"Classical Japanese Poetics Through Commentary" Edward Kamens

Selections:

1. Ki no Tsurayuki et al., "Kana Preface" from Kokin wakashū, ca. 905

Helen Craig McCullough, trans. Kokin wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985, pp. 3-13.

- 2. Fujiwara no Shunzei, "Poetic Styles from the Past (Korai fūteishō, 1197)"
- 3. "Poetry Matches (Uta-awase)" (10th-12th ce.)
- 4. Fujiwara no Teika, "Essentials of Poetic Composition (Eiga no taigai, ca. 1222)"

Haruo Shirane, ed., Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600. Columbia U. Press, 2007, pp.583-607.

[...and an additional excerpt from the "Poetry Contest in 1500 Rounds (Sengohyakuban utaawase)," 1202]

5. Motoori Norinaga, "My Personal View of Poetry" (Isonokami no sasamegoto, 1763)"

Haruo Shirane, ed., Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 611-13, 616-618



KANA PREFACE

song of the warbler among the blossoms, the voice of the frog dwelling in the water-these teach us that every living creature sings. It is song apanese poetry has the human heart as seed and myriads of words as leaves. It comes into being when men use the seen and the heard to give voice to feelings aroused by the innumerable events in their lives. The that moves heaven and earth without effort, stirs emotions in the invisble spirits and gods, brings harmony to the relations between men and women, and calms the hearts of fierce warriors.

Our poetry appeared at the dawn of creation.¹¹¹ But that which survives goes back to Shitateruhime⁽²⁾ in the eternal heavens and to Susanoo-no-mikoto on the ore-rich earth. In the era of the mighty gods, the number of syllables in a poem was unregulated and statements were When the human era began, Susanoo-no-mikoto introduced the thirty-one-syllable poem. (3) Thenceforth, conceptions and words became multifold and diverse as poets praised blossoms, admired birds, felt emotion at the sight of haze, and grieved over dew. As a long journey begins with grows from the dust and mud at its base to tower where heavenly clouds artless, so that it must have been difficult to grasp nuances of meaning. an initial step and continues for months or years, or as a high mountain trail, so too must it have been with poetry.

The Naniwazu poem was composed at the beginning of an imperial reign; (4) the Asakayama poem is a playful poem composed by a palace attendant (5) Those two are, as it were, the father and mother of poetry, he first lines we learn in calligraphy practice.

Now, there are six Japanese poetic styles. (No doubt the same is true of

x. Superscript figures in parentheses indicate translations of the notes of an anonymous early commentator; they appear at the end of this preface, p. 8. The other notes are mine.

naniwazu ni saku ya ko no hana fuyugomori ima wa harube to saku ya ko no hana Flowers on the trees in bloom at Naniwazu say, "Now the winter yields its place to the springtime!" Flowers blooming on the trees.

The second is the enumerative style [kazoeuta; C. fu]. It is illustrated in the poem below.

saku hana ni omoitsuku mi no ajiki nasa mi ni itazuki no iru mo shirazute What a foolish thrush! Enthralled by blossoming flowers, he has no knowledge of the arrow someone shoots to penetrate his body.⁽⁶⁾

The third is the figurative style [nazuraeuta; C. bi]. It is used in the poem below.

kimi ni kesa ashita no shimo no okite inaba koishiki goto ni kie ya wataramu If on this morning
you go your way and leave me
as frost leaves the sky,
will my spirit melt in grief
each time I long to see you? (7)2

The fourth is the metaphorical style [tatoeuta; C. xing]. It is used in the poem below.

wa ga koi wa yomu tomo tsukiji arisoumi no hama no masago wa yomitsukusu tomo If someone might count every tiny grain of sand on a rocky shore, he still could not reckon up the number of my yearnings. (8)

The fifth is the correct style [tadagotouta; C. ya]. It is used in the poem below.

itsuwari no naki yo nariseba ika bakari If this were a world in which there were no such thing as false promises, hito no koto no ha ureshikaramashi how great would be my delight as I listened to your words! (9)

The sixth is the eulogistic style [iwaiuta; C. song]. It is used in the poem below.

kono tono wa mube mo tomikeri sakikusa no mitsuba yotsuba ni tonozukuri seri Prosperous indeed
is this splendid mansion,
its tree-branching halls
lining up with three ridgepoles,
lining up with four ridgepoles.(10)

Because people nowadays value outward show and turn their minds toward frivolity, poems are mere empty verses and trivial words. The art of composition has become the province of the amorous, as unnoticed by others as a log buried in the earth; no longer can it be put forward in

public as freely as the miscanthus flaunts its tassels.

In the beginning, it was entirely different. Whenever there were flowery spring mornings or moonlit autumn nights, the Emperors of past generations summoned their attendants and commanded them to compose poems suitable to the occasion. Sometimes the poets strayed in unknown places, drawn by the blossoms; sometimes they groped in unfamiliar darkness, hoping to see the moon; and we may suppose that the Emperor understood which man was wise and which foolish when he perused their sentiments. Nor was the practice of the art restricted to such times. Men found comfort in composing poems in which they expressed wishes for a lord's long life or for patronage through comparisons with pebbles or allusions to Mount Tsukuba, or in which they gave voice to gratitude for favors beyond their stations or for benefactions that filled their hearts to overflowing, or in which they compared romantic passion to Mount Fuji's smoke, or yearned for friends at the sound of waiting-insects, or in which they thought of growing old in the company of the Takasago and Suminoe pines, or recalled past days when they were like Man Mountain, or sighed over the brief blossoming of the maidenflower.3 Likewise, they turned to poetry when they saw blossoms scattering on a spring morning, or heard leaves falling on an autumn evening, or lamented as the years brought snow and waves to the reflections in their mirrors, or recognized in dismay their resemblance to dew on the grass and foam on the water, or lost yesterday's prosperity, or were treated coldly by former intimates after falling on hard times, or linked their love to the waves at Matsuyama, or drank from field water, or gazed at the lower leaves of bush clover, or emulated the restlessness of the snipe beating his wings before

4. White hair and wrinkles.

^{2.} The translation follows a variant text that reads ga instead of ni in line 1. (See Matsuda Takeo, Shinshaku kokin wakashu, 2 vols., Tokyo, 1968-75, 1: 93.) A play on kiyu ("melt," "vanish"; "be distracted with grief") implicitly compares the speaker to frost.

^{3.} This sentence alludes to the following Kokinshū poems: 343, 1095, 865, 534, 200, 908, 905, 889, 1016.

dawn, or spoke to others of trials as numerous as the joints on black bamboo, or made reference to the Yoshino River to complain about the ephemerality of relations between the sexes. When people today hear that smoke no longer rises above Mount Fuji, or that the Nagara Bridge has been rebuilt, the poetry [of the past] is their sole consolation.

Poetry is thus of great antiquity, but it was not until the reign of the Nara Emperor that composition became widespread.7 (It may have happened because His Majesty was especially skilled in the art.) During that reign, there appeared a poetic genius called Kakinomoto Hitomaro of Senior Third Rank.* With such a poet in such a reign, there must have been a perfect union of Emperor and subject. To the Emperor's eyes, colored leaves, floating on the Tatsuta River of an autumn evening, resembled brocade; to Hitomaro's mind, cherry trees, blooming in the Yoshino Mountains on a spring morning, seemed exactly like clouds. There was another man, Yamanobe Akahito, who was also an extraordinary poet. It was impossible for Hitomaro to excel Akahito, or for Akahito to rank below Hitomaro.(11)

Other superior poets also became famous in each of the reigns that followed one another like the spaces between joints of black bamboo: they appeared as frequently as filaments are twisted to make thread. The poems that were composed earlier were brought together in the anthology known as Man'yōshū [Collection for a Myriad Generations].

Since then, one or two people have been acquainted with the poetry of antiquity and understood the true nature of the art, but even they have had weaknesses to detract from their virtues. More than 100 years have elapsed since that reign,10 and ten sovereigns have occupied the throne.

6. Nagara Bridge was a symbol of age.

8. Tsurayuki cannot have seriously believed that Senior Third Rank had been bestowed on an obscure figure like Hitomaro. He has probably transformed the poet into a senior bureaucrat and associated him with a shadowy Emperor in order to gain socially as well as artistically prestigious Japanese antecedents for the Six Dynasties style.

10. Almost certainly a reference to Emperor Heizei, even though "more than" is incor-

Not many people have known of the achievements of the past or been able to compose poetry of their own. We shall discuss the ones who have done so, omitting those of exalted rank and office as a matter of discretion.

