made all the more apparent the desolateness of the speaker's life.

Jien also speaks of autumn, but the love affair is now nearer its end. The speaker, again a woman, gazes out from her dwelling and sees the sparse clumps of bush clover withered in late autumn and the dark sky of dusk. There are two pivots in this poem: "uragarete" means both withered and has become estranged; "Aki" as usual means both autumn and to have wearied of. The speaker holds no hope or even desire for a reconciliation with her lover. The images of autumn speak

---

[1]Kintsune's poem is an allusive variation of:

Hitorine wa	Do you know the sadness
kimi mo shirinu ya	of the nights
tsurezure to	On the shore of Akashi
omoi Akashi no	with only thoughts for companions?
ura sabishisa wo	[Seidensticker, trans.]

Genji monogatari, "Akashi" 982

Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1:258. See also, Yamagishi Tokuhei, ed., Genji monogatari, 2:75.

[2]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 136.

of her abraded emotions, the revulsion she feels both towards herself and her lover.[1]

One of Teika's most striking love poems is of this type:

Shirotae no	On the parting
sode no wakare ni	Of white hempen sleeves,
tsuyu ochite	The dew falls,
mi ni shimu iro no	And, its color piercing my body,
akikaze zo fuku	The autumn wind blows.
Teika, SKKS XV:1336	

---

[1]The form "Waga koi wa . . ." can be found in poetry from as early as the Manyōshū and the Kokinshū. In the latter, it is often used as a means of setting up a metaphor. For example:

Waga koi wa	My feelings of love
munashiki sora ni	Must have grown so, they fill
michinurashi	The vast heavens.
omoiyaredomo	For no matter how much I think of her,
yuku kata zo naki	My thoughts do not reach my beloved.
Anon., KKS XI:488	

Waga koi wa	My feelings of love
miyama gakure no	Are they like the grasses that grow
kusa nare ya	Hidden deep in the mountains?
shigesa masaredo	Although they grow rampantly,
shiru hito zo naki	No one knows of their existence.
Ono no Yoshiki, KKS XII:560	

Waga koi wa	My feelings of love
shiranu yamaji ni	I would not have likened, I think,
aranakuni	To an unfamiliar path in the mountains.
madou kokoro zo	Yet how sorrowful is my heart
wabishikarikere	That wanders not knowing where to turn.
Tsurayuki, KKS XII:597	

It is only when one reaches the Senzaishū that one finds poems that begin "Waga koi wa" with images in the last two lines, or more specifically, a fifth line nominative.

Waga koi wa	My feelings of love,
ama no karu no ni	Like the seaweed gathered by the fisherfolk
midaretsutsu	
kawaku toki naki	Are in disarray.
nami no shitagusa	And never do my tears dry
Toshitada, SZS XIII: 792	For I am as kelp beneath the waves.

As discussed previously, Teika borrows the images in this poem from two foundation poems. However, the manner in which Teika transforms a woman's sorrow at parting into a scene of utter whiteness is entirely his own. The speaker of the poem is a woman who has suddenly recognized in her lover's demeanor that he will soon grow indifferent to her. ("Aki" pivots to mean autumn and to grow weary of; "iro" pivots to mean both color and demeanor.) What one sees are the lovers' white sleeves, the droplets of dew and tears that fall upon them, and the autumn wind, which has a color that pierces the body. Change to the lady's world comes in the form of an indescribable color.

The poems above have a curious objectivity fostered by the poets' efforts to find images of emotion outside themselves. They share this quality with the works earlier mentioned in which the speaker contemplated his emotions as having reality solely within his own mind. Further, among these poems in which the poets seek emblems of emotion in a landscape, they also explore the boundary between the exterior world and personal feelings, or more precisely, between meaning that is valid for all persons and that which is solitary. The poets often attempt to focus upon private meaning within the more general emotional implications of a landscape:

Nani yue to	Even those evenings
omoi mo irenu	I passed untroubled
yūbe dani	By any thoughts of love
machiideshi mono wo	I waited eagerly for you, oh moon,
yama no ha no tsuki	To rise from behind the mountain rim.
Yoshitsune, SKKS XIII:1198	
Ajikinaku	Wretched
tsuraki arashi no	The voice of the cruel storm
koe mo ushi	Torments me.
nado yūgure ni	Why have I grown accustomed
machinariken	To await him at dusk each day?
Teika, SKKS XIII:1196	
Ima wa tada	In recent day,
kokoro no hoka ni	I seek to banish its sound
kiku mono wo	As extraneous to my heart.
shirazugao naru	And yet, with a pretence of innocence,
ogi no uwakaze	The wind still tarries above the
Shikishi, SKKS XIV:1309	reeds.

In the first poem, the speaker compares the anticipation she felt in the past to see the evening moon and her feelings now when she

also awaits her lover's visit. Everyone awaits the evening moon; that is its hon'i. The speaker's eagerness now has a private element of meaning. Likewise, in Teika's poem, the woman speaks with anguish of the sorrow of evening. The end of the day, when all fades into darkness, is naturally sorrowful and is made all the more so by the cold wind. The speaker is further burdened, for she awaits a lover who, judging from the bitter tone of the poem, is unlikely to be a faithful one. (As noted previously "tsuraki," cruel, refers usually to human agents, suggesting therefore the absent lover.) Pathetically, the speaker embraces the illusion that were it common practice to await lovers at some different time of day, her sufferings would be alleviated.

Shikishi's poem is interesting because of her use of "kokoro no hoka ni kiku"--to hear but to remain emotionally untouched by the sound of the wind. The poem refers to a point in the love affair when the lovers have already been estranged for some time. The speaker, again a woman, tells herself that she is no longer affected by the sound of the wind, in other words, that she has banished all thoughts of her lover from her mind. (The wind in the reeds is a common metaphor for a lover's visit and is based upon the homophony of "otozure" meaning to make a sound and "otozure" meaning to visit.) The wind, however, appears to persist in summoning up her emotions, though of course, it is the speaker herself who is unable to relinquish that perception. She has sought to sever the connections between her mind and the exterior world that might mirror her emotions, but she finds that the latter, as though mocking her efforts, remains a part of her.

Shared perceptions of the natural world can serve to establish or preserve the emotional unity between lovers:

Omoiidete	If I did not remember
yona yona tsuki ni	And night after night inquire of him
tazunezu wa	In the moonlight,
mate to chigirishi	Our bonds from that time he bade me
naka ya taenan	wait,
Yoshitsune, SKKS XIV:1278	Would they be shattered and cease to be?

Wasuruna yo	Never forget!
ima wa kokoro no	Although your love for me
kawaru tomo	May quickly wane,
nareshi sono yo no	The light of that dawn moon we saw,
ariake no tsuki	The night we passed together.
Ietaka, SKKS XIV:1279	

Yoshitsune's poem, though not an allusive variation of any one particular work of the past, participates in a number of common poetic notions about the moon. One, the moonlight shines equally on all persons no matter how far apart they are. Second, the moonlight conjures up memories of a lover; and third, a lover vows to be as faithful as the moon in its cyclical return to the sky. Thus for the speaker of this poem, the moon has become her only solace. If she does not gaze upon the moon and remember her lover, hoping that he does the same, nothing remains of their relationship.

In Ietaka's poem, the woman has already resigned herself to her lover's infidelity. She only asks that he preserve the memory of the dawn moon they see now at what may be their final parting.

When love is a wholly solitary experience, one's perception, that is, the sensory world one inhabits, becomes altogether different from what others would recognize:

Itsumo kiku	Can we believe
mono to ya hito no	That it is the same sound
omouran	I used to hear?
konu yūgure no	The voice of the autumn wind
akikaze no koe	On those evenings he does not come
Yoshitsune, SKKS XIV:1310	to me.

We examined this poem earlier as an instance of allusive variation. The autumn wind and evening naturally summon up feelings of sorrow and loneliness. The speaker's grief, however, can no longer be encompassed by those familiar notions. The world in which she dwells is unlike that of other persons, and her lover, who has been the cause of the change, remains indifferent to the fact.

More striking, in Teika's hand:

Toshi wo henu	The years have passed,
inoru chigiri wa	And my prayers to win her love
Hatsuseyama	Have been in vain.
onoe no kane no	The temple bell of Hatsuse Mountain
yoso no yūgure	Sounds elsewhere from my evening.
Teika, SKKS XII:1142	

The speaker of Teika's poem has for years offered prayers to the Hase Temple so that she might be granted a meeting with her lover. Yet it has been to no avail. The evening bell sounds in the temple, but the speaker dwells in a place and time altogether apart. For her, the bell holds forth no promise of a visit by her lover as it does to others. More important, the evening in which she dwells stands beyond the natural order of things--an order in which prayers to a temple are granted and in which in a temporal progression the bell signals the coming of evening. Most likely, the speaker does not hear the bell; she dwells in perpetual evening.[1]

Shunzei and Saigyō: New Realms of Personal Poetry

Had Teika and the other younger Shinkokin poets been unable to count Shunzei and Saigyō among their forerunners, such poems as those above would never have been written. Shunzei and Saigyō, however, stress the role of individual consciousness in their works in a manner quite unlike that of Teika. It was of course Shunzei who taught the younger generation of poets, through his concept of hon'i, the importance of personal conviction and the way in which the merely individual could be unified with ultimate meaning. Still, his own path to transcendence did not completely coincide with the utter banishment of the mundane chosen by Teika. Instead, Shunzei asserts that poetic tradition is a shared heritage of feeling, the natural propensities of the human heart. For him, the ultimate exists only in the form of individual sentiments.

Saigyō appears even more distant from Teika, He did not seek to align himself with tradition. Quite the opposite, he turned his back on the court for long periods of his life to live as a recluse. As was also true for many others of his day, the court society no longer held any promise of stability for him; that role was fulfilled by nature itself. And he reclaimed poetry for himself as a vehicle

---

[1] Teika's poem is an allusive variation of Shunrai's poem, SZS XII:707.

of examining his own life and philosophical concerns.

One of Shunzei's and Saigyō's major influences on the Shinkokinshū is the expansion in the anthology of the volumes of miscellaneous, of Shinto, and of Buddhist poems. These are the province of a more personal poetry than found in the first fifteen volumes, one that also displays a soteriological dimension. It is significant that thirty-four poems by Saigyō (36% of the total number of his poems in the Shinkokinshū) and twenty-two poems by Shunzei (30%) are found in the miscellaneous volumes. In contrast only five poems by Teika (10%), eight by Ietaka (18%), and ten by Yoshitsune (12%) are included there. Even the most cursory examination of the miscellaneous volumes reveals that a great many of the poems are compositions on actual events rather than on set topics. Here the compilers acknowledge the traditional prescription of poetry as a spontaneous response to the events of life, and the poems they have selected are often incidental in nature--brief exchanges between friends or between parent and child--that display a kindness and concern remarkably absent from the love poems. Many of these poems are by more ancient poets, but not all.

It is in the miscellaneous volumes of the Shinkokinshū that oen finds the compositions on the topic "jukkai," that is, "stating personal feelings." Shunzei was instrumental in these topics winning widespread acceptance in the twelfth century; one out of the three topics of both the Sumiyoshi no yashiro no utaawase and the Hirota no yashiro no utaawase, which Shunzei judged, was "jukkai." These topics are yet another way in which the personal could be reconciled with the formal demands of topic composition.

Finally, the miscellaneous volumes include poems on such topics as mountain dwelling, mountain pine, dwelling in isolation that celebrate the priestly life or at least the life of the recluse. One can already see the beginnings of this trend in the Kokinshū, in which one counts among the miscellaneous poems works by courtiers who had abandoned the capital in an attampt to flee their unhappiness. There is, however, a striking shift in attitude between the two works. For the Kokinshū poet, the court was the stable center of life. With only a

few exceptions, once they are away from the court, they speak not of peace of mind, but of loneliness and the suffering that comes from unaccustomed hardships.[1] In the Shinkokinshū, Saigyō, and other priest-poets as well as court poets composing on assigned topics acknowledge these emotions, in fact, embrace them and go on to explore more fully the various experiences of a solitary life. We can see this most prominently in Saigyō's poems, but for example:

Yamazato ni	In a mountain village
hitori nagamete	As I gaze in solitude
omou kana	I ponder about
yo hi sumu hito no	The resilient hearts of people,
kokorozuyosa wo	Who are content to live among men.
Jien, SKKS XVII:1656	

On the topic "many years spent in a mountain hut:"

Tachiidete	Where once I ventured forth
tsumagi orikoshi	To gather kindling along a hillside
kata oka no	Where young saplings grew,
fukaki yamaji to	Now I find a grove of trees
narinikeru kana	Along a path deep in the mountains.
Jakuren, SKKS XVII:1632	

Jakuren speaks as a recluse who has dwelt so many years in his hut that the young trees on the mountainside where he gathers kindling have grown until he now makes his way along a path through a thick forest. Much time has passed since the speaker left the capital. In that time, the landscape that surrounds him has, unnoted by him, transformed itself into one that speaks of great remoteness, attesting to the speaker's own psychological distance from his former life.

Jien's poem reverses the common notion that to live as a recluse requires great fortitude and that only the foolish and unenlightened would remain in human society. According to the speaker of this poem, it is not he but those who stay in the world, with all its sorrow and instability, that have true strength of mind. With neither

---

[1]For general discussions of the ideal of the reclusive life see, Sakurai Yoshirō, Inja no fūbo (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1967), pp. 9-64; Mezaki Tokue, Saigyō no shisōshi-teki kenkyū (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1982), pp. 100-256; and Ishida Yoshisada, Inja no bungaku (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1976), pp. 7-110.

smugness nor self-pity, the speaker conveys the reasons that led to his life in the mountain village.[1]

The volumes of Shinto and Buddhist poems are the outgrowth of the perception, which grew in the twelfth century, of the soteriological role of poetry. All imperial anthologies from the Shūishū onward had included some Buddhist and Shinto poems. However, Shunzei in the Senzaishū was the first to designate two separate volumes and to increase greatly the number of poems. The Shinkokinshū itself links both Shunzei and Saigyō with this new view of poetry. We find among the miscellaneous poems:

> When the priest Jakuren invited various people to compose a hundred poem sequence, Saigyō at first declined. Then, on the road to the Kumano Shrine, he had a dream in which Tankai, Intendant of the Kumano Shrine, said to the Lay Priest Shunzei, "Although all things fall into decay, this Path alone remains unchanged in the latter days of the world." Saigyō awoke to understanding and immediately composed the hundred poems to send to Jakuren. He added this poem:
>
> Sue no yo mo — In the ages to come
> kono nasake nomi — Only the bounty of this path
> kawarazu to — Will remain unchanged.
> mishi yume naku wa — Had I not so learned in dream
> yoso ni kikamashi — Would I have spurned your summons?
> Saigyō, SKKS XVIII:1844

In neither the Shinto nor Buddhist volume are poems limited to those by Buddhist or Shinto clergy. This is especially so in the former volume, which includes numerous poems by court poets on the occasion of their pilgrimages to various shrines. For example, the following poems by Yoshitsune and Teika:

> Composed when he was still a captain and was sent as an imperial messenger to the Ise Shrine,
>
> Kamikaze ya — Oh the wind of the gods!
> Mimosusogawa no — Here on the banks
> sono kami ni — Of the Mimosuso River,
> chigirishi koto no — Do not waver from those vows
> sue ya tagau na — Made long ago to my ancestors.
> Yoshitsune, SKKS XIX:1871

---

[1] After Saigyō, Jien is the major priest-poet in the Shinkokinshū. For a discussion of the religious bent in his poetry, see Kubota Jun, Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū, pp. 488-864 passim.

On the same occasion, composed at the outer shrine,

Chigiri arite	Because it was destined,
kyō Miyakawa no	This day I stand before the Miwa
yūkazura	River.
nagaki yo made no	For the ages to come,
kaketc tanoman	Long as the headdresses of the
Teika, SKKS XIX:1872	attendants
	I beseech that you will preserve us.

Others speak of the unity of the Shinto and Buddhist vision:

Composed when the poet saw the moon when he was visiting the Tsukiyomi shrine at Ise:

Sayakanaru	The clear light
Washi no takane no	That shines from high above
kumoi yori	The Vulture's Peak
kage yawaraguru	Here becomes accessible
Tsukiyomi no mori	In the grove of Tsukiyomi.
Jien, SKKS XIX:1880[1]	

In the volume of Buddhist poems, most are compositions by priest-poets. The volume begins with several poems attributed to the Kiyomizu Kannon and to the great patriarchs, Gyōgi Bosatsu, Dengyō Daishi, Chishō Daishi, and Genshin.[2] The priest-poets and the relatively few courtiers and ladies who are represented in this volume compose upon selected precepts from the sutras.[3] For example:

---

[1]Tsukiyomi no mori refers to the grove around the Tsukiyomi Shrine, a shrine dedicated to Tsukiyomi no mikoto. This god is the younger brother of Amaterasu no Okimi to whom the main Ise shrine is dedicated.

[2]Gyōgi (668-749) was a monk who was instrumental in spreading Buddhism among the common people; he is also said to have engaged in engineering, building bridges, constructing ponds, and so on. His popularity grew to such an extent he was several times forbidden by the court to preach. He and his followers participated in gathering funds for the building of the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji.

Chishō Daishi or Ennin (794-864) was a priest of the Tendai Sect who journeyed to China in 838-847. In 854, he became the third Head Priest of the Tendai Sect.

Dengyō Daishi or Saichō (766/67-822) introduced the Tendai Sect to Japan. He travelled to China in 804-806, and later upon his return to Japan founded the Tendai Sect upon Mt. Hiei.

Genshin (942-1017) was a priest of the Tendai Sect. He is best known as the author of the Ōjō yōshū, a work that outlines the practice of contemplation, prayer, and recitation that will lead one to be reborn in the Western Paradise.

[3]For a detailed examination of the Buddhist poems (Shakkyō-ka)

Among the compositions in the hundred poem sequence sponsored by the Regent on the concept of the Ten Blisses. The Bliss of the welcoming host (raigō).

Murasaki no	The sound of the koto
kumoi ni sasou	Beckons to me from the banks of
koto no ne ni	purple clouds
uki yo wo harau	In the sky.
mine no matsukaze	The wind among the pines
Jakuren, SKKS XX:1938[1]	Sweeps away this world of suffering.

Among the compositions on the Twenty-eight chapters of the Lotus Sutra, on the meaning of "There is but a Single Vehicle" in the Chapter "Hōben."

Isuku ni mo	In what place
waga nori naranu	Shall I find a teaching
nori ya aru to	That differs from this?

---

in the Shinkokinshū as well as in the earlier imperial anthologies see, Ishihara Kiyoshi, Shakkyō-ka no kenkyū--Hachidaishū o chushin to shite (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1980).

[1]Jakuren's poem is an allusive variation of:

Koto no ne ni	The strains of the koto
mine no matsukaze	Are wafted upon the breeze
kayou rashi	That soughs through the pines.
izure no o yori	From which among those peaks
shirabe someken	Did its tune first arise?
SIS VIII:451	

The ten varieties of bliss are laid out in Genshin's Ōjō yōshū (984-985):

1. Receiving upon death the welcome of Amida and his host of Bodhisattvas.
2. Being reborn from a lotus blossom into the Pure Land.
3. Receiving the Buddha-marks and the five supernatural powers.
4. The bliss of beholding the Pure Land's adornments.
5. The bliss of beholding the adornments and receiving the supernatural powers perpetually.
6. Being able to guide and save all former benefactors, friends, and relatives in whatever paths of samsara they may be suffering.
7. Enjoying the fellowship of all the holy beings of the Pure Land.
8. The bliss of beholding Amida Buddha and hearing the Dharma.
9. Being able to worship in person Amida and all Buddhas of the ten regions.
10. Speedily progressing on the path to certain Buddhahood.

Allan A. Andrews, The Teachings Essential for Rebirth, A Study of Genshin's Ōjō yōshū, Monumenta Nipponica Monograph No. 52 (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1973), pp. 49-50.

sora fuku kaze ni	So I ask of the wind in the sky
toedo kotaenu	And receive no reply.
Jien, SKKS XX:1942[1]	

Of greater interest than the expansion of these volumes in Shunzei's and Saigyō's poetry in the Shinkokinshū, is the particular voices with which they peak in the anthology. Let us begin with Shunzei.

Shunzei: Poetic Tradition as the Self

One's first impression of Shunzei's poems in the Shinkokinshū (poems selected by Teika among others) is of a humanness, a richness of sentiment, missing for example from Teika's works. Perhaps because of his age and stature as a poet, Shunzei was permitted to express personal concerns in his poetry even on the most formal occasions in a manner in which other poets were not. However, one also quickly realizes that Shunzei no more spontaneously expresses his emotion than Teika does. Shunzei exercises utter control over the diction and tone of his poems, thereby preventing them from ever lapsing into sentimentality. Further, the rich sentiments of his poems are hon'i made flesh; in no other poet do the values of the courtly tradition become so thoroughly the poet's natural response to a quite concrete world around him.

Shunzei shows that poetry may, as in the ancient ideal, provide the consolation of expressing one's deepest feelings in their most polished form.

When he was more than eighty years old, he was invited to compose a hundred poem sequence,

Shime okite	In the autumn mountains,
ima ya to omou	Where I have marked my place
akiyama no	Thinking it is time,

---

[1]The lines to which Jien refers in the the Lotus Sutra are:

> There is only the one vehicle Law,
> Neither a second nor a third. . . .

See Bunno Kato, Yoshiro Tamura, Kojiro Miyasaka, trans., The Threefold Lotus Sutra (New York: Weatherhill, 1975), p. 64.

Yomogi ga moto ni
matsumushi no naku
Shunzei, SKKS XVI:1558

Deep among the mugworts
The awaiting pine crickets cry.

Composed for the Sengohyakuban utaawase,

Are wataru
aki no ni wa koso
aware nare
mashite kienan
tsuyu no yūgure
Shunzei, SKKS XVI:1559

The autumn garden
That spreads before me in desolation
Moves me to sorrow,
What then will that evening be like
When I shall vanish with the dew?

Both are autumn poems from the Sengohyakuban utaawase; Shunzei looks upon his own impending death within the greater decay of the season. In the first poem, he has decided upon his burial spot in the mountains, and there the pine crickets, their own lives no longer than the autumn, cry as though awaiting him. ("Matsu" of "matsumushi" is homophonous with the "matsu" to await.) The vision of the second poem is more painful. "Arewataru" conveys a sense of physical movement, of withering and blight that spread before one's eyes. Shunzei is moved by the pathos of that scene and goes on to ponder what that evening will be like when his life ends. Evening marks the loss of all things into darkness, and it will of course be aware. The poet, however, also appears to suggest that even that deep understanding of the ephemerality of things cannot encompass the moment of one's own death.

In the autumn when he was mourning his mother's death, he secluded himself for a time in the Hōrinji. He composed on a night when the stormy wind blew fiercely,

Ukiyo ni wa
ima wa arashi no
yamakaze ni
kore ya nareyuku
hajime naruran
Shunzei, SKKS VIII:796

In this world of sorrow,
No more to dwell. Amid the gales
Of the mountain wind,
Shall I henceforth grow accustomed
To a constancy of grief.

After Teika's mother passed away, in the autumn of that year, he spent the night in a temple hall near her grave. There he composed,

Mare ni kuru
yoha mo kanashiki
matsukaze wo
taezu ya koke no
shita ni kikuran
Shunzei, SKKS VIII:797

So rarely I visit,
And yet, even to me, how sorrowful
The night wind in the pines.
Must she listen ceaselessly to that sound,
Lying there beneath the moss?

When he felt his illness would end in his death, he sent this poem to Minbukyō Norimitsu asking that Teika be given the rank of captain,

Ozasa hara	In the field of bamboo grass,
kaze matsu tsuyu no	The droplets of dew await the wind
kieyarade	And have not yet vanished.
kono hito fushi wo	So too, my thoughts still cling
omoi oku kana	To this one small matter.

Shunzei, SKKS XVIII:1822

Shunzei composed the first of these poems in 1139 when he was twenty-five years old. When his mother passed away, Shunzei's father Toshitada and his father-in-law Tametada were already dead, and Shunzei speaks of himself as one with no protection from the vicissitudes of the world. Most commentators interpret this poem as though the subject of both sentences were Shunzei himself, who contemplates becoming a priest. The poem is rendered, "I will no longer remain in the world of sorrow. Shall I henceforth grow accustomed to this bitter wind in the mountains?" However, the poet in fact mentions no grammatical subjects, and the first two lines can also be read, "She no longer remains in the world," ("Arashi" pivots to mean both storm and does not/will not remain) and the last two lines, "she, lying in her grave, will grow accustomed to the wind." Further, Shunzei does not so much appear to speak of this storm at the temple to which he must grow accustomed if he is to become a priest as he looks upon the storm as being emblematic of all the sorrows to which, having no parents, he is now directly exposed.[1] His mother no longer in the world, he is bereft of emotional shelter whether he remains in the temple or returns to the court.

The second poem, composed in 1193, is less ambiguous. Visiting his wife's grave, he hears the sorrowful sound of the wind sweeping through the pines. For him it is only a brief stay, but he imagines her presence beneath the moss listening for all time to the wind.

The last poem is formal in nature, and Shunzei chooses a more visibly crafted diction. "Tsuyu" and "kiyu" are engo, as are "ozasa"

---

[1] See Royston., "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei," p. 103 and n. 59 on pp. 163-64.

and "fushi." The latter word pivots to mean both node of the bamboo grass and matter or point. "Ko" of "kono" pivots with "ko" meaning child. The dew on the bamboo grass, of course, is a metaphor for Shunzei himself. By using such diction, Shunzei preserves the decorum of his appeal for help; it is moving without being maudlin.

Further, a number of Shunzei's poems in the Shinkokinshū appear to explore the relation between the poet and his tradition. In these works, Shunzei often speaks as an elderly man who at once mourns the ephemerality of his own life and celebrates the beauty of the natural world.

Iku tose no	For how many years,
haru ni kokoro wo	Has my heart been afflicted
tsukushikinu	By springtime?
aware to omoe	Take pity upon me,
Miyoshino no hana	Oh, blossoms of lovely Yoshino.
Shunzei, SKKS II:100	
Mata ya min	Shall I see it again?
Katano no mi no no	The court outing to gather cherry
sakuragari	blossoms
hana no yuki chiru	In the lovely field of Katano,
haru no akebono	Where snow flakes of petals
Shunzei, SKKS II:114	Scatter in the spring dawn.
Kyō goto ni	Each year this day,
kyō ya kagiri to	I mourn its passing, believing it to
oshimedomo	be
mata mo kotoshi ni	The last I shall see.
ainikeru kana	And yet, once more I find myself
Shunzei, SKKS VI:706	Alive to greet the new year.
Haru kureba	It is in springtime,
nao kono yo koso	That in all the year I most cherish
shinobarure	Our world.
itsuka wa kakaru	For where shall I ever see again
hana wo mirubeki	Blossoms as lovely as these.
Shunzei, SKKS XVI:1466	

Shunzei composed the "Iku tose no" and "Kyō goto ni" poems for Sengohyakuban utaawase when he was eighty-eight years old. It is, therefore, not surprising that he speaks as an elderly man. Further, Shunzei appears to find that the relation beweeen such a person and the exterior world portrays the pathos of that between himself, or any other poet, and tradition. The images in these poems, Miyoshino no hana, haru no akebono, Katano no sakuragari--this last a reference to

the Ise monogatari--are among those most cherished in the courtly view of nature. The winter poem closes the year of the seasonal volumes in the Shinkokinshū, and Shunzei is made to speak for the joy of all the poets who participated in those volumes. Likewise, in the poem from the miscellaneous volumes, Shunzei confesses his continued attachment to the mundane world, exemplified by the beauty of the cherry blossoms which perhaps none of the promised splendors of a world after death will be able to surpass. The loveliness of all these things made all the more haunting because we see them through the eyes of a person who may never see them again. Poetic tradition, represented by the natural world, is constant and unchanging. Only the life of the individual poet is frail, and he finds transcendence in celebrating as so many others before him have done, the beauties of that world.

The memory of the poet's life, too, will be preserved within tradition, for finally, it is no more than the crystallization of the natural inclinations of human feeling. Thus Shunzei writes:

Tare ka mata	Who shall it be
hana tachibana ni	That cherishes my memory in the scent
omoiiden	Of the flowering orange,
ware mo mukashi no	In that time when I too shall be
hito to narinaba	A person of the past?

Shunzei, SKKS III:238

Composed when making selections for the Senzaishū and reading poems of the ancients,

Yukusue wa	In the ages to come
ware wo mo shinobu	Will there be someone then
hito ya aran	To cherish my memory?
mukashi wo omou	Because of the propensity of the heart
kokoro narai ni	To think upon the past.

Shunzei, SKKS XVIII:1845

The flowering orange, again a standard image in court poetry, summons up memories of the past, most commonly of a lover one once knew. Shunzei expands this theme to speak of a relationship between persons who dwell in quite different times. As the speaker of this poem now recalls the past, there may be others who, attentive to the perfume of the blossoms, will cherish his memory in turn.

In the final poem, Shunzei speaks as a poet who, as one of the crowning achievements of his life, has compiled an imperial anthology. In the background of this poem is the turbulence that threatened the

court in the latter half of the twelfth century. Perhaps, Shunzei suggests, there will be such great changes in the court that no one will remember the past. However, he goes on to speak of the natural propensity of the heart to recall the past. As implied by the particle "mo" in the second line, that was what animated all of Shunzei's efforts in poetry, and this response, he feels, will remain unaltered. In the ages to come, other poets will seek through poetry "to perceive the fundamental significance of things," and cherish him as a kindred spirit. Teika and the other compilers of the Shinkokinshū signal their acquiescence to that role when they include Shunzei's poem in yet another imperial anthology.

Saigyō: Salvation in Nature

Both Teika and Shunzei sought a kind of permanence in their unstable times within an allegiance to their poetic tradition and its vision of the world; by initially surrendering the self, they recovered it as the core, if not the source, of all meaning. These poets recognized in their midst, further a figure who had chosen another path to transcendence. This was Saigyō, Shunzei's friend and Teika's earlier mentor.[1] To them, Saigyō was the exemplary priest-poet who demonstrated in his life that the search for religious salvation and the composition of poetry were equal in their seriousness of purpose. Saigyō was no less devoted to poetic composition than the

---

[1]Shunzei writes concerning Saigyō in his judgments of the latter's Mimosusogawa utaawase: "The priest En'i (Saigyō) and I have known each other from the time we were young men in our prime. We are joined by vows that shall bind us in this lifetime and the one to follow. In our old age, we dwell apart, separated by mountains and rivers. Yet, never is there a day, from dawn to dusk, that I have forgotten our friendship of old. . . ." Cited in Minemura Fubito, "Saigyō no sakufu keisei," Kokubungaku gengo to bungei 6 (July, 1964): 48. In this article, Minemura traces those poetic influences that contributed to both Shunzei's and Saigyō's development as poets. See also Minemura Fubito. "Fujiwara Shunzei to Saigyō," in Zenkoku daigaku kokugo kokubungakkai, ed., Kōza Nihon bungaku 4, Chuko II:184-206; and Uemura Masato, "Saigyō to Shunzei--ryōkajin no kōshō o megutte," Chūsei bungaku 13 (May, 1968): 22-26.

court poets, and Shunzei and other recognized in his works a depth which few attained. In addition, Saigyō's life and peotry spoke of another path, one to which the court poets were not willing to commit themselves thoroughly, by which one could relinquish the attachments to merely personal emotions and points of view and come to a true understanding of the nature of the self.

When Saigyō left his court postiion as a young man and became a priest, he sought to immerse himself in the actual world of nature, which, he and others of his day were beginning to recognize, had the power to effect human salvation. For centuries, courtiers had regarded villages and mountainsides remote from the capital as places to which one could withdraw from the painful events and human relations that troubled one in the city. In the same vein but more positively, they held an ideal of a quiet, contemplative life in which they, intoning the sutras perhaps, were surrounded by all the loveliness of nature.[1] For Saigyō, in contrast, nature was not merely a more pleasant location in which to live than the capital but the "ultimate Buddhist absolute" with which he sought to unify himself.[2]

Saigyō's sense of self and his relation to the exterior world, therefore, diverges from those of the court poets. Saigyō directly confronted the physical realities of nature in a manner they did not. His day to day existence, on pilgrimages and residing in simple huts, was far more precarious and subject to the vicissitudes of weather and geography than theirs, and he was unlikely to counfound nature with the inner workings of his own mind. Nor did he seek to eradicate the self in a mystical fusion with nature. A life from which the distractions but also the buffers of a structured society had been stripped away does not so much free one from the self as it leads to a more uncompromising awareness of it. Instead, these experiences of nature led Saigyo to recognize that he was only one sentient being among

---

[1] See Mezaki Tokue, Saigyō no shisōshi-teki kenkyū, pp. 133-59.

[2] William R, LaFleur, "Saigyō and the Buddhist Value of Nature," pts. I and II, History of Religion 13 (November, 1973 and May, 1974): 93-128 and 227-47.

innumerable others in the world, no more but also no less important than they. All things in nature are equal; they come into being and vanish in the same manner. One's emotions and thoughts, likewise, have no absolute value, but once one has become aware of the limits of their importance, they need not be utterly despised. One acts and feels with a freedom denied to those who remain in the cloistered world of the court.

In the Shinkokinshū, our immediate impression of Saigyō is this freedom:

Yoshino yama	Yoshino mountains:
kozo no shiori no	I shall not take that path
michi kaete	I marked last year.
mada minu kata no	No, I shall seek those blossoms
hana wo tazunen	I have never before seen.
Saigyō, SKKS I:86	
Haruka naru	Far away
iwa no hazana ni	And seated alone in the cleft of a rock
hitori ite	High in the mountains,
hitome omowade	Unmindful of the prying eyes of others
mono omowabaya	Let me think about my lover.
Saigyō, SKKS XII:1099	

The first is a spring poem. Saigyō shares with the court poets a deep love for the blossoms of Yoshino. The latter are apt, howver, even when employing a speaker who resides in Yoshino, to focus upon the blossoms of Yoshino. In contrast, Saigyō can speak of changing his path and seeking those blossoms he has not yet seen. There is no single correct path. He speaks with anticipation of experiencing, within the age-old appreciation of the blossoms, that which is not yet known to him and which his own act of setting out upon a new path and disregarding the markers of the old will reveal to him. All blossoms are equally lovely, especially in Yoshino, but each tree and setting is also unlike all others and offers its own concrete beauty.[1]

---

[1]Above all other things in nature, Saigyō celebrated the beauty of the blossoms and the moon. Further, his attachment to them often appeared to him to contradict his vows to turn his back on the world. We find among the poems in his personal collection:

Hana ni somu	How can it be
kokoro no ikade	That I yet have a heart to be moved
nokorikemu	By the colors of the blossoms?

The compilers of the Shinkokinshū place the second of these poems in the first volume of love poems, in the midst of such works as Masatsune's on the topic "hidden love":

Kiene tada	May it vanish!
shinobu no yama no	Like the clouds that gathered on the peak
mine no kumo	Of Shinobu mountain,
kakaru kokoro no	My heart, which I seek to conceal,
ato mo naki made	And leave no trace behind.
Masatsune, SKKS XII:1094	

Saigyō's poem breaks out of the suffocating misery of such poems first by the image "haruka naru" with which his poem begins and by the

---

sutehateteki to	I thought I had cast off from this body
omou waga mi ni	All traces of such feelings.
Saigyō (76)	
Uguisu no	Do I think
koe ni satori wo	That the song of the bush warbler
ubeki kana	Will lead me to enlightenment?
kiku ureshisa mo	Even this joy I feel when I hear it
hakanakarikeri	Arises from the folly of my heart.
Saigyō (1010)	

At the same time, he resolves this contradiction and discovers that it is his very attachment to the natural world that leads him to enlightenment:

Omoikaesu	I would not, perhaps, today
satori ya kyō wa	Be looking back in this way
nakaramashi	To my enlightenment,
hana ni someoku	If my heart had not been steeped
iro nakariseba	In the hues and outward form of the blossoms.
Saigyō, Mimosusogawa utaawase	

Cited in Kamijō Shōji, "Saigyō--sakuei to shinkō," Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 25 (March, 1980): 89-95.

The numbers given to Saigyō's first two poems above correspond to those found in Kuwabara Hiroshi, ed., Saigyō zenkashū, vol. 1, Sanka shū (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1981). It is tempting to relate this poem by Saigyō to the Ise monogatari work:

Yo no naka ni	If this were but a world
taete sakura no	To which cherry blossoms
nakariseba	Were quite foreign,
haru no kokoro wa	Then perhaps in spring
nodokekaramashi	Our hearts would know peace.
	[McCullough, trans.]

McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 125.

speaker's choice not to suffer from emotions but to embrace them. Saigyo's poem participates in the familiar notion that one must hide one's feelings from the prying view of others. However, Saigyō also celebrates his emotions; embraced in the cleft of a rock high in the mountains, he seeks to give rein to his feelings of love.[1]

In similar fashion, Saigyō speaks of the folly that arises from a blind attentiveness to one's own emotions:

Naki ato no	After his death,
omokage wo nomi	His visage is your sole and constant
mi ni soete	companion
sa koso wa hito no	That you embrace to yourself.
koishikarurame	Indeed, then, now deeply you must
Saigyō, SKKS VIII:837	feel,
	The sorrow of your grievous loss.

---

[1]Kubota Jun contrasts Saigyō's "Haruka naru" poem with such works as:

Ikanaran	In what manner of grotto,
iwaho no naka ni	Hidden away among the boulders,
sumabakawa	Might I make my home,
yo no uki koto no	So that I may never more hear
kikoekazaramu	Of all the sorrows of the world?
Anon., KKS XVIII:952	

The Kokinshū poet speaks of a desire to escape, to hide himself away from, the sorrows of the world. Saigyō, in contrast, seeks the freedom to give rein to his feelings. See Kubota Jun, "Saigyō no koi no uta ni tsuite," Kokugo to kokubungaku 39 (November, 1962): 40-52.

In other poems, however, Saigyō, too, expresses a desire to escape emotional pain:

Shiori sede	I shall not mark the path
nao yama fukaku	But will wander deeper into the
wakeiran	mountains
uki koto kikanu	Among the high peaks,
tokoro ari ya to	For, perhaps, I shall find a place
Saigyō, SKKS XVII:1641	Where no sorrows can reach me.

According to the headnotes in the Sankashū, Saigyō composed this poem when he learned that someone, quite unexpectedly, had made an unpleasant decision. Who the person is to whom Saigyō sent this poem is not known. This poem is also included in the Mimosusogawa utaawase (Round 30, Right) where Shunzei remaks, "The expression of the desire to flee has depth of conviction."

See Kawamata Keiichi, ed., Shinkō Gunsho ruijū, Book 217, 10: 186.

Utoku naru	For what reason
hito wo nani tote	Is this bitterness I feel towards him
uramuran	Who now grows distant from me?
shirazu shirarenu	Was there not an earlier time
ori mo arishi ni	When we were strangers who knew
Saigyō, SKKS XIV:1297	nothing of each other.

The first is a poem sent by Saigyō to someone in mourning, and it is designed as an expression of sympathy. However, he also appears to urge his friend subtly to relinquish those memories of the person who is dead which he has embraced to himself. The verb "soeru," which usually refers to one object being placed with or added to another, imparts almost a physical presence to the memories. The phrase "wo nomi" suggests that Saigyō's acquaintance is aware of nothing but his loss. According to Saigyō, he only intensifies his own sorrow.

The second poem occurs in the fourth volume of love poems, where the affair nears its end. In the place of bitterness and grief, the speaker, evidently a woman, attempts to take a larger view of her failed relationship. Why, she asks, should she feel resentment toward a lover who has become estranged from her when that estrangement only signals a return to an earlier stage when they were strangers to each other. The speaker has this much wisdom. However, the first three lines suggest that she does indeed feel resentment. With all the logic in the world she cannot escape her feelings. It is to Saigyō's great credit as a poet that this work does not didactically reject emotion. Instead, he explores the pathos of emotions that few can relinquish. Again, among poems of parting:

Sari tomo to	Despite what we know,
nao au koto wo	Shall we then still hope
tanomu kana	For another meeting?
shide no yamaji wo	For ours is not yet a parting
koenu wakare wa	When I cross the mountains into death.
Saigyō, SKKS IV:887	

The third is a poem of parting, a work composed by Saigyo when he was taking leave of friends in the cpaital to go on a pilgrimage to a faraway place. Here, he speaks at least in part of his own folly. He realizes that the dangers of travel as well as the ephemerality of life in general make it very possible that he will never see his

friends again. Still he and they give themselves to the illusion that he will surely return safely from this journey which is not that of death. Everyone, including Saigyō, trusts in the constancy of life until it is undeniably betrayed by death.

As one who has chosen a way of life different from that of the courtier, Saigyō notes that he has become emotionally remote from them. He no longer fulfills their expectations of him, even those based on their affection for him:

Yoshino yama	Yoshino mountain:
yagate ideji to	I shall dwell here a while longer
omou mi wo	I think,
hana chirinaba to	But do they await my return,
hito ya matsuran	Believing they shall see me when the
Saigyō, SKKS XVII:1617	blossoms fall?
Tanome okan	I will give you my word,
kimi mo kokoro ya	So that your heart too may be
nagusamu to	Consoled.
kaeran koto wa	But in truth, I have no plans
itsu to naku tomo	Of when I might once more return.
Saigyō, SKKS IX:886	
Yamazato wa	Dwelling in a mountain village
hito kosaseji to	I do not seek to discourage
omowanedo	The visits of friends,
towaruru koto zo	And yet, as time passes, how seldom
utoku nariyuku	it is
Saigyō, SKKS XVII:1658	That they call upon me.

In the "yoshino yama" poem, Saigyō speaks of the people who await his return from that place, believing that he will descend from the mountains once the cherry blossoms have all scattered. To them, the blossoms are the only attraction at Yoshino. Saigyō, however, has resolved to remain there for some period of time living in isolation. The poem leaves it ambiguous whether he will stay or return to the capital, for despite his wish to dwell in Yoshino he is also drawn to those people who anticipate his return.[1]

---

[1]Saigyō's attachment to friends in the capital is revealed in another poem as well:

Omoi oku	My heart thus yearns
hito no kokoro ni	For those friends I left behind
shitawarete	My thoughts still bound to them,

Likewise, in the poem of parting, Saigyō states that he will promise his friends to return by a certain date so that they and also he will be comforted. He goes on to say that in his own mind he does not know at all when he will decide to return. His is not a journey that is designed to take him to a specific destination and back (if he were a typical courtier as quickly as possible). Instead, Saigyō found meaning in the act of wandering and thus immersing himself in nature. Others, and even part of himself, cannot accept such radical indeterminacy. For them, he makes his promises, knowing them to be empty.

In the third poem, Saigyō speaks as one who has dwelt for a long period of time in a mountain village some distance from the capital. He does not discourage visitors, although he evidently also does not pine forlornly for them. As time passes, his visitors become fewer and fewer. Their own lives and the events in the capital of which Saigyō is no longer a part occupy their attention. In like manner, Saigyō himself becomes detached from his previous life. Each person fades from the active consciousness of the other.

In the place of the people of the court, Saigyō seeks the companionship of others who have also sought religious awakening in nature:

Sabishisa ni taetaru hito no mata mo are na ihori naraben fuyu no yamazato Saigyō, SKKS VI:627	If only there were another, Who like me has learned To endure loneliness. Then I shall build my hut beside his In this mountain village in winter.
Yamazato no ukiyo itowan tomo mogana kuyashiku sugishi mukashi kataran XVII:1657	In this mountain village I wish I had a companion who also Had found the world odious. For I would tell him of my past Which I misspent in worthless pursuits.
Tare sumite aware shiruran	Who dwells here And knows the pathos of things

---

tsuyu wakuru sode no kaerinuru kana Saigyō, SKKS, X:988	And even my sleeves, faded by the dew, Are turned back in the breeze towards my home.

yamazato no	In this mountain village
ama furisusamu	Where the rain falls incessantly
yūgure no sora	From the evening sky.
XVII:1640	

The interesting aspect of these poems is not that Saigyō in his life as a recluse still seeks human contact. In one sense, the poems seem to refer to the Buddhist notion of zen chishiki, the companion who leads one toward enlightenment. Rather, they are noteworthy because of the essential emotional autonomy that Saigyō maintains. In none of the poems does Saigyō seek to merge his life with those of others. Instead, he seeks the company of others who understand the value of solitude. In the first poem, he comes upon a mountain village in winter, the season in which a person who lived in the midst of nature would most need the physical protection of a hut and the help of others even in such simple manners as the gathering and sharing of food. There, in the village Saigyō decides to build his hut next to that of another recluse who also has learned to endure loneliness. By nature, their huts are temporary, and come spring they will be abandoned, as each goes his own way.

In the second poem, Saigyō speaks of his wish for a companion with whom he can share his thoughts concerning that past before he became a priest. He suggests that he regards that life as time wasted in worthless pursuits, and the vexation he still feels can only be understood by another who has reached the same awareness. Similarly, in the third poem, Saigyō simply acknowledges the presence of others in a mountain village in a dusk rain who understands the pathos of things, just as, implicitly he suggests, he does. He sees no more than one or several huts which are soon to become indistinguishable from the dark evening sky, and recognizes his fellowship with those who have chosen to dwell in them.

Saigyō also more directly expresses in his poems his vision which separates him from the people of the court. First of all, it is nature that teaches one the meaning of things, and it is for this reason that Saigyō and other priest-poets choose to live as recluses in the fields and mountains. For example:

Yama fukaki	Deep into the mountains,
sakoso kokoro wa	Indeed, one can traverse that distance
kayou tomo	In one's mind.
sumade aware wa	Yet how can one who does not reside there
shiran mono kawa	
Saigyō, SKS XVII:1630	Ever hope to know the pathos of things.
Miyako nite	Once, in the capital
tsuki wo aware to	I imagined I understood
omoishi wa	The pathos of the moonlight.
kazu ni mo araru	But now I find that my feelings then
susabi narikeri	Were no more than idle fancies.
Saigyō, SKKS X:937	
Kokoro naki	Although my heart is unformed
mi ni mo aware wa	Yet, even I, in my body must know,
shirarekeri	The pathos of things:
shigi tatsu sawa no	A snipe takes flight from a marsh
aki no yūgure	On an autumn evening.
Saigyō, SKKS IV:362	

In all three poems, Saigyō speaks of "aware," the pathos of things. This is a vision which is, of course, also the center of the courtier's response to life. However, Saigyō asserts that someone who remains in the court, although he may possess the most sensitive appreciation, cannot rival in understanding one who has chosen the hardships and solitufe of the life of a recluse. First, he opposes direct physical experience and intellectual perception. One can empathize with a person who dwells deep in the mountains, but cannot truly know aware. Likewise, one realizes after he has sought the fastness of nature that one's appreciation of the moon while yet residing in the capital was no more than the pastime of a dilettante.

The reason is made clear in the third poem. To understand the pathos of things, Saigyō suggests, one need not even possess innate sensitivity. One may have sought to relinquish one's emotional attachments. Still, one's body, when directly confronted with nature, will recognize its unity with all other living creatures. Nature does not treat the ego kindly, and Saigyō speaks of an awareness that he is finally no more than one more living organism. His travels, even his very existence are no less precarious than that of the solitary

snipe that rises from the marsh and vanishes in the dark autumn sky.[1]

Saigyō, therefore, reveals an awareness in his poems in the Shinkokinshū that he and the other living beings of nature share the same conditions of existence:

Oyamada no	Dwelling in the hills,
io chikaku naku	I am, by the deer crying close by my hut,
shika no ne ni	
odorokasarete	Startled from sleep,
odorosasu kana	And I take up the deer clapper
Saigyō, SKKS V:448	To startle them in their turn.

Furuhata no	Beside the desolate field
soba no tatsu ki ni	High in the branches of a tree
iru hato no	A wild dove
tomo yobu koe no	Calls to its companions
sugoki yūgure	This awesome evening.
Saigyō SKKS XVII:1674	

The first of these is an autumn poem found among the poems in the Shinkokinshū which explore the theme of autumn deer. Saigyō's treatment differs significantly from the majority of the poems which speak of the disturbing quality of the deers' cries in the mountains. In contrast, Saigyō speaks of an almost comical relation between himself and the deer; he is awakened by its cries and hurries outside to sound the deer-clapper in order to ward the deer away from his food supply. More important, as the reduplication of "odorokasarete odorokasu"

---

[1] Teika, apparently influenced by Saigyō, composed the following two poems:

Karagoromo	On my Chinese robe
susono no io no	I pillow my head in this hut
tabi makura	In a field beneath the mountains.
sode yori shigi no	So close they are, I seem to hear
tatsu kokochi suru	The snipes take flight from my sleeves.
Teika 299, Left	

(Roppyakuban utaawase, Autumn II, "snipe," Round 20, Left: Victory.) Konishi Jin'ichi, ed., (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 149.

Ima wa tote	They know it is time--
shigi mo tatsu nari	I hear the snipes take flight
aki no yo no	In the autumn night;
omoi no soko ni	In the abyss of sorrow
tsuyu wa nokorite	The dew still remaining.
Teika, Shūi gusō 11566 (2953)	

suggests, he and the deer react toward each other on equal terms.

The latter is one of several poems in the Shinkokinshū in which Saigyō speaks of the "tomo" of birds and other animals. Like him, they too seek companions. The setting of this poem is autumn or winter dusk; "furuhata" denotes either a field already harvested or which has been abandoned and left unused for some time. Thus the images suggest desolation and death. A solitary bird suddenly cries in a nearby tree, calling for its companion. Saigyō too is alone, and for both the evening is "sugoki," chill and terrifying.[1]

Saigyō also often conceives of nature itself as his companion:

Nagamu tote	Even as I gazed upon them,
hana ni mo itaku	How intimate I have become
narenureba	With the blossoms,
chiru wakare koso	And now this grievous parting
kanashikarikere	When we scatter our separate ways.
Saigyō, SKKS I:126	

In one sense Saigyō speaks of the folly of the heart which leads it to grow attached to the blossoms which one knows are so ephemeral. At the same time, "naru" and "wakare" most often are used with human reference, and one of the meanings of the verb "chiru" is to separate and go off in different directions. Thus the poet implies that in that short season of blossoms, when he gazed upon them constantly, they became utterly a part of his existence. Now at the end of spring, the blossoms take leave of him and vanish, just as he too will resume his wanderings.

Likewise, he speaks with a kind of sympathy of the plight of other living things:

Yoraretsuru	The grasses of the field
nomose no kusa no	That droop in the summer sun
kageroite	Are suddenly shaded
suzushiku kumoru	And clouds of the evening showers
yūdachi no sora	Spread coolness over the sky.
Saigyō, SKKS III:263	

The grasses, which cover the field, droop in the heat of the summer

---

[1] For a detailed examination of Saigyō's use of the word "sugoshi," and the relation between his use and that of the same word in the Genji monogatari, see Itoga Kimie, "Saigyō-ka no 'sugoshi,'" Chūsei no jojō (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979), pp. 204-16.

day; suddenly, the sky is filled with rain clouds that cast a cool shadow over the field. Like so many seasonal poems in the Shin-kokinshū, this poem describes the swiftly changing appearance of a landscape. Also, the Shinkokin compilers greatly admired the phrase "suzushiku kumoru" in this work.[1] One is struck, however, by the manner in which the poet conveys the refreshing, even life-giving quality of the summer showers.

Things in nature also have an impulse to seek enlightenment:

Iwama tojishi	The ice so long confined
kōri mo kesa wa	In the crevices of the rocks
tokesomete	Begins to melt this morning
koke no shitamizu	And the water that runs beneath the moss
michi motomuran	Now seeks its own path.
Saigyō, SKKS I:7	

This is Saigyo's first poem in the Shinkokinshū, and is placed among works that celebrate in various contexts the coming of spring. It is in the same group of poems as Yoshitsune's work:

Miyoshino wa	In lovely Yoshino
yama mo kasumite	The mountains are veiled in haze,
shirayuki no	And where the white snow
furinishi sato ni	Once fell in the ancient village,
haru wa kinikeri	Now, spring has arrived.
Yoshitsune, SKKS I:1	

and Shunzei's poem:

Kyō to ieba	On this day,
morokoshi made mo	When spring reaches far away

---

[1] "Suzushiku kumoru" is one of the phrases listed as a "nushi aru kotoba" (words with owners) in Tameie's Eiga no ittei (Yakumo kuden). See Sasaki Nobutsuma, ed., Nihon kagaku taikei, 3:398. The phrase is used in the Roppyakuban utaawase by Ietaka:

Natsu no hi wo	Who dwells there
taga sumu sato ni	In that village who would begrudge
itouran	This summer day?
suzushiku kumoru	Clouds of the evening shower
yūdachi no sora	Spread coolness over the sky.
Ietaka, Right 280	

(Roppyakuban utaawase, Summer, "evening showers," Round 20 Draw.) The members of the left remark that the last two lines of Ietaka's poem are taken from En'i's (Saigyō's) work. Shunzei responds, inexplicably, that he cannot clearly recall such a poem. Konishi Jin'ichi, ed, (Shinkō)Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 105.

yuku haru wo
miyako ni nomi to
omoikeru kana
Shunzei, SKKS I:5

As distant China,
Here in the capital
I felt it belonged to us alone.

Thus Saigyō's poem speaks of how all things in nature are restored to life and motion in spring. Of course, he also expresses joy and anticipation in his own activities of the new year after the hardships of winter. Water suddenly released from the crevices of rocks wells up beneath the moss and seeks myriad channels of escape. Saigyō's use of "michi," however, cannot but suggest the more metaphoric meaning of "way" in which it is so frequently used in this period. Saigyō appears to imply that even water, when no longer confined, naturally begins to seek its own path. What precisely it seeks is not clear, and perhaps the goal is less important than the propensity of all things to search for meaning.

Finally, Saigyō speaks of the enlightenment he has attained:

Izuku ni mo
sumarezu wa tada
sumade aran
shiba no iori no
shibashi naru yo ni
Saigyō, SKKS XVIII:1778

If there is no place
Where I may find a permanent abode
Then let me abide nowhere--
In this world so ephemeral,
No more lasting than a brushwood hut.

When on a pilgrimage to the eastern provinces, he composed about Mt. Fuji,

Kaze ni nabiku
Fuji no keburi no
sora ni kiete
yukue mo shiranu
waga omoi kana
Saigyō, SKKS XVII:1613

Fluttering in the wind,
The smoke that rises from Fuji
Vanishes into the sky.
So too, my thoughts fade away
Leaving no trace behind.

Yami harete
kokoro no sora ni
sumu tsuki wa
nishi no yamabe ya
chikaku naruran
Saigyō, SKKS XX:1975

The darkness clears away.
And does not the moon that shines clear
In the emptiness of my heart
Draw near the mountains
That lie in the west?

The first poem speaks of Saigyō's acceptance of the fact that all things are transient. If, he says, he cannot live in security in any one place, then he will seek no permanent abode whatsoever. He will live his life in a succession of brushwood huts. Further, through the homophony of "shiba" (brush wood) and "shibashi" (for a brief time),

Saigyō implicitly makes his hut--temporary and so easily damaged by the forces of nature--a microcosm of the world. The world at large is no less insecure than his hut, and he will not foolishly endeavor to seek permanence.

The "Kaze ni nabiku" poem, according to its headnote, was composed when Saigyō was travelling in the eastern provinces and he saw Mt. Fuji, and in his personal collection it is entered among the love poems. It is not uncommon in court poetry for poets to employ rising smoke, especially from Fuji, as a metaphor for the thoughts of love;[1]

---

[1]For example:

Fuji no ne no	From the peak of Fuji
keburi no nao zo	Billowing smoke still rises
tachinoboru	Into the sky.
ue naki mono wa	Yet it cannot compare to the flames
omoi narikeri	That rage, concealed in my heart.
Ietaka, SKKS XII:1132	

Ietaka originally composed this poem for the Roppyakuban utaawase ("love and smoke," Round 29, Right, 958). There, it was defeated by Yoshitsune's poem:

Shinobi kane	No more can I
kokoro no sora ni	Conceal my love, and so, smoke rises
tatsu keburi	In the sky of my heart.
misebaya Fuji no	Ah, let me show my beloved that scene,
mine ni magaete	Telling her it is the peak of Fuji.
Yoshitsune 957 Left	

(Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 331.

Jien wrote about Saigyō's poem: "Late in the day on the sixth of the seventh month, Saigyō passed away. His last moments, I hear, were truly edifying and did not detract in the slightest from his standard of behavior throughout his life. All spoke of what a rare person he had been in these latter days of the world. I reflected upon the poems he had written in the later years of his life and composed these two poems myself and sent them to the priest Jakuren":

Kimi shiru ya	Do you know, my friend,
sono kisaragi to	Having left behind the poem,
ii okite	"In the second month. . . ."
kotoba ni oeru	And passing away true to his words,
hito no nochi no yo (5183)	Which world he now inhabits?
Kaze ni nabiku	"Fluttering in the wind,
Fuji no keburi ni	The smoke that rises from Mt. Fuji,"
taguinishi	So he spoke of his thoughts,

there are several examples in the Shinkokinshū love volumes. The compilers of the anthology who placed Saigyō's poem in a volume of miscellaneous works, recognized that it speaks more generally of the nature of emotion. The smoke rising from Fuji flutters in the sky and vanishes the sky. So too, the poet's emotions fade into nothingness, leaving no trace behind.

Saigyō composed the third poem on the topic "kanshin" (meditation on the nature of the self), and he speaks of his awareness that he has come far toward enlightenment. The darkness of illusion and ignorance has lifted. In the emptiness of his heart, the light of the Buddhist Law resides and shines clear without any hindrance. And it reveals to him that he approaches the Western Paradise. One is struck by how similar this and the previous poem are to Teika's "Haru no yo no yume no ukihashi" poem, for both poets, although they use slightly different traditions of metaphor, speak of the essential emptiness of thought and emotion. The compilers have selected Saigyō's poem as the closing work not only of the volume of Buddhist poems but of the entire anthology. The joy with which Saigyō speaks is made expressive of the hopes of all the poets.

---

hito no yukue wa	And now we may seek his whereabouts
sora ni shirarete (5184)	In the emptiness of the sky.

"I was deeply moved by the fact that Saigyō had composed the poem":

Negawaku wa	What I wish
hana no moto nite	Is to die in spring
haru shinamu	Beneath the blossoms--
sono kisaragi no	On an April night
mochizuki no koro	Of the crescent moon.

"Further, I recalled that Saigyō had said of the 'Fuji no ne' poem, 'this is the work I am most proud of.'" Cited in Kubota Jun, ed., Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 7:364. See Waka bungaku-shi kenkyūkai, ed., Shikashū taisei, 3: Chūsei I, p. 587. The "negawaku wa" poem appeared in Saigyō's Mimusosogawa utaawase (Round 7). See Chapter I for Shunzei's judgment.

CHAPTER VII

THE SHINKOKINSHŪ AS A POETIC SEQUENCE

The Shinkokinshū contains 1979 poems in twenty volumes, far more poems than any previous imperial anthology. There were only 1111 poems in the Kokinshū; the Gosenshū, which is second in size to the Shinkokinshū, has only 1426 poems. In a period of composition, the poems in the Shinkokinshū range from works of the early Nara period to the thirteenth century, with nearly one-half of all the poems composed before 1150. No other imperial anthology equals the Shinkokinshū in scope. The compilers of such shorter anthologies as the Shikashū and Kinyōshū concentrated their efforts upon collecting works of their contemporaries. In the Senzaishū, Shunzei included poems from as far back as the Goshūishū period, but this was done to correct what he felt were the omissions of the previous several anthologies.[1] In contrast, the compilers of the Shinkokinshū set out

---

[1]Shunzei writes in his preface to the Senzaishū: "The emperor has deigned to give his attention to the works of poets of this present generation who have cherished the way of poetry. He did not overlook the feelings of men of the reigns of the past. Thus he bade me to gather poems from the Shōryaku period (990-994) to the Bunji period (1185-1190), including those works that had been overlooked by the compiler of the Goshūishū. Some two hundred years and seventeen reigns have passed since the time of Emperor Ichijō. Men have composed poetry those many years, and in my hopes that this way shall abide through all ages, I have called this anthology the Senzaishū, the 'Anthology of a Thousand Ages.' The Goshūishū was followed by two other imperial anthologies, the Kinyōshū and the Shikashū. The compilers of these works, however, did not seek to insure wide representation of poems, and the number of poems in their collections is few. Many worthy poems were overlooked; the compilers do not seem to have selected works of poets from earlier ages. . . ." Kubota Jun and Matsuno Yōichi, ed., Senzai wakashū (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1977), pp. 62-63.

to do no less than to create the definitive collection of waka from its beginnings to the thirteenth century.

Gotoba, therefore, did not idly name his anthology the "New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems," or the new Kokinshū. The Shinkokinshū, he proclaimed, equalled that earlier work in the originality of poetic style and in the attainment of personal poetic conviction. He and the other compilers also saw themselves at the beginning of a new age of poetry, one for which the poems preserved in the Shinkokinshū would provide the ultimate standard of excellence. The compilers honored the Kokinshū, and they certainly never sought to denigrate the other imperial anthologies. However, by going back to the Kokinshū period or even the Manyō period to select poems, they appear subtly to seek to displace these earlier works. If for no other reason than their more limited scope, the earlier imperial anthologies and the Manyōshū as well are made to appear subordinate to the Shinkokinshū. They were interim reports; the Shinkokinshū is the final summation of Heian waka.

Further, the Shinkokin compilers were aware of the historical development of waka and the relation between the individual poet and his tradition in a way no previous poets had been. The compilers of earlier anthologies had been content to make a collection of the best poems they could find. Those of the Shinkokinshū, however, also sought to place their works properly within the continuity of poetic tradition. More important, they set out to display the inner essence (the hon'i) of poetry that remains constant despite all the superficial alterations of style. Shunzei first advanced this idea in his Korai fūteishō, where he likened the successive imperial anthologies to the manner in which the Buddhist Law was transmitted in the writings of the various patriarchs. To illustrate his point, Shunzei discussed the Manyōshū and each of the imperial anthologies and provided a representative group of works from each. In like fashion, the Shinkokin compilers have selected poems that cover a six hundred year period of waka history, often juxtaposing works that are vastly separate in time and circumstance of composition, in order to display the diversity of

waka as well as the essential continuity of hon'i.

In this chapter, we will examine how the Shinkokin compilers selected and used the past. First, one can ask which poets of the past are represented, whether their poems in the Shinkokinshū are typical of their works, and whether the poems have been altered in any way. In other words, how did the Shinkokin compilers edit their past? Second, how did the compilers arrange the vast numbers of poems in the anthology and to what effects?

Answers to the latter question have been advanced at least in part by both Japanese and American scholars. In their article, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies of Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900-1500," Konishi Jin'ichi, Robert Brower, and Earl Miner have discussed the Shinkokinshū as an anthology organized from beginning to end along principles of association and progression. They call the work a "lyric form integrating numerous short poems into a unified series of impressive length," which "may be read from beginning to end as a single, long structure divided into books."[1] Thus the poems in the Shinkokinshū are so arranged that the reader moves from one poem to the next through associations of subject, speaker, images, diction, or mood. For example, a group of poems may have the following sequence of images: mountain, mountain village, peak, pine, wind: or again, garden, dew, tears, sleeves, moonlight. Associations of diction include the repetitive use of such rhetorical devices as jo (prefaces), of certain items of vocabulary, or the use of a series of uta-makura (poetic place names). In addition, the poems may be arranged along an axis of time, a season for example, or the events of a love affair. Finally, the article points out that the anthology includes poems of varying quality. Ji no uta (backdrop poems) that are "quite ordinary and certainly far from great," serve to heighten the effect of the superior works (mon no uta).[2]

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, Robert Brower, and Earl Miner, "Association and Progression," pp. 67-127.

[2]As noted briefly in Chapter I, the principle of ji no uta and mon no uta was extensively applied by the poets of the twelfth and

Looking at the Shinkokinshū from yet another standpoint, Kazamaki Keijiro has noted that poems in the work are grouped roughly according to three chronological periods. These are the ancient, comprising the Manyōshū, Kokinshū, and Gosenshū; the mid-classical, comprising the period from the Shūishū to the Shikashū; and the Shinkokin period itself.[1] For Kazamaki, this latter begins with the poet Shun'e and therefore covers the period from the mid-twelfth century to the first decade of the thirteenth. The size of these groups within the Shinkokinshū and their order are not fixed. However, the distinction between them is generally preserved throughout the anthology. The compilers appear to have made some effort, where there are a large number of poems on a certain topic, to alternate groups of old and new poems.

By using the principles of association and progression, the Shinkokin compilers were following a tradition that began as early as the Manyōshū. However, it is also clear that far more care was taken in the choice and arrangement of poems in the Shinkokinshū than in any previous anthology. Thus both Kazamaki's findings and those of Konishi, Brower, and Miner, suggest that the Shinkokin compilers viewed the anthology as a new macrocosm in which each individual waka was but one small part. The thirteenth century audience of the Shinkokinshū was thoroughly familiar with the original circumstances of the composition of each of the works in the anthology, be it to move a lover or to impress an utaawase judge. Now these poems are brought together in a

---

thirteenth century to the composition of hundred poem sequences. In his study of Teika's Shōji hyakushu, "Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era, 1200," Robert Brower has indicated which of the poems are ji no uta and which mon through the entire sequence of poems. See Robert H. Brower, Fujiwara Teika's "Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era," 1200. Monumenta Nipponica Monograph 55 (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1978). This study and translation first appeared in Monumenta Nipponica 31: no. 3 and 4.

[1]Kazamaki Keijiro, "Shinkokin-teki naru mono no han'i," in his Shinkokin jidai (Kyoto: Jinbunsha, 1936), pp. 88-148.

new context. Interrelations are created between poems that were never intended nor even imagined by the original poets. Within a sequence of related poems, their particularity is undermined subtly, and the meaning of a poem may be augmented, even changed by the works around it.

The Shinkokin compilers did not view their poetic tradition as a rigid edifice that existed out of reach. The poems of the past illuminate their own works. Simultaneously, their works alter one's understanding and reading of the past. The Shinkokinshū is their dialogue with the past. More precisely, the distinctions between past and present collapse in the Shinkokinshū. In the first two sections of this chapter, we will examine the poems in the Shinkokinshū that date respectively from the Manyō period and the Sandaishū period. In the third section, poetic sequence in the Shinkokinshū will be discussed as a kind of narrative form. This study will conclude with an annotated translation of the fourth volume of the love poems in the Shinkokinshū.

Poems of the Manyō Period

The selection of Manyō period poems in the Shinkokinshū reflects the convoluted process by which Manyōshū poems came to be circulated among the Heian courtiers and their selective appreciation of that collection of poetry. To begin, there are several kinds of discrepancies between the Manyōshū text and the Manyō poems in the Shinkokinshū. First, the poems in the Shinkokinshū appear to have been revised. Certain patterns of diction and items of vocabulary no longer commonly used in the Heian period have been eliminated so that the poems are more aurally pleasing according to the tastes of the Heian poet.[1] For example:

---

[1]Iesato Takafumi, "Manyōshū o genten to suru Shinkokin-ka, sono senka ishiki o megutte," Fuji joshi dai tandai kiyō (December, 1972), pp. 77-145. See also, Kojima Yoshio, "Shinkokin wakashū chū no Manyō ka ni tsuite," in his Shinkokin wakashū no kenkyu (Kyoto: Hoshino shoten, 1944), I:225-57; and Shimazu Tadao, "Shinkokin kafū no keisei to Manyō-go Manyō-chō," in Ozawa Masao, ed., Kokin Shinkokin to sono shūhen (Kyoto: Daigaku-dō Shoten, 1972), pp. 25-47.

Iwabashiru	Above the falls
tarumi no ue no	That plunges over rocks
sawarabi no	Bracken
moeizuru haru ni	Sends out its shoots--
narinikeru kamo	Behold spring has come
Shiki no miko, MYS, XIII:1418	

Iwa sosogu	Above the falls
tarumi no ue no	That spill over the rocks
sawarabi no	Bracken now
moeizuru haru ni	Sends out its shoots--
narinikerukana	Ah, it is springtime.
Shiki ni miko, SKKS, I:32	

"Iwabashiru" (to rush along the crevices of a rock) conveys well a sense of the sudden forceful flow of water when the snows melt in spring. The Manyōshū headnote tells us that this poem expressed the poet's joy; one senses in its cadence the upwelling of emotion. In contrast, the Shinkokin poem has a quieter, more elegant rhythm. "Sosogu" of "iwa sosogu" is a verb most often used to speak of tears or rain and suggests here a more subdued movement of water than does the original poem. The last line of the Shinkokin poem also differs from the Manyōshū original; even by the tenth century, the suffix "kamo" had become archaic.

Even with such minor changes, two poems can have quite different effects and meanings. Thus:

Momoshiki no	Along the jeweled paths,
Ōmiyabito wa	The people of the court,
itoma are ya	Ah, enjoy their leisure,
ume wo kazashite	They gather here, their hair
koko ni tsudoeru	Bedecked with plum blossoms.
MYS, X:1883, Anon.	

Momoshiki no	Along the jewelled pathways
Ōmiyabito wa	The people of the court,
itoma are ya	Ah, enjoy their leisure.
sakura kazashite	Today they pass yet another day
kyō mo kurashitsu	Their hair bedecked with cherry blossoms.
Akahito, SKKS, II:104	

Hisakata no	Although you rule
ame shirashinuru	The far heavens now,
kimi yue ni	We go on longing for you
tsukihi mo shirazu	unmindful of the passing
koi wataru kamo	Of sun and moon.[1]
Hitomaro, MYS, II:200	(Levy, trans.)

---

[1]Levy, The Ten Thousand Leaves, 1:130.

Upon seeing the Nara emperor placed in his tomb.

Hisakata no	In the far heavens
ame ni shioruru	You are bathed in tears and rain,
kimi yue ni	And so,
tsuki mo shirade	Unmindful of the passing of sun
koi wataruran	and moon,
Hitomaro, SKKS, XIII:849	Ceaselessly we yearn for you.

The Shinkokin poem attributed to Akahito enchances the elegant courtliness of the original. In keeping with the Heian courtiers' greater attachment to cherry blossoms, "ume" (plum) of the original poem is transformed into "sakura." "Koko ni tsudoeru" (are gathered together here) describes the courtiers in a very simple manner. In contrast, "kyō mo kurashitsu" not only creates greater unity of sound in the Shinkokin poem through the alliteration of "k" sounds but also adds to our perception of the courtiers' leisure and elegance. This day, once more the courtiers' bedeck their hair with blossoms and while away the hours. Further, while the speaker of the Manyōshū poem is clearly present among the courtiers, the speaker of the Shinkokin poem seems somehow to stand apart and to look upon the courtiers from a distance with a kind of awe. The courtiers appear to lead a charmed life; even the cherry blossoms which almost invariably are spoken of as ephemeral seem to have in this court a preternatural longevity.

In the Manyōshū, Hitomaro's poem is one of two envoys (hanka) that follow a longer poem concerning the death of Prince Takechi. Hitomaro's chōka speaks of the Prince's glorious exploits--he personally took up arms to subdue the rebellious clans--the peace that all the people hoped would last for ages, and the courtiers' sorrow and disbelief when they learned of his sudden death. The poem concludes with the assertion that the Prince's court at Kaguyama will endure for a myriad ages. In this hanka, Hitomaro once more stresses the Prince's divinity; he now reigns over the heavens. The expression of sorrow is balanced by this sense of veneration.