Among well-known recent poets, Archbishop Henjo masters style but is deficient in substance. It is no more satisfying to read one of his poems than to fall in love with a woman in a picture. (12) The poetry of Ariwara Narihira tries to express too much content in too few words. It resembles a faded flower with a lingering fragrance.(13) Fun'ya no Yasuhide's language is skillful, but his style is inappropriate to his content. His poems are like peddlers tricked out in fancy costumes. (14) The language of the Ujiyama monk Kisen is veiled, leaving us uncertain about his meaning. Reading him is like trying to keep the autumn moon in sight when a cloud obscures it before dawn. (15) Since not many of his poems are known. we cannot study them as a group in order to evaluate him. Ono no Komachi belongs to the same line as Sotoorihime of old. Her poetry is moving and lacking in strength. It reminds us of a beautiful woman suffering from an illness. Its weakness is probably due to her sex. [16] The style of Otomo Kuronushi's poems is crude. They are like a mountain peasant resting under a flowering tree with a load of firewood on his back.(17)

We hear of many others - indeed, they proliferate like vines growing in a field and are as numerous as leaves in a grove—but they accept anything at all as a poem, apparently because they fail to understand the true

nature of poetry.

The four seasons have recurred nine times during His Majesty's reign. The wave of his all-encompassing benevolence flows beyond the outermost reaches of the Eight Islands;" the shelter of his boundless mercy is more grateful than the shade at the foot of Mount Tsukuba. He concerns himself with many matters when his innumerable state duties allow him leisure. Thus it happened that, desirous of preserving the memory of the past and of renewing what had grown old, and also having in mind both a personal inspection and a transmission to posterity, he addressed Major Private Secretary Ki no Tomonori, Mifumidokoro Librarian Ki no Tsurayuki, Former Kai Lesser Clerk Öshikochi Mitsune, and Right Gate Guards Aide Mibu no Tadamine and caused them to present him with old poems missing from Man'yōshū, and also with compositions of their own. The date was the Eighteenth of the Fourth Month in the fifth year of Engi [905]. At his command, selections were made from among those poems first, compositions dealing with plum blossoms worn on the head, followed by poems on hearing cuckoos, picking autumn leaves, and looking at snow; also poems in which masters were revered and friends congratulated with mentions of cranes and turtles; also poems in which the sight of autumn bush clover or summer grasses evoked nostalgia for a wife;

^{5.} References to poems such as KKS 71, 287, 460, 860, 827, 888, 892, 1093, 887, 220, 761, 958, and 828.

^{7.} The Nara Emperor is identified in an interlinear gloss as Monmu (r. 697-707). The subsequent mention of 100 years' having elapsed points rather to Heizei (r. 806-9), who is often called the Nara Emperor because he returned to the old capital after his abdication, but the references to Hitomaro and Akahito support the gloss. Lack of precise information concerning Man'yōshū and its date may be responsible for the ambiguity, but in this paragraph Tsurayuki (the presumed author) seems to be manipulating the facts in order to establish the antiquity of the Six Dynasties style in Japan. On the question of Tsurayuki's authorship of the preface, see Helen Craig McCullough, Brocade by Night: Kokin Wakashii and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry (Stanford, Calif., 1985), Chap. 5.

^{9.} As an interlinear note points out, Tsurayuki's meaning is unclear. His vagueness probably reflects his imperfect knowledge of Man'yōsbū and its authors.

rect. Daigo (r. 897-930), who commissioned Kokinshii, was the ninth Emperor after Heizei.

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also poems offering prayers to the travel gods at Ōsaka Mountain; also miscellaneous compositions unsuited to seasonal categories. In all, there are 1,000 poems and twenty books. The name Kokin wakashū [Collection of Early and Modern Japanese Poetry] has been chosen.

Thanks to this collection, poetry will survive as eternally as water flows at the foot of a mountain; thanks to the assembling of these poems in numbers rivaling the sands of a beach, there will be heard no complaints of the art's declining as pools in the Asuka River dwindle into shallows; there will be rejoicing for as long as a pebble takes to grow into

a mighty rock.12

We, the compilers, regret that our own compositions lack the beauty of spring flowers, and that our reputations, though they may have endured like an autumn night, are not grounded in solid achievement. We shrink before the ears of others and contemplate the art of poetry with humiliation. But whether we are sitting, or rising like a trailing cloud, or lying in bed, or getting up like a calling stag, there is never a time when we, Tsurayuki and the others, do not rejoice to have been born in this era and to have lived to see poetry receive official recognition. Hitomaro is dead, but poetry lives. Time may pass and circumstances may change, pleasures and sorrows may succeed one another, but these poems will endure. If this collection survives - if the length of its life is like a long green willow branch, if it is no more scattered and lost than are the needles of a pine tree, if it goes on and on like a vine, if it lingers like a bird's track, then those who understand the nature of poetry, and who have grasped the essence of things, will not fail to look up to the past as to the moon in the vast heavens, nor will they withhold their affectionate regard from our own times.

KANA PREFACE: INTERPOLATED NOTES

(1). This refers to the poetry chanted when the female and male deities married below the heavenly floating bridge. [See Donald Philippi, tr., Kojiki, Tokyō,

1968, pp. 49-50.]

(2). Shitateruhime was the wife of Amewakamiko. The reference is probably to the rustic songs in which she sang of hills and valleys lighted up by her divine elder brother's beauty. Those songs are irregular; they do not resemble waka. [See W. G. Aston, tr., Nihongi, London, 1956, part 1, p. 75.]

(3). Susanoo-no-mikoto was the elder brother of the divine Amateru. As he was building a palace in the land of Izumo, intending to live there with his wife,

he saw an eight-colored cloud hovering over the spot. He recited:

yakumo tatsu tsumagome ni

A manifold fence I build, a manifold fence to shut in a wife,

izumo yaegaki

12. Allusions to KKS 933 and KKS 343.

yaegaki tsukuru sono yaegaki o

Izumo manifold fence, Where manifold clouds rise high.

[See Aston, part 1, p. 53. Yakumo, interpreted by lexicographers and other scholars as "many-layered cloud(s)," was apparently thought by the commentator to mean "eight-colored cloud."]

(4). When the Osasagi Emperor [Nintoku] was a Prince at Naniwazu, he and his brother tried to cede the title of Crown Prince to one another, and for three years neither would ascend the throne. A man named Wani, who had been concerned about the situation, composed and submitted the poem. "Flowers on the trees" probably means plum blossoms. [See Aston, part 1, pp. 272-76. The poem

appears in the text below.]

(5). When Prince Kazuraki [unidentified] was sent to Michinoku, he complained that a certain provincial official was treating him shabbily, and remained our of sorts even when offered a repast. A woman who had once been a palace attendant mollified him by taking up the wine bowl and reciting that poem. [The commentator's note is paraphrased from the one following MYS 3807, the poem in question: asakayama/ kage sae miyuru/ yama no i no/ asaki kokoro o/ wa ga omowanaku ni (The love I bear you/ is not like the shallow pool,/ mountain spring water/holding the mirrored image/ of Mount Asaka itself).]

(6). The style meant here is straightforward and nonmetaphorical. Why is this poem cited? The [poem's] meaning is obscure. The poem cited under the fifth

sryle, tadagoto, would be appropriate.

(7). This style uses comparison: "This resembles that," The illustrative poem does not seem to be very appropriate. One like the following might be better.

tarachine no ova no kau ko no mayukomori ibuseku mo aru ka imo ni awazute

Unable to meet the maiden whom I adore. I find life as dark as do my mother's silkworms, enshrouded in their cocoons.

[MYS 2291]

(8). In this style, the poer reveals his meaning by speaking of all kinds of plants, trees, birds, and animals. The illustrative poem contains no concealed element whatever. But since the style would appear to be indistinguishable from the first [soeuta] style [in that both are metaphorical], there must be a slight formal difference. Perhaps the poem below might be an appropriate example.

suma no ama no shio yaku keburi kaze o itami omowanu kata ni tanabikinikeri

Yielding to the gale, it has drifted to a place I never dreamed ofthe smoke rising from salt fires tended by Suma seafolk. [KKS 708]

(9). This style is one in which there is order and correctness in affairs. The illustrative poem is completely inappropriate. It might perhaps be called a tomeuta [meaning unknown].

> yamazakura aku made iro o mitsuru ka na

This is an epoch in which no stormy winds blow to scatter the flowers,

hana chirubeku mo kaze fukanu yo ni and thus I have gazed my fill
at the wild cherry's color.
[Shokukks 104]

(10). In the eulogistic style, the poet praises the reign and makes announ ments to the deities. The illustrative poem does not seem to use the style.

kasugano ni wakana tsumitsutsu yorozuyo o iwau kokoro wa kami zo shituramu The gods must know well
the feelings with which I pray,
"Ten thousand long years"
as I pluck the tender shoots
on the plain of Kasuga. [KKS 357

Might such a poem as this be somewhat appropriate? In general, it seems imposible to divide [Japanese poetry] into six categories.