The Shinkokin poem, in contrast, speaks of a narrower personal vision. One sees not grandeur but only pathos. The Prince in the heavens sheds tears among the rain clouds, as do, no doubt, the people

who mourn him in his court. Nature, the living, and the dead are united in sorrow, but in this poem both the speaker and the Prince appear to be no more than individual men.

Second, the Manyō poems attributed in the Shinkokinshū to specific Manyō poets are, in the Manyōshū itself, often anonymous works or poems by other poets. At times, they are not to be found in the Manyōshū at all. Japanese scholars have pointed out that many of the sixty-four Manyō period poems in the Shinkokinshū are culled, with slight changes, from volumes eight and ten of the earlier work, and further that of those poems that are anonymous in the Manyōshū, many in the Shinkokinshū are attributed to major poets, Hitomaro, Yakamochi, and Akahito. Thus of the twenty poems in this imperial anthology attributed to Hitomaro, thirteen are anonymous Manyōshū poems, ten of which are found in slightly variant form in volume ten; two are Manyōshū poems by other poets; and three do not appear at all in the present-day text of that work. Of the poems attributed to Hitomaro in the Shinkokinshū, only five can be verified to be his in the Manyōshū. Likewise, of the seven poems attributed to Akahito in the Shinkokinshū, four are slightly different versions of anonymous poems found in volume ten of the earlier work. In Yakamochi's case, six of twelve poems do not appear in the present-day Manyōshū, and three others are attributed to Akahito in that work.

It is not surprising that in the past such changes led scholars to speculate that the Shinkokin compilers had revised the Manyōshū poems in order to bring them into line with contemporary tastes and that they had also made the various, apparently spurious attributions of poems. However, this is not the case. Neither the revisions of the poems nor their attribution to specific poets is the work of the Shinkokin compilers. Instead, the compilers merely preserved what might be called the Heian version of the Manyōshū. In other words, the compilers selected poems not so much from the Manyōshū itself as they did from various Heian anthologies of so-called Manyō poems. These collections were far more accessible to the average courtier and presented a very selected sampling of poems from the Manyōshū.

Kojima Yoshio has shown that the Manyō poems as they appear in the Shinkokinshū can be found in such Heian poetry collections as the collected works of Hitomaro, Akahito, Yakamochi; the Kokin waka rokujō; and the Wakan rōeishū.[1] The Kokin rokujō, which dates from the mid to late tenth century, is a collection of some 4300 poems that also appear in the Manyōshū, Kokinshū, and Gosenshū. The Wakan rōeishū, compiled c. 1013 or 1018 by Fujiwara Kintō, is a collection of waka and Chinese verse couplets that are suitable for recitation.[2] Among the waka, works by Ki no Tsurayuki, Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, and Hitomaro are most numerous. It is not known through what process or exactly when the so-called private collections of such poets as Hitomaro and Akahito were compiled. (There is a Hitomaro-shū mentioned in the Manyōshū. However, that work is no longer extant and most likely had already been lost by the tenth century.) These "private collections," as part of the Sanjurokuninshū (Collection of Thirty-Six poets,) were probably in wide circulation in the court by the Shūishū period. Further, the compilers of these collections did not merely gather together the waka of Hitomaro, Akahito, and Yakamochi from the Manyōshū. Instead, they filled the collections with anonymous works from the Manyōshū, especially those from volume ten of that collection. Thus of the 198 poems in the Hitomaro-shū, 154 can be found among the anonymous poems of volume ten; of the 265 poems of the Akahito-shū, 200; and of the 296 poems of the Yakamochi-shū, 54 poems.

The compilers of these "private collections" appear to have emphasized volume ten of the Manyōshū for several reasons. First, volume ten is one of only two volumes in the Manyōshū that is arranged by

---

[1]Kojima Yoshio, "Shinkokin wakashū chū no Manyō-ka ni tsuite," in his Shinkokin wakashū no kenkyū.

[2]The Kokin waka rokujō was compiled either by Minamoto Shitagō (911-983) or Kaneakira Shinnō (914-983) sometime between 973 and 982. Both this work and the Wakan rōeishū are organized by poetic topics, the seasons, mountains, fields, capital, love, Buddhist ritual, insects, animals, trees, and so on. Among the Chinese verse in the Wakan rōeishū, works by Po Chü-i are the most numerous.

season. (The other is volume eight.) In volume ten, each season is further divided into miscellaneous poems, with individual topics, and sōmon, love poems that make reference to the season or its objects. This volume thus reveals the beginnings of the kinds of poetic organization that would become standard by the tenth century; it is also organized by poetic topics. Second, the poems included in the volume can be distinguished from those of other volumes. The editors of the Koten bungaku taikei Manyōshū write:

> The poems tend to express pleasure in elegant sentiments and reveal a fineness of sensibility. One detects set patterns in the conceptions of the poems and the influence of Chinese culture as well. The poems appear to be the standard products of the learned level of court society. It is not known how this volume came to be compiled, but if one were to conjecture, one would guess that it has gathered together poems that served as models of poetic composition for the Nara period courtier.[1]

The editors' conclusion is further supported by the fact that volume ten of the Manyōshū, along with volumes eleven and twelve, contain nearly fifty percent of all the variant poems in that anthology.[2] These are works that differ slightly in conception and wording from each other and they reflect not so much errors in transmission as the standardization of poetic taste.

All such evidence points to the fact that volume ten was an important group of poems in the formation of a common ground of sentiment and poetic expression among the members of the court. In contrast to, for example, Hitomaro's works in the Manyōshū, these anonymous works are more narrowly personal and limited in vision. They are in fact expressions of the basic sentiments of court poetry, the foundation of hon'i.

---

[1]Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, and Ōno Susumu, ed., Manyōshū, 4 vols., vols. 4-7 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957), 3:19-20.

[2]See Itō Hiroshi, Kodai wakashi kenkyū 1:252-74, and 2:106-37; and Aso Mizuo, "Manyōshū maki jū no seikaku," in Manyō Shichiyō-kai, ed., Ronshū jōdai bungaku 12 vols. to date (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1970), 6:115-46.

These poems and others like them defined the Manyōshū for most of the poets of the later Heian period. In his Roppyakuban chinjō, Kenshō, who rightly prided himself on his knowledge of the Manyōshū, speaks of how unreliable the Hitomaro shū is because it leaves out so many of Hitomaro's poems from the Manyōshū.[1] However, most of Kenshō's contemporaries made no distinction concerning authenticity between the Manyōshū itself and other collections of so-called Manyō works. Shunzei, for example, only distinguished between Manyō poems that were acceptable according to the standards of court poetry and those which were too inelegant. It is no coincidence that thirteen of the revised Manyō works in the Shinkokinshū are also found in Shunzei's Korai fūteishō as exemplary Manyō poems. The Shinkokin compilers were not textual scholars. Both the Manyōshū itself and such later collections as the Kokin Rokujō or the Wakan rōeishū were considered to be equally valid sources of poems.

Even with their revisions and spurious attributions of authorship, the Manyō poems in the Shinkokinshū sketch a distinctive realm, at once familiar and different from that of the contemporary poems. The poems appear familiar because they participate in the unchanging hon'i of poetry and appear different because they speak of a time when poets celebrated their individual responses to the world. For example:

Toki wa ima wa	Now on this day
haru ni narinu to	When spring has come
miyuki furu	On those faraway mountains
tōki yamabe ni	Where the snows once fell,
kasumi tanabiku	I see the banners of mist.

Nakatomi no Asomi Muraji, SKKS, I:9 Anon. (MYS, VII:1439)

Asukagawa	Crimson leaves
momijiba nagaru	Float down Asuka River
Katsuragi no	On Katsuragi peak
yama no akikaze	The autumn wind of the mountains
fuki zo shinurashi	Now must have begun to rage.

Hitomaro, SKKS, VI:541 (MYS, X:2210 Anon.)

There is no telling how many poems were written from the eighth century

---

[1] Konishi Jin'ichi, (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase, p. 465.

onwards that used precisely the same images and ideas as these poems. For example, one need only compare the "Toki wa ima wa" poem to the opening work of the Shinkokinshū:

Miyoshino wa	In lovely Yoshino
yama mo kasumite	The mountains are veiled in haze,
shirayuki no	And where white snow
furinishi sato ni	Once fell in the ancient village
haru wa kinikeri	Now, spring has arrived.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, I:1	

Both poems speak of the first day of spring in relation to distant mountains, snow, and mist. Except for the fact that Yoshitsune specifies Yoshino, both poets could be describing exactly the same natural scene. As a result, we might conclude that Yoshitsune is a remarkably uncreative poet, and the Shinkokinshū itself a highly repetitive work. For the compilers of the Shinkokinshū, this core of similarity adds to the value of these poems. They both touch upon the hon'i of the beginning of spring. Each poem reveals a potential form of the other. In addition, the poems differ substantially in a manner appropriate to their respective times and places of composition. Yoshitsune's poem summons up not only a sense of natural revitalization but of historical and cultural rebirth. The Manyō poet, in contrast, confronts his world directly without the intervention of formalized hon'i. The sense of discovery and concreteness in the Manyō poems could no longer be duplicated by the Shinkokin poets.

It is this sense of resonance between past and present, the sense of seeing the unalterably true in a different guise that characterizes the Manyō poems one reads within the context of the Shinkokinshū. Many of the Manyō poems present relatively uncomplicated yet lovely images:

Saoshika no	Upon the bush clover
asa tatsu nobe no	In the fields whence the deer
akihagi ni	Depart at dawn,
tama to mirumade	Dew drops lie in such profusion
okeru shiratsuyu	They appear to be pearls.
Yakamochi, SKKS, IV:334 (MYS, VIII:1598, Yakamochi)	

Kono yūbe
furikuru ame wa
hikoboshi no
towataru fune no
kai no shizuku ka
Akahito, SKKS, IV:314 (MYS, X:2052, Anon.)

The showers
That fall this evening,
Are they the spray
From the Herdsboy's oar
As he crosses the River of Heaven?

Mubatama no
yo no fukeyukeba
hisagi ouru
kiyoki kawara ni
chidori nakunari
Akahito, SKKS, VI:641 (MYS, VI:925, Akahito)

As the night,
Jet-black in darkness, deepens,
Along the river's pure bed,
Where the oak trees spread their boughs,
I hear the plovers crying

The first two poems are Manyōshū tanka; Yakamochi's is an autumn poem, and Akahito's (anon.) is on the Festival of the Seventh Night (Tanabata). Yakamochi declares that the droplets of dew on the hagi bushes of the autumnal fields are so lovely they appear to be lustrous pearls strung among the branches. From the standpoint of the Shinkokinshū, the metaphor is very familiar, but in this poem it achieves compelling concreteness. The "kono yūbe" poem uses metaphor in a fashion more characteristic of the Kokinshū style of "elegant bewilderment" than of the Manyōshū. The poet asks if the rain that falls, this night when the Herdsboy crosses the river of heaven to meet the Weaver Maid, is the spray from the oars of his boat. The third poem is one of two envoys to a chōka on the Yoshino Palace, which appears in the Manyōshū. Unlike his predecessor Hitomaro, whose greatest accomplishments were with the long chōka form, Akahito (d. 736?) was more gifted as a tanka poet. The "mubatama no" poem is among his most successful works. In the dark night, along the pure riverbed where oak trees grow, plovers are crying. The adjective "kiyoki" often appears in Akahito's works but seldom in waka after the Manyō period, and along with the Manyō uta-makura, "mubatama no," places the work, from the point of view of the Shinkokin poet, in a distant, simpler and purer age.[1]

The Manyō love poetry in the Shinkokinshū, likewise is straightforward in the declaration of feeling, without the obsessive self-scrutiny that characterizes Shinkokin love poems.

---

[1]For a detailed discussion of the "Mubatama no" (in the Manyōshū, "Nubatama no,") poem and the chōka that precedes it, see Brower and Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, pp. 126-28.

Mikari suru	On the Imperial hunting grounds
kariba no ono no	So familiar are the branches of
narishiba no	the Nara tree,
nare wa masarade	Yet you grow no more familiar to me
koi zo masareru	Though my feelings grow ever stronger.

Hitomaro, SKKS, XI:1050 (MYS, XII:3048, Anon.)

Koromode ni	On these cold nights
yama oroshi fukite	When the mountain gales
samuki yo wo	Sweep across my sleeves,
kimi kimasazu wa	If you do not visit me
hitori kamo nen	Shall I then sleep alone?

Hitomaro, SKKS, XIII:1208 (MYS, XIII:3282, Anon.)

Akihagi no	Crossing the fields,
sakichiru nobe no	Where bush-clover blossoms scatter,
yūtsuyu ni	Come and visit me,
nuretsutsu kimase	Your garments drenched by the
yo wa fukenu tomo	evening dew,
Hitomaro, SKKS, IV:333	However late the night.

(MYS, X:2252 Anon.)

The first of these poems uses a mushin no jo (a preface that functions to draw out a certain sound but does not add to the meaning of the poem); "Narishiba no" leads one to "nare." The statement of the poem is: "Although our relationship does not deepen, my love grows ever deeper." The Manyōshū original of the "koromode ni" poem is the first of two envoys to a chōka. The third poem, which the Shinkokin compilers have placed among the autumn poems, is a love poem in the Manyōshū. Both these works, which are addressed by women to their lovers, are unshadowed by any belief that all lovers are unfaithful. Perhaps because love poems in the Manyōshū are still closely related to travel poems, in which they originated, the sorrows of love that are portrayed in this work have to do primarily with physical separation rather than the psychological complexities of betrayal and resentment.[1] We see in these poems the settings of love that are to become standard in court poetry. However, the Manyō poets are not so much interested in portraying the ultimate form of love as they are in suggesting the feelings of one woman at one point in her relationship with her lover, feelings that are no more and no less valid than any others.

---

[1]For a discussion of love poetry (sōmon) in the Manyōshū, see Itō Hiroshi Manyōshū sōmon no sekai (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1978).

Akahito's "mubatama no," poem and Hitomaro's "akihagi no" poem raise a further issue. That is, the Shinkokin compilers place poems into categories for which they were not originally intended. Akahito's poem, as stated above, is the second of two envoys that follow a chōka celebrating the beauty of the Yoshino Palace. Hitomaro's poem, according to its headnote in the Manyōshū is an autumn love poem in which the poet must refer to the dew ("Aki no sōmon, tsuyu ni yosuru"). Both these poems are treated as seasonal poems in the Shinkokinshū, Akahito's a winter poem and Hitomaro's an autumn. These are not the only instances of this practice. For example, we find another Hitomaro poem:

Saoshika no	In the autumn fields,
iruno no susuki	Where the deer gather with their mates--
hatsu obana	The fresh pampas grass--
itsu shika imo ga	When shall my beloved bind them
temakura ni sen	To pillow her head upon them.
Hitomaro, SKKS, IV:346	
(MYS, X:2277, Anon.)	

Again, a love poem that makes reference to autumn (Aki no sōmon hana ni yosuru) is treated in the Shinkokinshū as an autumn poem.

The Shinkokin compilers change the effect of these poems. In Akahito's case, the significance of his poem is reduced. It remains a superb waka, but its inter-connections with the other envoy and the celebratory chōka are lost. In contrast, in the poems attributed to Hitomaro, the seasons come to the foreground and love becomes a mood that hovers about the poem. Such poems contribute to the richness of mood in the seasonal volumes of the Shinkokinshū.

Finally, the Shinkokin compilers appear to use Manyō poems as well as other ancient works to sketch a world of grandeur and vigor, so different from their own.

Momoshiki no	Along the jewelled pathways,
Ōmiyabito wa	The people of the court,
itoma are ya	Ah, they enjoy their leisure,
sakura kazashite	Today they pass yet another day
kyō mo kurashitsu	Their hair bedecked with cherry blossoms.
Akahito, SKKS, II:104	
(MYS, X:1883, Anon.)	

Amazakaru	Over a long road,
hina no nagaji wo	From barbarian lands
kogikureba	At the far reach of the heavens,
Akashi no to yori	I have come yearning
Yamato shima miyu	And now the Straits of Akashi
Hitomaro, SKKS, X:899	open on the island, Yamato[1]
(MYS, III:255 Hitomaro)	(Levy, trans.)
Iza ko domo	Come lads, make speed
haya hinomoto e	For Yamato! The pines
Ōtomo no	On the beach
mitsu no hamamatsu	By Ōtomo's noble cove
machikoinuran	Wait for us in longing.[2] (Levy, trans.)

Yamanoue no Okura, SKKS, X:898 (MYS, I:63 Yamanoue no Okura)

We have examined the first of these poems in relation to its revisions, and we noted that the speaker seems to stand apart from the courtiers. Within the Shinkokinshū, this leads to an interesting effect of looking back into the past. "Momoshiki no Ōmiyabito" and the description of the ancient practice of fashioning headdresses from the flowers of the season tell us that this poem is about the Nara court. The poem permits us a glimpse of that world.

The latter two poems are included in the volume of travel poems in the Shinkokinshū, a volume that is arranged chronologically from the Nara period to the thirteenth century. It begins with a poem by Emperor Genmei (r. 707-715) and closes with a work by Gotoba. Hitomaro's and Okura's poem, which are found near the beginning of the volume, speak of the poets' travels in an official capacity. Hitomaro returns to Yamato after having held office in the provinces: Okura returns from his mission to China.

Poems of the Sandaishū Period.

For the poems of the early classical (Sandaishū) period that are included in Shinkokinshū, the question of revision can be less clearly resolved than in the case of the Manyōshū poems. (It should be remembered in this connection that although the Shinkokin compilers

---

[1]Levy, The Ten Thousand Leaves, 1:158.

[2]Ibid., p. 70.

could use the Manyōshū as a source of poetry, they could not cull poems from the subsequent imperial anthologies.) Thus the pool of poems from the early classical period available to them consisted of those that had not been previously included in any imperial anthology. It is by no means certain from which texts the Shinkokin compilers selected the poems of the early classical period; some poems correspond to one text, others to another, and still others to none that are extant today. If, however, we grant that some revision, perhaps by the Shinkokin compilers themselves, has taken place, which would account for the discrepancies between a poem as it appears in the Shinkokinshū and its standard version in a poet's personal collection, we find a consistency in the kinds of changes that are made. Once again, the "revised" versions are in keeping with the standards of diction established by the Shinkokin poets themselves. For example:

Nezame suru	The sound of this wind
mi wo fukitōsu	That awakens me deep in the night
kaze no oto wo	And blows through my body--
mukashi wo sode no	In the past, I heard it
yoso ni kikiken	Somewhere far beyond my sleeves.

Izumi Shikibu, SKKS, VIII:783

In the Izumi Shikibu-shū, the fourth line reads, "mukashi wa mimi no," (In the past, it did not reach my ears).[1]

Aware nari	How sorrowful
waga mi no hate ya	The fate that awaits me--
asamidori	Pale green--
tsui ni wa nobe no	To think in the end I shall be
kasumi to omoeba	A banner of mist trailing over the fields.

Ono no Komachi, SKKS, VIII:758

In the Ono no Komachi-shu, the poem reads:

Hakanashi ya	How fleeting it is
waga mi no hate yo	The fate that awaits me--
asamidori	Pale green--
tanabiku nobe no	To think that I shall be no more
kasumi to omoeba	Than a banner of mist over the fields.

Ono no Komachi-shū 16983

---

[1]Waka-shi kenkyūkai, Shikashū taisei, v. 2: Chūko II, p. 39.

In Izumi Shikibu's original poem, "mimi" (ear) contrasts with "mi" (body); in the past, the speaker did not even hear the cold wind. Now after her lover's death, the wind pierces her body. In the Shinkokin poem, "sode" (sleeve) is substituted for "mimi," enriching therefore the implications of the poem. Sleeves immediately conjure up an image of tears and of the woman reclining alone upon her robes. She is awakened by the cold wind stirring her sleeves. These are also the robes that the lovers used as a coverlet on their nights together; now the speaker shares her bed, not with a lover, but with the cold wind.

Komachi's poem is more extensively altered. First, the opening line is changed from "hakanashiya" in the original poem to "Aware nari" in the Shinkokinshū. The line "hakanashiya" was regarded with disfavor in the Shinkokin period, and may therefore have been discarded.[1] Further, "aware nari" sets a tone of quiet reflection in the poem quite different from the emotional intensity of the original, and it eliminates the repetitive use of exclamatory interjections, "ya" in the first line and "yo" in the second. Second, "tsui ni wa nobe no" introduces an element of reflection upon the future that "nobe ni tanabiku" lacks. In addition, as a result of this change, the third line "asamidori" attains greater independence from the line that follows and marks a very effective pause in the tempo of the poem.

Some poems appear to have been revised so that they would fit more smoothly into a certain sequence of poems in the Shinkokinshū. One finds in the volume of winter poems:

Nobe mireba	I gaze upon the fields
obana ga moto no	And see, at the foot of the pampas
omoigusa	grass,
kareyuku fuyu ni	The gentians, those flowers of
nari zo shinikeru	yearning.
Izumi Shikibu, SKKS, VI:624[1]	Ah, it has become winter
	When they all shall wither away.

---

[1]See Ishikawa Tsunehiko, "Hakanashiya, kō--Shinkokin-teki shokugire no ron no tame ni," Mukogawa kokubun (March, 1973): 34-44.

[2]Waka-shi kenkyūkai, Shikashū taisei, v. 2: Chūko II, p. 16.

In the Izumi Shikibu-shū, the fourth line reads "kareyuku hodo ni" (that time when [emotions] wither away). In that work, the poem is not a winter poem but rather one that speaks of personal grief, perhaps caused by the end of a love affair or the death of a lover. Significantly, its honka is a Manyōshū love poem:

Michinobe no	Along the path
obana ga shita no	At the foot of the pampas grass
omoigusa	Bloom the gentians, flowers of yearning.
imasara sara ni	Why should I now be vexed with yearning
nado mono ka omowan	When I know it is too late for that?
MYS, X:2270	

By treating Izumi Shikibu's work as a seasonal poem, substituting "kareyuku fuyu" for "kareyuku hodo," the Shinkokin compilers transform personal emotion into part of the mood of a season. The dying of the natural world becomes emblematic of the fading of emotion.

According to Shunzei, poets of his day were to model their poems on those of the Sandaishū (Kokinshū, Gosenshū, Shuishū). Thus the compilers of the Shinkokinshū approached the selection of poems from that period from the same standpoint. That is, they sought poems that were classic both in the skillful use of diction and in the expression of the elegant sentiments proper to court poetry. The greatest poems of the early classical period, of course, had been included in previous imperial anthologies; Teika made a selection of these in his Kindai shūka and the Hachidaishō to guide his students in the choice of foundation poems for their own compositions.[1] However, the poems of the Sandaishū period that do appear in the Shinkokinshū are also the forerunners of the contemporary works. Included in the Shinkokinshū, these earlier poems lay open the foundations of the styles and attitudes toward poetry that were current in the late twelfth through thirteenth centuries. These are poems to which the

---

[1]The Hachidaishō or the Nishidai-shū is an anthology of poems compiled by Teika around 1215. In this anthology of twenty volumes, he gathered those works which he considered the best from the eight imperial anthologies from the Kokinshū to the Shinkokinshū. The largest number of poems is culled from the Shinkokinshū.

Shinkokin poets could turn again and again in an effort to understand hon'i. Thus for example, in relation to standard poetic sentiments, we find among the seasonal poems of the Shinkokinshū:

Yamazakura Chirite miyuki ni magainaba izure ka hana to haru ni towanan Ise, SKKS, II:107	When the cherry blossoms Have all scattered in the mountains Just like the snow, Let me inquire of the springtime Which is the snow? Which are the petals?
Imoyasuku nerarezarikeri haru no yo wa hana no chiru nomi yume ni mietsutsu Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, SKKS, II:106	I cannot sleep in peace And restlessly turn this way and that. For on a spring night, Even in dream all that I see Are the lovely blossoms scattering.
Waga yado no mono narinagara sakurabana chiru wo ba e koso todomezarikere Tsurayuki, SKKS, II:108	Although I count them Among the possessions of my dwelling-- The cherry blossoms-- I have no mastery over them To prevent them from scattering.
Hana no ka ni koromo wa fukaku narinikeri ko no shitakage no kaza no ma ni ma ni Tsurayuki, SKKS, II:111	How deeply scented My sleeves become by the perfume Of the blossoms, As I stand beneath the boughs Where the wind scatters petals upon me.

These poems are decorous, elegant, and from the standpoint of the Shinkokinshū, familiar. One need not recognize these particular poems; instead, it is the sentiments they express that are so well known. These poems have a rich lyricism. Their diction does not appear highly contrived, unlike many Shinkokin style poems, nor do the poets, Tsurayuki and the others, indulge in the paradoxical metaphors of the Kokinshū style. Ise's poem makes use of the familiar metaphor of blossoms that resemble snowflakes. The focus of her poem, however, is no longer upon this pose of "elegant bewilderment" but on her realization that only springtime itself knows which are the snowflakes and which the petals. Tsurayuki's poem number 108 does present a paradox--the cherry blossoms belong to his dwelling, yet the speaker exercises no control over them and cannot prevent them from scattering. The poem, however, creates a mood of wistful sorrow.

Such poems as Tsurayuki's 111 and Mitsune's 106 foreshadow the Shinkokin poets' interest in the commingling of the senses and of reality and illusion. In Tsurayuki's poem, the speaker's garments, already scented with incense, are further perfumed by the cherry blossoms. As he lingers beneath the boughs, a gentle breeze wafts the blossom petals so that they spill upon his robes. Cherry blossoms, of course, have no scent, but when the delicate blossom petals brush against the speaker's robes, the speaker feels that they intensify the scent of the garments. Similarly, in Mitsune's poem, the speaker grieves for the passing of the blossoms. Even in his dreams, which might have offered some solace, he sees the blossoms scattering.

These poems are followed by Shunzei's Daughter's work:

Kaze kayou	The breeze stirs
nezame no sode no	My sleeves at awakening--
hana no ka ni	Scented by blossoms--
kaoru makura no	That perfume my pillow
haru no yo no yume	Of the dream of a spring night.

Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, 112

Suddenly, we are in a different realm of poetry, but we can see in the previous poems the kind of material in which Shunzei's Daughter's work has its source.

The poems of the early classical period also serve as exemplars of certain poetic techniques. These are poems in which sentiment and craft have achieved a perfect union, poems in which the Shinkokin poets found their own ideal of diction. For example:

Naniwagata	In Naniwa Bay,
mijikaki ashi no	How short the nodes of reeds.--
fushi no ma mo	Is this then your bidding?
awade ko no yo wo	For me to pass my life without you,
sugushite yo to ya	Not seeing you even for the briefest
Lady Ise, SKKS, XI:104	moment?

Sent to Izumi Shikibu when she heard that soon after Shikibu had been abandoned by Michisada she had entered into a relationship with Atsumichi,

Utsurowade	Be not inconstant
shibashi Shinoda no	But for a time observe
mori wo miyo	Shinoda Grove.
kaeri mo zo suru	See how the leaves of the arrowroot
kuzu no urakaze	Are turned once more in the wind.

Akazomēmon, SKKS, XVIII:1820

Izumi Shikibu's response,

Akikaze wa	Although the autumn gales
sugoku fuku tomo	Blow fiercely and turn over
kuzu no ha no	The arrowroot leaves,
uramigao ni wa	You cannot say I have reproached him,
miezu to zo omou	Nor turned myself against him.

Izumi Skikibu, SKKS, XVIII:1821

Waga mi koso	"Is it I who no longer lives?"
aranu ka to nomi	It is this question that troubles me
tadorarure	In the disarrangement of my mind,
toubeki hito ni	Since that time I was forgotten
wasurerareshi yori	By my lover who ought to have been
Ono no Komachi, SKKS, XV:1404	faithful.

Waga kokoro	My heart,
haru no yamabe ni	Entranced by visions
akugarete	Of the cherry blossoms,
naganagashi hi wo	I have spent this long, spring day
kyō mo kurashitsu	Once more here along the mountainside.

Tsurayuki (Ōshikōchi no Mitsune), SKKS, I:81

Ise's poem, like so many others both ancient and of the Shin-kokin period in the first volume of love poems, makes use of a preface that is linked to the rest of the poem by means of a pivot. "Fushi no ma" thus pivots to mean both the small interval between the nodes on a reed plant in Naniwa Bay and a brief moment of time. In its simplicity, the metaphor effectively supports the lady's reproach of a lover who never visits her.

Akazomēmon's poem and Izumi Shikibu's response to it revolve around a cluster of autumn images that serve as metaphors for Izumi Shikibu and her former husband Michisada. First, Shinoda Grove was located in the province of Izumi, of which Izumi Shikibu's husband was the governor. Thus the first three lines of Akazomēmon's poem carries the meaning, "Do not let your feelings change and fade away. Observe your husband for a time." "Utsurou" also suggests the way in which leaves change color in autumn. Second, Shinoda Grove was famed for its arrowroot vines, and lines two through five also read, "Look upon Shinoda Grove, where the arrowroot leaves are turned over by the wind. So too, your husband may return to you."

In her response, Izumi Shikibu uses "akikaze," the autumn wind, as a metaphor for her husband; "aki" pivots to mean both autumn and indifference. Further, she skillfully counters Akazomēmon's argument

by using the image of the arrowroot leaves to explain her own feelings. "Urami" as a noun means resentment; it is also homophonous with the verb phrase, "ura mi(yu)" to see the backs of the arrowroot leaves. Izumi Shikibu, therefore, states, "Indeed, the leaves are turned over by the wind, but unlike them I have shown no resentment toward my husband." In other words, "I have only tried to act in such a way that he would not think I resented his cruelty."

Even in the period in which these poets wrote, these metaphors were standard and quickly understood. The Shinkokin poets admired not the novelty of these poems but the grace with which the poets used the familiar tools of poetic diction. In contrast to these poems, Komachi's work is altogether without such rhetorical techniques. Yet, it too is striking in its delineation of bitter irony, using the strong pattern of reasoning characteristic of the Kokinshū. The first three lines read: "It is I who cannot but wonder whether I am living or dead." "Koso" and "nomi" are emphatic particles. The verb is in the reflexive form that mark spontaneous action. In the last two lines, we find the reason for the speaker's feelings: "I was forgotten by that person whom I trusted would visit me." Conventionally, a woman who has been abandoned by her lover feels that she will die at any moment. Komachi, however, also suggests that her lover's betrayal has placed her in an anomalous position where she doubts her own life rather than that of an absent lover. She is surely alive, yet when her lover forgot her, thereby upsetting the proper order of things, even to herself her own existence became a matter to be questioned.

The final poem, which in the Shinkokinshū is attributed to Tsurayuki (actually Ōshikōchi no Mitsune's), is an early example of honkadori. Its foundation poem is the anonymous Manyō work:[1]

Ashihiki no	Where they spread out reeds,
yamadori no o no	On distant mountains,
shidari o no	The fowl's plumage trails long--
naganagashi yo wo	Long as is this night,
hitori ka mo nen	That I must sleep alone.

MYS, XI:2802 Anon. (SIS, XII:778 Hitomaro)

---

[1]The editors of the Iwanami koten bungaku taikei text of the

This work is also the foundation poem of at least two works by contemporary Shinkokin poets in the Shinkokinshū:

Sakura saku tōyamadori no shidari o no naganagashi hi mo akanu iro kana Gotoba, SKKS, II:99	On distant peaks The cherry blossoms are in bloom, Never shall I tire of their splendor, Though this spring day be long, Long as the trailing plumage of the mountain fowl.
Hitori nuru yamadori no o no shidari o ni shimo oki mayou toko no tsukikage Teika, SKKS, V:487	Sleeping alone. On the trailing plumage Of the mountain fowl, Frost wavers uneasily In the moonlight on the bedding.

Finally, the poems of the early classical period in the Shinkokinshū comprise a corpus of compositions that are about actual events rather than on assigned topics. We have already seen one example above: the exchange between Izumi Shikibu and Akazomēmon, and it is this informal nature of so many of the earlier poems that most decisively differentiates them from the poems of the Shinkokin period. These poems attest to the unchanged ideal of poetry and the courtly life; the courtier or court lady records his or her response to the day-to-day events of life in poetry. In addition, they have concreteness--of time, place, and participants--all well known to the literate audience of the Shinkokinshū. There are so many miniature tales that depict the rich variety of individual lives--tales that the later Shinkokin poets have distilled into their unchanging essence. The poems of the early classical period possess a humanity that provides a balance to the more rarefied atmosphere of the Shinkokin style works.

The placement of these early works in the Shinkokinshū reflects at least in part the traditional division of an imperial anthology into volumes of primarily formal compositions and those that celebrate more personal occasions. In the seasonal volumes, for example, formal topic compositions, from all periods ranging from the Manyō to Shinkokin outnumber poems that speak of personal events. In contrast, the latter

---

Shinkokinshū name this poem as the hōnka of Tsurayuki's work. Neither Kubota Jun, in his Shinkokin wakashū zen hyoshakū, nor Minemura Fubito, in the Nihon koten bungaku zenshū text, do so.

type of poem is numerous in the volumes of love poetry, lament, and miscellaneous poems--the traditional realm of personal poetry. Further, even within these categories, the compilers of the Shinkokinshū set the older poems apart from those of the Shinkokin period; older poems are particularly numerous in the first, third and fifth volumes of love and in the first and third volumes of miscellaneous poems. In addition, in the selection of the more personal poems, the Shinkokin compilers appear to have considered not only the poem but the reputation or identity of the poet as well.

In the seasonal volumes, Sandaishū period poems, often those which were not originally composed as seasonal works, provide moments that crystallize the underlying mood of a season. For example:

Fukimusubu — The wind that seeks me out
kaze wa mukashi no — Is just the same as it was
aki nagara — In those autumns of the past.
arishi ni mo ninu — But how changed is the dew
sode no tsuyu kana — That now spills upon my sleeves.
Ono no Komachi, SKKS, IV:312

On the day of the first snow of winter, when she had things on her mind, she composed,

Fureba kaku — When one dwells in the world
usa nomi masaru — Only one's sorrows grow and multiply.
yo wo shirade — Knowing nothing of the world,
aretaru niwa ni — In my desolate garden
tsumoru hatsuyuki — Falls the first, fresh snow of winter.
Murasaki Shikibu, SKKS, VI:661[1]

Komachi's poem is found in the first volume of autumn poems in the Shinkokinshū; Murasaki Shikibu's in the winter volume. In keeping with the mood of these seasons, they speak of change and loss. We do not know the topic nor the circumstances of composition of Komachi's work. It is found in her private collection among a group of poems without topics, although a number of them appear to be poems of love or mourning. Thus Komachi appears to mourn the loss of a lover, perhaps through death, or to lament her own old age. This interpretation gains strength when we consider Komachi's reputation as a poet. Komachi (along with Izumi Shikibu) was famed for her love poetry which depicted

[1]Waka-shi kenkyūkai, Shikashū taisei, v. 1: Chūko I, p. 739.

the passions and sorrows of her life. She lived the life the Shinkokin poets contemplated as hon'i.

Murasaki's poem was composed in response to this poem sent by an acquaintance:

Koishikute	I spend my days,
Arifuru hodo no	Yearning to see you again;
hatsu yuki wa	The first snow falls,
kienuru ka to zo	And I feel as though I shall vanish
utagawarekeru	Just as the light snowfall will.

Anon. Murasaki Shikibu shū II-122[1]

In her poem, Murasaki Shikibu speaks of the sufferings that only increase the longer one remains in human society. She compares her life to that of the fresh snow, which knowing nothing of the world, falls in her desolate garden. One Japanese commentator has suggested that "yo wo shirade" refers specifically to Murasaki's relation to her husband and that her sorrows arise from difficulties in her marriage.[2] The manner in which the Shinkokin headnote is worded, however, leaves it ambiguous whether the compilers recognized a specific context for the poem or believed that Murasaki spoke more generally of the sorrows that all persons experience in the course of their lives. The latter, however, appears more in keeping with the compilers image of Murasaki as the author of the Genji monogatari, a person who therefore understood above all others the pathos of things.

In the volumes of love poetry in the Shinkokinshū, which are arranged so that they narrate the course of a love affair from its beginning to its end, the compilers use the poems of the early classical period to depict the use of poems in actual love affairs. We find near the beginning of the first volume of love:

Sent to a woman,

Kasugano no	Like the random pattern of this robe,
waka murasaki no	Dyed with the young purple
surigoromo	From Kasuga Plain--

---

[1]Ibid., p. 739.

[2]Cited in Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 3:662.

shinobu no midare
kagiri shirarezu
Narihira, SKKS, XI:994
(Ise monogatari ep. 1)

Even thus is the wild disorder
Of my yearning heart.[1]
(McCullough, trans.)

Sent to the Palace Lady Chūjō,

Murasaki no
iro ni kokoro wa
aranedomo
fukaku zo hito wo
omoisometsuru
Emperor Daigo, SKKS, XI:995

Although my heart
Is not a bolt of cloth
To be dyed purple,
I have begun to love you,
The color of my feelings growing
deeper and deeper.

Attached to the letter the lady had finally sent to him in response to his missives,

Toshi wo hete
omou kokoro no
shirushi ni zo
sora mo tayori no
kaze wa fukikeru
Fujiwara Takamitsu, SKKS, XI:998

After all these years
In acknowledgement of the feelings
I have held for you,
Ah, the wind in the sky
Has brought a missive to me.

In the third volume, we find:

Around the third month, a man visited Izumi Shikibu and spent the whole night talking. In the morning he sent a note saying that this morning he was indeed deep in reveries. In response, Izumi Shikibu composed,

Kesa wa shimo
nageki mo suran
itazura ni
haru no yo hito yo
yume wo dani mide
Izumi Shikibu, SKKS, XIII:1178

Truly, this morning
You must be deeply sorrowful.
Foolishly, all in vain,
You spent the whole spring night
Not even retiring to the delights of
a dream.

Similarly, in the fourth volume of love poems the affair has been consummated and begins to move toward its unhappy end:

When he was a captain, he sent this poem to a certain woman,

Yoiyoi ni
kimi wo aware to
omoitsutsu
hito ni wa iwade
ne wo nomi zo naku
Seishinkō (Fujiwara Saneyori), SKKS, XIV:1234

Night after night
I still think of you, my love,
With tender passion,
And, hiding myself from others,
I weep, unable to stifle my sobs.

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 69.

reply,

Kimi dani mo	On these evenings,
omoi idekeru	When even you say you recall
yoi yoi wo	Our time together,
matsu wa ikanaru	Can you begin to fathom my sufferings--
kokochi ka wa suru	I who can do no more than await your
SKKS, XIV:1235, Anon.	visits?

Sent to the Minor Captain Shigemoto,

Koishisa ni	After I have died,
shinuru inochi wo	Unable to bear the suffering
omoiidete	Of yearning for him,
tou hito araba	If anyone should return and ask of me
nashi to kotae yo	Tell him I am no more.

Anon. SKKS, XIV:1236 (Yamato monogatari 604)[1]

After Kaneie had failed to visit her for some time, she happened to discover the basin he had used to dress his hair still containing water,

Taenuru ka	Has it all ended?
kage dani mieba	Were there a reflection
toubeki wo	I might ask it,
katami no mizu wa	But even the water mirror he left
mikusa inikeri	behind
Michitsuna no haha,	Has clouded over.[2] (Seidensticker,
SKKS, XIV:1239 (Kagerō	trans.)
nikki 158)	

After she had been absent from the court for some time, she sent to Gosuzaku on the fifth day of the fifth month in response to his inquiries,

Katagata ni	Each in his own dwelling,
hiki wakaretsutsu	We have thus been drawn apart.
ayamegusa	On this day of the Iris festival

---

[1]Captain Shigemoto responds:

Kara ni dani	Be she an empty shell,
ware kitarite he	Yet, tell her I have returned.
tsuyu no mi no	For did I not promise
kieba tomo ni to	That our lives, fragile as the dew,
chigiri okiteki	Would cease at the same moment?
Yamato monogatari 605	

[2]Edward G. Seidensticker, The Gossamer Years (Tokyo: Charles Tuttle Co., 1964): 61.

aranu ne wo ya wa — Did you, my lord, ever imagine
kaken to omoishi — I would drench my sleeves with tears?
SKKS, XIV:1240 Yōmei Mon'in (Eiga monogatari 696)[1]

Topic not known,

Fuku kaze ni — The spider's trail is lost
tsukete mo towan — In the empty sky,
sasagani no — But perhaps I may
kayoishi michi wa — Trust the wind
sora ni tayu tomo — To ask of you[2] (Seidensticker, trans.)
Michitsuna no haha, SKKS, XIV:1242 (Kagerō nikki 99)

Each of these poems depicts a particular love affair, one that the thirteenth century audience of the Shinkokinshū would have immediately recognized. Not only would the poets have been familiar figures--several above are members of the imperial family and others are high ranking courtiers--but many of the poems have been previously recorded in poetic tales and diaries that have established their narrative context. One finds among the love poems in the Shinkokinshū works taken from the Ise monogatari, Eiga monogatari, Yamato monogatari, Izumi Shikibu nikki, and Kagerō nikki. Unlike the Genji monogatari, which was categorized as fiction, all these works above were believed to record actual events. By including these poems in the Shinkokinshū, the compilers set up an elaborate system of allusion; they summon up as the backdrop of their own anthology the canonical works of poetic literature.

Interestingly, we are also shown another side of love poetry in the early classical period: the professional poet who wrote poems to be used as love missives by other, presumably less talented, courtiers. Two poems by Izumi Shikibu, whose own affairs with two royal princes are recorded in the Izumi Shikibu nikki, are of this type.[3] We are reminded that poetry is never merely the outpouring of emotion:

---

[1]See Matsumura Hiroji and Yamanaka Yutaka, ed., Eiga monogatari, 2 vols., vols. 75-76 of NKBT (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974): 2:404.

[2]Seidensticker, The Gossamer Years, p. 41.

[3]See the Izumi Shikibu nikki in Earl R. Miner, Japanese Poetic Diaries (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969), pp. 94-153; and in Edwin A. Cranston, The Izumi Shikibu Diary (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

When asked to compose a poem to send to a lady who did not answer the gentleman's missives, Izumi Shikibu composed in the second month,

Ato wo dani	Let me but have a glimpse
kusa no hatsuka ni	Of the merest scrap of your writing,
mite shigana	Lovely as the young shoots of grass.
musubu bakari no	No matter that you do not consent
hodo narazu tomo	That we meet and become bound together
Izumi Shikibu, SKKS, XI:1023	in love.

When a lady who had given the gentleman reason to depend on her failed even to answer his missives, Izumi Shikibu composed for the gentleman,

Ima kon to	Those leaves of words,
iu koto no ha mo	With which you pledged you would
kareyuku ni	come to me,
yona yona tsuyu no	Have withered away now.
nani ni okuran	So, night after night for whose sake
Izumi Shikibu, SKKS, XV:1344	Do I shed these dewdrops of tears?

Finally, the volumes of the miscellaneous poems also record waka from the Sandaishū period which the Shinkokin compilers believed arose from actual events in the poet's life rather than from an assigned topic. We have previously examined Shunzei's and Saigyō's poems within these volumes that speak of their personal lives. Numerous earlier poems also portray the role of poetry as the decorous response to the events of one's life. For example:

After Jōtō Mon'in took the tonsure, her younger sister Bihaku sent rosary beads of fragrant wood decorated with gold patterns in a silver box and attached a sprig of plum blossoms to it. She sent this poem,

Kawaruran	These tears I shed,
koromo no iro wo	Thinking of your robes now changed
omoi yaru	To dark colors,
namida ya ura no	Do you mistake them for pearls
tama ni magawan	Hidden in the lining of a garment?
Bihaku kōtai gōgū, SKKS, XVIII:1712	

reply,

Magauran	Your tears of sorrow,
koromo no tama ni	You say I shall mistake for hidden
midaretsutsu	pearls,
nao mada samenu	Put my heart in disarray,
kokochi koso sure	And I feel I have not yet awakened
Jōtō Mon'in, SKKS,	From the illusions of the mundane
XVIII:1713	world.

After Prince Koretaka had left the world and begun to dwell in a place called Ono, Narihira made his way there on a day when the snow on the ground was deep. Narihira composed, "I thought it was a dream. How could I have imagined it would come to this?" and the Prince replied,

Yume ka to mo	Why should you ponder
nani ka omowan	Whether this is but a dream?
ukiyo wo ba	How much I regret
somukazariken	All the years I wasted
hodo zo kuyashiki	Unable to forsake the world of
Koretaka Shinnō, SKKS, XVIII:1718	illusion.

When Ōe no Takachika was first permitted attendance upon the Inner Court, he stood in a garden where the grass grew thick and performed a ceremonial dance. Watching him, his mother composed,

Kusa wakete	I gaze upon him
tachii no sode no	As he parts the tall grasses,
ureshisa ni	His sleeves fluttering in a dance,
taezu namida no	And shed tears of joy
tsuyu zo koboruru	That fall ceaselessly like the dew.
Akazomēmon, SKKS, XVIII:1729	

As autumn drew to an end, her health began to improve, and she sent to a person who occasionally had come to inquire about her,

Ureshisa wa	How shall I forget
wasure ya wa suru	The happiness you brought me,
shinobugusa	Oh, grasses of longing,
shinoburu mono wo	I long again for your presence
aki no yūgure	This autumn evening.
Ise no taifu, SKKS, XVIII:1730	

reply,

Akikaze no	If the autumn wind
oto sezariseba	Did not noisily make its presence known
shiratsuyu no	Would the droplets of dew
noki no shinobu ni	Deign to favor the longing weed
kakaramashi ya wa	That grows beneath your eaves.
Tsunenobu, SKKS, XVIII:1731	

Tarachine no	How my mother admonished me
isameshi mono wo	For the long hours I spent in revery,
tsurezure to	Pondering this love and that.
nagamuru wo dani	But now my days are lonely and barren,
tou hito mo nashi	And no one inquires about my ennui.
Izumi Shikibu, SKKS, XVIII:1812	

In the exchange between Bihaku and her elder sister Jōtō Mon'in, we can see the emphasis upon making the perfect gesture--be it the choice of a vessel, a blossom, or the sentiments of a poem. The two ladies

skillfully use the image "tama" which pivots to mean rosary beads, tear drops, pearls, and soul.

Narihira's poem, to which SKKS 1718 is a reply, is found in the Ise monogatari episode eighty-three:

Wasurete wa	When for an instant I forget
yume ka to zo omou	How like a dream it seems . . .
omoiki ya	Never could I have imagined
yuki fumiwakete	That I would plod through snow drifts
kimi wo mimu to wa	To see my lord.
Narihira	(McCullough, trans.)[1]

Koretaka, of course, was Narihira's patron and great friend. He was the son of Emperor Montoku (r. 850-58) by a woman of the Kii family. He was passed over as Crown Prince in favor of a much younger half-brother, the son of a Fujiwara lady. His disappointment in the ascendancy of that clan may have played a part in his decision to take religious vows at the age of twenty-eight. The source of Koretaka's poem is not known, and it does not appear in the Ise monogatari.

The exchange between Lady Ise and Tsunenobu depicts a small scene of friendship. On her way to recovery, Ise recalls with pleasure Tsunenobu's visits and regrets that they have ceased. Tsunenobu, in turn, lightly laments that he is dear only because of his visits and therefore because of her gratitude. He turns her "shinobu" (to yearn for) into "noki no shinobu" (the grasses under the eaves). In Tsunenobu's poem, further, "oto sezariseba" pivots to mean both, if (the wind) made no sound and if I had not visited you. Tsunenobu likens himself to the hidden grasses, Lady Ise to the dew; he complains that he has come to Ise's notice only because of his visits.

Poetic Sequences in the Shinkokinshū

In any culture, we may find an artist who paints a certain landscape or portrait time and again in a different light, season, or mood. If these paintings were then arranged about a room, one would perhaps become aware of qualities in the landscape or the person portrayed which transcend the particularity of any single occasion. So

---

[1] McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 128.

too, the poetic sequences of the Shinkokinshū provide a fullness of meaning no single waka can offer. First, by placing poems by different poets on the same subject matter side by side, the Shinkokin compilers convey the underlying unity of hon'i. The particulars of the poem, the circumstances of its composition, its style, are made secondary to the continuity of hon'i. This, of course, is not to say that the poems are therefore made to seem less creative. Unlike their immediate predecessors who feared that stylistic differences signalled the degeneration of poetry, the Shinkokin compilers could regard different styles as the manifestion of hon'i appropriate to a certain age or certain poet. The compilers stress the continuity within the variations of human experience and within the tools with which it is expressed.

Second, the interrelations created among poems in a sequence can at times be considered narrative. Of course, the Shinkokin compilers make no effort to preserve the integrity of a single tale throughout any single volume or even through shorter sequences of poems. Nevertheless, one sees how each successive poem expands upon or alters the meaning and mood of the preceding poem. Poems echo each other, and respond to each other, thereby making one's response to both more complex. No poem is entirely self-contained; its significance and meaning are tempered by the other works around it. We will examine these "narrative" characteristics of the Shinkokin poetic sequences later. First, let us consider the relation between sequence and hon'i.

Within the sequence of poems in the Shinkokinshū, the compilers arrange the old and new poems in various ways to underscore the continuity of tradition. With such popular topics as "hototogisu" (summer thrush), they make an effort to include poems from all periods. In several cases, they place a newer poem and its honka in close proximity. For example:

Yura no to wo	The fishermen
wataru funabito	Who seek to cross the Bay of Yura,
kaji wo tae	Their rudder shattered,
yukue mo shiranu	Know not which way to turn.
koi no michi kana	So too, my journey on this path of love.

Sone no Yoshitada, SKKS, XI:1071

Yoshitada's poem is the honka of Yoshitsune's work:

Kaji wo tae
Yura no minato ni
yoru fune no
tayori mo shiranu
okitsu shiokaze
Yoshitsune, SKKS, XI:1073

Its rudder shattered,
The boat that seeks the haven
Of Yura Port,
Drifts about helplessly,
Oh, salt breeze of the offing.

In other instances, they stress the similarity of the occasions in which the poems were composed. We find at the beginning of the second volume of spring poems:

Composed for a screen commemorating Shunzei's ninetieth birthday, which depicted mountain cherry blossoms,

Sakura saku
tōyamadori no
shidari o no
naganagashi hi mo
akanu iro kana
Gotoba, SKKS, II:99

On distant peaks,
The cherry trees are in bloom
Never shall I tire of their splendor,
Though this spring day be long,
Long as the trailing plumage of the
mountain fowl.

When he was Great Minister of the Center, he composed on the topic "Gazing at distant mountain cherry blossoms,"

Shirakumo no
tanabiku yama no
Yamazakura
izure wo hana to
yukite oramashi
Fujiwara Morozane, SKKS, II:102

The mountain cherry,
There on the distant peaks,
Veiled by white clouds,
Tell me which are the blossoms,
So that I may go and pluck them.

When people composed poems at the Residence of the Imperial Princess Yūshi,

Hana no iro ni
amagiru kasumi
tachi mayoi
sora sae niou
yamazakura kana
Gon Dainagon Nagaie, SKKS, II:103

Even the haze
That trails about them
Is blossom-hued.
How lovely is the sky,
Made radiant by the mountain cherries.

Topic not known,

Momoshiki no
Ōmiyabito wa
itoma are ya
sakura kazashite
kyō mo kurashitsu
Yamanobe no Akahito, SKKS, II:104

Along the jeweled paths,
The members of the court,
Ah, enjoy their leisure.
Today they pass yet another day,
Their hair bedecked with cherry blossoms.

Hana ni akanu	I have always grieved
nageki wo itsumo	Not to have had enough
seshikadomo	Of the blossoms--
kyō no koyoi ni	Yet tonight I feel it
nitaru toki nashi	As never before.
Narihira, SKKS, II:105	(McCullough, trans.)[1]
(Ise monogatari, ep. 29)	

In the temporal progression of the season, Gotoba's poem signals the height of the cherry blossoms, while Narihira's is the first of a large group of works that speak of the blossoms scattering. Gotoba speaks of the long spring day he has spent gazing at the blossoms, never for a moment sated by their beauty. Likewise, Narihira mourns the passing of the blossoms before he has had his fill of their loveliness. According to the Ise monogatari, this poem was composed when Narihira "was invited to a cherry blossom birthday celebration in the apartments of the Mother of the Crown Prince," and he subtly praises his host and the splendor of her gathering in his poem.

In addition, all the poems above were composed to celebrate either a court function or some other gathering of courtiers. Gotoba's poem commemorates Shunzei's ninetieth birthday, and he celebrates Shunzei's long life, likening it to the lovely blossoms of which one never grows weary. Morozane's poem was composed in 1061 in his residence at Uji at a gathering of his retainers and other companions. Nagaie's poem is one of a group of poems composed in the banquet that followed the Eichō gonen rokugatsu itsuka Yūshi Naishinnō no utaawase (1050). This was one of the earliest utaawase in which the poets themselves participated in the event as the members of the left and right. The left side comprised female poets and the right, male. In the banquet that followed, in contrast, poems were composed by the small group of courtiers who were intimate with the host, Civil Dictator and Minister of the Left Fujiwara Yorimichi.[2] Nagaie was among this latter group. Finally, as seen above, Narihira composed his poem for a birthday celebration in the court, and the poem attributed to

---

[1]Ibid., p. 92.

[2]Hagitani Boku, Heian chō utaawase taisei, 3:955-57.

Akahito describes the courtiers who pass their days in revelries beneath the blossoms. Unlike the majority of poems in the seasonal volumes of the Shinkokinshū, these works are occasional verse that commemorate with proper decorum a certain event in the poet's life.

Similarly, a sequence of poems may heighten the effect of a certain poem. The compilers provide the "history" of a poem; one is shown the foundations of its style and also of the particular hon'i the poem explores. Three striking examples can be given. The first is found among the spring poems:

When he submitted the Horikawa hyakushu on imperial command, the poem composed on the topic "lingering snow,"

Haru kite wa — Now that spring has come,
hana to mo miyo to — Does it disguise itself as blossoms?
kataoka no — Up there on the ridge
matsu no uwaba ni — On the upper boughs of the pine
awayuki zo furu — The snow still lightly falls.
Fujiwara Nakazane, SKKS, I:19

Makimoku no — On Makimoku mountain
hihara mo imada — The grove of cypress trees
kumoraneba (kumoranuni) — Is not yet obscured by clouds,
komatsu ga hara ni — And yet, in the field of young pines,
awayuki zo furu — A light snow is falling.
Yakamochi, SKKS, I:20 (MYS, X:2314, Anon.)

Imasara ni — On such a day as this,
yuki furameya mo — How could it snow,
kagerou no — Now when the very air
moyuru harubi to — Shimmers with warmth, and young shoots
narinishi mono wo — Burst forth from the ground?
SKKS, I:21 Anon. (MYS, X:1835, Anon.)

Izure wo ka — I cannot determine
hana to wa wakan — Which are the blossoms and which are not.
furusato no
Kasuga no hara ni — In the ancient capital
mada kienu yuki — There on Kasuga Field,
Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, — The still unmelted snow.
SKKS, I:22

Sora wa nao — As yet, in the sky
kasumi mo yarazu — There are no banners of haze;
kaze saete — The wind is cold,
yukige ni kumoru — And clouded with the promise of snow,
haru no yo no tsuki — The moon of this spring night.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, I:23

Within the seasonal progression of spring, this series of poems speaks of the lingering signs of winter, the incomplete transitions from winter

to spring. They are unified in several other ways as well. Poems 20 and 21 are Manyō works; Nakazane's poem, like many others in the Horikawa hyakushu is influenced by the Manyōshū. "Awayuki" is an image popular in the Manyōshū. Nakazane's and Mitsune's poems use the familiar conceit of how difficult it is to distinguish snow from blossoms. In addition, each of the poems makes its argument in relation to at least two images that show seasonal contradiction.

Poems 19 through 22 also prepare one for Yoshitsune's work, which begins with the same notion of the contradictory signs of a season. On the simple level of images, for example, the earlier poems support Yoshitsune's work. Yakamochi's poem in the Manyōshū is a winter poem, and it appears to have been placed here not only to stress the coldness of the season but also to account for Yoshitsune's use of "kumoru" (to cloud). Further, unlike the earlier poets, Yoshitsune does not merely introduce a pair of images, one from winter and one from spring. Instead, he explores the indeterminate nature of a season and of all other phenomena in the world. We recognize that the underpinnings of Yoshitsune's poem exist in the earlier poems of the sequence. Simultaneously, we see a new, deeper significance in the earlier works.

The second sequence is found in the fifth volume of love poems:

Namidagawa mi no ukinubeki nezame kana hakanaki yume no nagori bakari ni Jakuren, SKKS, XV:1385	Alas, this morning My body may float away In this river of tears. All because of my memories Of that empty, fleeting dream.
Au to mite koto zo tomo naku akenunari hakana no yume no wasuregatami ya Ietaka, SKKS, XV:1386	I envisioned her, And yet, with no fulfillment, The dawn came. Ah, the empty token of remembrance Bestowed by the ephemeral dream.
Toko chikashi anakama yoha no kirigirisu yume ni mo hito no miemo koso sure Mototoshi, SKKS, XV:1387	Near my bed, What a clamor the crickets make All through the night, When I might at least in dream Catch a glimpse of my love.

Awarenari	How sorrowful it is.
utatane ni nomi	Because I beheld her so briefly,
mishi yume no	As though in a dream while I dozed,
nagaki omoi ni	Now I shall ever more be consumed
musubōhorenan	By endless longing.
Shunzei, SKKS, XV:1388	
Kakiyarishi	Each strand
sono kurokami no	Of her black tresses that I once
sujigoto ni	caressed
uchifusu hodo wa	And swept from her face,
omokage zo tatsu	Now appears before me as a phantasm
Teika, SKKS, XV:1389	As I lie alone in longing.
Yume ka to yo	It must have been a dream!
mishi omokage mo	Your visage that once I saw
chigirishi mo	And the vows we made,
wasurezu nagara	Although I have not forgotten,
utsutsu naraneba	Neither are they real any longer.
Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, XV:1390	

Among this sequence of poems about dream, thirteen in all, Teika's work makes no mention of dream. All the other poems speak of the insubstantiality of dream, the mingled expectation and sorrow aroused by dream, or use dream as a metaphor for a brief meeting with a lover. They tell us that love, whether consummated or merely longed for, is as ephemeral as a dream. Teika's poem, in contrast, provides an altogether different understanding of the relation between reality and emotion. Within the context of this sequence, his speaker's desire and obsessive longing for his lover are enough to conjure up her vision, even to each strand of her hair. This is no vague spector born of a dream; intense emotions create their own reality in which normal, physical barriers no longer exist.

In the third example, the compilers of the Shinkokinshū arrange poems of different periods which in diction, reference, and sentiment conjure up a single world. In the following group of poems, it is the ancient world of the Manyō period:

Karigoromo	My hunting robe--
ware to wa suraji	I shall not dye it myself.
tsuyu shigeki	Let me leave that
nohara no hagi no	To the bush clover blossoms
hana ni makasete	In the fields drenched with dew.
Yorimasa, SKKS, IV:329	

Aki hagi wo
orade wa sugiji
tsukigusa no
hanazurigoromo
tsuyu ni nurutomo
Eien, SKKS, IV:330

I will not pass
Without plucking the bush clover
blossoms.
Although my garments,
Dyed by the indigo dew-flower
Will be drenched and fade in color.

Hagi ga hana
masode ni kakete
Takamato no
onoe no miya ni
hirefuru ya tare
Kenshō, SKKS, IV:331

Their sleeves bedecked,
With blossoms of the autumn hagi,
Who are those maidens
Waving their trailing scarves
In the palace of Takamado?

Oku tsuyu mo
shizugokoro naku
aki kaze ni
midarete sakeru
Mano no hagihara
Yūshi Naishinnō-ke no Kii, SKKS, IV:332

Even the dewdrops
Do not have tranquil hearts.
Tangled by the autumn wind,
The slender branches of the bush clover
Bloom on Mano field.

Akihagi no
sakichiru nobe no
yūtsuyu ni
nuretsutsu kimase
yo wa fukenu tomo
Hitomaro, SKKS, IV:333

Crossing the fields,
Where bush clover blossoms scatter,
Come and visit me,
Your garments drenched by the
evening dew,
However late the night.

Saoshika no
asa tatsu nobe no
akihagi ni
tama to miru made
okeru shiratsuyu
Yakamochi, SKKS, IV:334

Upon the bush clover
In the fields whence the deer
Depart at dawn,
Dew drops lie in such profusion
They glitter like pearls.

All six poems are about bush clovers in the fields. There are secondary associations of dew and garments. In time of composition, the poems range from the Manyō period to the twelfth century: the works attributed to Hitomaro and Yakamochi appear in the Manyōshū, both Eien and Yūshi Naishinnō-ke no Kii died in the early twelfth century, and Yorimasa and Kenshō died respectively in 1180 and sometime after 1210. The sequence as a whole, however, has a Manyō flavor. Two of the poems, Kenshō's work and Kii's refer to Manyō placenames. Mano no hagihara of Kii's poem can be found in such Manyō works as:

Iza ya kodomo
Yamato o hayaku
shiratsuyu no

Come lads,
Make speed for Yamato!
Let us return with branches

Mano no hagiwara (Mano ho harihara)[1]	We snap from the alder fields of Mano
teorete ikamu	Where the white sedge grows.[2]
Takechi Kurohito,	(Levy, trans.)
MYS, III:280	

In addition, three of the poems have Manyō honka. Yorimasa's work alludes to:

Waga koromo	These garments of mine,
sureru ni wa arazu	I did not dye them myself.
Takamatsu no	No, they were dyed by the bush clover
nobe yukishikaba	As I passed to-and-fro in the fields
hagi no sureruzo	Near the palace of Takamatsu.
MYS, X:2101, Anon.	

Eien's poem alludes to:

Tsukigusa ni	In the moon-blossoms,
koromo wa suramu	I shall dye my garments,
asa tsuyu ni	Although I know
nurete no nochi wa	That when they are drenched by the dew
utsuroinu tomo	Their color will quickly fade.
MYS, VII:1351 Anon.	
(KKS, IV:247, Anon.)	

In the Manyōshū, this poem is a love poem "using grass as a metaphor." Kenshō's work, as we have seen previously, is an allusive variation of:

Miyabito no	The courtiers' sleeves
sodetsukegoromo	Are bedecked with the blossoms
Akihagi ni	Of the autumn bush clover
nioi yoroshiki	Fragrant and luminous
Takamato no miya	Is the palace of Takamado.
Yakamochi, MYS, XX:4315	

Poem 331 is one of only two poems in the Shinkokinshū by Kenshō, who so admired the Manyōshū. Perhaps the compilers honored

---

[1]The Kokka taikan text of the Manyōshū gives the reading "Mano no hagiwara" (The fields of hagi at Mano). The Iwanami koten bungaku taikei text, edited by Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, and Ōno Susumu, as well as the Satake Akihiro, Kinoshita Masatoshi, and Kojima Noriyuki, ed., Manyōshū (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1975) have selected the reading Mano no harihara (the alder fields of Mano). Levy's translation is based upon that latter reading. Takagi, Tomohide, and Ōno summarize the arguments in favor of both of these readings in note 29 of the Iwanami Manyōshū v. 1. See Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, and Ōno Susumu, Manyoshu, 1:330-31.

[2]Levy, The Ten Thousand Leaves, 1:166.

him by placing his work within its proper context of diction and sentiment. In this sequence, there are not a mere six poems but as many as nine, as past and present, foundation poem and new composition illuminate each other.

These six poems are unified in yet another, perhaps more striking fashion. That is, they can be interpreted to present a small love story. The speakers of the first three poems are most likely men. They describe their passage through the autumn fields of hagi blossoms near the palace at Takamado. It is daytime. With poem 332, we move to the woman's point of view. Kii's poem describes a scene of early evening, the time when dew gathers on leaves. "Shizugokoro naki" (do not have tranquil hearts) and "akikaze," which so frequently pivots to mean both autumn wind and a lover's weariness of a woman, help to conjure up an atmosphere of love. In addition, the relation between the slender boughs of hagi that droop under the weight of the dew (tears), and a woman awaiting her lover is established in such poems as:

Miyagino no	In fields of Miyagi
moto ara no kohagi	The dew lies heavy
tsuyu wo omomi	Upon the sparse-leaved bush clover
kaze wo matsu goto	As it awaits the wind--
kimi wo koso mate	So, too, I wait for you.

KKS, XIV:694, Anon.

The following poem which takes place at night then is clearly spoken by a woman as an invitation to her lover. The final poem 332 describes a scene of morning. Again, the poem has clear relations to love, and we find in the Manyōshū:

Waga oka ni	On the hill where I live,
saoshika kinaku	The stags gather and call.
hatsu hagi no	They come in search
hanazuma toini	Of the bush clover, their flowery mates
kinaku saoshika	The stags who gather and call.

Ōtomo Tabito, MYS, VIII:1541

Tsumakoini	On the mountains,
shika naku yama no	Where the stags call for their mates,
aki hagi wa	The autumn bush clover
tsuyu shimo samumi	Is drenched by the cold dew and frost
sakari sugiyuku	And its season of beauty passes.

Toneri Ishikawa Asomi Hironari, MYS, VIII:1600

At dawn, the deer leave the fields of blossoms like the lover who parts from his lady. On the bush clover, dew lies in profusion like the lady's tears.

The sequence above of six autumn poems that summon up a small vignette of love brings us to the question of the nature of "narration" in the Shinkokinshū. Let us examine this question in greater detail, considering first the Heian notion of narrative structure and the form of renga sequences in the Muromachi period.

An examination of the major narrative forms of Heian literature, the monogatari and the uta nikki, shows that the authors of these prose works had relatively little interest in strict divisions of beginning, middle, and most particularly, conclusion. (Conclusion or denouement, the outcome of the main dramatic events in a tale, is to be distinguished in this discussion from closure, the use of other technical devices to terminate a work.) The events portrayed in monogatari and uta nikki have causes and effects, but these do not truly propel the tale forward. Instead, they are arranged along a more important axis such as that of the progress of the seasons or perhaps a journey. In these works, a life or a tale unfolds in a succession of moments of different moods and intensity of emotion all of nearly equal importance, the most salient point of which is often their ephemerality. In addition, both kinds of prose work incorporate large numbers of poems which highlight the successive moments of emotion.

The nature of a renga sequence is defined by Konishi Jin'ichi:

> One cannot foresee the manner in which a sequence of renga will develop. Therefore, at first sight, it appears to have no order. This is not so. It possesses an "unseen" order which is sustained by a marvellous balance and harmony between its parts. I say "unseen" because such clearly marked beginning, development, and conclusion as one finds in Chinese verse is absent here. This is not to say that order is altogether absent. There is, in other words, the order provided by the principle of jo, ha, and kyū. Jo, ha, and kyū were originally technical terms used in Gagaku to designate the movements of a musical piece. In Nō, they are used to name not only the divisions of the play but its pace of performance as well. The jo, ha, and kyū of renga is generally the same as in Nō. The eight verses of the first sheet of the manuscript and the first

> two of the second are the jo. These verses should be composed in a lofty, smooth manner, and the poet should avoid introducing particularly striking effects. Ha comprises verses eleven through seventy-eight. These verses should have a great variety of expressions and range widely in mood and subject. If, however, such artistry is carried into the kyū, the over-all balance of the sequence is lost. Thus the closing twelve verses should be composed as smoothly as possible. The verses on the last page should be particularly uncomplicated. This order is similar to that of opening, development, and climax, but differs in its nature. The former is a means of interrelating parts according to their meaning and is based upon subject. With the jo, ha, and kyū of renga, the progression of the whole is altogether unrelated to the meaning of the individual verses, and thus may be thought of as an order within pure form. It may be likened to the sonata form with its exposition, development, and recapitulation.[1]

The Shinkokinshū falls in time between the Heian prose works and the Muromachi renga and shares features with both. First, the former establish the fundamental understanding of sequence rather than development and conclusion as fulfilling the requirements of narration. Both monogatari and uta nikki originated in an impulse to give poems a context, in other words to establish the particularity of speaker and circumstance. In this, they differ altogether in intent from the imperial anthology which does precisely the opposite. However, they share the same emphasis upon sequence. A sequence in and of itself has no structural features; it can begin and end at any point. It is essentially temporal, and at any given moment one is aware of only one portion, which tells one nothing further of what has come before or will come after. As a result, its organization depends upon subtle variations in mood, tone, and tempo. The richness of narrative effect arises from this texture for which one can deduce few rules and which no two works will entirely share.

Konishi shows how this texture becomes codified for poetry in the Muromachi period. In a sequence of renga (the standard sequence comprised one hundred verses.), a single poet or a group would compose a continuous chain of alternating units of three lines of 5, 7, 5 syllables and two lines of 7, 7 syllables. Each five line unit, either 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables or 7, 7, 5, 7, 5 constitutes a discrete poem.

---

[1]Konishi Jin'ichi, Sōgi, pp. 114-15.

According to Konishi's explanation, there are few if any narrative features in a renga sequence. Although there are complex rules concerning where and how many times a certain subject or image may appear in a sequence, the sequence itself is not divided into subject categories. The pacing of the sequence, the sections of jo, ha, and kyū, is wholly independent of the subject matter of the poems. Instead, the tempo of a sequence is associated with the simplicity or complexity of the poems both stylistically and in the variations of mood that each verse conveys.

One would be guilty of prolepsis if one applied the standards of renga indiscriminately to the much earlier waka. First, no source contemporary to the Shinkokinshū appears to speak of the principle of jo, ha, and kyū specifically in relation to poetic sequences. We should, however, recall Chōmei's statement concerning the tempo of an individual poem, which he likened to the jo, ha, and kyū of gagaku.[1] Second, although such an anthology as the Shinkokinshū tends to diminish the particularity of a poem's speaker and his circumstances, it is still far from a group effort at composition in the manner of a renga sequence. Except for specific pairs of poems that form a poetic exchange, poems in the Shinkokinshū were composed separately with no thought to their eventual place in a sequence of waka. Further, in one sense, the Shinkokinshū is far more structured than a renga sequence, having clear subject categories and an orderly progression of topics within these categories.

At the same time, a renga sequence provides us with a model of the different effects that can be created within a temporal sequence. In both the renga sequence and that of waka in the Shinkokinshū, mood is created cumulatively, and meaning is fluid. Instead of rigid organization, order is established by certain temporal principles which Konishi likens to that of musical forms. The Shinkokinshū marks the beginnings of the sophisticated appreciation of the effects which can be summoned up within a poetic sequence, in this case involving poems of vastly different ages. These effects are best seen within an actual sequence;

---

[1]Kamo no Chōmei, Mumyōshō, pp. 62-63.

in the following chapter, we will examine the whole of the fourth volume of poems as a sequence. First, however, let us examine how volumes of poems in the Shinkokinshū are opened and brought to a close.