(11). A poem by the Nara Emperor:

tatsutagawa momiji midarete nagarumeri wataraba nishiki naka ya taenamu Were one to cross it,
the brocade might break in two colored autumn leaves
floating in random patterns
on the Tatsura River. [KKS 28;

By Hitomaro:

ume no hana sore to mo miezu hisakata no amagiru yuki no nabete furereba We cannot derect
the flowering plum tree's blossoms,
for white flakes of snow
flutter to earth everywhere,
obscuring the lofty skies. [KKS 33.

honobono to akashi no ura no . asagiri ni shimagakureyuku fune o shi 20 omou In dawn's first dim light,
my thoughts follow a small boat
going island-hid
through the morning fog and mist
at Akashi-no-ura. [KKS 40

By Akahito:

haru no no ni sumire tsumi ni to koshi ware so no o natsukashimi hitoyo nenikeru Although I had come
visiting the spring meadow
just to pick violets,
the meadow would not let me go,
and I slept there the night through.
[MYS 142

wakanoura ni shio michikureba kata o nami ashihe o sashite tazu nakiwataru There is no dry beach
when the tide comes flooding in
at Wakanoura Bay,
and thus the cranes fly calling
toward the place where tall reeds;
[MYS 9:

[The first three attributions are questionable.]

(12). [Poems by Henjō:]
asamidori
ito yorikakete
shirarsuyu o
tama ni mo nukeru
haru no yanagi ka

It twists together
leafy threads of tender green
and fashions jewels
by piercing clear, white dewdrops—
the willow tree in springtime.

[KKS 27]

hachisuba no nigori ni shimanu kokoro mote nani ka wa tsuyu o tama to azamuku How puzzling it seems that lotus leaves untainted by impurity should nonetheless deceive us, displaying dewdrops as gems.

[KKS 165]

Composed when he fell off his horse at Sagano:

na ni medete oreru bakari zo ominaeshi ware ochiniki to hito ni kataru na I have but plucked you, maidenflower, because I like the sound of your name. Please do not say to others that I fall away from my vows.

[KKS 226]

(13). [Poems by Narihira:]
tsuki ya aranu
haru ya mukashi no
haru naranu
wa ga mi hitotsu wa
moto no mi ni shite

Is this not the moon? and is this not the springtime, the springtime of old? Only this body of mine the same body as before...

[KKS 747]

[KKS 879]

õkata wa tsuki o mo medeji kore zo kono tsumoreba hito no oi to naru mono

As a general thing,
I take but little pleasure
in praising the moon.
Does not its every circuit
bring declining years closer?

nenuru yo no yume o hakanami madoromeba iya hakana ni mo narimasaru ka na Grieved that last night's dream should have ended so soon,
I try to doze off—
and now with what poignancy its evanescence strikes home!
[KKS 644]

(14). [Poems by Yasuhide:] fuku kara ni aki no kusaki no shiorureba

The plants of autumn droop and wither at its touch – that explains, of course,

mube yamakaze o arashi to iuramu

kyō ni ya wa aranu

why a wind from the mountains has come to be called a storm.

[KKS 249]

Composed on the death anniversary of the Fukakusa Emperor [Ninmyō]: kusa fukaki kasumi no tani ni kage kakushi teru hi no kureshi

Today marks a year since the shining sun darkened, hiding its radiance in a haze-shrouded valley overgrown with tall grasses.

[KKS 846]

(15). [A poem by Kisen:] wa ga io wa miyako no tatsumi shika zo sumu yo o ujiyama to hito wa iu nari

Thus I live in a cell southeast of the capital. The Mountain of Grief it is called, they say, by those who find this life hard to bear. [KKS 983]

(16). [Poems by Komachi:] omoitsutsu nureba ya hito no mietsuramu yume to shiriseba samezaramashi o

Did you come to me because I dropped off to sleep tormented by love? If I had known I dreamed, I would not have awakened.

[KKS 552]

iro miede utsurou mono wa yo no naka no hito no kokoro no hana ni zo arikeru

So much I have learned: the blossom that fades away, its color unseen, is the flower in the heart of one who lives in this world. [KKS 797]

wabinureba mi o ukikusa no ne o taete sasou mizu araba inamu to zo omou-

In this forlorn state I find life dreary indeed: if a stream beckoned. I would gladly cut my roots and float away like duckweed. [KKS 938]

A poem by Sotoorihime:

wa ga seko ga kubeki yoi nari sasagani no kumo no furumai kanete shirushi mo

I know in advance from the acts of this spider like a tiny crab: tonight is surely a night when my beloved will come. [KKS IIIO] (17). [Poems by Kuronushi:]

omoiidete koishiki toki wa hatsukari no nakite wataru to hito wa shirazu ya

Do you not know itthat when my longing wells us I walk by your house, crying like the passing geese, the first wild geese of aurumn? [KK\$ 735]

[The last line in KKS 735 reads: hito shirurame ya.]

kagamiyama iza tachiyorite mite yukamu toshi henuru mi wa oi va shinuru to

Before going on, let me stop by Mirror Mountain to inspect myself: have I become an old man after living all these years? [KKS 899] koe ni odoroku

toshi takete

omoiki ya

mata koyubeshi to

Sayononaka yama

practices in the eastern provinces.

inochi narikeri

kaze ni nabiku

sora ni kiete

Fuji no keburi no

yukue mo shiranu

waga omoi kana

natsu no hirubushi

SHINKOKINSHŪ, TRAVEL, NO. 987

Composed when going to the eastern provinces.

SHINKOKINSHŪ, MISCELLANEOUS, NO. 1613

On Mount Fuji, composed when carrying out religious

selection 2

THE KAMAKURA PERIOD 583

SHINKOKINSHŪ, MISCELLANEOUS, NO. 1536

fuke ni keru

As I ponder

waga yo no kage o

my waning shadow

omou ma ni haruka ni tsuki no

of life far gone, in the distance

katabuki ni keri

the moon sets.24

 $shinkokinshar{u}$, buddhist poems, no. 1978

On looking at one's heart.

yami harete

Darkness dispels,

kokoro no sora ni

and the moon shining clear

sumu tsuki wa

in my heart's sky now seems to near

nishi no yamabe ya chikaku naruramu

the western hills.25

[Introduction and translations by Jack Stoneman]

FUJIWARA NO SHUNZEI

Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114–1204), also known by the alternative reading of Fujiwara no Toshinari, was the third son of Toshitada, a provisional junior counselor (gon-chūnagon) who died when Shunzei was ten years old. His mother was the daughter of Atsuie, the governor of Iyo. In his youth, Shunzei was the governor of Mimasaka, Kaga, and other provinces, but in his middle years, his bureaucratic career stalled, eventually leading to his decision to take vows at the age of sixty-three and assume the Buddhist name of Shakua. After taking vows, he was supported by Kujō Kanezane, of the regental family, and concentrated on reviving his family fortunes through poetry.

According to an episode recounted in Kamo no Chōmei's Mumyōshō, when

wakes me from my

Did I ever imagine

in my old age?

Such is life!

I would make this pass again

Sayononaka Mountain.22

Trailing in the wind.

destination unknown,

just like my own thoughts!23

Fuii's smoke

fades into the sky

summer afternoon nap.21

^{21.} This is the first of a series of thirteen poems written by Saigyō late in life. It is thought that they were composed shortly after his second trip to Michinoku, around 1188. They are unusually playful and colloquial in tone and are thus called tawabure uta (playful poems). Some commentators believe, however, that these play poems contain deeper Buddhist connotations and that this poem in particular describes a moment of awakening analogous to enlightenment.

^{22.} Sayononaka Mountain, in present-day Shizuoka Prefecture, was a difficult pass along the Eastern Sea Road. This poem was composed on Saigyo's second trip to Michinoku and refers to his amazement at being able to cross Sayononaka some forty years after his first trip. The key to the poem lies in the fourth line, translated here as "Such is life!" Inochi refers to the poet's life or lifespan, but it can also mean "fate" or "destiny." Long life is remarkable when one assumes that life is fleeting and insubstantial.

^{23.} Nabiku (trailing), keburi (smoke), yukue mo shiranu (destination unknown), and omoi (thoughts/longing) all are words traditionally used in love poems. The hi of omo(h)i also suggests fire (hi). Mount Fuji was long a symbol of smoldering passion. Hence, this poem is placed in the love section of Saigyō shōninshū, but it is placed in the miscellany category of the Shinkokinshū, and most commentators go out of their way to deemphasize the love imagery. According to Saigyō's friend Jien, Saigyō himself considered this perhaps his best poem (jisanka), and it has received critical and popular acclaim. The nexus of meaning is thought to be in the word omohi. In a traditional love poem, these "thoughts" would imply a lover or longing. The first half of the poem, while suggesting love imagery, can also be interpreted as funerary, with the image of smoke fading away suggesting the smoke of a funeral pyre. The death imagery suggests that it is not only his thoughts but also himself that is trailing toward extinction, or nirvana. "Destination unknowo" is a pivot phrase that modifies both the smoke and the poet's thoughts.

^{24.} Fuke ni keru is generally used to mean night or autumn "growing deep." It can also mean "growing old." Saigyō puns on the word yo, which can mean "one's life" as well as "night." Kage can mean "shadow" or "one's physical form" (or face). If we take yo to be one's lifetime, then kage would be the accumulation of one's life experiences. If we take ma to be a moment, this becomes a sudden awakening to the reality of old age. If we take ma to be a period of time, we can imagine the poet pondering his long life throughout the night, only to notice that in the meantime the moon has begun to set.