The opening poem of a volume, like a hokku in a renga sequence occupies a place of honor. In the Shinkokinshū, it is often reserved for high-ranking courtiers, emperors, and even the gods and the Buddhas. The first volume of the Shinkokinshū begins with a poem by Yoshitsune, the Regent; the second with one by Gotoba; the third by Empress Jitō. Two volumes within the anthology begin with poems by Shunzei. Teika records in his diary his great satisfaction after he learned that Gotoba had selected one of Teika's poems to be placed at the beginning of the second volume of love, one of Shunzei's Daughter's at the beginning of the fifth, and one of Ietaka's at the beginning of the second volume of autumn poems.[1]

More important, the opening poems of a volume are generally uncomplicated works that establish the subject and mood of the volume. For example, we find at the beginning of the seasonal volumes:

Miyoshino wa	In lovely Yoshino
yama mo kasumite	The mountains are veiled in haze,
shirayuki no	And where the white snow
furinishi sato ni	Once fell in the ancient village,
haru wa kinikeri	Now, spring has arrived.
Yoshitsune, SKKS, I: (Spr. I) 1	

Haru sugite	Spring has passed
natsu kinikerashi	And, ah, summer has arrived,
shirotae no	There on Heavenly Kaguyama,
koromo hosu chō	Where white garments, they say,
Ama no Kaguyama	Are spread out row upon row to air.
Empress Jitō, SKKS, III: (Sum.) 175	

Kannabi no	On Mimuro mountain,
Mimuro no yama no	Where the gods assemble,
kuzukazura	The arrowroot vines
ura fukikaesu	Flutter and turn
aki wa kinikeri	Now that autumn has come.
Yakamochi, SKKS, IV: (Aut. I) 285	

---

[1] Meigetsuki entry of 1205 (Kennin 2) 3:2. See Imakawa Fumio, ed., Kundoku Meigetsuki 6 vols. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1977-79), 2:164.

Oki akasu
aki no wakare no
sode no tsuyu
shimo koso musube
fuyu ya kinuran
Shunzei, SKKS, V: (Wint.) 551

I lie sleepless
And the dewdrops of tears I shed
Upon this parting from autumn
Now freeze to form frost.
Has winter then arrived?

Each of the seasonal volumes in the Shinkokinshū is arranged temporally from the beginning to the end of the season. These poems above, therefore, introduce their respective seasons; we find, "haru wa kinikeri," "Haru sugite natsu kinikerashi," "aki wa kinikeri," and "fuyu ya kinuran." They also summon up the traditional images of the season: mist, or more precisely, the change from snow to mist, in spring; leaves and wind in autumn; dew, frost, and tears, in winter. All the poems except for Shunzei's more personal work have a grand, celebratory tone. Yoshitsune's work, which not only opens the spring volumes but the Shinkokinshū itself, refers to Yoshino, the site of an ancient capital, and speaks of rebirth and regeneration. Yoshitsune also alludes to Mibu no Tadamine's famous work. The first poem of the Shūishū,

Haru tatsu to
iu bakari ni ya
Miyoshino no
yama mo kasumite
kesa wa miyuran
Mibu no Tadamine, SIS, I:1

Spring comes today.
And is it for that reason
In lovely Yoshino
This morning I can see
The mountains veiled in haze?

Thus the compilers of the Shinkokinshū echo the earlier imperial anthology. Interestingly, the first volume of miscellaneous poems, which is also arranged seasonally, begins with a poem that celebrates a far more personal sense of beginning:

Toshi kureshi
namida no tsurara
tokenikeri
koke no sode ni mo
haru ya tatsuran
Shunzei, SKKS, XV:1435

The frozen tears
I shed, mourning the old year,
Have melted now.
Perhaps springtime has arrived
Even on my moss-laden sleeves.

With its reference to the passage of time and to priestly robes, Shunzei's poem introduces two of the major concerns of the miscellaneous volumes. In addition, in keeping with the emphasis in these volumes on the particularity of the circumstances in which a poem was composed, the headnote to Shunzei's work tells us that it was composed on the

topic "the beginning of spring" in a hundred poem sequence held at Kanezane's residence. "Spring comes even to my moss-covered sleeves," suggests Shunzei's joy in having been selected by Kanezane as his new poetry tutor after Kiyosuke's death.

The opening poems of the summer and autumn volumes of the Shin-kokinshū are works taken from the Manyōshū. Both involve famous mountains, Ama no Kaguyama for summer and Mimuro no yama for autumn. Along with Yoshitsune's Yoshino no yama, these are ancient uta-makura. Likewise, all three poems describe scenes of a grand scale that are far away from the speaker. They are lofty in tone, celebrating vast changes in the natural world.

Shunzei's winter poem is altogether different from the works that open the other three seasons. The most significant change that winter brings is not in that world of nature far from the speaker. Instead, it is to be observed on the speaker's sleeves, where the dew drops of tears now freeze to form frost. Shunzei's references to sleeves, tears, "oki akasu" (to spend a night awake), and "wakare" (parting), all images that conjure up an atmosphere of love, enrich the emotional connotations of the poem. The Shinkokin poets saw winter as the season in which all things come to an end, a season of sorrow and isolation. Shunzei's poem establishes that mood.

In the volume of poems of lament, the first two works are clearly introductory. They stand apart from the following poems to speak generally of the ephemerality of all human life in a volume devoted chiefly to lamentations over loved ones' deaths.

Sue no tsuyu moto no shizuku ya yo no naka no okure sakidatsu tameshi naruran Henjō, SKKS, X:757	The dew clinging to the leaves, The water trickling to the ground, Are equally ephemeral. So, too, our lives in this world Where one vanishes today and another lingers for a moment longer.
Aware nari waga mi no hate ya asamidori tsui ni wa nobe no kasumi to omoeba Komachi, SKKS, X:758	How sorrowful! The fate that awaits me-- Pale green-- To think in the end I shall be A banner of mist trailing over the fields.

Henjō's poem presents a simple analogy: Just as one cannot speak of either the dew drops that cling to the tips of leaves or those that gather beneath the plant as less ephemeral than the other, so, too, the insignificant distinction between those people have passed away and those who yet survive for this brief moment. In Henjō's personal collection, this poem has the headnote "When he had reason to understand the ephemerality of the world." It is perhaps suppressed in the Shinkokinshū to increase the readers' perception of the poem's general application.

Komachi's poem turns more clearly on the speaker's realization of her own fate; "kasumi" (haze) suggests the smoke of a crematory fire. With the use of well-established images and such statements as "aware nari" and "waga mi no hate," Komachi's poem, although deeply moving, remains something of a general statement.

The five volumes of love poems in the Shinkokinshū roughly trace the course of a love affair from its beginning to the lovers' eventual estrangement. The opening work of each volume underscores the appropriate stage of the affair. Thus we find, in volume one:

Yoso ni nomi	Must I be content
mite ya yaminan	To yearn for her from afar,
Kazuraki ya	As on Katsuragi Range
Takama no yama no	I see the white clouds
mine no shirakumo	Above Mt. Takama's peak?

SKKS, XI:990, Anon.

The speaker of this anonymous poem is most likely a man. He has fallen in love with a woman he has only briefly glimpsed from afar and wonders whether he will ever be able to meet her. The images "Kazuraki ya Takama no yama no mine no shirakumo" also suggest that the woman is of high rank, a personage the man has little hope of approaching.

The opening poem of the second volume speaks of a woman's yearning for her lover:

Shita moe ni	Hidden flames--
omoi kienan	I suffer in longing and will fade away--
keburi dani	And the smoke that rises
ato naki kumo no	Will vanish into the clouds--
hate zo kanashiki	How sorrowfull--leaving no traces.

Shunzei kyō no musume, SKKS, XII:1081

The woman's feelings, in that time since she first glimpsed or met her lover have grown to consume her being.

Volume three begins with the consummation of the affair:

When Nakamichi began calling upon her, she composed,

Wasureji no
yukusue made wa
katakereba
kyō wo kagiri no
inochi tomogana
Gidō Sanshi no haha, SKKS, XIII:1149

Because I know
That you will not forever more
Remain true to me,
Let my life end with this day
Before I suffer your inconstancy!

He took the woman he had been visiting secretly to a well-concealed place. In the morning he left her and sent her this poem,

Kagiri naku
musubi okitsuru
kusa makura
itsu konotabi wo
omoiwasuren
Kentoku Kō, SKKS, XIII:1150

Countless pledges we made
As we lay upon our pillows
Of grasses entwined.
How shall I ever forget
Our journey that night.

In the conventions of courtly love, once a man establishes a relationship with a woman he begins to tire of her and soon abandons her for a new conquest. Thus the woman in the first of these poems speaks of her desire to die this day before the inevitable betrayal. In contrast, Kentoku Kō vows never to forget the night he has spent with his lover. Although these two poems were composed on entirely different occasions, they exemplify the relation between the lovers and hint of the sorrows to come.

At the beginning of the fourth volume, the lovers have been unable to meet for some time:

When he was a Captain, he sent to a certain woman,

Yoi yoi ni
kimi wo aware to
omoi tsutsu
hito ni wa iwade
ne wo nomi zo naku
Seishin Kō, SKKS, XIV:1234

Night after night,
I still think of you, my love,
With tender passion,
And, hiding myself from others,
I weep, unable to stifle my sobs.

Response,

Kimi dani mo
omoiidekeru
yoi yoi wo
matsu wa ikanaru
kokochi ka wa suru
Anon., SKKS, XIV:1235

On these evenings,
When even you say that you recall
Our time together,
Can you begin to fathom my sufferings--
I who can do no more than await your visits?

The man speaks of his sorrow when he is unable to meet with his lover. The lady, in conventional fashion, turns his sentiments against him, accusing him of being unaware of her own grief, which, if even he suffers, must be so much greater than his.

In the fifth volume, we move toward the end of the affair:

Composed for the Minase no koi no jūgoshu no utaawase ,

Shirotae no	On the parting
sode no wakare ni	Of white hempen sleeves,
tsuyu ochite	The dew falls,
mi ni shimu iro no	And its color piercing my body,
akikaze zo fuku	The autumn wind blows.

Teika, SKKS, XV:1136

The lady, taking leave of her lover at dawn, realizes that he will soon cease to visit her. It is autumn, the season of sorrow and decay.

The various volumes of the Shinkokinshū do not have strong conclusions. Instead, they are closed by a number of different devices, among which most common is the reference to natural points of termination. Thus the volumes of spring and summer poems end with a reference to evening. In spring:

The end of spring in a mountain hut,

Shiba no to wo	The sunlight
sasu ya hikage no	That brightened my brushwood door
nagori naku	Has faded, leaving no trace,
haru kurekakaru	As springtime draws to a close
yama no ha no kumo	There, beyond the clouds upon the peak.

Kunaikyō, SKKS, II:173

Asu yori wa	From tomorrow,
Shiga no hanazono	Who shall be the rare visitor,
mare ni dani	To the flower garden of Shiga,
tare ka wa towan	Who inquires after the traces
haru no furusato	Of springtime's ancient palace?

Yoshitsune, SKKS, II:174

The spring volumes began with a poem by Yoshitsune which mentioned the ancient court "furusato" of Yoshino. The speaker of that poem appeared to have been gazing upon the mountains of Yoshino from far away. Interestingly, the speaker of Kunaikyō's poem dwells in a mountain hut. The final poem, once more by Yoshitsune, speaks of another ancient court, that of Emperor Tenchi in Ōtsu, which, now that the blossoms have fallen, no one will visit.

In summer:

Misogi suru
kawa no se mireba
karagoromo
hi mo yūgure ni
nami mo tachikeru
Tsurayuki, SKKS, III:284

After the purification rites,
I gaze upon the river rapids
Where waves arise,
And fasten the ties of my Chinese robe
In the coolness of twilight.

The volume of travel poems, which is arranged in roughly chronological fashion beginning with works by Manyō poets, also closes with a reference to evening:

When Gotoba had made a pilgrimage to Kumano, he composed on "travel,"

Miru mama ni
yamakaze araku
shigurumeri
miyako mo ima wa
yo samunaruran
Gotoba, SKKS, X:989

Before my very eyes,
The mountain gales grow fierce
And bring a sudden shower.
In the capital, too, the nights
Now must have grown cold.

Gotoba turns back in thought to the capital whence he has journeyed.

The volume of winter poems closes with works that speak not only of the end of the year but of old age. The final poem is a work by Shunzei, one of whose poems also opened the volume.

Oi no nami
koekeru mi koso
aware nare
kotoshi mo kyō wa
sue no matsuyama
Jakuren, SKKS, VI:705

How pitiful this body
Over which rise the waves
Of old age.
Once more this day I face the end of the year
So like Matsuyama in Sue.

Kyō goto ni
kyō ya kagiri to
oshimedomo
mata mo kotoshi ni
ainikeru kana
Shunzei, SKKS, VI:706

Each year this day,
I mourn its passing, believing it to be
The last I shall see.
And yet, once more I find myself
Alive to greet the new year.

With Shunzei's poem, we enter the new year and the cycle of seasons can begin once more.

The last poem of the volume of lament echoes the thoughts of the opening works:

When she found a letter from someone who had since passed away she sent it and this poem to a person who was related to the deceased.

Kurenu ma no
mi wo ba omowade
hito no yo no

If one pays no heed
To the brevity of one's own life,
Lasting only till nightfall

aware wo shiru zo
katsu wa hakanaki
Murasaki Shikibu,
SKKS, VIII:856

Yet thinks one knows the meaning
of pathos,
How empty one's understanding.

Some time appears to have passed since the person's death.[1] Murasaki speaks of the folly of grieving for another and believing that one understands the pathos of the world while remaining unaware of the ephemerality of one's own life. At the beginning of the volume, Henjō and Komachi also spoke of the transiency of existence. After the nearly one hundred poems of this volume in which poets speak of the deaths of others, Murasaki provides a sharp commentary on their activities.

The third and final volume of miscellaneous poems ends strongly with six poems on mujō, the ephemerality of all things:

---

[1]This poem by Murasaki Shikibu was composed on the same occasion as another poem that appears earlier in the same volume of the Shinkokinshū: "After the Lady Jōtō Mon'in no Shōshō had passed away, Murasaki Shikibu found among her own things some of the letters that she and Shōshō had exchanged so frequently during her life. She sent these to Kaga no Shōnagon along with this poem,"

Tare ka yo ni
nagaraete min
kakitomeshi
ato wa kiesenu
katami naredomo
SKKS, VIII:817

Who among us
Will linger long in this world
To read these letters?
Although her words are left behind
An undying token of her life.

The Murasaki Shikibu shū and the Shinkokinshū record Kaga's response, apparently to SKKS 817 and also to SKKS 856:

Naki hito wo
shinoburu koto mo
itsumade zo
kyō no aware wa
asu no waga mi zo
Kaga no Shōnagon,
SKKS, VIII:818

How long can it be
That we shall linger here
To cherish her memory?
Today we grieve for others;
Tomorrow, for the passing of our
lives.

In the hundred poem sequence submitted to Sutoku In, a poem on mujō,

Yo no naka wo omoitsuranete nagamureba munashiki sora ni kiyuru shirakumo
Shunzei, SKKS, XVIII:1846

As I gaze in revery
Pondering upon this and that affair
Of the world,
White clouds vanish
In the empty sky,

In a hundred poem sequence,

Kururu ma mo matsubeki yo ka wa Adashino no sueba no tsuyu ni arashi tatsu nari
Shikishi, SKKS, SVIII:1847

Dare we trust our lives
To last even until the nightfall.
Already on Adashino field,
Fierce gales scatter the dewdrops
That cling to the grasses.

When he was in the province of Tsu and saw the reeds in the inlet,

Tsu no kuni no nagaraubeki mo aranu kana mijikaki ashi no yo ni koso arikere
Hanayama no In, SKKS, XVIII:1848

In the province of Tsu,
How foolish to hope
That I may linger long.
Our lives are so brief,
Like the short nodes of the reeds.

Topic unknown,

Kaze hayami ogi no ha goto ni oku tsuyu no okure sakidatsu hodo no hakanasa
Nakatsukasa kyō Tomohira Shinnō, SKKS, XVIII:1849

In the swift wind,
The dew on the rushes
Scatter and vanish.
Some cling a moment longer than others,
But how empty such distinctions.

Akikaze ni nabiku asaji no sue goto ni oku shiratsuyu no aware yo no naka
Semimaru, SKKS, XVIII:1850

Alas, this world
Is no more than the droplets of dew
That cling to every leaf tip
Of the thickly growing grasses
Thrashed by the autumn wind.

Yo no naka wa to temo kaku temo onaji koto miya mo waraya mo hate shi nakeraba
Semimaru, SKKS, XVIII:1851

Such is this world
That however we strive,
All is vanity.
Neither a mighty palace nor a straw hut
Is immune to destruction.

These poems all make direct statements concerning the ephemerality of things. Five out of the six works refer to "yo" or "yo no naka" (world). The metaphors used are among the most traditional: the ephemerality of dew and of vanishing clouds, the short nodes of reeds. Semimaru's

example in his last poem of the vanity of all human endeavors is equally familiar. All the poems have strong, swift tempos, and their diction is remarkably uncomplicated. In addition, Semimaru was a legendary figure, a blind biwa player who lived on Ōsaka mountain in a straw hut. It was believed that he was the son of Emperor Daigo (r. 897-930). He is mentioned in the Heike monogatari, and the Mumyōshō, and poem number 1851, the most famous of his works, is recorded in the Wakan rōeishū, Shunrai zuinō, Waka dōmyōshō, Konjaku monogatari, Kōdanshō, and Teika's Hachidaishō. For the Shinkokin compilers and their audience, Semimaru was part of a shared pool of sentimental lore, who, therefore, could be invoked as a figure of authority to close the three volumes of miscellaneous poems.

A poem by Saigyō is similarly invoked to close the volume of Buddhist poems and thus the entire Shinkokinshū:

Yami harete	The darkness clears away,
kokoro no sora ni	And does not the moon that shines
sumu tsuki wa	clear
nishi no yamabe ya	In the emptiness of my heart
chikaku naruran	Draw near the mountains
Saigyō, SKKS, XX:1979	That lie in the west?

We have examined this poem in the previous chapter. The Shinkokinshū began with Yoshitsune's joyous celebration of the rebirth of the secular world and proceeded through poems that commemorated, in the microcosm of the court-poetic, all the significant events of a human life. At its end, once more at evening, Saigyō speaks of the enlightenment he has finally attained which frees him from all attachments to self and others. With Saigyō's poem, we leave the secular world behind.

Interestingly, the volumes of love, which are the most narrative in the structure of all the volumes of the Shinkokinshū, have a very weak termination. The love affair that the five volumes roughly describe does not come to a clear end. Within the fifth volume, one does find poems that appear to signal the complete estrangement of the lovers. For example:

Kazuragi ya	On Katsuragi's peaks
kumeji ni watasu	The stone bridge of Kume Road
iwahashi no	Breaks off in mid-air
taenishi naka to	So, too, shall our life together
nari ya hatenan	Be brought to an end?
Yoshinobu no Ason, SKKS, XV:1405	

Ima yori wa	Is it because he vows
awaji to sure ya	Henceforth to visit me no more
shirotae no	That the sleeves
waga koromode no	Of my white flaxen garments
kawaku toki naki	Are never dry, not even for a
Anon., SKKS, XV:1427	moment?

However, the volume ends with the following poems:

Ōyodo no	The pine of Ōyodo
matsu wa tsuraku mo	Is not inaccessible;
aranaku ni	The resentful waves are themselves
ura mite nomi mo	to blame,
kaeru nami kana	For they come no closer than the beach
Anon., SKKS, XV:1432	And then go back again.
(Ise monogatari) ep. 72	(McCullough, trans.)[1]

Shiranami wa	Although the white waves
tachisawagu tomo	Roil and rage.
korizuma no	In Suma Bay
ura no mirume wa	Undaunted I shall gather
karan to zo omou	The lovely seaweed hidden there.
Anon., SKKS, XV:1433	

Sashite yuku	I have set out
kata wa minato no	Toward the harbor but found
nami takami	The waves rising too high,
uramite kaeru	So, only glancing at the bay in
ama no tsuribune	resentment,
Anon., SKKS, XV:1434	I turned back this fisher's boat.

In the whole of the fifth volume of love poems, there are only eleven works by Shinkokin poets, and the very last section of the volume comprises ancient, anonymous works. The volume thus winds down with works that in comparison to those of the contemporary poets are far less dense in allusions and less complex in diction. Further, the compilers of the Shinkokinshū clearly sought to avoid a definite ending. Instead, they conjure up a mood of resentment and uncertainty, reminiscent of the manner in which such monogatari as the Genji draw to a close. Poem 1432 is in the Ise monogatari accompanied by the following headnote:

> There was once a man who had been unable to arrange a second meeting with a certain lady in Ise, and who thus felt exceedingly disgruntled as he prepared to depart for another province. The lady sent him this poem:
> (McCullough, trans.)[2]

---

[1] McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 118.

[2] Ibid., p. 118.

The woman thus hints that the affair may yet be revived. In the following poem (1433), the man vows to pay the lady a visit despite all the gossip to which it will give rise. In the final poem, the gentleman sets out for the lady's dwelling, but turns back, greatly annoyed either because she is too closely guarded by the members of her household or because she is entertaining another suitor.

Between the poems that mark the beginning of a volume and those that mark its end, the Shinkokin compilers can place any number of poems. As in a renga sequence, there is no over-all structural design that propels the volume toward a conclusion that gives meaning to the whole. In fact, if one can think of narration as a line proceeding in a certain direction, then the organization of a volume of poems in the Shinkokinshū might be likened to a spiral that circles around a single core of meaning. There is, of course, forward movement, narrative progression, within a sequence of poems, but the compilers make no effort to preserve the integrity of any single "tale." They create, instead, a dialogue among a myriad voices that all address the same experience. Thus one poem may echo another, expand upon its meaning, or give a response to its question. Poems at times appear to move toward a narrative resolution but then circle back to moods and images that have been previously introduced and which serve to unify a volume. Tempo may vary; difficult poems and groups of works that are closely related in mood, reference (the same honka, for example), and images proceed more slowly than other works. The poems which the Shinkokin compilers arranged in a sequence were composed as discrete statements often by poets of different centuries. Yet within the sequence, our perception of each new work is molded by what has come before, and likewise our understanding of the whole sequence is subtly changed by the addition of each new work. One sees the continuity between the works, both in relation to the experience spoken of and the means used to express it.

The sum of the works in a volume of poems in the Shinkokinshū defines the substance of hon'i in a manner no single waka of any age could. Let us examine the effects of such a sequence in the fourth

volume of love poems in the Shinkokinshū.

Each of the five volumes of love poems in the Shinkokinshū has a different arrangement and ratio of old and new poems. In the first volume, the majority of poems date from before the twelfth century; there are two small groups of poems by poets of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In contrast, the second volume comprises works primarily by these contemporary poets. Volume three begins with the works of more ancient poets, and newer works are scattered here and there through the volume. The fourth volume, which we will examine here, begins with more ancient works, but from poem 1266, all works are from the period in which the Shinkokinshū was compiled. This volume, therefore, displays the Shinkokin style of love poetry. Finally, volume five begins with contemporary works, but the majority of poems are from earlier times.

As noted earlier, the five volumes of love poems in the Shinkokinshū sketch a love affair from its beginning through consummation to the lovers' final parting. By volume four, the affair has been consummated and begins to move toward its unhappy end. Especially in these latter stages of the affair, in the classic model of a love affair, it is the woman who suffers. Having acquiesced to her lover's entreaties, she must suffer his inevitable betrayals. The man is mobile, on his horse or in his carriage, and roves from lover to lover. The woman is reduced to awaiting his visits, secluded within her dwelling. For the Shinkokin poets, it was this image of the waiting woman that displayed the quintessence of love.

The following annotated translation is arranged in two vertical columns. In the left column, one finds the translations of the headnotes and poems found in the Shinkokinshū. Each poem is followed by a short comment dealing with the poem's place in the "narrative" of the volume. In the right column is placed the romanization of each poem. This is followed by information concerning poet, date of poem, and its topic if any, as well as comments concerning poetic technique. The latter includes honkadori and stylistic devices that also may serve to link poems in this volume.

CHAPTER VIII

TRANSLATION: THE FOURTH VOLUME OF LOVE POEMS

1234

Sent to a woman when he was a captain,

Night after night,
I still think of you, my love
With tender passion,
And hiding myself from others,
I weep, unable to stifle my sobs.

Yoi yoi ni
kimi wo aware to
omoitsutsu
hito ni wa iwade
ne wo nomi zo naku

Poet: Fujiwara Saneyori,
Composed: c. 928-932
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

1235

Response,

On these evenings,
When even you say that you recall
Our time together,
Can you begin to fathom my suffering--
I who can do no more than await your visits?

Kimi dani mo
omoiidekeru
yoi yoi wo
matsu wa ikanaru
kokochi ka wa suru

Poet: Anonymous according to Shinkokinshū:
(actually Nakatsukasa)
Composed: same as above
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

Comment:

The poems in the opening section of this volume from 1234 through 1265 are primarily poetic exchanges; at times, only one poem of the pair is recorded here. Most are works of tenth century poets. This pair above establishes the different viewpoints of the man and the woman. It is evening, and the man, who for some reason is unable to go to his lover, sends her a poem protesting his continued affections. In turn, the woman responds that his feelings and suffering could not approach her own, effectively chiding him for his indifference to her.

As a poetic exchange, these two poems are, of course, closely linked. Nakatsukasa cleverly focuses her poem upon "yoi yoi" from Saneyori's poem to turn his argument against him.

1236

Sent to the Minor Captain Shigemoto,

After I have died,
Unable to bear the suffering
Of yearning for him,
If anyone returns to ask of me
Tell him I am no more.

Koishisa ni
shinuru inochi wo
omoiidete
tou hito araba
nashi to kotaeyo

Comment:

The woman's waiting continues. In the previous pair of poems, it was not clear how long the lovers had been parted. Here, "After I have died unable to bear the suffering . . ." gives the impression that some time has passed since the lover's last visit. The woman's suffering has intensified; she sarcastically addresses her lover as though he were an uninvolved bystander who would report her death to some other person who truly cared for her.

Poet: Anonymous woman
Period: Shigemoto died in 932
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.
Source: Yamato monogatari

In the Yamato monogatari, Shigemoto responds with the poem:

Kara ni dani
ware kitarite he
tsuyu no mi no
kieba tomo ni to
chigiri okiteki
Yamato monogatari 605

Be she an empty shell
Yet, tell her I have returned.
For did I not promise
That our lives, fragile as the dew,
Would cease at the same moment?

1237

Feeling resentful, he vowed he would visit her no longer, Yet, about two days later, he sent this poem,

So little time has passed,
Since I left you yesterday,
Or was it today?
Yet in my heart I feel . . .
We have been apart a thousand years.

Wakarete wa
kinō kyō koso
hedatetsuru
chiyo shimo hetaru
kokochi nomi suru

Poet: Kentoku Kō, that is, Fujiwara Koretada.
Date: Koretada died in 972.
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

1238

Response,

Was it yesterday,
Or was it today? I do not recall.
Ever since that moment, .
You vowed to see me no more.
My heart has been in disarray.

Comment:

The lovers have quarrelled, but the man decides he cannot bear to part from the lady. The lovers are reconciled for a time.

Kinō tomo
kyō tomo shirazu
ima wa tote
wakareshi hodo no
kokoro madoi ni

Poet: Keishi Jōō
Date: 925-?
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

Keishi Jōō organizes her poem around the ideas in her lover's poem and borrows, "kinō, kyō, and kokoro" from his poem.

1239

After Kaneie had not visited her for a while, she noticed that the water which he had used to dress his hair still remained in a basin,

Has it all ended?
Were there a reflection
I might ask it,
But even the water mirror he left behind
Has clouded over.
(Seidensticker, trans.)[1]

Taenuru ka
kage dani meiba
toubeki wo
katami no mizu wa
mikusa inikeri

Poet: Michitsuna no haha
Date: Michitsuna no haha died in 995.
Source: Kagerō nikki

Comment:

The lovers' separation grows longer. In contrast to the exchange above, there is no hint of a reconciliation between the lovers. The brief separation expressed by "kinō kyō" (yesterday, today) here becomes "taenuru ka" (Has it all ended).

In this poem, images are introduced for the first time in this volume. "Mikusa" literally, water grass, is plankton that grows in stale water.

1240

When she had been away from court for a long time, she sent a reply to an inquiry from Emperor Gosuzaku on the fifth day of the fifth month,

We are drawn apart,
One from the other. On this day
Of the Iris festival
How could I have ever imagined
I would moisten my sleeves with tears.

Katagata ni
hiki wakaretsutsu
ayamegusa
aranu ne wo ya wa
kaken to omoishi

Poet: Yōmei Mon'in
Date: 1013-1094
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange
Source: Eiga monogatari

Comment:

This poem is the first of a section of works (excluding 1241 and 42) that are exchanges between

[1]Seidensticker, The Gossamer Years, p. 61.

emperors and their consorts. The poems depict a special kind of relationship of love; the emperor welcomed many consorts into his household, and no single woman could expect to be his favorite for long. When a consort finds herself displaced by a rival in the emperor's affections, she often withdraws from court. She speaks of her loneliness in a poem and the emperor assures her of his continued affection. Yet, his betrayal is, in a sense, institutionalized and the most the consort can hope for is that the emperor will be charmed by her poetic repartee.

This poem introduces seasonal references for the first time in this volume. The season is spring.

"Ayamegusa" (iris) echoes the "mikusa" of the previous poem. Likewise, "Hikiwakaretsutsu" (drawn apart) echoes "taenuru." Yōmei Mon'in's poem, further, has a complex network of engo and kakekotoba. "Hiku," "wakare" and "katagata" are engo of "ayamegusa," "ne" pivots to mean both root (of the iris) and the sound of sobbing. Thus lines three and four read: "I cry, making sobbing sounds that are not the root of the iris."

According to the Eiga mongatari, Yōmei Mon'in's poem was composed in response to Gosuzaku's poem.

Morotomo ni
kakeshi aoi wo
hikiwakare
sara ni koiji ni
madou koro kana
Eiga monogatari 695

Together we hung
a hollyhock plant last year;
Now we dwell apart
And wander, having lost our way
Upon the path of love.

1241

Topic unknown,

It is sad enough,
That your vows are no more constant
Than the color of the leaves,
But now the autumn rain falls as well,
Its torrents more fierce each day.

Koto no ha no
utsurou dani mo
aru mono wo
itodo shigure no
furimasaruran

Comment:

It is now autumn. The man's words of love have proven false. He is as fickle as the changing colors of the leaves. In the season of sorrow and death, the rains fall along with the woman's tears.

Poet: Lady Ise
Date: Lady Ise lived to c. 938-947.
Type/Topic: According to Ise's personal collection, a poetic exchange with the headnotes, "Sent to a man who would not answer her notes, along with a sprig of autumn leaves on a day when the autumn rain was falling."

In contrast to the spring images of the previous poem, we find in Ise's work autumn images. "Ha" pivots to mean both leaves and words; "shiguru" suggests the speaker's tears.

According to Ise's personal collection, her lover responded with the poem,

Shigurenishi
nure to nurenuru
koto no ha wa
usu nagara dani
chirazu mo aranan
Anon. Ise shū 18593

The autumn rains have fallen.
And the leaves, all drenched,
Have faded in color.
So too, you say, has my ardor faded,
Yet, in truth, it has not vanished.

1242

Topic unknown,

The spider's trail is lost
In the empty sky,
But perhaps I may
Trust the wind

Fuku kaze ni
tsukete mo towan
sasagani no
kayoishi michi wa

To ask of you.
(Seidensticker, trans.)[1]

sora ni tayu tomo

Poet: Michitsuna no haha
Date: died 995
Source: Kagerō nikki
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

Comment:

Although this is not a love poem, it reveals one part of the relationship of love, that between women in love with the same man. This poem was sent by Michitsuna's Mother to her rival, Kaneie's principal wife, when Kaneie's interest had shifted to a third lady. The season is unspecified; one may interpret the wind as being the autumn wind, as it indeed is, in the following poem.

1243

Sent when the Empress remained secluded in her home outside the court for a long while,

Although I am not
An arrowroot vine
That turns in the wind,
In the chill wind of your indifference,
My feelings turn to resentment.

Kuzu no ha ni
aranu waga mi mo
akikaze no
fuku ni tsuketsutsu
uramitsurukana

Poet: Emperor Murakami
Date: Reigned 947-957
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

Comment:

The season is autumn. Again, the woman has left the court because of her resentment of her rivals. The Emperor entreats her to return, complaining of her cruelty to him. In contrast to the previous poem, we see the viewpoint of the man who feels no qualms about carrying on relationships with several women at the same time.

Like poems 1240 and 1241, this work uses well-established kakekotoba and engo. "Akikaze" pivots to mean both autumn wind and the wind of indifference. "Urami" pivots to mean both resentment and to see the back side of leaves. In this latter meaning, it is an engo of "kuzu" arrowroot.

1244

Sent to a lady who had not come up to court for a long while,

I am not a weed
That grows in the frost-withered field.
Why then do I find
That you have forsaken me,
Blasting my heart with coldness?

Shimo sayagu
nobe no kusaba ni
aranedomo
nado ka hitome no
karemasaruran

Poet: Emperor Daigo
Date: Reigned 901-923
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

The previous poem sets up a metaphor using the form ". . . aranu waga mi" (although I am not . . .). This poem uses very similar diction, ". . . ni aranedomo . . ." "Karu" pivots to mean both withered and to be estranged.

1245

Response,

Is it true then
That your grassy field has withered?
In my rustic garden,
The weeds that cling to the fence
Are still fresh and green.

Comment:

The season is now winter. Again, an emperor entreats one of his consorts to return to his court. She responds, in rather bantering fashion, that although his feelings for her have died away, her love for him is still fresh and unchanged.

Asajiouru
nobe ya karuran
yamagatsu no
kakiho no kusa wa
iro mo kawarazu

Poet: Anonymous woman. Probably, Sanjō no Udaijin Sadakata no musume Yoshiko.
Date: Unknown
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

In the previous poem, the emperor presents himself as a blade of grass in a wintry field, which has been forsaken. Yoshiko cleverly transforms that image into one that speaks of the

[1] Ibid., p. 41.

emperor's indifference to her. His feelings for her have withered. In contrast, the grasses in her garden, an image of her love for him, have remained unchanged by the season.

1246

A man sent a poem to someone who had said she would return in the spring, asking her if it was not already the new year. He received in reply,

I did not take note
Of the spring mist that fills the sky.
Drenched by the rain,
I still gazed upon the colored leaves
Of the autumn already past.

Kasumuran
hodo wo mo shirazu
shiguretsutsu
suginishi aki no
momiji wo zo miru

Poet: Nyōgo Kishi Jōō
Date: Mid-tenth century
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Shiguretsutsu" suggests the lady's tears. "Aki" pivots to mean both autumn and the lover's indifference to the speaker.

1247

The man's response,

Those empty words
With which you vowed to return soon,
I trusted them again and again,
Ah, they are indeed, like autumn leaves
Whose colors do not change in spring.

Ima kon to
tanometsutsu furu
koto no ha zo
tokiwa ni miyuru
momiji narikeri

Poet: Emperor Murakami
Date: Reigned 947-957
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

Comment:

The season is now spring. The lady still does not return to court, and she hints that it is

the man's coldness to her that keeps her away. The emperor responds that she remains in her dwelling gazing upon the autumn leaves that speak not of his indifference but of her continued lies to him. It is now spring, but her false words, like the autumn leaves in her garden, are unchanged.

Again "ha" pivots to mean both leaves and words. "Furu" in this poem means for time to pass. It is homophonous with "furu" for the rain to fall and is thus an engo of "shigure" autumn rain. "Tokiwa" usually means evergreen trees. Here, Emperor Murakami speaks of trees with autumnal leaves that never change their color.

1248

Sent to a lady who had left his halls,

The long treacherous roads,
Where travellers walk with jewelled staffs,
Do not separate us
And yet, I feel as though
I were lost in this dwelling in the clouds.

Tamaboko ko
michi wa haruka ni
aranedomo
utate kumoi ni
madou koro kana

Comment:

There is no reference to a season. An emperor once more pleads with a consort to return to his halls.

Poet: Suzaku In
Date: 923-952
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Kumoi" "dwelling in the clouds," refers to the imperial palace. The rhetorical form, ". . . aranedomo . . ." is the same as that used in poem 1244.

1249

Response,

Because my heart,
Which ever yearns to see you,
Is lost in the sky,
Why then do we not meet
In that "dwelling in the clouds?"