^{25.} The topic of this poem is kanjin (looking at one's heart)—that is, meditation on the heart and self-realization. Often in Buddhist discourse, the heart is compared to a mirror that, when clear and unspotted, is able to reflect the full bright moon, a symbol of the Buddha and the Buddhist law. The darkness is that of attachment and sin. The "western hills" symbolize the Western Paradise of Amida Buddha. This poem was chosen as the final entry in the Shinkokinshū, occupying a privileged position.

the poet.

ikue koekinu mine no shirakumo I crossed one mountain after another-

chirakumo white clouds on the peaks.26

SHINKOKINSHŪ, SPRING 2, NO. 114

mata ya min

Will I ever again

Katano no mino no sakuragari

seek cherry blossoms in the royal fields of Katano?

hana no yuki chiru

Flowers of falling snow,

haru no akebono

early dawn in spring.27

SHINKOKINSHÜ, SUMMER, NO. 201

mukashi omou

Mountain cuckoo.

kusa no iori no yo no ame ni

add no tears to the rain that falls on this hut of grass

namida na soe so

where I long tonight

yamahototogisu

for the past.28

In the middle of a career that spanned most of the twelfth century, Shunzei came into his own in his fifties as a strong competitor of Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-1177), head of the Rokujō family, which was highly conservative and stressed the study of the ancient period. In 1188, at the age of seventy-five, Shunzei was commissioned to serve as the sole compiler of the Senzaishū, an event that consolidated his eminence as leader of the world of court poetry and enabled him to establish his Mikohidari house as the dominant poetry family in the service of the imperial household, against any remaining competition from the Rokujō family. Shunzei did his most influential work as a teacher and scholar in his last ten years, serving as a judge for the noted Poetry Match in Six Hundred Rounds (Roppyakuban uta-awase) and writing Poetic Styles from the Past (Korai fūteishō, 1197), which explains his mature views of poetry. Among his many disciples were several major Shinkokinshū poets, including Priest Jakuren, Princess Shokushi, Fujiwara no Ietaka, his eponymous adopted daughter (known only as Daughter of Shunzei), and his son Fujiwara no Teika. Seventy-two of his poems were included in the Shinkokinshū.

asked about his "Seeing an Image of Cherry Blossoms" (Omokage ni hana no

sugata) poem and his "As Evening Approaches" (Yū sareba nobe) poem, Shun-

zei noted that the first could not be compared with the second. The first embodied the refined and elegant aesthetics of poetry up through the $Shikash\bar{u}$

(1151-1154), the sixth imperial waka anthology. But the second poem drew on a much earlier classical text (The Tales of Ise), creating a double image of both

the present and a fictional past. This image, in turn, created a new kind of

poetry and poetic world that was manifested in the Senzaishū (1183), the seventh

imperial anthology of waka, which includes this poem, and later in the Shin-

kokinshū (1205), the eighth imperial anthology. For Shunzei, the essence of

poetry was not the rhetoric or the novelty of the conception but the hidden depths (yūgen) that derived from rhythm and sound. Like many of the poets in

this period, Shunzei wrote on fixed topics for public occasions, which meant

composing on the established associations of the topic, but at the same time he

tried to revive the subjectivity (emotional position and personal perspective) of

SELECTED POEMS

SHINCHOKUSENSHŪ, SPRING 1, NO. 57

Composed when the retired emperor Sutoku made a royal visit to Konoe Palace and announced the topic of "traveling afar to see mountain flowers."

omokage ni

Seeing an

hana no sugata o

image of cherry blossoms

sakidatete

ahead of me

26. The poet, who travels over one mountain after another, keeps "seeing" the cherry blossoms in his mind's eye and "seeing" them ahead in the form of the white clouds on the peak. The weariness of a journey has apparently caused him almost to hallucinate. If the white clouds are peaks that he has already crossed, they suggest the disappointment of passing peaks that were snow-capped rather than covered with cherry blossoms. The poem has a nominal ending, a characteristic of poetry of this period.

27. The verse breaks after the first and third measures and ends in a nominal, creating a fragmentary poem. The poem takes up the theme of age and impermanence, implying that the poet will not have the opportunity to enjoy this beauty again. The line "early dawn in spring" (harn no akebono) comes from the opening of Sei Shōnagon's Pillow Book, implying the most beautiful aspect of spring. The second and third measures recall The Tales of Ise, sec. 82, when Prince Koretaka goes to Katano, to the Nagisa-no-in, a place noted for cherry blossoms, together with his friends, including Narihira, to enjoy the cherry blossoms, drink wine, and compose poems, one of which was "It is because they fall soon that the cherry blossoms are so admired. What can stay long in this fleeting world?" (pp. 198–200). Through the allusion, Shunzei places himself in the position of Narihira and his companions, who wonder whether they will ever again be with Prince Koretaka, who subsequently encountered misfortune. Shunzei composed the poem at a poetry party hosted by the aristocrat and poet Fujiwara no Yoshitsune in 1195, when Shunzei was eighty-two years old.

28. Shunzei composed this on the topic "Cuckoo" (hototogisu) for a hundred-poem sequence (hyakushu) sponsored by Fujiwara no Kanezane, minister of the right, in 1178. In the waka tradition, the mountain cuckoo lives in the hills and visits the capital in the Fifth Month, implying that the grass hut is in the hills and that the rains are the long, melancholy rains of summer. The mood of unbearable loneliness is further developed by an allusion to a famous verse in the Wakan rōeishū (no. 555), in which Bo Juyi compares his present situation, as an official who has retired to Mount Lu, with that of his three friends, who still are flourishing in government: "While flowers bloom at the Orchid Bureau, you bask beneath brocade curtains. On Mount Lu a night of rain here in my thatched hut." The lines ". . . I long tonight for the past" refer to Bo Juyi's thoughts of a happier time and also to the author's memory of his days at the imperial court. Two years earlier, in 1176, Shunzei, after falling seriously ill, had taken holy yows and assumed the Buddhist name of Shakua.

SENZAISHÜ, AUTUMN 1, NO. 250

yū sareba

As evening approaches

nobe no akikaze

the autumn wind over the field

mi ni shimite uzura naku nari pierces my body a quail cries

Fukakusa no sato

in the deep grass of Fukakusa.29

SHINKOKINSHŪ, LOVE 2, NO. 1107

Sent to a woman on a rainy day.

omoiamari

When I gaze off toward your skies,

sonata no sora o nagamureba

unable to bear the longing,

kasumi o wakete

the spring rain falls,

harusame zo furu

parting the mist.30

SENZAISHŪ, MISCELLANEOUS, NO. 1148

While composing poems for a one-hundred-poem collection on personal grievances, he composed the following on the topic "deer":

yo no naka yo

Ah, this world! No way beyond:

michi koso πakare omoiiru

even entering deep hills

yama no oku ni mo

where my thoughts would dwell,

shika zo naku naru

I hear the deer crying . . . 31

POETIC STYLES FROM THE PAST (KORAI FÜTEISHÖ, 1197)

Poetic Styles from the Past was written by Shunzei toward the end of his long career. It is generally assumed that he offered the text to Princess Shokushi (also called Shikishi) in 1197. The first volume begins with a general introduction that is followed by a history of waka from the ancient period to the Senzaishū (1187). The second volume begins with another general statement on the essence of waka that is followed by poetry chosen from the seven imperial anthologies starting with the Kokinshū through the Senzaishū.³²

When Shunzei speaks here of the "heart" (kokoro) of a poet, he is referring to the heart of many poetic predecessors, who composed with a communal heart/mind (kokoro). According to Shunzei, to enter into the path of poetry is to participate in this communal mind, which he explains by drawing on Calm and Contemplation (Mohe zhiguan; J. Maka shikan), a major treatise by the Chinese Buddhist thinker Zhiyi (Chigi, 538-597). In turn, Calm and Contemplation explains how the Buddha transmitted the dharma, the Buddhist law, from individual to individual. Shunzei then describes how poetry—and implicitly the communal memory—was passed down from generation to generation. Instead of listing famous poets, Shunzei recounts the major poetic anthologies: the Man'yōshū, Kokinshū, Gosenshū, and Shūishū. The Kana Preface to the Kokinshū notes that poetry comes from the seed of the heart. Shunzei, by contrast, states that poetry comes from the poetic heart that exists in the "original heart" (moto no kokoro), and he implies that aesthetic sensibility is created, preserved by, and passed on through poetry. Poetry thus actively creates the world of sensibility.

Shunzei draws on Tendai thought for two purposes: to explain the notion of the transmission of poetry and to explain that the ways of poetry and of the Buddhist law are one and the same. Both points work against the doctrine that poetry is kyōgen kigo (wild words and decorative phrases), arguing that poetry shares many of the characteristics of Buddhism: the transmission of the holy truth (through the poetic anthologies), a reverence for the way (of poetry), the difficulty of explaining the deeper meaning (of the poem), the importance of meditation (of calm-and-contemplation) in understanding the depths of poetry, and the recognition that the way of poetry and the way of the Buddha are one and the same.