Omoiyaru
kokoro wa sora ni
aru mono wo
nado ka kumoi ni
aimizaruran

Comment:

The lady replies that if indeed the emperor longs for her and his heart wanders in the heavens, why has she never encountered him there. In other words, why does she not meet him in his chambers, for if he truly loved her his affections would not be given to other women.

Poet: Nyōgo Kishi Jōō
Date: d. 950
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

1250

After the Reikeiden Lady had come to court, he sent to the Lady of the Plum Chambers on a rainy day,

In this season,
When spring showers fall and the willow boughs
Are tangled in disorder,
So too, my feelings are in disarray
As I yearn to see you.

Harusame no
furishiku koro wa
aoyagi no
ito midaretsutsu
hito zo koishiki

Comment:

The season is spring. The emperor, whose attentions have been focused upon a new consort, pledges his continued affection for the Lady of the Plum Chambers.

Poet: Emperor Gosuzaku
Date: 1009-1045
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Aoyagi" (willow), "ito" (thread-like leaves), and "midaru" (to be in disorder) are engo. "Ito" pivots to mean very much or intensely.

1251

Response,

In this season,
When the willow boughs are tangled
In disarray,
Indeed, you cannot be true
To a single thread of love.

Aoyagi no
ito midaretaru
konogoro wa
hitosuji ni shi mo
omoiyarareji

Comment:

The lady hints of her knowledge of the emperor's affection for her new rival.

Poet: Nyōgo Seishi
Date: d. 1068
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Hitosuji ni" (literally, in a single line, or singlemindedly) is an engo of "ito" (thread).

1252

The emperor sent again,

Although the willow boughs
Are tangled this way and that
In disarray,
Yet the leaves, like my love for you,
Remain ever constant in color.

Aoyagi no
ito wa katagata
midaretomo
omoisometen
iro wa kawaraji

Comment:

The willow boughs remain the central metaphor. Now, the emperor argues that although the boughs are tangled in disorder, just as his relations with his consorts are, his love for The Lady of the Plum Chambers remains constant.

Poet: Gosuzaku
Date: 1009-1045
Type/Topic: poetic exchange.

"Somu" of "Omoisometen" pivots to mean both to begin (to love) and to dye or color (the leaves). Both "iro" and "somu" are engo of "aoyagi." The emperor speaks of "katagata" (this way and that) in response to Seishi's "hitosuji ni."

1253

Response,

So pale a green
Are the willow boughs
Of springtime,
How shall I trust their color,
The "unchanging depth" of your love?

Asamidori
fukaku mo aranu
aoyagi wa
iro kawaraji to
ikaga tanoman

Comment:

The lady cleverly points out the failure of logic in Gosuzaku's poem. The pale green, almost a yellow, of the willow boughs in spring is not their constant color. He has, in fact, chosen a metaphor that speaks of the inconstancy of his feelings.

Poet: Nyōgo Seishi
Date: d. 1068
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Asamidori," "fukaku," and "ao" of "aoyagi" are all engo of "iro."

1254

He sent a withered hollyhock sprig to a lady he had known in the past along with this poem,

You may reproach me,
For this hollyhock tells of the years
Since last I saw you.
Yet I still cannot forget you
When this festive day comes round.

Inishie no
aoi to hito wa
togamu tomo
nao sono kami no
kyō zo wasurenu

Comment:

The season is now late spring. The lovers have been estranged for some time, but the man finds that he would like to revive the relationship.

Poet: Fujiwara Sanekata
Date: d. 998
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Aoi" in line two pivots to mean both hollyhock and the day we met. "Sono kami" pivots to mean both that past and that god, in other words, the god of the Kamo Shrine.

1255

Response,

How sad indeed
Are this withered hollyhock
And the dissolution of our love.
Will the god take pity on me,
He who dwells in the sacred Kamo shrine?[1]

Karenikeru
aoi nomi koso
kanashikere
aware to mizu ya
Kamo no mizugaki

Comment:

Perhaps so much time has passed since the woman

Poet: Anonymous woman
Date: Unknown

last heard from her lover that she no longer even feels bitterness. In its place, she expresses only sorrow and resignation.

Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Karenikeru" pivots to mean both withered and estranged.

1256

He sent to the Hirohata Princess,

So briefly I saw you,
Like the lovely moon that rises,
Just before the dawn.
Yet I found such enchantment that night
How shall my yearning ever wane?

Au koto wa
hatsuka ni mieshi
tsukikage no
oboroge ni ya wa
aware to mo omou

Comment:

The poem continues the theme of a lover's memory of past meetings. Murakami's personal collection of poems does not make clear the specific circumstances under which this poem was composed. Most likely Murakami composed it quite soon after he had passed a night with the princess. The Shinkokin compilers appear to wish to emphasize the man's memory of the woman, with whom he was together only for one brief night.

Images related to the moon are introduced with this poem. Henceforth, through poem 1284, the moon is the central image.

Poet: Emperor Murakami
Date: Reigned 947-957
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Hatsuka" pivots to mean both the moon of the twentieth night of the month and faintly and briefly. "Oboroge" in relation to the moon means hazy and in relation to the emperor's feelings, of a common order. According to Murakami's personal collection, the Princess responds with the poem:

Tsukikage ni
mi wo ya kasamashi
aware tefu
hito no kokoro wo
ikade mirubeku

Let me be transformed
Into the moonlight high above,
For then shall I see
The heart of my beloved
Who tells me he loves me.

[1]I follow Kubota Jun's interpretation of this poem for the translation. See Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:59.

1257

Topic unknown,

In Sarashina, it is said,
They gazed upon the moon above
Obasute mountain.
Now at dawn, shall I too gaze
And suffer in endless longing.

Comment:

In the context of this sequence, this poem suggests the endless reveries of a woman who has at some time bid her lover farewell at dawn and has not seen him since that time.

With this poem, we leave behind the emperors and their consorts and, with one or two exceptions, poetic exchanges. We move, in other words, into the realm of the solitary sufferings from a love that exists now mostly in memory.

Sarashina ya
Obasuteyama no
ariake no
tsukizu mo mono wo
omou koro kana

Poet: Lady Ise
Date: living c. 938-947

The first three lines are a preface for "tsukizu." "Tsuki" in that phrase means moon; "tsukizu" means without cease. The poem to which Ise refers in the first three lines of this work is:

Waga kokoro
nagusame kanetsu
Sarashina ya
Obasuteyama ni
teru tsuki wo mite
KKS, XVII:878, Anon.

My heart,
How shall it be consoled?
In the land of Sarashina,
I have seen the moonlight
Over Obasute mountain.

1258

Topic unknown,

I was always moved
By the beauty of the moonlight
Oh but, that night we slept together,
How enchanting was that hazy moon,
I gazed upon through my tears.

Itsu tote mo
aware to omou
nenuru yo no
tsuki wa oboroge
nakunaku zo mishi.

Comment:

The time is probably morning. The moon again is associated with the woman's memory of her lover.

The moon plays an important role in the depiction of love affairs in court poetry. The woman compares the moon, whose celestial journey across the sky is repeated each month, to her faithless lover. The man speaks of his meeting with his lover as being enchanting but as unfulfilling as the hazy moonlight.

The movement of the moon across the sky signals to a woman awaiting her lover that the night is passing away; lovers part while the dawn moon still shines in the sky. Finally, the notion that the moonlight summons up memories of the past or of a lover from the past is well-established in court poetry. This idea was given definitive expression in Ariwara no Narihira's "Tsuki ya aran" poem, so admired by the Shinkokin poets. These poetic conceptions are explored in this long section of poems in which the moon is the central image.

1259

Topic not known,

It need not shine
Over that mountain in Sarashina,
For the moonlight these days
Has brought an unremitting sorrow
To this sky I gaze at.

Comment:

The speaker of this poem is most likely a woman. In mood and subject, the poem is

Poet: Nakatsukasa (Lady Ise's daughter)
Date: 979 still living
Type/Topic: According to Nakatsukasa's personal collection of poems, this work was sent to a man who had written her a note asking, "Did you see the moon last night?" The man was probably Kujō Dainagon Morosuke; Ise's poem also appears in his personal collection.

Sarashina no
yama yori hoka ni
teru tsuki mo
nagusame kanetsu
konogoro no sora

Poet: Ōshikōchi no Mitsune
Date: Living c. 897-930
Type/Topic: According to the poet's personal

very similar to 1257 above; it continues the theme of moonlight and the sorrowful memories of a lover. The time is night.

collection, the poem was composed for painting on a screen.

Honka: KKS, XVII:878, see poem 1257 above.

1260

As dawn breaks
And I gaze upon the moon
Still lingering in the sky,
How I still pine for my beloved,
Although he was so cruel to me.

Ama no to wo
oshiakegata no
tsuki mireba
ukihito shi mo zo
koishikarikeru

Comment:

It is dawn. Like the woman of the previous poem, the speaker of this work, most likely also a woman, gazes out from her dwelling at the moonlight. She recalls a time when she parted with her lover at dawn. It seems she has been able to dismiss him as a person who was once cruel to her, but in the moonlight she cannot but yearn for him.

Poet: Unknown
Date: Before or contemporary with the Genji monogatari.[1]

1261

Still yearning for her,
Whose form, like the hazy moonlight,
I glimpsed so briefly,
I turn back upon this path in the clouds,
Drenched by the waves.

Hono mieshi
tsuki wo koishi to
kaerusa no
kumoji no nami ni
nurete koshikana

Comment:

It is still dawn. In contrast to the last several poems, the speaker is a man. He turns homeward after having been permitted only a glimpse in the moonlight of his lady, who remained hidden in the recesses of her chamber.

Poet: Anonymous (Fujiwara Kintō)
Date: d. 1041
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

This poem appears in the Uma no naishi shū, the personal collection of Uma no naishi (dates unknown). Poems 1043 and 1044 in the Shinkokinshū are an exchange between Naishi

and Kintō. In Naishi's personal collection, poem 1261 follows that exchange, and thus is probably Kintō's work.

The moon serves as a metaphor for the woman, Both this and the previous poem speak of "koishi" (yearning).

1262

She sent to someone,

The direction
In which the moon would travel
Was clear to me,
Yet, my mind clouded by yearning
I awaited him through the night.[2]

Irukata wa
sayaka narikeru
tsukikage wo
uwa no sora ni mo
machishi yoi kana

Comment:

The time is probably dawn. A woman has spent the night in her dwelling awaiting a lover she knows will not come to her. She knew in which direction (toward another woman) the moon (her

Poet: Murasaki Shikibu
Date: Died c. 1014
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

The moonlight is a metaphor for the speaker's lover.

---

[1]The fourth line of poem 1260, "ukihito shi mo zo," is quoted in the "Sakaki" chapter of the Genji monogatari. See Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyoshakū, 6:71.

[2]I follow Kubota Jun's interpretation of this poem. See Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:74. Minemura Fubito, in contrast, takes the poem to be one composed by a woman after she had parted from her lover at dawn:

The moon was bright
And without a care
Left the dawn sky,
Although I awaited it in agitation
The long hours last night.

The moon is a metaphor for the man who, apparently with little regret, takes leave of the lady at dawn. Minemura Fubito, Shinkokin wakashū, p. 385.

lover) would travel that night. Yet, so great was her yearning for him that it had blinded her to that realization.

1263

Response,

The rim of the mountains
Towards which the moon journeyed
Was obscured by clouds,
And my feelings all in disarray,
I grew weak and turned away.[1]

Sashite yuku
yama no ha mo mina
kakikumori
kokoro no sora ni
kieshi tsukikage

Comment:

The man protests that just as the moon, which journeyed toward the mountain rim, vanished in the clouds, so too his feelings were in such agitation that he could not find his way to the lady's dwelling and was forced to turn back.

Poet: Anonymous
Type/Topic: Poetic exchange.

"Yama no ha," "kakikumori," "sora," and "kiyu," are engo of "tsuki." The moonlight remains a metaphor for the man; the mountain rim is a metaphor for the woman.

1264

Topic unknown,

When I parted from you,
Knowing I dared stay no longer,
Alas, I could not gaze
Upon even the moonlight for remembrance,
So blinded was I by tears.

Ima wa tote
wakareshi hodo no
tsuki wo dani
namida ni kurete
nagame ya wa seshi

Comment:

A man recalls a sorrowful parting with his lover at dawn.

Poet: Fujiwara Tsunehira
Date: d. 1072
Type/Topic: The poet's personal collection provides the headnote: "After he spent a night with the lady in the usual, heedless place, in the morning the lady spoke of her fears that their affair would be discovered.

He sent her this poem on the same morning."

The elimination of such specific headnotes in the Shinkokinshū is one way in which the compilers draw away from the particularity of the occasions on which a poem was composed and stress instead the universal experience of emotion.

1265

Topic unknown,

Its glow brings to mind
The visage of my beloved
Whom I cannot forget,
And disconsolate, I watch it vanish,
The moon of the autumn night.

Omokage no
wasurenu hito ni
yosoetsutsu
iru wo zo shitau
aki no yo no tsuki

Poet: Lady Higo
Date: Late Heian
Type/Topic: According to the poet's personal collection, the poem was composed on the topic, the moon resembles the loved one.

Comment:

The speaker is once more a woman. In mood and situation this work is similar to poem 1260 above. However, the relationship between the moon and memory is made more explicit. This relationship is a major motif

---

[1] I follow Kubota Jun's interpretation of this poem. See Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:77. Minemura Fubito takes the poem to be one composed by a man who has just left his lover. The man speaks of his sorrow:

The rim of the mountains
Towards which the moon journeys
Was obscured by clouds,
And my feelings all in disarray,
Scarcely could I bear my grief.

Minemura Fubito, Shinkokin wakashū, p. 385.

in the Shinkokinshū, and it is significant that it is spelled out here immediately preceding the section of contemporary poems.

From this point in the volume, the relationship between successive poems becomes much more dense. The poems constantly echo and re-echo moods and meaning.

1266

What affinity
Could there be between the moon
Any my heartless lover.
So I ask myself, and yet still
I gaze upon the moon with yearning.

Comment:

The time is night; the speaker is most likely a woman. Now it is made clear that the absent lover was unfaithful to the woman. Again, despite her realization that there is no inevitable relation between the moon and her lover, she cannot but recall her lover when she sees the moonlight.

Uki hito no
tsuki wa nani zo no
yukari zo to
omoi nagara mo
uchi nagametsutsu

Poet: Fujiwara Sanesada
Date: d. 1191
Type/Topic: According to the poet's personal collection, this is an utaawase poem on love.

1267

Topic unknown,

With only the moon
Shining high in the sky
As our keepsake,
If we think of each other
Shall I know your feelings?

Comment:

The moonlight, which shines equally on all

Tsuki nomi ya
uwa no sora naru
katami nite
omoi mo ideba
kokoro kayowan

Poet: Saigyō
Date: d. 1190
Type/Topic: According to the poet's personal

places far and near, provides a possible link between lovers who are separated. In the context of this sequence, the speaker is probably a man on a journey who, unlike the lover of the previous poem, is faithful to his lady. Very few poems after this one are addressed to a specific person.

collection, the poet "sent the poem to someone in the capital when the moon was shining." It is included among the miscellaneous poems in Saigyō's personal collection. "Katami" echoes "yukari" of the previous poem.

1268

Topic unknown,

There are no clouds,
And the moon shines clear in the sky.
Then I remember her,
And suddenly my heart
Obscures its splendid light.

Kumo mo naki
orishi mo hito wo
omoiidete
kokoro to tsuki wo
yatsushitsuru kana

Comment:

We know from Saigyō's personal collection that this poem was composed on the moon and not on love. In the context of this Shinkokin sequence, the speaker is a man who, gazing at the moon, suddenly recalls a lover from the past. Tears of sorrow fill his eyes and dim the moonlight. There is also a sense in this poem that emotions can change or cloud one's vision of the world. The moon is there in the sky to be seen in all its brilliance, but the speaker's emotions act to dim its light.

Poet: Saigyō
Date: d. 1190
Type/Topic: In the Sankashū, Saigyō's personal collection, the poem is included among a group of works with the topic moon.

"Omoiidete" echoes "katami."

1269

Topic unknown,

When in yearning
I gaze upon the moonlight,
What unwonted pathos

Mono omoite
nagamuru koro no
tsuki no iro ni

Does its hues display
That moves me so to grief?

Comment:

Again the poet explores the relation between emotion and one's perception of the exterior world. The speaker asks how much more pathos than usual the moonlight displays when he is yearning for his lover. Yet, of course, it is not the moonlight that changes, but the speaker's emotions. He and not the moon is the agent of change.

ikabakari naru
aware souran

Poet: Saigyō
Date: d. 1190
Type/Topic: In the Sankashū listed among love poems on the topic moon.

1270

Topic unknown,

Let it be clouded
What only deepens my sorrow
As I gaze upon it
Is the specter of my lover
Summoned up in the moonlight.

Comment:

The speaker is once more a woman who mourns an unfaithful lover. From the reflectiveness and self-knowledge displayed in Saigyō's works, we move to intense emotion. The notion that the moon summons up memories of a lover has been explored in poem 1265. Here, however, the woman no longer looks with affection upon the moon but only wishes to be rid of its light. Then, she believes, she will be free of her painful memories.

Kumore kashi
nagamuru kara ni
kanashiki wa
tsuki ni oboyuru
hito no omokage

Poet: Hachijō In no Takakura
Date: d. 1237

Among a hundred poem sequence,

Upon my sleeves,
Where fall the showers of tears
That know he has forgotten me,
Shines the callous moonlight
That rises from behind the mountains.

Comment:

The speaker is again a woman. The poem subtly shifts the emphasis within the sequence from memory to the plight of the betrayed woman. On her sleeves falls a rain of tears while outside her dwelling the showers also fall. Yet unmindful of those showers, the moon rises from beyond the mountains. The moon gives no heed to the rain, just as the woman's lover is unmoved by her suffering.

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 142.

Wasurarurumi wo shiru sode nomurasame nitsurenaku yama notsuki wa idekeri

Poet: Gotoba
Date: d. 1239, aged 60.
Type/Topic: Actually not a poem from a hundred poem sequence, but a work from the Eigu utaawase of 1202, composed on the topic "the lovers have met but do not meet subsequently."

Honka:

Kazu kazu ni
omoi omowazu
toigatami
mi wo shiru ame wa
furi zo masareru
Ise monogatari, ep. 107, (KKS, XIV:705, Narihira)

I have been powerless to gauge
The measure of your love,
But harder and harder
Falls the rain
That must reveal the truth.
(McCullough, trans.)[1]

1272

In the Sengohyakuban utaawase

I do not know
When it is that once more
We shall be together
Do not conceal the moon from me,
Oh you clouds that come from elsewhere,

Comment:

Kubota Jun takes the speaker to be a woman; Minemura Fubito believes the speaker to be a man.[1] In either case, the moon is a metaphor for the lover whom outside forces, be it another lover or a guardian perhaps, may prevent the speaker from meeting again.

Meguri awan
kagiri wa itsu to
shiranedomo
tsuki na hedate so
yoso no ukigumo

Poet: Yoshitsune
Date: d. 1206, aged 36
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love. Honka:

Wasuru na yo
hodo wa kumoi ni
narinu tomo
sora yuku tsuki no
meguriau made
Ise monogatari, ep. 11 (SIS, VIII:470, Tachibana no Tadamoto)

Though I am as far away
As the realm of clouds,
Remember me until I come again,
Even as the moon returns
From its celestial journeying.
(McCullough, trans.)[2]

1273

In the Sengohyakuban utaawase,

Come and find shelter here
Upon my sleeves drenched by my tears,
On moonlight!
Yet even so I shall not see
The visage of my beloved.

Comment:

The speaker is a woman. She calls upon the

Waga namida
motomete sode ni
yadore tsuki
sari tote hito no
kage wa mienedo

Poet: Yoshitsune
Date: d. 1206, aged 36.

moonlight to lodge in the tears on her sleeves so that it may serve to summon up her memories of her lover. However, she is denied even the small comfort of a vision of her lover of the past.

Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.

This poem and the previous are linked by their common use of the imperative form.

1274

Exhausted by yearning
Do the tears I shed
Cloud the sky?
Even the light of the moon has changed,
As I lie here alone in my chamber.

Koiwaburu
namida ya sora ni
kumoruran
hikari mo kawaru
neya no tsukikage

Comment:

The lady has withdrawn into her bed chamber, weary of thinking of her lover. The night is more advanced than in the previous several poems. As she lies alone in her bed chamber, all things, including the moonlight, seem changed from their accustomed form and color.

Poet: Fujiwara Kintsune
Date: d. 1244, aged 74
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.

Common reference to "namida" tears links this poem with the previous.

1275

How many times
Has the moon traversed the sky
Since last we met?
His love has waned and he dallies now
Hidden from me by that floating cloud.

Iku meguri
sora yuku tsuki mo
hedatekinu
chigirishi naka wa
yoso no ukigumo

---

[1]Kubota Jun, Shikokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:92; Minemura Fubito, Shinkokin wakashū, p. 387.

[2]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 178.

Comment:

The speaker is still a woman. At least several months have passed since she has last seen her lover. She fears his affections have been transfered to another woman, "the floating cloud," who will keep him from her.

This poem is the woman's reply to the man's vow in the honka. Indeed, the moon has returned several times from its celestial journey, but her lover has not.

Poet: Fujiwara Michimitsu
Date: d. 1248, aged 42
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love
Honka: The same Ise monogatari poem that is the honka of poem 1272.

"Yoso no ukigumo" also provides a link with poem 1272 in which the same phrase is used.

1276

I must have dreamed
That he promised me
"I will quickly return."
Yet how like the moon that night
Is this dawn moon I see before me.

Comment:

The lover's vows, "I will return quickly," have proven as illusory as a dream. Yet the moon seems to have returned unchanged. "Nitaru" (how like) underscores the lady's bewildered grief. She does not baldly say, "The moon has returned but my faithless lover has not." Instead, she begins to question the reality of her encounter. In her solitude and in the absence of all communications from her lover, she is beginning to lose the means of judging what was real.

Ima kon to
chigirishi koto wa
yume nagara
mishi yo ni nitaru
ariake no tsuki

Poet: Michitomo
Date: d. 1227, aged 57
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.
In this utaawase, the final line read, "ariake no sora." The compilers, no doubt, altered the line to maintain the focus of the images on the moon.

Honka:

Ima kon to
iishi bakari ni
nagatsuki no
ariake no tsuki wo
machiidetsuru kana
KKS, XIV:691, Sosei

Because you vowed
You would return to me,

In the ninth month,
I have spent the whole night waiting,
Until now the dawn moon rises.

1277

As a token of those words
With which he vowed so falsely,
"I will not forget you,"
The moon from our night together
Now shines down upon me once more.

Comment:

This poem is very close in the situation it depicts to the one above. A woman has awaited her lover, trusting his vows. Only the moon returns to its accustomed place in the sky as a token of the lover's promises.

Wasureji to
iishibakari no
nagori tote
sono yo no tsuki wa
megurikinikeri

Poet: Fujiwara (Rokujō) Ariie
Date: d. 1216, aged 62
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.
Honka: The Kokinshū poem which is the honka of 1276, and the Ise monogatari honka of poem 1272.

This and the previous poem are linked by the common reference to the lover's vows, "Ima kon," (I will quickly return.) and "Wasureji," (I will not forget.).

1278

Topic unknown,

If I did not remember
And night after night inquire of him
In the moonlight,
Our bonds from that time he bade me wait,
Would they be shattered and cease to be?

Comment:

In the context of this sequence, the lady has come to look upon the moon and her memories, which it evokes, as the only remaining traces of her love affair.

Omoiidete
yona yona tsuki ni
tazunezu wa
mate to chigirishi
naka ya taenan

Poet: Yoshitsune
Date: d. 1206, aged 36.
Type/Topic: According to the poet's personal collection, this is an autumn poem. Kubota Jun suggests that Yoshitsune may have had

in mind Chinese verse about a poet thinking of his faraway friends.[1]

1279

Topic unknown,

Never forget,
Although your love for me
May quickly wane,
The light of that dawn moon we saw
The night we passed together.

Wasuruna yo
ima wa kokoro no
kawaru tomo
nareshi sono yo no
ariake no tsuki

Poet: Fujiwara Ietaka
Date: d. 1237, aged 80
Type/Topic: A love poem from the Kanki hyakushu of 1187.

Comment:

The time is dawn. The woman calls upon her absent lover, whom she realizes may have already ceased loving her, to remember at least the dawn moon from that time they last parted.

1280

Topic unknown,

All is the same.
Even the wind in the pines
Remains unchanged as I wait.
Could he have forgotten me?
Oh moon of this deep night.

Sono mama ni
matsu no arashi mo
kawaranu wo
wasure ya shinuru
fukeshi yo no tsuki

Poet: Hōgan Sōen
Date: 1160-1205, still living

Comment:

This poem furnishes recapitulation of the previous several works. The woman still awaits her lover; the natural world is unchanged; only her lover is faithless.

1281

Topic unknown,

My lover is cruel.
The moon that made no promises to me
Shines once more in the sky.
I do not forget the past,
In my dwelling among the mugworts.

Comment:

The love affair is now in the past; the woman has been abandoned in her increasingly desolate dwelling. "Yomogiu no yado" (dwelling among the mugworts) brings to mind Suetsumuhana in the Genji monogatari. This image of the forgotten woman is further explored from poem 1285 in this sequence.

Hito zo uki
tanomenu tsuki wa
megurikite
mukashi wasurenu
yomogiu no yado

Poet: Fujiwara Hideyoshi
Date: d. 1240, aged 57
Type/Topic: According to the poet's personal collection, a poem composed on love.

1282

On the night of the fifteenth of the eighth month, composed at the wakadokoro on the topic "love in the moonlight."

Even this rare night,
When on a sudden fancy he bade me wait,
Has almost passed away.
Was this then his promise?
Oh moon on the mountain's rim.

Comment:

It is late at night. Even on this rare evening when the woman was given some hope that her lover would call upon her, he fails to keep his word.

Wakuraba ni
machitsuru yoi mo
fukenikeri
saya wa chigirishi
yama no ha no tsuki

Poet: Yoshitsune
Date: d. 1206, aged 36
Type/Topic: Senka utaawase of 1201 (tōza)

Honka:

Sent to a certain woman,

[1]Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:106-7.

Au koto wa
kokoro ni mo arade
hodo futomo
saya wa chigirishi
wasure hatenu to
SIS, XV:992 Taira no Tadayori

The days pass,
And I see it is not your wish
To see me again,
Yet was this your vow,
To forget me utterly?

1283

On the same occasion as the poem above,

On these evenings
When I find myself awaiting him,
Knowing I wait in vain,
Even the moon grows hateful to me,
As night advances toward the dawn.

Konu hito wo
matsu to wa naku ni
matsu yoi no
fukeyuku sora no
tsuki mo urameshi

Poet: Ariie
Date: d. 1216, aged 62
Type/Topic: Senka utaawase (tōza) of 1201, on the topic "love in the moonlight."

Comment:

It is late at night. The woman has no expectations that her lover will call upon her; in fact, she knows that he has forgotten her. Still, she cannot but wait for him. The moon, which reminds her of her lover's past vows and which now signals to her that the night is passing away, grows hateful to her.

1284

On the same occasion as the poem above,

My beloved,
Who vowed he was as constant as Matsuyama,

Matsuyama to
chigirishi hito wa

Has grown cruel;
In the waves that billow over my sleeves
The moonlight lingers.

Comment:

Teika's poem, which is the last of the section of works that focus upon images of the moon, is its culmination. The lover's vows have proven untrue; at least momentarily the impossible change in the natural world, the waves billowing over Matsuyama, has become a reality. The world itself has changed because of the lover's unfaithfulness. This poem is the exact center of the volume.

Teika creates a phantasmal image in the last two lines of this work, one that leaves no room for the sorrow and bitterness expressed in the previous poems.

tsurenakute
sode kosu nami ni
nokoru tsukikage

Poet: Fujiwara Teika
Date: d. 1241, aged 80
Type/Topic: Senka utaawase (tōza) of 1201 on the topic "love in the moonlight."

Honka:

Kimi okite
adashi kokoro wo
ware motaba
Sue no Matsuyama
nami mo koenan
KKS, XX:1093, Anon.

If I leave you,
And my heart should prove untrue
And betray you,
Then let the waves of the sea
Rise to the peak of Matsuyama.

1285

In the Sengohyakuban utaawase,

I was unacquainted
With those customary lies
That lovers tell.
While I thus awaited him,
The mugworts in my garden.

Comment:

This poem begins a section that focuses on images concerning gardens and plants. The woman has continued to wait for her unfaithful lover as her dwelling grows increasingly dilapidated. "I was unacquainted

Naraikoshi
taga itsuwari mo
mada shirade
matsu to seshi ma no
niwa no yomogiu

Poet: Shunzei kyō no musume
Date: d. 1254, aged 84
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase.

Honka:

Waga yado wa

with those customary lies that lovers tell," suggests a woman who was inexperienced in love, a sheltered, unworldly woman like Suetsumuhana in the Genji monogatari.

michi mo naki made
arenikeri
tsurenaki hito wo
matsu to seshi ma ni
KKS, XV:770, Henjō

My dwelling,
Has grown so desolate even the footpath
Has vanished among the weeds,
All the while I continued to wait
For my unfaithful lover.

The poet probably also had in mind the tale of Suetsumuhana in the Genji monogatari.

1286

In the poetry contest at Lord Tsunefusa's residence, on the topic "long-standing love,"

All trace of the path is gone,
Leaving the ravage of rank weeds,
Where on the tips of the leaves,
In this garden where he bade me wait,
Still clings the frail, white dew.

Comment:

Again, the speaker is a lady in her now desolate dwelling. The frail, white dew that precariously clings to the blades of grass is an image of the lady herself.

Ato taete
asaji ga sue ni
narinikeri
tanomeshi yado no
niwa no shiratsuyu

Poet: Lady Sanuki
Date: d. 1217, aged 77 or 78
Type/Topic: Minbu kyō no ie no utaawase of 1195, on the topic "long-standing love."

Honka:

Mono wo nomi
omoiishi hodo ni
hakanakute
asaji ga sue ni
yo wa narinikeri
GSIS, XVII:1008, Izumi Shikibu

In endless reveries,
I have passed my days,
And my life, so frail,
Is now no more than the dew
That clings to the tips of the leaves.

1287

Composed for a hundred poem sequence at the Residence of Grand Minister Yoshitsune,

I no longer expect him,
My lover who will not return.
And now in my garden,
The mugworts grow taller than the pines,
And I suffer more than when I waited.

Comment:

In the woman's garden, the mugworts have grown so rank they seem to dwarf the pines. In the past, the lady's suffering had been mixed with some hope that her lover would return. Now, she knows only despair.

Konu hito wo
omoi taetaru
niwa no omo no
yomogiu ga sue zo
matsu ni masareru

Poet: Jakuren
Date: d. 1202, in his 60's
Type/Topic: The headnote suggests that this is a poem from the Roppyakuban utaawase. It is not found in that poetry contest. Kubota Jun suggests it may have been composed for the Jūdai hyakushu of 1191, on the topic "mugworts."[1]

Honka:

Tanometsutsu
konu hi amata ni
narinureba
mataji to omou zo
matsu ni masareru
SIS, XIII:848, Hitomaro

Although he bids me wait,

[1]Ibid., p. 127.

The nights he does not visit me
Grow ever more numerous.
Now I think, "I shall not wait,"
More often than I await him.

Again, the poet probably also had in mind The tale of Suetsumuhana in the Genji monogatari.

1288

Topic unknown,

Although I have returned,
How shall I plead with her,
Tears moistening my sleeves?
Here among the dew-laden mugworts
No one shall hear my meager reproaches.

Comment:

The viewpoint shifts to that of the man. A man visits the dwelling of a lady he has not seen in a while and stands among the mugworts in her garden. The lady has vanished; the dwelling is abandoned. We are reminded of Genji's visit to Suetsumuhana's dwelling after his return from his exile at Suma.

Tazunetemo
sode ni kakubeki
kata zo naki
fukaki yomogiu no
tsuyu no kagoto wo

Poet: Michimitsu
Date: d. 1248, aged 62
Honka:

Honoka ni mo
nokiba no ogi wo
musubazu wa
tsuyu no kagoto wo
nani ni kakemashi
Genji monogatari, "Yūgao" 799.

I bound them loosely
the reeds beneath the eaves
And reprove them now
for becoming undone.
(Seidensticker, trans.)[1]

Tazunetemo
ware koso towame
michi mo naku
fukaki yomogiu no

moto no kokoro wo
Genji monogatari, "Yomogiu" 1028.

Myself will I break
   a path through the towering weeds
And ask: does a constant spirit
   dwell within?
(Seidensticker, trans.)[2]

1289

Topic unknown,

No trace remains . . . .
Of that path, even then untended,
As a keepsake of our love.
It was so long ago I left her,
Oh, reeds that cover her garden.

Comment:

The speaker is again a man. No traces remain of his visits or of his lady. The suggestion that the lady's dwelling was desolate even when the man was visiting her brings to mind Suetsumuhana once more.

Katami tote
ho ni fumi wakeshi
ato mo nashi
koshi wa mukashi no
niwa no ogihara

Poet: Fujiwara Yasusue
Date: 1171-?
Type/Topic: Eigu utaawase of 1202, twenty-sixth day of the fifth month, on the topic "The lovers have met but have not met since."

"Ho ni fumiwakeshi," means barely able to walk through. "Ho" also suggests "ho" meaning a head of grain and is an engo of "ogi" (reed).

[1]Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, p. 81.

[2]Ibid., p. 299.

1290

Topic unknown,

Leaving me no token,
Save the rank weeds that grow
In your garden,
Who, my love, entranced you so,
You left your dwelling for him?

Comment:

The man suspects that his lady has been spirited away by another lover in his absence. Interestingly however, "Who, my love . . ." can also refer to the speaker himself. Perhaps the woman who had loved the man could no longer remain in her dwelling, because of painful memories and also because she could no longer maintain her own establishment. The man may suspect the woman of unfaithfulness, but he is also aware that it was he who abandoned her.

Nagori wo ba
niwa no asaji ni
todome okite
tare yue kimi ga
sumiukareken

Poet: Kyōhen
Date: d. 1264, aged 84

"Nagori" (token) echoes "katami" (keepsake) in the previous poem.

1291

Composed for a hundred poem sequence at the residence of the Grand Minister Yoshitsune,

If he has not forgotten,
His sleeves, once a coverlet we shared,
Are they ice laden too?
This night I lie sleepless in the cold
On my bedding covered with frost.

Comment:

We return to the woman's point of view and move indoors to her bed chamber. In relation

Wasurezu wa
nareshi sode mo ya
kōruran
nenu yo no toko no
shimo no samushiro

Poet: Teika
Date: d. 1241, aged 80
Type/Topic: Roppyakuban utaawase, "love and bedding."

to the previous poem, we may take the lady to be someone who has abandoned her accustomed dwelling but who still remembers her lover. She hopes that he still remembers her and speaks with sympathy of his imagined plight.

This poem and the previous are linked by the use of the interrogative form.

1292

On the same occasion,

If the fierce wind must blow,
Then let the clouds that part
And vanish from the peak
At least remind you of my love
After you so cruelly left me.

Kaze fukaba
mine ni wakaren
kumo wo dani
arishi nagori no
katami to mo miyo

Comment:

Again, after a poem by Teika, the central images change. From this work by Ietaka to poem 1295, the focus is upon clouds. The speaker is still a woman. The time is probably dawn. The woman remembers another dawn when she parted from her lover. Now, she calls upon him to think of her as he gazes upon the clouds on the peak, driven away by the fierce wind. The clouds are an image of the lady; the wind, of the cruel lover.

Poet: Ietaka
Date: d. 1237, aged 80
Type/Topic: Roppyakuban utaawase, "love and parting."

Honka:

Kaze fukeba
mine ni wakaruru
shirakumo no
taete tsurenaki
kimi ga kokoro ka
KKS, XII:601, Tadamine

When the wind blows,
The clouds on the peak,
Are swept away
And vanish, so too, cruelly,
Your heart has banished me.