Shunzei also implicitly invokes the Three Truths (Santai): emptiness $(k\bar{u})$, provisionality (ke), and the middle way $(ch\bar{u})$, a paradigm acknowledging the coexistence of emptiness and provisionality and the transcendence of both. He uses these to

^{29.} Fukakusa (literally, "deep grass") is the name of a secluded village to the south of Kyoto. In a footnote to this poem in the Jichin oshō jika-awase (1190-1199), Shunzei notes that the quail refers to the woman in Fukakusa village in The Tales of Ise, sec. 123, in which the man is moved by the woman's poem and decides to remain (pp. 202-203). The allusion suggests that the speaker in Shunzei's poem is the woman who has grown weary of waiting for her lover, that the cry of the quail is that of the abandoned woman, and that the grass has grown deep as a result of the man's neglect. The autumn wind penetrates the body not only of the speaker but of the abandoned woman.

^{30.} The headnote to this poem in Chōshū eisō, Shunzei's personal poetry collection, notes: "During the spring, sent to the residence of a woman for whom I longed." Shunzei apparently cannot visit his love. He can only look in her direction, but the view is blocked by the misty spring rain. The landscape becomes a projection of the apparent social barrier and a metaphor for the speaker's melancholy.

^{31.} This poem is a lament (jukkai) about one's own misfortune. In 1140 or 1141, when Shunzei was still young, around twenty-six or twenty-seven, he had difficulty rising in the bureaucracy.

The first two lines—"Ah, this world! No way beyond"—were interpreted in the medieval period to mean that the government was not in proper order, but the poem is probably better read as a personal lament, of "not having a way to live in the world." Finding the world unbearable, the speaker retreats to the mountains, but even in the mountains, there seems to be no escape from suffering: the mountful cries of the deer echo the speaker's feelings about the world.

^{32.} The seven imperial waka anthologies are the Kokinshū (905), Gosenshū (951), Shūishū (1005–1007), Goshūishū (1086), Kinyōshū (1127), Shikashū (1151–1154), and Senzaishū (1187).

advocate his own position, that poetry should not be regarded as dualistic, as consisting of only kokoro (meaning) and kotoba (diction), but should achieve the ideal of combining deep meaning and beautiful words. Although kokoro and kotoba are distinct, the ultimate goal—the middle way—is sugata, the poetic style or verbal expression, which emerges from both kokoro and kotoba and transcends the duality of the two.

The origins of Japanese poetry³³ are distant, and the history of its transmission is long.³⁴ Ever since the age of the powerful gods, when poetry became the art of this land, its expressions have encompassed the six modes,³⁵ and its words have flourished for myriad generations.³⁶ In the well-known words of the *Kana* Preface to the *Kokinshū*, the songs of Japan take the human heart as their seed and flourish as myriad leaves of words. As a result, whether we seek out the cherry blossoms of spring or view the tinted leaves of autumn, if we did not have what is called poetry, no one would know the color or the scent.³⁷ What would we have for an original heart?³⁸ For this reason, our emperors, one generation after another, have not abandoned poetry, and the members of various clans have never stopped competing to show their appreciation of poetry.

In the past as now, whether it is poetry rulebooks, poetic treatises, or collections of poetic diction,³⁹ the recording of famous places in poetry, or attempts to clarify ambiguities, one house after another has eagerly recorded these texts. Therefore, even though the contents seem to be the same, these texts have appeared in the world in great numbers. But when it comes to the style and diction [sugata kotoba]⁴⁰ of this poetry, it is difficult to distinguish the good

or characterize the bad. It is extremely difficult to explain, and those who understand are few in number.

Well, then, at the beginning of that text entitled Calm and Contemplation, ⁴¹ a person called Master Zhangan wrote, "The clarity and tranquillity of calmand-contemplation is beyond anything known to previous generations." ⁴² Having heard that, I have come to realize the limitlessness of its depths and its profound meaning and admire it greatly. In the same way, I have attempted to understand the good, the bad, and the depth of poetry—all of which has been difficult to describe in words. But I believe that it is possible to understand it by comparing it with calm-and-contemplation.

A passage in Calm and Contemplation makes clear the process by which the Buddha transmitted the dharma, the law of the Buddha, and informs us just how the way of the dharma has been passed down to the present. The great enlightened one, Shakyamuni, passed the dharma to Kasyapa, who, in turn, transmitted it to Ananda. It was passed down in this fashion from teacher to disciple through twenty-three people. When we hear about the manner in which this law was passed down, we cannot help but feel great reverence. Japanese poetry has similarly been passed down from the distant past, and things called anthologies were compiled, and these enable us to attain a deep grasp of the forms of poetry, beginning with that in the Man'yōshū and continuing through that in the Kokinshū, Gosenshū, Shūishū, and on down.

But the way of the Buddha as propounded by Shakyamuni has profound meaning, whereas poetry resembles the frivolity of floating words and specious phrases. But the depth of things manifests itself here, and through this connection, poetry has led people to the way of the Buddha. Since the suffering caused by attachment is nothing other than enlightenment, the Lotus Sutra states that "if a non-Buddhist classical text advocates doing something that helps one to live, that is following the proper path of the Buddha." The Fugen

^{33.} Yamato uta, as opposed to Chinese poetry.

^{34.} The opening to the Korai fūteishō draws on the Kana Preface to the Kokinshū, which describes the history of the genre and outlines the "six modes" (sama) of poetic expression.

^{35.} This echoes the "six modes" (sama) mentioned in the Kana Preface to the Kokinshū, which, in turn, derives from the six modes in the Great Preface to the Book of Songs.

^{36.} That is, the waka tradition never dies.

^{37.} The "color" and "scent"—that is, the beauty of the autumn leaves and flowers, which represent nature and the seasons in classical Japanese poetry.

^{38.} Shunzei uses the term "original heart" (moto no kokoro), which suggests the term hon'i, or the poetic essence of a topic based on poetic or literary precedent. Shunzei describes two kinds of hearts (kokoro). The first is found in the preface to the Kokinshū: the emotions of this heart, which reacts to the world, grow into the words of the poem. The second heart is the original heart, a subjective state that sees and grasps the world as created by poetry. Shunzei implies that without poetry, we would not recognize or know how to react to the beauties of nature.

^{39.} Shiki (poetic rule books), zumō (poetic treatises), and utamakura (collections of poetic words).

^{40.} Sugata indicates the style or expressive form of the poem. According to Shunzei's poetic judgments, sugata is the rhythm that emerges from the fusion of kokoro and kotoba. As related to kotoba (diction), sugata stresses the flow of the words; as related to kokoro (meaning or content), sugata stresses conceptualization.

^{41.} The opening line of Calm and Contemplation (Maka shikan), based on the lectures of the Chinese Buddhist thinker Zhiyi (Chigi, 538-597) and transcribed by his disciple Zhang'an (J. Shōan, 561-632). In shikan (calm-and-contemplation), the shi is the meditational act through which confused and random perception is brought to a stop. This stoppage is made possible through contemplation (kan).

^{42.} Before the existence of the Tendai school.

^{43.} Kasyapa (J. Kayō) and Ananda (J. Anan) are two of the ten disciples of Shakyamuni.

^{44.} Poetic style/expression (sugata/kotoba) and implicitly the "original heart" (moto no kokoro) are passed down by poetic anthologies such as the Man'yōshū and the Kokinshū. The Kokinshū, Gosenshū, and Shūishū are the Three Anthologies (Sandaishū), the first of the imperial waka anthologies.

^{45.} Fugen kigyo (floating words and specious phrases), a variation on kyōgen kigo (wild words and decorative phrases), represents the negative Buddhist view of literature as deceptive and causing sin.

^{46.} The depth of things in which the way of poetry and the way of the Buddha merge.

Bodhisattva Sutra⁴⁷ states, "What should be called sin? What should be called fortune? There is nothing inherent in things that makes them either good or bad. The mind by its very nature is empty." Thus when I speak of the depth of the way of poetry, I speak of it in terms of the Three Truths, of emptiness, the provisional, and the middle way.⁴⁸

In attempting to speak of the positive aspect of poetry, Lord Kintō, the major counselor of the Fourth Ward, called his collection the Collection of Golden Jewels, ⁴⁹ and in the preface to the Goshūishū, it appears that Lord Michitoshi said, "Its words [kotoba] are like brocade; its meaning [kokoro] is deeper than the ocean." Although poetry is not always like a brocade, if you read poetry aloud and recite it to a rhythm, it will sound both elegant [en] and moving [aware]. Poetry was originally something to be recited aloud, and so, depending on the voice, it can sound good or bad.

In regard to the preceding, over the years, I have wanted, in one way or another, to express this. But even though I have felt these things in my heart, it was difficult to put them in words; and even though I have thought about this, it has been difficult to speak of it; and thus time has passed.