Kubota Jun notes that the poet may also have in mind the legend of the Goddess of Mount Wu.[1]

[1]Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:138.

1293

Among the poems of a hundred poem sequence,

Such was not your promise.
When you vowed quickly to return,
That I should grieve so
As the months go by and the moon
Remains hidden behind the clouds.

Comment:

Once again, the woman accuses her lover of broken promises. In contrast to the previous poem, it is now night.

Iwazariki
ima kon made no
sora no kumo
tsuki ni hedatete
mono omoe to wa

Poet: Yoshitsune
Date: d. 1206, aged 36
Type/Topic: A love poem from the Shōji Ninen no In no hatsudo hyakushu (The Hundred Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era).

Honka:

Ima kon to
iishi bakari ni
nagatsuki no
ariake no tsuki wo
machiidetsuru kana
KKS, XIV:691 Sosei.

Because you vowed
You would return to me,
In the ninth month,
I have spent the whole night waiting
Until now the dawn moon rises.

The Kokinshū poem was also the honka of poem 1276.

This poem continues the form of direct address introduced in the previous poem.

1294

For the Sengohyakuban utaawase,

I hope you remember,

Omoiide yo

Whose promises they were
That have come to this!
Yesterday's clouds have vanished,
Leaving only the mountain gales.

Comment:

The situation which the poem depicts is very similar to Ietaka's earlier work, poem 1292. This work, however, has greater emotional force.

. . .

1295

In the reign of Emperor Nijō, submitted for a poetry contest,

As I gaze at the sky,
Thinking if him whose love for me
Fades with each passing day,
I see the gossamer clouds
Trail across the sky and vanish.

Comment:

The speaker is still a woman who gazes from her dwelling up at the clouds in the sky. The clouds are now an image of the lover who is forgetting the lady. The poem is quieter and more reflective in mood than the previous waka. With the passage of time, the woman grows resigned to the end of love.

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 141-42.

taga kanegoto no
sue naran
kinō no kumo no
ato no yamakaze

Poet: Ietaka
Date: d. 1237, aged 80
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.

Kubota Jun again links this poem with the legend of the Goddess of Mount Wu.[1]

The poem continues the form of direct address.

Wasureyuku
hito yue sora wo
nagamureba
taedae ni koso
kumo mo miekere

Poet: Fujiwara Norikane
Date: d. 1165, aged 57
Type/Topic: Uchi no enshō onkai held between the third and the fifth month of 1162, on the topic "love and resentment."

1296

Topic unknown,

"If he forgets me,
How shall I bear to live on?"
So I once thought,
Yet in such a world as this
I am denied even the solace of death.

Comment:

This and the following poem are the woman's reflections upon the end of the affair. There are no natural images in these two works.

In the past, the woman had felt she would never survive if her lover abandoned her. Now she finds that not even her wish for death is to be granted. With "in such a world as this," we see that the speaker counts the sorrows of love among the myriad others she has experienced in the world of illusions.

Wasurenaba
ikeran mono ka to
omoiishi ni
sore mo kanawanu
kono yo narikeri

Poet: Inpu Mon'in no taifu
Date: d. c. 1200, aged around 70
Type/Topic: According to the poet's personal collection, composed on the topic "love."

"Wasurenaba" (If he forgets me) echoes "wasureyuku" (day by day he forgets me) of the previous poem.

1297

Topic unknown,

For what reason
Do I feel this bitterness towards him
Who now grows distant from me?
Was there not an earlier time
When I knew him not, and he knew not me?

Comment:

The speaker is probably a woman, who attempts to free herself from painful emotional attachments. Kubota Jun and Minemura Fubito among others are correct in not regarding the poem

Utokunaru
hito wo nani tote
uramuran
shirarezu shiranu
ori mo arishi ni

Poet: Saigyō
Date: d. 1190, aged 90
Type/Topic: In the Saigyō shōnin shū, the last poem of love.

"Utokunaru" echoes, "wasurenaba."

as a statement of Buddhist enlightenment.[1] The poem is moving because such philosophical detachment cannot provide solace to the speaker. The poem points up the discrepancy between intellectual comprehension and the reality of one's emotions.

1298

Topic unknown,

Now I comprehend
Why he bade me promise
Ever to remember him.
That was a token of his kindness,
As he knew he would soon forget me.

Ima zo shiru
omoiideyo to
chigirishi wa
wasuran tote no
nasake narikeri

Comment:

The woman bitterly states that now she understands the true meaning of her lover's vows. From the beginning of their affair, he had known he would forget her. We see here another kind of discrepancy, that between the woman's interpretation of the lover's words and his true meaning.

Poet: Saigyō
Date: d. 1190, aged 90
Type/Topic: In the Sankashū, a poem on the topic "love." In that collection, the first line reads, "kyō zo shiru," (Today I comprehend.).

1299

In the poetry contest held in the third month of 1201, on the topic "the lovers have met but do not meet subsequently,"

The night we spent together--
So long ago, like an ancient tale--
Still, was real.

Aimishi wa
mukashigatari no
utsutsu nite

[1]Ibid., 6:146-47; Minemura Fubito, Shinkokin wakashū, p. 393.

Would you then have me believe
Your vows were but a dream?

Comment:

The speaker is a woman. This and the following poem explore the love affair in relation to the discontinuity between dream and reality. The woman admits that her love affair with the man was long ago, yet she balks at his suggestion that it had no reality whatsoever.

sono kanegoto wo
yume ni nase to ya

Poet: Minamoto Michichika
Date: d. 1202, aged 54
Type/Topic: Shingū senka utaawase held on the twenty-ninth day of the third month of 1201.

1300

On the same occasion,

How pitiful!
Who shall be able to judge
If that dream
Of the night I spent with you
Was born of the darkness of my heart?

Comment:

The woman questions the very reality of the affair. Perhaps it was no more than an illusion born of her passion-ridden heart.

Aware naru
kokoro no yami no
yukari to mo
mishi yo no yume wo
tare ka sadamen

Poet: Fujiwara Kintsune
Date: d. 1244, aged 74
Type/Topic: Same as above
Honka:

Kakikurashi
kokoro no yami ni
madoiniki
yumi utsutsu to wa
yobito sadame yo
Ise monogatari, ep. 69 (KKS, XIII:646, Narihira)

I too have groped
In utter darkness.
Can you not determine tonight
Which it might have been--
Whether dream or reality?
(McCullough, trans.)[1]

1301

On the same occasion,

Was this your promise?
That the dawn when we parted,
Our desires still unsated,
Amidst the tear drops of dew,
Should be my last memory of you.

Comment:

In contrast to the night of the previous poem, it is now dawn. By returning to the theme of the lover's vows, this poem furnishes a recapitulation of the sequence above.

Chigiriki ya
akanu wakare ni
tsuyu okishi
akatsuki bakari
katami nare to wa

Poet: Fujiwara Michitomo
Date: d. 1227, aged 57
Type/Topic: Same as above
Honka:

Ariaki no
tsurenaku mieshi
wakare yori
akatsuki bakari
uki mono wa nashi
Tadamine, KKS, XIII:625

Ever since that dawn
She took leave of me
So coldly,
Nothing is so hateful to me
As the moon at daybreak.

1302

On the same occasion,

Weary even of resentment,
"I shall no longer await him,"
So I tell myself.
Yet, I am so accustomed to yearning;
Oh, the twilight sky.

Urami wabi
mataji ima wa no
mi naredomo
omoi narenishi
yūgure no sora

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 116.

Comment:

This poem begins a section, roughly through poem 1314, in which evening and especially autumn evening is the central image. In this work, the woman no longer awaits nor even expects her lover to return to her. But the sky at twilight, the time when lovers meet, arouses again the emotions she had put aside. The first four lines express, in one sense, the core of the emotional meaning of the sky at twilight.

Poet: Jakuren
Date: d. 1202, in his sixties
Type/Topic: Same as above.

1303

On the same occasion,

What has happened
To those words with which he vowed,
"I shall not forget you,"?
On this evening he bade me wait,
Only the autumn gales rage.

Wasureji no
koto no ha ikani
nariniken
tanomeshi kure wa
akikaze zo fuku

Comment:

This poem returns to a somewhat earlier stage of the love affair. The lady was given reason to expect her lover this evening. She waits, but he does not come to her, and the autumn gales seem to speak of his weariness of her.

Poet: Lady Tango
Date: Active from the 1180's.
Type/Topic: Same as above.

"Ha" pivots to mean both leaves and words. "Akikaze" pivots to mean both the autumn wind and the wind of the lover's indifference.

1304

When he hosted a hundred poem sequence in his residence,

There may be evenings
When, wearied by my grief,
I may doze.
Sweep softly through my garden,
Oh, wind among the pines.

Omoikane
uchinuru yoi mo
aranamashi
fuki dani susame
niwa no matsukaze

Comment:

The woman has spent many nights waiting for her lover; perhaps she no longer expects him at all. It is late at night. She might fall into a fitful slumber, but the sound of the wind among the pines disturbs her rest. The wind is the central image through poem 1312.

1305

Composed for a hundred poem sequence at the residence of the Grand Minister Yoshitsune,

Even without this,
I would reproach her for her coldness.
Yet now the skirts
Of my beloved's trailing gown
Are turned by the autumn wind.

Comment:

The speaker is a man who, perhaps, has just watched his lover sweep out of the chamber. She is cold to him, and now to emphasize her weariness of him, the autumn wind turns the hems of her garments.

Poet: Yoshitsune
Date: d. 1206, aged 36
Type/Topic: Roppyakuban utaawase, "love and trees."

Sarade dani
uramin to omou
wagimoko ga
koromo no suso ni
akikaze zo fuku

Poet: Ariie
Date: d. 1216, aged 62
Type/Topic: Same as the above, "love and the wind."

"Urami" pivots to mean both resentment and to see the underside (of a garment). "Aki" of "akikaze" pivots in its usual fashion to mean both autumn and weariness.

The image of the autumn wind tie together the previous poem and this quite different work.

Honka:

Waga seko ga
koromo no suso wo
fuki kaeshi
uramezurashiki
aki no hatsukaze
KKS, IV:171, Anon.

The hems
Of my lady's trailing gown
Are turned and flutter.
Ah, how delightful this breeze,
The first wind of autumn.

1306

Topic unknown,

Within my heart,
Each morning I awaken
Belongs to autumn,
The icy gales that pierce my body
Rage I know not how many nights.

Kokoro ni wa
itsu mo aki naru
nezame kana
mi ni shimu kaze no
ikuyo tomonaku

Comment:

The speaker may be either a man or a woman. For the speaker, all seasons are alike in their autumnal sorrow. He awakens to grief, while in the night, icy gales sweep across his bedding where he sleeps alone.

1307

Topic unknown,

Why is there no one
Who is moved by pity
To call upon me here
Where I dwell alone in sorrow.
Oh, wind that stirs among the reeds.

Aware tote
tou hito no nado
nakaruran
mono omou yado no
ogi no uwakaze

Comment:

Again, the speaker may be taken to be either a man or a woman. This poem differs from any we have seen thus far in that the speaker thinks not specifically of his or her lover,

Poet: Saigyō
Date: d. 1190, aged 73.
Type/Topic: In the Sankashū, a poem on the topic "love."

but of friends who might call upon him and sympathize with him. In the solipsistic world of courtly love, such a reference to friendship is highly unusual.

The "ogi" (reed) is an autumn plant.

1308

At a poetry contest in the residence of Fujiwara Kanezane,

I have told myself,
"Here my love shall end,"
As evening falls,
And yet I hear the wind
Stirring among the rushes.

Comment:

It is autumn evening. The speaker, a woman, has resolved she will forget her lover. The sound of the wind stirring among the reeds, however, is a painful reminder of his visits in the past.

Waga koi wa
ima wa kagiri to
yūmagure
ogi fuku kaze no
otozurete yuku

Poet: Shun'e
Date: 1113 - c. 1195?
Type/Topic: Udaijin no ie no utaawase of the eighteenth day of the tenth month of 1179, on the topic "love."

"Yū" of "yūmagure," (dusk) pivots to mean, to say. "Otozure" to rustle or stir is homophonous with "otozure" to visit. As a result, it is a convention in this poetry that the sound of the wind among the reeds is reminiscent of the sound a visitor makes when he approaches one's dwelling.

1309

Topic unknown,

In recent days,
I seek to banish its sound
As extraneous to my heart,
And yet, with a pretense of innocence,
The wind still tarries above the reeds.

Ima wa tada
kokoro no hoka ni
kiku mono wo
shirazu gao naru
ogi no uwakaze

Comment:

Again, autumn evening. The speaker is a woman. The natural world seems to conspire to prevent her from putting her love aside.

Poet: Shikishi
Date: ?-1201
Type/Topic: Unknown

1310

When he hosted a hundred poem sequence in his residence,

Can he believe
That it is the same sound
I used to hear?
The voice of the autumn wind
On those evenings he does not come to me.

Itsu mo kiku
mono to ya hito no
omouran
konu yugūre no
akikaze no koe.[1]

Comment:

There is an utter discrepancy between the woman's (the speaker's) experience of the world and that of her lover. For her, the autumn wind, which conveys to her her lover's weariness of her, has assumed a piercing chill that the lover can never know. The poem is a definitive statement of the solitary nature of the experience of courtly love.

Poet: Yoshitsune
Date: d. 1206, aged 36
Type/Topic: Roppyakuban utaawase, "love and the wind."
Honka:

Konu hito wo
matsu yūgure no
akikaze wa
ikani fukeba ka
wabishikaruran
KKS, XV:777, Anon.

On these evenings
I await him but he does not come,
In what manner
Does the autumn wind blow
That it sounds so sorrowful?

1311

For a hundred poem sequence held in the residence of the Grand Minister Yoshitsune,

If you can feel pity,
I beseech you to be still.
Night after night,
I await him in my dwelling,
Oh, wind among the pines.

Kokoro araba
fukazu mo aranan
yoi yoi ni
hito matsu yado no
niwa no matsukaze

Poet: Jien
Date: d. 1225, aged 71
Type/Topic: Same as above.

Comment:

The speaker is a woman. The situation which Jien depicts is very much like that of Yoshitsune's poem 1304.

1312

For a poetry contest held at the wakadokoro, on the topic, "The lovers have met but do not meet subsequently."

The village is desolate.
Near me, in the vicinity
Of my barren bed,
My accustomed companion,
The autumn wind, sweeps by.

Sato wa arenu
munashiki toko no
atari made
mi wa narawashi no
akikaze zo fuku

Poet: Jakuren
Date: d. 1202, aged sixties
Type/Topic: Eigu utaawase of the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month of 1202.

Comment:

The woman dwells in seclusion in a desolate village, where few inhabitants remain. The love affair ended long ago. So dilapidated is her dwelling that the autumn wind blows unhindered to the very edge of her bed. This is the last poem in which the central image is the autumn wind.

Honka:

Tamakura no
sukima no kaze no
samukariki
mi wo narawashi no

[1]In the text used by Kubota Jun, the fifth line of this poem reads "matsukaze no koe," the voice of the wind among the pines. Kubota Jun, Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku, 6:166.

mono ni zo arikeru
SIS, XIV:901, Anon.

As I sleep alone
Pillowed upon my arm,
How cold it blows,
My now accustomed companion,
The wind that blows through the crevices.

1313

For the Minase no koi jūgoshu no utaawase,

The village is desolate.
Here, where once stood the Palace of Onoe,
And it was also long ago,
That, thinking perchance he might visit me,
I still awaited him.

Comment:

The woman dwells in the desolate village where once stood the palace of Onoe, which few people even remember. And it seems to her that perhaps it was that long ago that she used to await her lover. Just as the speaker of the honka did not forget the name of his lord, the speaker of Gotoba's poem still remembers her love, which perhaps even her lover has forgotten.

Sato wa arenu
Onoe no miya no
onozukara
machikoshi yoi mo
mukashi narikeri

Poet: Gotoba
Date: d. 1239, aged 60
Type/Topic: The Minase no koi no jūgoshu no utaawase held on the night of the thirteenth of the ninth month of 1202. Composed on the topic "love in an ancient village."

Honka:

Takamato no
onoe no miya wa
arenu tomo
tatashishi kimi no
mi na wasuremeya
MYS, XII:4507, Ōhara no Imakinomahito

The Onoe palace
On Takamado mountain
Is desolate now.
Yet, how shall I ever forget
The name of my lord who built it.

1314

On the same occasion,

Even in those days
When my heart was free of sorrow,
The dew, which was then only dew,
Would summon my tears
Which spilled upon my autumnal sleeves.

Comment:

The woman thinks of autumns of the past when she had not yet learned the sorrows of love. Even then, the dew spilled upon her sleeves. Now her sleeves are moistened anew by her tears.

Mono omowade
tada ōkata no
tsuyu ni dani
nurureba nururu
aki no tamoto wo

Poet: Ariie
Date: d. 1216, aged 62
Type/Topic: Same as above on the topic "autumn love."

1315

On the same occasion,

My pillow of grass,
In what direction to lay my head
I do not know.
Here upon this uncharted field
I seek the path of dreams.

Comment:

The speaker is a man on a journey. He hopes that he will see his lover at least in dream, but he does not know in which direction he should face so that he will rest on the proper path of dream.

Kusa makura
musubi sadamen
kata shirazu
narawanu nobe no
yume no kayoiji

Poet: Fujiwara Masatsune
Date: d. 1221, aged 52
Type/Topic: Same as above on the topic "love during a journey."

"Tamoto" in the previous poems calls forth "makura" pillow is this work. The mention of Onoe no miya in poem 1313 also leads to the theme of travel.

"Musubi" to bind or to place is an engo of "kusa makura," (pillow of grass).

Honka:

Yoi yoi ni
makura sadamen
kata mo nashi
ikani neshi yo ka
yume ni mieken
KKS, XI:516, Anon.

Night after night
I cannot find the right direction
To place my pillow.
Where did I lay it that night
When I saw my beloved in a dream?

1316

For a poetry contest held at the wakadokoro, on the topic "love and the deep mountains."

So, after all,
He will not call upon me this evening
On Yūwa mountain.
Although he must see from afar,
The gales drive the clouds from the peak.

Comment:

From travel we move to the mountains. A woman who dwells near Yūwa mountain awaits her lover. She had hoped her lover would come to her, realizing her suffering when he saw the fierce gales driving the clouds from the peak.

Sate mo nao
towarenu aki no
Yūwa yama
kumo fuku kaze no
mine ni miyuran

Poet: Ietaka
Date: d. 1237, aged 80
Type/Topic: Tōza utaawase held at the wakadokoro on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of 1206.

"Yū" of "Yūwa yama" pivots to mean evening.

1317

On the same occasion,

I thought it would be

Omoiiru

Commensurate to the depth of the emotions
In my heart.
Yet I see now it cannot compare,
This path through the mountains.

Comment:

The speaker is most likely a man who has journeyed deep into the mountains. He had held the path through the deep mountains to be a metaphor for the depth of his emotions, but finds now that it cannot compare to the latter.

fukaki kokoro no
tayori made
mishi wa sore tomo
naki yamaji kana

Poet: Hideyoshi
Date: d. 1240, aged 57
Type/Topic: Same as above, same topic.

This and the previous poem, both of which date from 1206, were added to this sequence after the official completion of the Shin-kokinshū in 1205.

1318

Topic unknown,

As you gaze upon it,
Think upon me with pity,
Even when one has no troubles,
The sky moves one to sorrow
On an autumn evening.

Comment:

We return to autumn and to evening. A woman calls upon her former lover to remember her with pity.

All people, even those who have no private sorrows, are moved by the pathos of autumn evening. For the speaker, that pathos is far greater.

Nagametemo
aware to omoe
ōkata no
sora dani kanashi
aki no yūgure

Poet: Kamo no Chōmei
Date: d. 1216

"Nagamu" in this poem echoes "Mishi" in the previous.

1319

For the Sengohyakuban utaawase,

That autumn has passed,
When his promises, like the leaves,

Koto no ha no
utsurishi aki mo

Withered away,
And now I grow old as my tears fall,
A cold, wintry rain.

Comment:

It is now late autumn or winter. We can perhaps take the "autumn" of the poem not to refer to a single season but to a longer season in the speaker's (a woman's) life when her lover grew weary of her and gradually grew estranged from her. Now she finds that it is winter; that the affair has ended; and that all passion is dead. In her sorrows, she has grown old.

This and the poems through 1324 are linked by a common use of a certain technique. These poems, with their complex diction, use images both for their descriptive power and for their metaphoric meanings. The poets bridge natural description and emotional meaning through engo and kakekotoba.

This poem also begins the closing sequence of this volume. The love affair is now in the past; no hope remains that the lovers will be reconciled. Images of seasonal change, decay, and death are linked to the dissolution of the affair.

suginureba
waga mi shigure to
furu namida kana

Poet: Michitomo
Date: d. 1237, aged 57
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.

Honka:

Ima wa tote
wagami shigure to
furinureba
koto no ha sae ni
utsuroinikeri
Ise monogatari, ep. 131
(KKS, XV:782, Komachi)

Now that I am entering
The winter of life,
Your ardor has faded
Like foliage ravaged
By the late autumn rains.
(McCullough, trans.)[1]

In Michitomo's poem as in his honka, "furu" pivots to mean both to rain and to grow old; "ha" pivots to mean both leaves and the lover's words. "Utsuru" to change or to fade refers to both the leaves and the lover's vows, and "aki" pivots in its usual fashion to mean both autumn and the lover's indifference.

1320

On the same occasion,

To languish and vanish.
Because of the autumn of indifference
Of my lover who fades,

Kiewabinu
utsurou hito no
aki no iro ni

My being is in turmoil, dew clinging
To trees in a wintry storm.

Comment:

It is autumn. The lover grows indifferent to the lady, and her life seems to fade away before his coldness. As natural description, the poem describes the plight of the dew in the forest of Kogarashi. That dew is also an image of the lady herself. Teika's use of engo and kakekotoba is far more complex than Michitomo's.

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 152.

mi wo kogarashi no
mori no shitatsuyu

Poet: Teika
Date: d. 1241, aged 80
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.

Honka:

Hito shirenu
omoi Suruga no
kuni ni koso
mi wo kogarashi no
mori wa arikeri
Kokin rokujō II:31923 "forest" Ono no Komachi

Unknown to him,
I am consumed by the flames of longing,
My being in turmoil.
For the grove where wintry gales blow
Can be found in Suruga Province

In Teika's work, "kiyu" (to vanish), "tsuyu" (dew), "utsurou," (to fade) and "aki" (autumn) are all engo. "Kogarashi" (stormy gales) is also an attribute of autumn. "Aki" and "kogarashi" are also pivots; the former pivots in the usual fashion; and the latter pivots to mean also, to pine for or to yearn for. "Kiyu," "utsurou," and "aki," in both its meanings, share implications of change and loss.

1321

For a hundred poem sequence held at the residence of the Grand Minister Yoshitsune,

He does not visit--
Do the ravages of autumn
Grow deeper?
Enfeebled by bitterness,
The voice of the pine cricket.

Comment:

Autumn deepens; the lover grows more distant from the woman. The pine crickets who grow weak in the increasing coldness cry in resentment. They will die at the season's end. The lady, too, in her sorrow grows weaker. Her life, too, may soon end.

Konu hito wo
aki no keshiya ya
fukenuran
urami ni yowaru
matsumushi no koe

Poet: Jakuren
Date: d. 1201, aged sixties
Type/Topic: Roppyakuban utaawase, "love and insects."

"Aki no keshiki" pivots to mean both the landscape of autumn and the lover's demeanor of coldness.

1322

On the same occasion,

My love affair--
Clumps of bush clover in my garden--
Withered and dead--
I am filled with loathing, of him
And of my self, this autumn evening.

Comment:

The love affair ends with weariness and disgust on the part of both the lover and the woman. The natural world reflects her emotions. The hagi are all withered; the world only awaits the darkness and cold of night and of winter.

Waga koi wa
niwa no murahagi
uragarete
hito wo mo mi wo mo
aki no yūgure

Poet: Jien
Date: d. 1225, aged 71
Type/Topic: Same as above, "The lovers have met but do not meet subsequently."

Honka:

Au koto no
taete shi naku wa
naka naka ni
hito wo mo mi wo mo

uramazaramashi
SIS, XI:678 Asatada

If our meetings
Had not thus come to an end,
Then indeed,
Perhaps, I would not feel so bitter
Towards him and towards myself.

In Jien's work, "Aki" pivots to mean both autumn and weariness, and "kareru" of "uragarete" pivots to mean both to be withered and to be estranged.

1323

On the topic "to be forgotten by a lover."

Even the dew upon my sleeves
Now spills forth in a different hue
And threatens to vanish.
While I have mourned his inconstancy,
His affections have been turned elsewhere.

Comment:

The lovers are utterly estranged; the lady feels herself to be near death. All things have changed, now that the lover's interest has clearly shifted elsewhere. The changed color of the dew, the tears, on the lady's sleeves is a reference to crimson tears of blood.

Sode no tsuyu mo
aranu iro ni zo
kiekaeri
utsureba kawaru
nageki seshi ma ni

Poet: Gotoba
Date: d. 1239, aged 60
Type/Topic: The Sendō utaawase held on the twenty-eighth day of the seventh month of 1206.

Honka:

Iro miede
utsurou mono wa
yo no naka no
hito no kokoro no
hana ni zo arikeru
KKS, XV:797, Komachi

What changes,
While we do not see its colors fade

In this world,
Is the flower that blossoms
Within a lover's heart.

Me ni chikaku
utsureba kawaru
yo no naka wo
yukusue tōku
tanomikeru kana
Genji monogatari "Wakamurasaki I" 1223

I had grown used to thinking it would
not change,
And now, before my very eyes, it
changes.
(Seidensticker, trans.)[1]

1324

On the same occasion,

Ah, he does not know it!
Although I am choked with tears.
My heart alone is constant.
Like the salt-makers' fire
Which smolders but is never extinguished.

Comment:

The lover has changed and is not even aware of the woman's faithfulness and suffering. The image of tears links this poem and the one previous. The poems still concentrate upon the theme of the gulf between the woman's emotions and experiences and those of her former lover.

Musebu tomo
shiraji na kokoro
kawaraya ni
ware nomi ketanu
shita no keburi wa

Poet: Teika
Date: d. 1241, aged 80
Type/Topic: Same as above.
Honka:

Waga kokoro
kawaran mono ka
kawaraya no
shita taku keburi
shita musebitsutsu
GSIS, XIV:818, Nagayoshi

My feelings for her,
How could they ever change?
In the salt-maker's hut
Smoke rises from the smoldering fire,
And I am choked with tears.

In Teika's work, "musebu" is an engo of "keburi." "Kawara(ya)" pivots to mean both to change and salt-maker's hut. The phrase also echoes the line "utsureba kawaru" in the previous poem.

. . .

1325

Does he even realize,
Although the autumn wind sweeps across
His sleeves as well as mine,
Who it was who bade me wait,
As his love faded in the darkness of dusk?

Comment:

The situation described in this poem is very similar to that in Teika's poem above. Although it is the same autumn for both the speaker and her love, he is now oblivious to her suffering.

Shirareji na
onaji sode ni wa
kayou tomo
taga yūgure to
tanomu akikaze

Poet: Ietaka
Date: d. 1237, aged 80
Type/Topic: Same as above.

"Shirareji" echoes "Shiraji na" of the previous poem.

1326

On the same occasion,

I awaken,
And, as in that autumn of the past,
Sweep away the dew and tears.
In my unfinished dream
His visage still lingers before me.

Tsuyu harau
nezame wa aki no
mukashi nite
mihatenu yume ni
nokoru omokage

[1]Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 2:555.

Comment:

In contrast to the dusk of the previous poem, it is now dawn. The season may be autumn, but this autumn is at least a whole year after the love affair came to an end. Her love was in the past, the speaker feels, yet she awakens to find her pillow drenched in tears. She has awakened from a dream of a lover, and "unfinished dream" refers to this dream of the night. However, her love too is still an unfinished dream from which she does not awaken.

Poet: Shunzei kyō no musume
Date: d. 1254, aged 84
Type/Topic: Same as above.

1327

For a hundred poem sequence held at the residence of the Grand Minister Yoshitsune,

It is my heart
That knows not where to turn.
On Miwa mountain
The sky at dusk grows ever darker
Above the cryptomeria trees.

Kokoro koso
yukue mo shiranu
Miwa no yama
sugi no kozue no
yūgure no sora

Comment:

If one reads just the first two lines of this poem, one finds that they express remarkably well the state of mind of the speaker of the poem above. The woman in Shunzei's Daughter's poem found that she could not escape from her love. It is indeed her heart that "knows not where to turn."

The speaker of Jien's poem, however, is a man who has journeyed to Miwa mountain in search of his lover's dwelling. He has lost his way or has found that his lover's dwelling is abandoned.

Poet: Jien
Date: d. 1225, aged 71
Type/Topic: Roppyakuban utaawase, "Calling upon a lover."
Honka:

Waga koi wa
yukue mo shirazu
hate mo nashi
au wo kagiri to
omou bakari zo
KKS, XIII:601, Mitsune

My loving heart
Knows not where to turn

And has no boundaries.
All that I can hope for
Is a single meeting with her.

Waga io wa
Miwa no yamamoto
koishiku wa
toburai kimase
sugi tateru kado
KKS, XVIII:982, Anon.

I dwell in a hut
Near the foot of Miwa mountain,
If you should yearn for me,
Come and seek me there
At the gate near the cryptomeria tree.

1328

Among the poems of a hundred poem sequence,

"And yet he might return,"
So I thought, and the days and months
Passed away,
While I entrusted myself
To the color of the blossoms in his heart.

Comment:

The speaker is once more a woman. Days and months have passed while she stood by entrusting herself to her lover's feelings, which she knew all along were fickle.

Sari tomo to
machishi tsuki hi zo
utsuriyuku
kokoro no hana no
iro ni makasete

Poet: Shikishi
Date: ?-1201
Type/Topic: Hundred poem sequence.
Honka:

Iro miede
utsurou mono wa
yo no naka no
hito no kokoro no
hana ni zo arikeru
KKS, XV:797, Komachi

What changes,
While we do not see its colors fade
In this world,
Is the flower that blossoms
Within a lover's heart.

1329

Among the poems of a hundred poem sequence,

I shall not live.
How shall I bear his coldness
Until the morrow?
If he plans ever to call upon me,
Let him call upon me this evening!

Ikite yo mo
asu made hito wa
tsurakaraji
kono yūgure wo
towaba towakashi

Comment:

The reflective mood of the previous poem changes once more to intense emotion.

Poet: Shikishi
Date: Same as above.
Type/Topic: Same as above.

1330

On the topic "love at dawn,"

Now at dawn,
Do the tears I shed through the night
Fill even the sky
Ah, the sound of the temple bell
Falls upon my sleeves.

Akatsuki no
namida ya sora ni
taguuran
sode ni ochikuru
kane no oto kana

Comment:

Dawn comes, but the woman has remained alone through the night. The temple bell, which tells her that she has waited in vain, seems to reverberate in the tears upon her sleeves.

Poet: Jien
Date: d. 1225, aged 71
Type/Topic: Roppyakuban utaawase

1331

For the Sengohyakuban utaawase,

In anguished longing,
I lie awake here along Akashi bay
Where I hear,
On a pillow of waves,
Plovers crying in the offing.

Comment:

"Tsukuzuku" (deeply, in anguish) is homophonous with "tsuku" to strike a bell, and thus it furnishes a link with the previous poem. The speaker is a man who, for some reason, has journeyed to Akashi. Separated from his lover, he listens to the sorrowful cries of the plovers and sheds tears of anguish.

Tsukuzuku to
omoi Akashi no
ura chidori
nami no makura ni
naku naku zo kiku

Poet: Fujiwara Kintsune
Date: d. 1244, aged 74
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase, love.
Honka:

Hitorine wa
kimi mo shirinu ya
tsurezure to
omoi Akashi no
ura sabishisa wo
Genji monogatari "Akashi" 982

Do you know the sadness of the
nights
On the shore of Akashi
with only thoughts for companions?
(Seidensticker, trans.)[1]

In Kintsune's poem "nami" (waves) pivots to suggest "namida" (tears). "Akashi" pivots to mean both the place Akashi and to stay awake all night.

1332

I sought to reach
The depths of the sea of his heart,

Tazune miru
tsuraki kokoro no

[1]Ibid., 1:258.

So cruel to me,
In the shallow bay, the tide receded,
I found not a shell worth gathering.

Comment:

The speaker is once more a woman. She discovers that love has fled from her lover's heart, and nothing remains even to be spoken of. "Iukai no naku" pivots to mean both no shell worth gathering and nothing worth speaking of.

Sea imagery continues through the following poem.

1333

Composed for the Minase dono koi no jūgo shu no utaawase,

oku no umi yo
shiohi no gata no
iukai mo nashi

Poet: Teika
Date: d. 1241, aged 80
Type/Topic: Sengohyakuban utaawase
Honka:

Ise shima ya
shiohi no gata ni
asaritemo
iukai naki wa
waga mi narikeri
Genji monogatari "Suma" 955

The tide recedes
along the coast of Ise
No hope, no promise
in the empty shells.
(Seidensticker, trans.)[1]

Shio no ma ni
yomo no ura ura
motomuredo
ima wa waga mi no
iu kai mo nashi
SKKS, XVIII:1714, Izumi Shikibu

While the tide was low,
I searched in this bay and that
In every direction,
Yet I found no shells worth gathering
Nor hope to sustain my life.

Hold fast for me
Her visage as once I knew her,
Oh, barrier of Kiyomi Bay,
Although no gate can stay
The tears that billow over my sleeves.

Comment:

The speaker is probably a man. The situation depicted in this poem is very similar to that in Kintsune's poem 1331.

Mishi hito no
omokage tome yo
Kiyomigata
sode ni seki moru
nami no kayoiji

Poet: Masatsune
Date: d. 1221, aged 52
Type/Topic: The Minase dono koi no jūgoshu no utaawase held on the night of the thirteenth of the ninth month of 1202, on the topic "love and a barrier."
Honka:

Mune wa Fuji
Sode wa Kiyomi ga
seki nare ya
keburi mo nami mo
tatanu hi zo naki
SKS, VII:212 Taira no Sukekata

Is my bosom Fuji
And my sleeves the Barrier
Of Kiyomi Bay?
Never is there a day when smoke and waves
Of tears do not rise from my body.

In Masatsune's work, "Kiyomi" pivots to mean both the place and to see clearly.

1334

On the same occasion,

So much time has passed
As tears and the cold wintry rain
Spilled upon my sleeves,

Furinikeri
shigure wa sode ni
aki kakete

---

[1]Ibid., 1:233.

All the while I awaited him,
Believing his promise to return.

Comment:

The last two poems in the volume return to seasonal imagery. It is winter or late autumn. Much time has passed as the woman awaited her lover in vain.

We have returned to the image of the woman alone in her desolate dwelling, an image which portrayed for the Shinkokin poets the quintessence of love.

. . .

On the same occasion,

iishi bakari wo
matsu to seshi ma ni

Poet: Shunzei kyō no musume
Date: d. 1254, aged 84
Type/Topic: Same as above, on the topic "love and rain."
Honka:

Aki kakete
iishi bakari mo
aranaku ni
ko no ha furishiku
e ni koso arikere
Ise monogatari, ep. 96

"In autumn . . ." I said
But it was not to be--
Our relationship has proved no deeper
Than a shallow creek
Strewn with fallen leaves.
(McCullough, trans.)[1]

Waga yado wa
michi mo naki made
arenikeri
tsurenaki hito wo
matsu no seshi ma ni
KKS, XV:770 Henjō

My dwelling now
Is so desolate, overgrown with weeds,
Not even the path remains,
All the while I awaited
My heartless lover.

1335

The grass along the path
He followed to my dwelling
Is withered now,
And no trace of my lover remains
Where the frost clings in disarray.

Comment:

It is winter. The things of the natural world are withered and dead, as is the man's love for the woman. The woman continues to dwell in sorrow and isolation.

---

[1]McCullough, The Tales of Ise, p. 136.

Kayoi hoshi
yado no michishiba
karegare ni
ato naki shimo no
musubohoretsutsu

Poet: Shunzei kyō no musume
Date: Same as above.
Type/Topic: Same as above, on the topic "Winter love."
Honka:

Tazunebeki
kusa no hara sae
shimogarete
tare ni towamashi
michishiba no tsuyu
Sagoromo monogatari 1595

Even the fields of grass,
Where I might seek for her
Are blighted by the frost,
And who shall inquire of it--
The dew upon the grassy path.

In Shunzei's Daughter's work, the frost is an image of the lady herself. "Kare" of "karegare" pivots to mean both withered and estranged.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akahane Shuku. "Saigyō to Teika -- sono sōi: shizenkan biishiki." Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 41 (June, 1976): 71-77.

_____. "Teika ni okeru jikan." Nōtorudamu seishin joshi daigaku kiyō, Kokugo kokubun hen 14 (January, 1981): 17-35.

_____. "Teika ni okeru omokage." Nōtorudamu seishin joshi daigaku kiyō, Kokugo kokubun hen 15 (January, 1982): 1-24.

_____. "Teika no hitei-teki hyōgen." Nōtorudamu seishin joshi daigaku kiyō, Kokugo kokubun hen 10 (March, 1977): 7-15.

_____. Teika no uta isshu. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1976.

_____. "Teika no uta ni okeru ōin." Nōtorudamu seishin joshi daigaku kiyō, Kokugo kokubun hen 13 (January, 1980): 15-35.

_____, ed. Fujiwara Teika zenkashū zenku sakuin. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973.

Andrews, Allan A. The Teachings Essential for Rebirth -- A Study of Genshin's "Ōjōyōshū." Monumenta Nipponica Monograph no. 52. Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1973.

Ando Tsuguo. Fujiwara no Teika. Vol. 11 of Nihon shijin-sen. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1977.

Aoyagi Keisuke. "'Sue no matsuyama' -- hitotsu no honkadori-ron." Seijō bungaku 82 (1977): 1-13.

Ariyoshi Tamotsu. Minase koi jūgoshu utaawase. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973.

_____. "Sengohyakuban utaawase" no kōhon to sono kenkyū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1968.

_____. "Shinkokin wakashū" no kenkyū -- kiban to kōsei. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1968.

_____, ed. Waka bungaku jiten. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1982.

Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Matsuno Yōichi, and Katano Tatsurō, eds. Shinkokin wakashū, Kinkai wakashū. Vol. 17 of Kanshō Nihon koten bungaku. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1978.

Aso Mizue. "Manyōshū no kisetsu bunrui." In Ronshū jōdai bungaku. Edited by Manyō shichiyō-kai. 12 vols. to date. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1970- : 5: 1-50.

_____. "Manyōshū maki jū no seikaku." In Ronshū jōdai bungaku; Edited by Manyō shichiyō-kai. 12 vols. to date. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1970- : 6: 115-46.

Brower, Robert H. "Ex-emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings -- Go-Toba no In Gokuden." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 32 (1972): 5-71.

_____. Fujiwara Teika's " Hundred Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era," 1200. Monumenta Nipponica monograph no. 55. Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1978.

Brower, Robert H. and Miner, Earl. Fujiwara Teika's "Superior Poems of Our Times." Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967.

_____. Brower, Robert H. and Miner, Earl. Japanese Court Poetry. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961.

Chōgetsu. Utamakura nayose. Edited by Shibuya Torao. 2 vols. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1977-79.

de Bary, William Theodore, ed. The Buddhist Tradition. New York: Random House, 1969; Vintage Book, 1972.

Fujihira Haruo. "Fujiwara Shunzei no yūgen-ron to iu koto." Kokubungaku kenkyū 24 (June, 1955): 35-61.

_____. Shinkokin kafū no keisei. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1969.

_____. "Shinkokin no hōhō -- shūkan tōka o megutte." Mahiruno 12 (April, 1972): 72-80.

_____. "Shinkokin no sekai -- Teika Hachidaishō kara mita." Kokubungaku kenkyū 29 (March, 1964): 27-36.

_____. Shinkokin to sono zengo. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1983.

_____. "Shinsen zuinō -- chūsei waka e no dōhyō to shite." Kokubungaku kenkyū 45 (October, 1971): 25-39.

_____. "Tadamine juttei to Shinsen zuinō -- chūsei waka e no dōhyō to shite." Kokubungaku kenkyū 44 (June, 1971): 1-11.

Fujihira Haruo, Ueno Osamu, and Sugitani Jūrō, eds. "Kokin wakashū" nyūmon. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1978.

Fujio Kyōko. "'Harukaze zo fuku' kō -- Shinkokin hensanki ni okeru jō-keika no hen'i." Mukogawa joshi dai kiyō, Kokugo kokubun hen 22 (February, 1975): 33-54.

Fujiwara Kintō. Shinsen zuinō. In Karonshū nōgakuronshū. Vol. 65 of Nihon koten bungaku taikei. (henceforth abbreviated as NKBT). Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

_____. Waka kuhon. In Karonshū nōgakuronshū. Vol. 65 of NKBT. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

Fujiwara Kiyosuke. "Fukurozōshi" chūshaku. Edited by Ozawa Masao, Gotō Shigeo, Shimazu Tadao, and Higuchi Yoshimaro. 2 vols. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1974-6.

Fujiwara Shunzei. Korai fūteishō. In Karonshū. Vol. 50 of Nihon koten bungaku zenshū. (henceforth abbreviated as NKBZ.) Edited by Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1975.

_____. Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō no waji shōjō. In Karonshū, Chūsei no bungaku. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971.

Fujiwara Tameie. Eiga no ittei. In Karonshū, Chūsei no bungaku. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971.

Fujiwara Tamekane. Tamekane kyō wakashō. In Karonshū nōgakuronshū. Vol. 65 of NKBT. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

Fujiwara Teika. Eiga no taigai. In Karonshū, Chūsei no bungaku. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971.

_____. Fujiwara Teika zenkashū zenku sakuin. Edited by Akahane Shuku. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973.

_____. Fujiwara Teika's "Superior Poems of Our Times." Translated by Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967.

_____. Kindai shūka. (jihitsu-bon). In Karonshū nōgakuronshū. Vol. 65 of NKBT. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

_____. Kindai shūka. (kensō-bon). In Karonshū, Chūsei no bungaku. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971.

_____. Kundoku Meigetsuki. Edited by Imagawa Fumio. 6 vols. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1977-9.

_____. Maigetsushō. In Karonshū nōgakuronshū. Vol. 65 of NKBT. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

Fukuda Hideichi. Chūsei wakashi no kenkyū. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1972.

Fukuda Yūsaku. Teika karon to sono shūhen. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1974.

_____. "Hachidaishū no meisho ni tsuite." Nihon bungei kenkyū 11 (January, 1958): 66-81.

Fukui Sadasuke. "Kokinshū ni okeru Ise monogatari no keisei." Kokugo to kokubungaku 39 (June, 1962): 23-34.

Gotō Shigeo. "Shinkokin wakashū" no kiso-teki kenkyū. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1968.

Hagitani Boku. "Engo." Gekkan bunpō 1 no. 4 (February, 1969): 56-61.

_____. Heianchō utaawase gaisetsu. Tokyo: By the Author, 1969.

_____, ed. Heianchō utaawase taisei. 10 vols. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1957-69; reprint ed., 1979.

Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, eds. Utaawase shū. Vol. 74 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976.

Hamachiyo Kiyoshi. "Teika no yōen ni tsuite." Joshi dai kokubun 81 (June, 1978): 23-35.

Hanawa Hikonoichi, ed. Zoku Gunsho ruijū. 82 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho ruiju kanseikai, 1957-59.

Hashimoto Fumio. Inseiki no kadanshi kenkyū. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1966.

_____. "Minamoto Shunrai, Fujiwara Mototoshi no karon -- 'utameku' to 'mezurashiki fushi.'" Kokugo to kokubungaku 44 (April, 1967): 11-23.

Hashimoto Fumio and Takizawa Sadao, eds. Kōhon Horikawain ontoki hyakushu waka to sono kenkyū. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976-7.

Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, eds. Karonshū. Vol. 50 of NKBZ. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1975.

Hirabayashi Chie. "Minamoto Shunrai bannen no karon." (Tokyo joshi daigaku Nihon bungaku kenkyūkai) Nihon bungaku 12 (March 1959): 35-43.

Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed. Karonshū, Chūsei no bungaku. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971.

Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Matsuda Takeo, Sekine Yoshiko and Aoki Takako, eds. Heian Kamakura shikashū. Vol. 80 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds. Karonshū nōgakuronshū. Vol. 65 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Sanekata Kiyoshi, eds. Nihon kajin kōza. 8 vols. Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1968.

Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, Yamazakai Hideo, and Gotō Shigeo, eds. Shinkokin wakashū. Vol. 28 of NKBT. Tokyo, 1958.

Hosoya Naoki. Chūsei karon no kenkyū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976.

_____. "Nishidaishū kara akiraka ni sareru Teika no waka ni taisuru kōshō no henka ni tsuite." Kokugo to kokubungaku 39 (May, 1962): 41-52.

Hurvitz, Leon; "Chih-i." Ph.D dissertation. Columbia University, 1959.

Ide Itaru. "Kakekotoba." Gekkan bunpō 1 no. 4 (February, 1965): 36-41.

Iesato Takafumi. "Manyōshū o genten to suru Shinkokinka -- sono senka ishiki o megutte." Fuji joshi dai tandai kiyō (December, 1972): 77-145.

Ii Haruki. "Genji monogatari" hikiuta sakuin. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1977.

Ikeda Tomizō. Minamoto Shunrai (Toshiyori) no kenkyū. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1973.

Imaeda Aishin. Zenshū no rekishi. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1962.

Inada Toshinori. "Chūko waka kara chūsei waka e -- hyōgen shihō no henka no ichiyōso." Kokugo kokubun 38 (September, 1969): 1-36.

Inoue Muneo and Katano Tatsurō, eds. Shika wakashū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1977.

Inuzuka Asa. Ōchōbiteki goshi no kenkyū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973.

Ishida Yoshisada. Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū. Tokyo: Bungadō Ginkō Kenkyūsha, 1957; revised and enlarged ed. 1975.

_____. Inja no bungaku. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1968.

_____. "Saigyō-gaku no Saigyō sōshitsu." Bungaku 49 (August,1981): 69-84.

_____. Shinkokin sekai to chūsei bungaku. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kitazawa Tosho Shuppan, 1972.

_____. Yōen Teika no bi. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1979.

_____, ed. "Shinkokin wakashū" zen chūkai. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1960.

Ishida Yoshisada and Sagawa Shūji, eds. "Minamoto no Ienaga nikki" zen chūkai. Tokyo: Yuseidō, 1968.

Ishihara Kiyoshi. Shakkyōka no kenkyū. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1980.

Ishikawa Tsunehiko. "'Hakanashi ya' Shinkokin-teki shokugire no ron no tame ni." Mukogawa kokubun 5 (March, 1973): 34-44.

_____. "'Honobono' kō -- Shinkokin-teki jōkei kōsei no ron no tame ni." Kokugo kokubun 43 (July,1974): 20-38.

Ishikawa Tsunehiko. "'Miwataseba' kō -- daisanku 'miwataseba' no Shinkokin e no hen'i." Mukogawa kokubun 4 (March, 1972): 25-37.

_____. "Ruikei to kosei -- Shikishi Naishinnō 'Tama no o' no baai." Kokugo kokubun 36 (June, 1967): 23-44.

_____. "Shoku 'ya' no baai -- Shinkokin shokugire no ron no tame ni." Kokugo kokubun 36 (August, 1967): 1-32.

_____. "Zoku 'miwataseba' kō -- shoku 'miwataseba' no Shinkokin e no hen'i." Mukogawa joshi daigaku kiyō, Kokugo kokubun hen 19 (October, 1972): 19-34.

Itō Hayao. "Ise monogatari" no kyōju ni kansuru kenkyū. 3 vols. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1975-7.

Itō Hiroshi. Kodai wakashi kenkyū. 6 vols. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1974-6.

_____. "Manyōshū" somon no sekai. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1959.

_____, ed. Jōjō to dentō. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1979.

Itō Hiroyuki. Inton no bungaku. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1975.

Itoga Kimie. "Saigyō to Teika -- sono sōi: Shinkokin wakashū." Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 41 (June, 1976): 84-91.

Itoi Michihiro and Watanabe Terumichi, eds. "Goshūi wakashū" sōsakuin. Osaka: Seibundō, 1976.

Iwasaki Reitarō. Shinkokin kafū to sono shūhen. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1978.

Iwatsu Motoo. Utaawase no karonshi kenkyū. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1963.

Kamijō Shōji. "Fujiwara Shunzei no kahyō taido." Kokugo kokubun 39 (February, 1970): 23-46; 39 (March, 1970): 25-47.

Kamijō Shōji. "Roppyakuban utaawase no shikaku-teki waka teiju." Chūsei bungaku 15 (1970): 8-13.

_____. "Saigyō sakuei to shinkō." Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 25 (March, 1970): 89-96.

_____. "'Shiga no yamagoe' kō -- Shunzei kakan e no hitotsu no apurōchi." Kokugo kokubun 37 (October, 1968): 30-52.

_____. "Tsurayuki 'Mochizuki no koma' eikō -- Shunzei kakan e no apurōchi." Bungaku 39 (October, 1971): 47-67.

_____. "Uta no atarashisa -- Shunzei to Kenshō to." Kokugo kokubun 34 (October, 1965): 40-65.

_____. "Uta no yasurakasa -- Shunzei o chūshin to shite." Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 30 (January, 1965): 120-33.

_____. "Waka no teiju -- Fujiwara Shunzei no kahyō taido hokō." Kokugo kokubun 39 (December, 1970): 20-41.

Kamijō Shōji, Katayama Tōru, and Satō Tsuneo, eds. "Shinkokin wakashū" nyūmon. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1978.

Kamiyama Shigehiko. "Utaawase no uta to honkadori." Nagoya daigaku kokubungaku 44 (July, 1979): 27-39.

Kamo no Chōmei. Hōjōki. Vol. 30 of NKBT. Edited by Nishio Minoru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

_____. Kōchū Kamo no Chōmei zenshū. Edited by Yanase Kazuo. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1956.

_____. Mumyōshō. In Karonshū nōgakuronshū. Vol. 65 of NKBT. Edited by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.

_____. "Mumyōshō" zenkō. Edited by Yanase Kazuo. Tokyo: Katō Chūdōkan, 1980.

Kaneko Hikojirō. Heian jidai bungaku to Haku Shi monjū: Kudai waka Senzai kaku kenkyū hen. Tokyo: Baifūkan, 1955.

_____. Heian jidai bungaku to Haku Shi monjū: Michizane no bungaku kenkyū hen. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1948; reprint ed., Kamakura: Geirinsha, 1977-82.

Kawaguchi Hisao and Shida Nobuyoshi, eds. Wa-Kan rōeishū, Ryōjin hishō. Vol. 73 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976.

Kawamata Seiichi, ed. Shinkō Gunsho ruijū. 24 vols. Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki, 1928-38.

Kazamaki Keijirō. Shinkokin jidai. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 1936.

_____. "Shinkokin-teki naru mono no han'i." In Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho, Shinkokin wakashū. Edited by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1976.

Kazamaki Keijiro and Kojima Yoshio, eds. Sankashū, Kinkai wakashū. Vol. 29 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978.

Kenshō. Kenshō chinjō. In (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase. Edited by Konishi Jin'ichi. Tokyo, Yūseidō, 1978.

_____. "Kokinshū" chū; In Zoku zoku Gunsho ruijū. vol. 15. Edited by Kokusho kankōkai. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1903.

Kinoshita Masao, ed. "Genji monogatari" yōgo sakuin. 2 vols. Taikō Genji monogatari shinshaku bekkan. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1977.

Kitayama Masamichi. "'Nagamu' oboegaki." Kokugo kokubun 39 (October, 1969): 86-99.

Kojima Noriyuki. Jōdai Nihon bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku. 3 vols. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1962-5.

Kojima Yoshio. "Shinkokin wakashū" no kenkyū. 2 vols. Kyoto: Hoshino Shoten, 1944-6.

Kokusho kankōkai. Zoku zoku Gunsho ruijū. 16 vols. Vols. 7-22 of Kokusho kankokai kankosho. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1905-22.

Konishi Jin'ichi. "Chūsei hyōgen ishiki to Sōdai shiron." Kokugo (fukkan) 1 no. 1 (October, 1951): 16-49.

_____. "The Genesis of the Kokinshū Style." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 38 (June, 1978): 61-170.

_____. "Genji monogatari to Shinkokin-teki hyōgen." Murasaki 12 (June, 1974): 22-32.

_____. Image and Ambiguity: The Impact of Zen Buddhism on Japanese Literature. Program for Comparative Study on Japanese and Chinese Literatures. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Education, 1972.

_____. "Michi" chūsei no rinen. Nihon no koten, no. 3. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1975.

_____. "Shūishū jidai to Haku Shi no hyōgen." Kokugo kokubun 21 (January, 1952): 53-64.

_____. "Shunzei no yūgenfū to shikan." Bungaku 20 (February, 1952): 108-116.

_____. Sōgi. Vol. 16 of Nihon shijin-sen. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1976.

_____. "Yōenbi." Kokugo kokubun 22 (July, 1953): 1-14.

_____. "Yūgen no gen igi." Kokugo to kokubungaku 20 (June, 1943): 13-22.

_____. "Yūshintei shikan." Nihon gakushiin kiyō 9 (February, 1951): 115-41.

_____, ed. (Shinkō) Roppyakuban utaawase. Tokyo: Yūseido, 1976.

Konishi Jin'ichi, Brower, Robert H., and Miner, Earl. "Association and

Progression: Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Court Poetry." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 21 (December, 1958): 67-127.

Kubota Jun. "Saigyō no koi no uta ni tsuite." Kokugo to kokubungaku 39 (November, 1962): 40-52.

_____. "Saigyō to sōan to uta to." Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 41 (June, 1976): 30-36.

_____. Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973.

_____, ed. Shinkokin wakashū zen hyōshaku. 9 vols. Tokyo: Kōdan-sha, 1976-7.

Kubota Jun and Matsuno Yōichi, eds. Senzai wakashū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1977.

Kubota Utsubo, ed. Waka bungaku daijiten. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1962.

Kuwabara Hiroshi. "Dentō to dokusō -- Saigyō ron." Kokubungaku kai-shaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 15 (October, 1968): 55-61.

_____. "Kokinshū joshi no yōgo to Shinkokin jidai no kajin tachi." (Tōyō Daigaku bungakubu kiyō kokubungaku hen) Bungaku ronsō 29 (February, 1965): 32-38; 32 (November, 1965): 70-79; and 33 (May, 1966): 27-33.

_____. "Saigyō no śakka no ichi hōhō." (Tōyō Daigaku bungakubu kiyō kokubungaku hen) Bungaku ronsō 54 (December, 1979): 34-41.

_____, ed. Saigyō zenkashū. Vol. 1: Sankashū. Tokyo: Shintensha, 1981.

Kyusojin Hitaku, ed. Monogatari waka sōran. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1974-6.

La Fleur, William. "Saigyō and the Buddhist Value of Nature." History of Religion 13 (November, 1973): 93-128; and (May, 1974): 227-47.

Levy, Ian Hideo, trans. The Ten Thousand Leaves. vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Liu, James J. Y. Chinese Theories of Literature. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Machiya Yōko. "Shinkokin wakashū -- honkadori ni tsuite." Kokubun Tsurumi (March, 1973): 19-30.

Masuda Shigeo, Iyasu Toshie, Shibasaki Yōko, and Terauchi Junko, eds. "Kinyō wakashū" sōsakuin. Osaka: Seibundō, 1976.

Matsuda Takeo. "Kokinshū" no kōzō ni kansuru kenkyū. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1965.

_____, ed. Shinshaku "Kokin wakashū." 2 vols. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1968.

Matsuno Yōichi. Fujiwara Shunzei (Toshinari) no kenkyū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973.

Matsushita Daizaburō, ed. Zoku kokka taikan. 2 vols. 6th ed. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974.

Matsushita Daizaburō and Watanabe Fumio, eds. Kokka taikan. 2 vols. 7th ed. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974.

McCullough, Helen C., trans. Okagami: The Great Mirror. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

_____, trans. The Tales of Ise. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1968.

Mezaki Tokue. "Fukakai na kotei kannen." Bungaku 50 (January, 1982): 124-36.

_____. Saigyō no shisōshi-teki kenkyū. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978.

Minamoto Ienaga. "Minamoto no Ienaga nikki" zen chūkai. Edited by Ishida Yoshisada and Sagawa Shūji. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1968.

Minamoto Shunrai. Shunrai zuinō. In Karonshū. Vol. 50 of NKBZ. Edited by Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1975.

Minegishi Yoshiaki. Heian jidai waka bungaku no kenkyū. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1965.

_____. Utaawase no kenkyū. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1958.

Minemura Fubito. "Fujiwara Shunzei to Saigyō." In Kōza Nihon bungaku. Edited by Zenkoku daigaku kokugo kokubun gakkai. 14 vols. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1968-71. Vol. 4: Chūko II.

_____. "Saigyo no sakufū keisei." Kokubungaku gengo to bungei 6 (July, 1964): 46-53.

_____. "Teika no sakufū keisei." Kokubungaku gengo to bungei 46 (May, 1966): 1-11.

_____. "Yūgenbi no keisei katei." Tokyo kyōiku daigaku bungakubu kiyō no. 1 (1955). pp. 192-316.

_____, ed. Shinkokin wakashū. Vol. 26 of NKBZ. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1978.

Morimoto Motoko. Shikashū to "Shinkokin wakashū." Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1977.

_____. Shunzei kyō no musume no kenkyū. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1976.

_____, ed. Shunzei kyō no musume zenka sakuin. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1977.

Morimoto Shigeru, ed. (Kōchū) Utamakura taikan, Yamashiro-hen. Tokyo: Daigakudō Shoten, 1979.

Morishige Bin. "'Nari' no hyōgen kachi -- Kokin-teki na mono kara Shinkokin-teki na mono e." Kokugo kokubun 39 (June, 1970): 1-22; (July, 1970): 34-54.

Morishita Kinjirō. "Shinkokinshū no hyōgen keitai ni tsuite." Miyagi gakuen joshi dai kenkyū ronbunshū 50 (1980): 29-47. Included in Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō. Edited by Ronsetsu shiryō hozonkai. Tokyo: Ronsetsu shiryō hozonkai, 1981. 16, pt. 3: 564-73.

Murasaki Shikibu. Genji monogatari. Edited by Yamagishi Tokuhei. 5 vols. Vols. 14-18 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974.

_____. The Tale of Genji. Translated by Edward G. Seidensticker. 2 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1976; reprint ed., Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1976.

Murasaki Shikibu kai. Kodai bungaku ronsō. 8 vols. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1969-79.

Murata Akio, ed. Ruiji meisho wakashū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1981.

Nakada Takeshi. "Kokin wakashū" no keisei. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1982.

Nakajima Yō. "Kokin to Shinkokin ni okeru yume ni tsuite." Kyoto furitsu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku kaishi (April, 1959): 18-26.

Nakanishi Susumu, ed. "Kokin waka rokujō" no Manyō-ka. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1964.

Nakashio Kiyoomi. "'Satsuki matsu' kō." Wakabungaku kenkyū 6 (March, 1959): 23-32.

Nakazuka Eijirō, ed. Fuboku wakashū. 2 vols. Vols 21-22 of Kōchū kokka taikei. Tokyo: Kokumin Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1930.

Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai. Kokin wakashū, Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1976.

Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai. Shinkokin wakashū, Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1980.

Nihon Daigaku Senzai wakashū kenkyūkai and Ariyoshi Tamotsu, eds. "Senzai wakashū" no kiso-teki kenkyū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976.

Nishiki Hitoshi. Shikishi Naishinnō zenkashū. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1982.

Nishishita Kyōichi and Takizawa Sadao, eds. "Kokin wakashū" sōsakuin. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1963.

Nishishita Kyōichi and Sanekata Kiyoshi, eds. Kokinshū Shinkokinshū. Vol. 7 of Zōhō kokugo kokubungaku kenkyūshi taisei. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1977.

Nishizawa Yoshihito. "Saigyō no Nōin-ka juyō -- 'Naniwa no haru' kara 'shigi tatsu sawa'" Kokugo to kokubungaku 57 (November, 1980): 65-82.

Nose Asaji. Kahyō no seishin "Roppyakuban utaawase" "Kenshō chinjō." Tokyo: Daigakusha, 1935.

_____. Yūgenron. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1944.

Oda Gō. "Futatabi 'miwataseba hana mo momiji mo nakarikeri' no uta ni tsuite." Shiga dai kokubun 15 (July, 1978): 44-50.

Oda Takuji. "Kyōgen kigo no setsu." Kokugo kokubun 14 (June,1977): 1-16.

Ogisu Jundō. Nihon chūsei zenshū shi. Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1965.

Okazaki Yoshie. Bi no dentō. Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1970.

_____. Nihon shiika no shōchō seishin, kodai hen. Tokyo: Hōbundō, 1970.

Okuda Hisateru. Shinkokin-teki hassōron. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1981.

Okumura Ken'yu. "Shinkokin no koka ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu." Kokubungaku kenkyū 26 (December, 1962): 55-66.

Okumura Kōsaku. Inton kajin no genryū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1975.

Okuno Jun'ichi. "Yūgen no bigaku." In Nihon ni okeru sei to shi no shisō. Edited by Tamura Yoshirō and Minamoto Tadaatsu. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1977.

Ozawa Masao. Heian no waka to kagaku. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979.

_____. Kodai kagaku no keisei. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1963.

_____. "Rokujō-ke no Kokinshū hihyō." Aichi kenritsu daigaku bungakubu ronshū, Kokubungaku hen 23 (December, 1972): 1-14.

_____. "Shunzei no Kokinshū hihyō." Setsurin 18 (December, 1969): 57-68.

_____. "Teika no Kokinshū hihyō." Aichi kenritsu daigaku bungakubu ronshū, Kokubungaku hen 22 (December, 1971): 60-82.

Ozawa Masao and Shimazu Tadao, eds. Kokin Shinkokin to sono shūhen. Tokyo: Daigakudō Shoten, 1972.

Ozawa Masao, Shimazu Tadao, Gotō Shigeo, and Higuchi Yoshimaro, eds. "Fukurozōshi" chūshaku. 2 vols. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1974-6.

Ozawa Tomio. Mappō to masse shisō. Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974.

Reishauer, Robert Karl. Early Japanese History. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937.

Royston, Clifton W. Jr. "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)." Ph.D dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974.

Royston, Clifton W. Jr. "Utaawase judgments as poetry criticism." Journal of Asian Studies 34 (November, 1974): 99-108.

Saeki Umetomo, ed. Kokin wakashū. Vol. 8 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971.

Saigyō. Saigyō "Sankashū" zen-chūkai. Edited by Watanabe Tamotsu. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1979.

_____. Saigyō zenkashū. Vol. 1: Sankashū. Edited by Kuwabara Hiroshi. Tokyo: Shitensha, 1981.

Sasaki Nobutsuna, Manyō jiten. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1941.

_____, ed. Nihon kagaku taikei. 15 vols. to date. (Vol. 10 - edited by Kyūsojin Hitaku.) Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1956 - .

Satō Michiko. "Joshi 'no' no sekai -- Shinkokinshū ni okeru bun'ei-teki ichi kōsatsu." Kokugo kokubun 30 (July, 1961): 10-34.

_____. "Teika no uta ni okeru genjitsu no kage -- 'koma tomete.'" Ōtani joshi daigaku kokubun 5 (March, 1971): 12-23.

Satō Tsuneo. "Ame sosoku." Nihon koten bungaku-kai kaihō 64 (February, 1979): 4.

_____. "Shinkokin-teki hyōgen no kiban to shite no Heianchō Kan-shi." Nihon bungaku 28 (June, 1979): 25-33. Included in Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō. Edited by Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō hozonkai. Tokyo: Kokugogaku ronsetsu shiryō hozonkai, 1981. 16, pt. 3: 502-506.

_____. "Shinkokin-teki hyōgen seiritsu no ichiyōso -- 'munashiki eda' 'tsuyu mo mada hinu.'" In Chūsei bungaku to waka: Minemura Fubito Hakase taikan kinen ronbunshū. Edited by Tokyo kyōiku daigaku chūsei bungaku kenkyūkai. Tokyo: Tokyo kyōiku daigaku chūsei bungaku kenkyūkai, 1978.

_____. "Teika Jien no Haku Shi Monjū juyō." Chūsei bungaku 18 (1973): 1-7.

Sawada Masako. "Genji monogatari ni okeru bi no seikaku -- chūsei no kajin no yū, en no biishiki to no kakawari ni tsuite." In Chūsei bungaku to waka: Minemura Fubito Hakase taikan kinen ronbunshū. Edited by Tokyo kyōiku daigaku chūsei bungaku kenkyūkai. Tokyo: Tokyo kyōiku daigaku chūsei bungaku kenkyūkai, 1978.

Seidensticker, Edward G., trans. The Tale of Genji. 2 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1976; reprint ed., Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1978.

Sekiguchi Shindai. Shikan no kenkyū. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975.

Sekine Yoshiko. "Heian kōki no shinkyū karon no tairitsu ni tsuite." Ochanomizu joshi daigaku jinbungaku kiyō 2 (December, 1951): 15-37.

_____. "Minamoto Shunrai no shinfū waka to Manyōshū." Kokugo to kokubungaku 27 (August, 1950): 18-26.

Sen Hideko. "Korai fūteishō shōshitsu no seikaku." Kokubungaku kenkyū 73 (March, 1981): 33-43.

Shibuya Torao. Chūsei "Manyōshū" kenkyū. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1967.

_____, ed. Utamakura nayose. 2 vols. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1977-9.

Shikishi Naishinnō. Shikishi Naishinnō zenkashū. Edited by Nishiki Hitoshi. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1982.

Shimazu Tadao. "Shinkokin kafū no keisei to Manyō-go Manyō-chō." In Kokin Shinkokin to sono shūhen. Edited by Ozawa Masao and Shimazu Tadao. Tokyo: Daigakudō, 1972.

Shinozaki Yukie. "Roppyakuban utaawase kadai kō." Kokubungaku kenkyū 78 (March, 1980): 56-67.

Shunzei kyō no musume. Shunzei kyō no musume zen kashū. Edited by Morimoto Motoko. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1966.

Suzuki Jun. "Teika 'hana mo momiji mo nakarikeri' no uta to sono kaishaku." Wakabungaku kenkyū 37 (September, 1977): 25-36.

Suzuki Mifuyu. "Koi no uta ni okeru Shinkokin kafū no keisei: Roppyaku-ban no koi no uta no kōsatsu." Kokugo to kokubungaku 53 (March, 1976): 25-37.

Tachikawa Yoshihiko. "Nushi sadamaranu koi." Kokugo kokubun 47 (June 1978): 1-24.

Tajiri Yoshinobu. "Shinkokinshū ni okeru shokusaikan." Wakabungaku kenkyū 8 (September, 1959): 18-23.

Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, Ōno Susumu, eds. Manyōshū. 4 vols. Vols. 4-7 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957.

Takagi Isao. "Saigyō no koi no ittan." (Toyō Daigaku bungakubu kiyō. kokubun hen) Bungaku ronsō 48 (December, 1973): 23-33.

Takeda Motoharu. Chūsei karon o meguru kenkyū. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1978.

_____. "Shunzei karon ni okeru yūgen ni tsuite." Ōtsuma joshi daigaku bungakubu kiyō 9 (March, 1977): 1-17.

Takeda Masao, ed. "Kokin wakashū" zen hyōshaku. 2 vols. Tokyo: Yūbun Shoin, 1976.

Takeshita Yutaka. "Kokin waka rokujō no Hitomaro-ka ni tsuite." Kokugo kokubun 43 (October, 1973): 38-60.

Takizawa Sadao. "Shinkokin jidai no makura koboba." Chūsei bungaku 12 (1967): 26-33.

_____. "Yōgo kara mita Manyōshū, Kokinshū, Shinkokinshū." Wakabungaku kenkyū 8 (September, 1959): 24-36.

_____, ed. "Senzaishū" sōsakuin. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976.

Takizawa Sadao, ed. "Shinkokinshū" sōsakuin. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1970.

_____, ed. "Shikawakashū" sōsakuin. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1972.

Tanaka Yutaka. Chūsei bungakuron kenkyū. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1969.

_____. "Koi no imeeji." Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 15 (October, 1968): 39-44.

_____. "Shinkokinshu to sono shūhen -- kafū no tokushitsu." In Kōza Nihon bungaku. Edited by Zenkoku daigaku kokugo kokubun gakkai. 14 vols. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1968-71. Vol. 5: Chūsei.

_____. "Teika ni okeru yojō yōen." Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 41 (June, 1976): 45-54.

Taniyama Shigeru. Taniyama Shigeru chosakushū. 5 vols. to date. Vol. 1: Yūgen; Vol. 2: Fujiwara Shunzei -- hito to sakuhin; Vol. 3: "Senzai wakashū" to sono shūhen; Vol. 4: Shinkokin jidai no utaawase to kadan; Vol. 5: "Shinkokinshū" to sono shūhen. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982- .

_____. Yūgen no kenkyū. Tokyo: Kyōiku Tosho, 1943; Reprinted as Taniyama Shigeru Chosakushū. vol. 1. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982.

Teramoto Naohiko. "Genji monogatari" juyō shi ronkō. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1970.

Tsuji Hikosaburō. Fujiwara no Teika "Meigetsuki" no kenkyū. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1977.

Tsuyuri Sakae. "Honkadori-kō." Kokugo kokubun 20 (July, 1950): 17-37.

Umeno Kimiko. En to sono shūhen: Heian bungaku no biteki goi no kenkyū. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979.

Usuda Shōgo, ed. Saigyō Hōshi zenkashū sōsakuin. Tokyo; Kasama Shoin, 1978.

Waka shi kenkyūkai. Shikashū taisei. 8 vols. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1973-6.

Watanabe Tamotsu, ed. Saigyō "Sankashū" zen chūkai. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1979.

Yamaguchi Michiko. "Shunzei kyō no musume to Teika -- kashū no sōkan o megutte." Ōtani joshi dai kokubun 2 (February, 1972): 14-35.

Yamagishi Tokuhei, ed. Genji monogatari. 5 vols. Vols. 14-18 of NKBT. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974.

Yamaguchi Hiroshi. Ōchō kadan no kenkyū. 4 vols. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1967-82.

Yamazaki Hideo. "Shinkokinshū no taigendome no shimo-ku kōzō." Aichi kenritsu joshi daigaku Setsurin (December, 1960): 1-16.

Yamazaki Toshio. Shinkokin shisetsu. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1976.

Yanai Shigeru. "Kyōgen kigokan ni tsuite, Haku Rakuten kara Yasutane e no kussetsu." Kokugo to kokubungaku 39 (April, 1962): 23-34.

Yanase Kazuo. Kamo no Chōmei no shinkenkyū. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1962.

_____. Shun'e kenkyū. Vol. 1 of Yanase Kazuo chosakushū. Tokyo: Katō Chūdōkan, 1977.

_____, ed. "Mumyōshō" zenkō. Tokyo: Katō Chūdōkan, 1980.

Yashima Shōji. "Shinkokin kafū no keisei no ichi sokumen -- koidai no henshitsu ni tsuite." Bungei to hihyō 2 (July, 1964): 56-76.

Yasuda Ayao. Fujiwara no Teika kenkyū. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1975.

Yoshioka Hiroshi. "Sakusha no iru fūkei." Musashino bungaku 14 (1967): 24-28.