But now a certain exalted personage, 51 having profoundly understood the way of Japanese poetry, stated, "One says that the style [sugata] of the poetry is fine or that the words are beautiful. With regard to what kind of poems does one say this? About composing poems in general, even if the words are as long—as the fisherfolk's cord, please gather them like seaweed and offer them to me."

That personage inquired out of a true knowledge of the way of poetry, just as the woodcutters know the part of Tsukuba Mountain thick with trees and the fisherfolk know the bottom of the ocean. The people of the world believe only that one should simply compose a poem spontaneously and do not think about looking into it deeply. But understanding the depth of this poetic path, even if one parts the forest of words and dips into the sea of brushes, remains difficult. Therefore I have collected the best poems from the early period, beginning with those in the Man'yōshū; from the middle period, in the Kokinshū, Gosenshū, and Shūishū; and from the recent period, in the Goshūishū. As the times change, so too do the styles [sugata] and the diction [kotoba]. These changes appear in successive generations of anthologies. I have decided to record a small part of that.

Although it is difficult to speak of the style and meaning of Japanese poetry, I have drawn analogies with the Buddhist path and referred to Buddhist scripture. One may write for one's own personal needs, but when writing for a person of high status, the text should be felicitous, drawing years from the everlasting bamboo and pine and stretching out life with the crane and the turtle. No doubt some will criticize me, but since I do not have much longer to live-no longer than the fragile dew on the weeds—I cannot wait for tomorrow. I devote myself to the sound of the waves on the bay of Japanese poetry, dye my heart with the color of the pines at Suminoue, sway in the direction of the smoke at Shioya,53 and gather the weeds in the bay.54 But I wonder whether what I have done for the way of poetry may in fact be detrimental. While the traces of my brush remain and I am still alive, I will naturally put my heart into poetry; and those colleagues who criticize me as well as those who follow my path of poetry, after a spring of ten thousand generations and an autumn of a thousand years, will—owing to the deep meaning of Japanese poetry—awaken to the inexhaustibility of the Buddhist scriptures, attain the karmic ties to be reborn in paradise, and be saved by the Fugen Bodhisattva's vow. Instead of being a sin, as Bo Juyi thought, the composition of poetry will become a means of praising the Buddha, of listening to the Buddhist law, of being reborn in the land of the Amida Buddha, and of saving all living creatures in this world of suffering and samsara.

During the middle of the Seventh Month of the eighth year of Kenkyū (1197), the evening wind near my grass hut is cool; my sleeves of moss are thick with

^{47.} Kan-fugen-gyō (Scripture on the Practice of the Contemplation of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra) is a sutra that expands on the teachings of the Lotus Sutra.

^{48.} Shunzei here introduces the Three Truths (Santai), or $k\bar{u}$ -ge- $ch\bar{u}$ (emptiness, the provisional, the middle way), advocated by Tendai Buddhism. The first truth is $k\bar{u}$ (emptiness), that all phenomena are empty of self, that nothing is unconditional or independent. The second truth is ke (the provisional), that all phenomena exist provisionally. The third truth is the middle way $(ch\bar{u})$, which is the recognition of the codependence of $k\bar{u}$ and ke, of the empty and the provisional. The world is empty, without anything permanent, but the world also exists as a phenomenon, as samsara. Shunzei brings in this notion of nondualism, or the middle way, to show that there is no difference between the sacred and the profane. The two are one. This implies that poetic activity is Buddhist activity. In short, Shunzei uses the "Three Truths" or the Middle Way as a defense against the notion of $ky\bar{o}gen\ kigo$, that the composition of poetry is a Buddhist sin.

^{49.} Kingyoku-shū (1007), a private anthology edited by Fujiwara no Kintō (966–1041), with 718 poems. Kintō was the editor of Wakan rōeishū, Shinsen zumō, and other poetic treatises.

^{50.} Fujiwara no Kintō and Fujiwara no Michitoshi identify poetry with kotoba (diction) and kokoro (meaning). This kotoba/kokoro dualism dominated waka poetics from Ki no Tsurayuki onward. Drawing on the concept of the Three Truths of Tendai, Shunzei suggests that the two become one in sugata, in expression and style, which can be appreciated fully only when read aloud to a rhythm. This represents a fundamental change in the approach to poetry, which had been thought to rest on the dualistic notion of kotoba and kokoro.

^{51.} This refers to Princess Shokushi, for whom this collection was composed.

^{52.} To study numerous poems.

^{53. &}quot;Dye my heart with the color of the pines at Suminoue" means to pray for the protection of the god of poetry at Sumiyoshi. "Sway in the direction of the smoke at Shioya" means that "my writing has been lopsided."

^{54.} That is, gather a large number of poems.

morning dew; the ink that I have rubbed has been washed away; and the traces of the brush of old age, increasingly uncertain, have come to an end. These are the reasons that I have called this a collection of notes on poetic styles [sugata] from the ancient period to the present.⁵⁵...

As the months and the seasons change and as the cherry blossoms give way to bright autumn leaves, we are reminded of the expressions [sugata kotoba] of poetry and feel as though we can discern the quality and character of poems.⁵⁶

At the beginning of spring, the colors are many—the rose plum near the eaves, its blossoms emerging from beneath the snow, and the plum blossoms in the hedge of the peasant's house—and yet their fragrance is the same, penetrating the sleeve that breaks off the branches and clinging to the body. When spring flowers are at their height, the cherry blossoms in the hills of Yoshino become confused with the lingering snow, not to mention the cherry blossoms in full bloom at the imperial palace, which look like layers of white clouds. As the spring deepens, the frogs sing amid the mountain roses at Ide, and in the waves of the wisteria on the riverbank, the evening warbler appears to regret the eventual passing of spring—all these things leave a deep impression on me. The iris in the Iwagaki swamps, the azaleas that lighten the foothills—on each occasion there is nothing that does not move someone. . . .

When winter comes, frost forms heavily on the withered leaves of the reeds, frozen by ice on the water's edge. Needless to say, when the snow falls, it is mistaken for flowers blooming in the rocks. And as for the snow that lies on the pines, green to the end, as the end of the year quickly approaches, I feel the ice of my sleeves piercing my body. If one understands the style of Japanese poetry in this fashion, thinking in this way of the passage of the four seasons, truly, one's expression [sugata] will be elevated, pure, charming, and elegant.⁵⁷

POETRY MATCHES (UTA-AWASE)

Poetry matches (uta-awase) were both a major literary and a social activity of the Heian aristocracy. In this unique blend, literature, fine arts, aesthetic reTHE KAMAKURA PERIOD 593

finement, and court protocol were superbly synthesized. Although poetry competitions had been held in China for centuries, it is generally thought that the Heian poetry matches originated independently, incorporating the tradition of object-matching games (mono-awase), which compared objects, pictures, shells, perfumes, or flowers, and the tradition of competitions of physical prowess (waza-kurabe), in which participants competed in activities like horseback riding and archery.

In a typical poetry match, the participants were divided into two teams (Left and Right) and asked to compose poems on assigned topics (dai). These could be assigned either on the day or in advance, depending on the nature of the event. The compositions were then read aloud and assessed by a judge, normally a high-ranking noble or a distinguished poet. Although the poems naturally had a prominent role, their presentation and performance were almost as important. Besides the competitors themselves, the staging of this elaborate court ritual included chanters, scribes, consultants, and musicians, as well as an audience of court dignitaries.

The impact of poetry matches on the development of classical poetry was enormous. Composition on fixed topics (dai-ei) soon became the norm for all public or formal waka. Moreover, because an orthodox treatment of the topic often meant victory, the popularity of the matches also helped direct poets toward conservative treatments of themes, imagery, and diction. Finally, the judgments following each round of the major contests were a prelude to the development of a great tradition of waka poetics and criticism.

Although the oldest surviving examples of poetry matches date from the late ninth century, it was not until the tenth century that the form began to flourish. The Poetry Match at Teishi Mansion (Teishi-in uta-awase, 913), hosted and judged by the retired emperor Uda (r. 887–897), and the Poetry Matches at the Inner Palace in 960 (Tentoku yo'nen dairi uta-awase, 960), hosted by Emperor Murakami (r. 946–967) in the Seiryō Hall of the imperial palace, se were remembered by later generations as unsurpassed precedents for official court poetry matches. Later in the Heian period, paralleling the decline of the court, the element of performance gradually became less important as the matches became more eminently literary pursuits. The massive Poetry Match in Six Hundred Rounds (Roppyakuban uta-awase, 1194), comprising twelve hundred poems, and its even larger successor, the Poetry Match in Fifteen Hundred Rounds (Sengohyakuban uta-awase, 1201), rank among the most significant examples of this later phase. Although poetry matches continued to be held

^{55.} Shunzei implicitly opposes the Korai fūteishō to the shiki (rule books), zuinō (poetic treatises), and utamakura (diction collections), which were about rules, precedents, and examples but did not embody the way of poetry. One "awakens" to the way of poetry by immersing oneself in the larger transmission, which includes poetry from the Man'yōshū to the recent present, particularly the Sandaishū.

^{56.} As the seasons change, we recall the various poetic associations with things in nature. In the following description, Shunzei uses poetic expressions drawn from earlier poetry to transmit the quintessential associations of seasonal topics.

^{57.} The terms used here are "elevated" (takaku), "pure" (kiyoge), "charming" (en), and "elegant" (yū).

^{58.} The Seiryō Hall (Seiryōden) was the personal residence of the emperor in the Inner Palace.

through the Meiji period (1868–1911), their direct influence on the development of poetry diminished sharply after the Kamakura period.

POETRY MATCHES AT THE INNER PALACE IN 960 (TENTOKU YO'NEN DAIRI UTA-AWASE, 960)

Hosted by Emperor Murakami on the last day of the Third Month of Tentoku 4 (960) after nearly a month of preparation, this event was to be remembered as the outstanding example of the courtly poetry match. Four different records, in both Chinese and Japanese, survive, recording everything down to the minutest details about the attire of the participants, who included some of the finest poets of the day. In charge of evaluating the poems and pronouncing the verdicts was the minister of the left, Fujiwara no Saneyori (900-970), a distinguished poet himself as well as the highestranking official in the court. The match consisted of twenty rounds on twelve different topics: "Mist" (kasumi, a seasonal motif for early spring), "The Bush Warbler" (two rounds), "Green Willows," "Cherry Blossoms" (three rounds), "Late Winter," "Wisteria," "Late Spring," "Early Summer," "White Verbena," "The Cuckoo" (two rounds), "Summer Grasses," and "Love" (five rounds). As many as thirty-six of the total of forty poems were later included in the twenty-one imperial collections of waka, which testifies to the great prestige that the event enjoyed in subsequent centuries. Also indicative of its historical significance is the wealth of anecdotes based on episodes in the participants' lives. According to one of the most famous, the poet Tadami⁵⁹ fell ill after losing to his opponent in the twentieth round and eventually died as a result.

Round 1: Mist

LEFT (WINNER)

Китаhashi no yama no kai yori

From between the hills of Kurahashi⁵⁰ the spring mist crosses.

harugasumi toshi o tsumite ya

to lay one new year

tachiwataruramu

upon another?

Fujiwara no Asatada61

: [

RIGHT

furusato wa harumeki ni keri The old capital

Miyoshino πο

shows signs of spring: mist engulfs

Mikaki no hara o

the plain of Mikaki

kasumi kometari at fair Yoshino.

Taira no Kanemori⁶²

After the poems were read, I was ordered to decide the winner but hesitated, saying: "I myself can barely put together thirty-one syllables: "I twould be quite difficult for me to decide the winner. I humbly implore that His Majesty judge." The emperor declared: "If a winner is not selected, the interest in today's event will wane, and later generations will surely remember us with constemation. A decision must be made promptly." His Highness's refusal made the futility of my hesitation all the more apparent.

"Laying one new year upon another in the Storehouse Hills (Kurahashi-yama)" in the Left's poem is quite satisfactory. The same is true of linking "crosses" with "bridge." And the configuration (furumai) of the poem leaves nothing to be desired. For the Right's poem, how, after all, does "old capital" evoke the coming of spring? And "mist engulfs" [the plain] seems startling (osoroshi), doesn't it? Between the two, only His Majesty could decide. I looked repeatedly for him to make a sign, but His Highness expressed no preference. Hence, I declared the Left's poem the winner.

^{59.} Mibu no Tadami (dates uncertain) was the son of Mibu no Tadamine, one of the compilers of the Kokinshū, and selected by Kintō as one of the Thirty-six Poetic Immortals.
60. Literally. Storehouse-bridge Hills

^{61.} The fifth son of the minister of the right, Fujiwara no Sadakata, Asatada (910-966) reached the junior third rank and the position of middle counselor (chūnagon). A distinguished poet, he took part in the key poetic events of his age and was one of the Thirty-six Poetic Immortals.

^{62.} A middle-rank courtier and poet, Kanemori (d. 990) reached the junior fifth rank upper. Eighty-three of his poems figure in the twenty-one imperial collections (chokusenshū).

^{63.} In other words, cannot compose a waka.

^{64.} This exchange between Emperor Murakami and the judge Saneyori, aside from certain comic qualities, well expresses the participants' consciousness of the historical importance of the event. Also, it was customary that the Left team win the first round.

^{65.} The judge praises the skillful use of word associations (engo). The name Kurahashi contains the word hashi (bridge) to which the image of crossing (wataru) is tied.

^{66.} This event is also notable for the use of critical terms that become common currency in later poetic criticism and commentaries. Configuration (furumai) denotes the form or shaping of a poem, as opposed to kokoro (meaning, content). In later poetic criticism, the term sugata is more commonly used.

^{67.} The term osoroshi was widely used to criticize the use of words that contrasted with the customary decorum associated with waka, especially at formal occasions such as poetry competitions. In this case, the judge condemns Kanemon's use of the transitive verb komu (to crowd, engulf) instead of the more common tatsu (to rise, linger). The poem might have also been considered inappropriate for its inauspicious overtones. The Mikaki Plain was a pillow word used to refer to the old capital, Nara. Evoking the old city in ruin contrasted with the festive atmosphere of the event.

first encounter with Hair Comb Fields, when he [transformed her into a comb and] placed it in his hair. I met you but once' implies that they already have met, but the final line, 'how I would like to set you right!' suggests that he has not yet done so. The text seems to contradict itself. In such cases one should ask the poet. This differs from the original text. Is there perhaps a mistake?⁷⁹ No verdict can be pronounced."

Mototoshi said: "I have never before seen phrases like 'How regrettable!' used in poems for poetry matches.80 This is beneath contempt. As the people of old said, in composing poetry both in Chinese and Japanese, one puts the blossoms [hana] first, and the fruit [mi] second. Thus, such phrases are never used in any of the family collections or in poetry matches, let alone in an opening line. And 'the crane that lives in the shade of the clouds'82—this is something I have yet to encounter in waka. I wonder whether it is a reference to a Chinese text. Perhaps it refers to the episode 'Cranes Hovering Under the Sun' in the Shishuo.83 But the next line in that text reads: 'See the crane make its way through the blue clouds.'84 It obviously suggests that the crane is flying in the shade of the clouds, not that it lives in the clouds! Or perhaps the poet is calling cranes the hens of Huainan that entered the clouds.85 The Classic of Cranes by Lord Genkin86 says: 'At the age of 180, cranes meet and bear offspring.' If that is the case, how can this be appropriate for a person? Furthermore, since there is no mention [in this anecdote] of 'dwelling in the shade of clouds,' it seems irrelevant. On the whole, neither the words nor the sense of this poem is acceptable. As for the Right's poem, there are no errors of diction, and the form is faultless. Would it be wrong to say that it is acceptable?"

POETRY MATCH IN SIX HUNDRED ROUNDS (ROPPYAKUBAN UTA-AWASE, 1194)

Held over several sessions in 1194 at the residence of the then great commander of the left, Fujiwara Yoshitsune, this event was the result of an extremely long and elaborate process of compilation, requiring years to complete. In 1192 the host commissioned hundred-poem sequences from twelve poets, for a total of twelve hundred poems. One hundred topics were assigned, arranged in five categories: spring, summer, autumn, winter, and love. Once the individual sequences had been submitted, the poems were paired into rounds, read and commented on by the team members, and finally submitted to the leading poet of the time, Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204), for a final assessment

The event remains one of the most important in the long history of poetry matches, notably because it foregrounded the opposition between poets of the two leading poetic houses: the Rokujō, 57 headed by Kenshō (1130?—1210?) and Fujiwara Akitsune (1131—1221), and the Mikohidari, 58 led by Monk Jakuren (d. 1202) and Shunzei's son Teika (1162—1241). The debates that followed each round often became the occasion for heated disputes. Ton'a (1289—1372) writes in his Seiashō (ca. 1360) that although some poets were often unable to attend every round, Kenshō and Jakuren always were there and that their meetings would often turn into quarrels, with Kenshō brandishing his stick and Jakuren straightening his curved back. Finally, the lucidity of Shunzei's judgments as an exposition of his poetic ideals had a tremendous impact on generations of later poets.

Spring (second part)

Round 26: Spring Dawn

LEFT

kono yo ni wa .	Just as I vow
kokoro tomeji to	"I won't let my heart
omou ma ni	dwell in the world,"
nagame zo hatenu	I gaze without end
haru no akebono	on this spring dawn.89

Kenshō

^{79.} Toshiyori is suggesting that the poem in question differs from the poem originally composed for the match.

^{80.} Mototoshi is right: the words do not seem to appear in previous poems.

^{81.} The maxim is cited in Kiyosuke's Book in Folio (Fukuro-zōshi, mid-twelfth century), but a similar metaphor had already been used in the mana (Sino-Japanese) preface to the Kokinshū. It refers to the primacy of diction over content.

^{82.} Mototoshi has evidently mistaken the word tatsu (dragon) for tazu (crane), which would read identically in a kana transcription without discrities marking the voiced and unvoiced consonants.

^{83.} Shishuo xinyu (J. Sesetsu shingo), a (Liu) Song-dynasty (420-478) collection of anecdotes compiled in the first half of the fifth century.

^{84.} There are several variants of this text, but the part cited by Mototoshi does not appear in the most popular version.

^{85.} A reference to another Chinese legend contained in the Shinsenden attributed to Ge Hong (J. Kakkō) of the Eastern Jin (J. Shin) period (317–420). According to the legend, the king of Huainan (J. Enan) achieved immortality by drinking a magic potion. Having ascended to the sky, he left the container with the residual liquid in the garden. The house dog and hens drank it and also ascended to the sky.

^{86.} An unspecified text in Chinese. Genkin is perhaps a pseudonym of the lord of Huainan.

^{87.} Literally, Sixth Ward. The house probably takes its name from the location of one of the residences of the founder, Fujiwara no Akisue (1055–1123).

^{88.} The house takes its name (literally, Prince of the Left) from Prince (miko) Kaneakira, one of the sons of Emperor Daigo (r. 897–930), who for a period of time held the position of minister of the left (hidari).

^{89.} Haru no akebono is a double topic that stirs much controversy in the judgment. Here, the beauty of the scene intervenes to complicate the poet's resolution to renounce the world.

RIGHT (WINNER)

nani to naku kokoro ukinuru hitorine ni

For no reason at all my heart comes unsettled: waking alone

akebono no tsuraki haru no iro kana waking alone to a dawn the color of spring's indifference.⁹⁰

Lord Takanobu⁹¹

The Right said: "Using the phrase 'spring dawn' in the poem shows lack of consideration. If the topic is 'Spring Dawn,' one ought to consider carefully how to express it." The Left said there were no particular faults to note. The Judge said: "With regard to the Left's poem, the Right claims that the explicit use of the word '(spring) dawn' is thoughtless, but is that really so? Even in the case of compound topics [musubidai], only certain words of the topic are to be avoided in the poem. But in the case of a topic like 'Spring Dawn,' not to include it explicitly in the poem amounts to ignoring the precepts. The words 'just as' [ma ni] in the Left's poem sound quite insufficient here. Thus, I must declare the Right the winner."

Winter (first part)

Round 13: Withered Fields

LEFT (WINNER)

mishi aki o nani ni nokosan

How might I recall the autumn now past?

kusa no hara hitotsu ni kauru

All the colors of a field of grass

nobe no keshiki ni

now one barren plain.94

Lady-in-Waiting95

RIGHT

shimogare no nobe no aware o minu hito ya You who do not see

the charm of a withered field

minu hito ya aki no iro ni wa kokoro tomeken

covered with frost, your heart must still be

with the colors of autumn.

Lord Takanobu

The Right said: "'A field of grass' does not sound right." The Left said: "The Right's poem is stale." The judge said: "The Left's 'How might I recall . . . a field of grass?' is, on the contrary, charming [en].% The Right's criticism of 'field of grass' is most inappropriate. Murasaki Shikibu was more accomplished as a writer of tales than as a poet. And indeed, 'The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms' (Hana no en) is especially charming. A poet who has not read Genji should be ashamed. The Right's poem is lacking in neither meaning nor diction. Its style, however, must be considered quite ordinary. For its ments, the Left's poem should be declared the winner."

Love 7

Round 7: Love Through Marine Images

LEFT

kujira toru

The mighty sea

sakashiki umi no

where whales are caught:

soko made mo kimi dani sumaba were you to inhabit its farthest depths

namiji shinogan

I would cross the trail of waves.

Kenshō

^{90.} In the tradition of courtly love, the dawn epitomizes the torments of love, being the moment when two lovers must part.

^{91.} Fujiwara no Takanobu (1142-1205), a gifted poet and painter.

^{92.} The Right team claims that the explicit mention of the topic is a careless mistake.

^{93.} A compound topic is composed of more than two words/characters (for example, "Full moon above the sea"). In these cases, Shunzei argues, it is appropriate to disperse the topic across the poem or leave part of it implicit; otherwise, it is correct to use the topic as assigned, as Kenshō does. In defending Kenshō's poem from the opponents' criticism, Shunzei demonstrates a remarkable impartiality.

^{94.} Both poems in this round thematize the tension between the barren desolation of the withered field before the eyes and the luxuriant colors of the autumnal scene in memory.

^{95.} A pseudonym of the host, Yoshitsune.

^{96.} En, translated here as "charming," is a key concept of the late Heian and medieval aesthetics closely associated with Shunzei. It is an ideal of sensuous beauty with overtones of elegance and luster.

^{97. &}quot;The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms" is the eighth chapter of The Tale of Genji. The phrase "a grassy plain" appears in a poem that Oborozukiyo composes in response to Genji's pressing requests to know her name.

^{98.} The endorsement of the Mikohidari poets and this passage in particular had a crucial role in the medieval canonization of Murasaki's work. There has been much dispute over how to interpret this passage. One possibility is that the judge is reprimanding the ignorance of the Left team, which failed to recognize the allusion to Genji.

604 THE KAMAKURA PERIOD

RIGHT (WINNER)

Iwamigata
chihiro no soko mo
tatoureba
asaki se ni naru
mi no urami ka na

The inlet of Iwami for all its thousand-fathom depth is but a shoal when measured against my longing.

Priest Jakuren

The Right said: "The Left's poem is frightening." The Left commented: "No particular faults in the Right's poem." The judge said: "Although I seem to recall that the 'where the whales are caught' in the Left's poem appears in the Man'yōshū," it must be with those poems in the mad style [kyōkatei]. In any case, it sounds very frightening. Even when the Qin emperor visited Penglai, he simply said, 'Shoot the big fish!'100 I have never heard that he said, 'Catch it!' As a rule, poetry should strive for beauty and refinement [yūen]; deliberately frightening people is of no benefit to either the Way or the poet. In the Right's poem, "The inlet of Iwami' and 'my longing [resentment]'101 suggest the lament of one who has failed to attain a promotion at court. The love motif is insufficient. Nevertheless, the Left's poem is inadmissible." This is a victory for the Right. 102 [Translated by Gian Piero Persiani and Lewis Cook]



FUJIWARA NO TEIKA

Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), or Sadaie, was the son of Shunzei and heir to the Mikohidari house of poetry. Teika was recognized at a fairly early age as one of the most controversially innovative poets of his generation, and he was one of the four primary compilers of the Shinkokinshū. From the age of eighteen to the age of seventy-four, he kept a diary entitled the Meigetsuki. Between 1185 and 1199, he began to explore a new poetic style, which was criticized as "daruma" poems, or "incomprehensible" poems. Despite his audacious experiments with syntax and disdain for convention, Teika could also be remarkably conservative, especially in his later years, and notoriously called for a return to early classical models of composition. His dictum "new meanings, old words" is an emblem of the difficult demands he made for originality within the constraints of precedent. Few poets were able to follow Teika's demands without resorting to tedious conventionalism. This fact, combined with his overwhelming influence as the patriarch of the dominant schools of court poetry for several centuries, is often blamed for the stultification of courtly waka after the thirteenth century. Forty-six of Teika's poems were included in the Shinkokinshü.

ESSENTIALS OF POETIC COMPOSITION (EIGA NO TAIGAI, CA. 1222)

Essentials of Poetic Composition explains Teika's approach to waka composition in his later years and reflects a fundamental technique of medieval aristocratic literature: allusive variation. Essentials of Poetic Composition divides poetic technique into three key notions: meaning (kokoro), diction (kotoba), and style (fūtei). The meaning (kokoro) of a poem should be neither "old" (inishie) nor "modern" (ima); instead, it should be "new" (atarashi). Teika usually uses the word kokoro in close relation to the "topic" (dai). Thus a more elaborate translation of the opening line would be: "For the meaning of the poem as it relates to the essence of the given topic, one should, above all, be innovative." Diction (kotoba), by contrast, should be "old." What kokoro and kotoba haye in common here is that neither can be "modern."

Teika also contrasts "modern poets"—from the latter half of the twelfth century—with "ancient poets" and strictly forbids drawing on either the diction or the meaning introduced by "modern poets"—that is, those writing in the past seventy or eighty years. For him, diction must be circumscribed and publicly recognized. "Old diction" is not a matter of age but of the canon. "Old words" refers to the poetic diction exemplified in the Three Collections (Sandaishū): the Kokinshū, Gosenshū, and Shūishū, the first three imperial collections of waka. The only exceptions are the poems of the Man'yōshū, primarily those by Hitomaro, Akahito, and Yakamochi, which are included in the Thirty-six Poets' Collection (Sanjūrokuninshū), compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō in the mid-Heian period. With regard to "style" (fūteī), however, Teika notes that one should learn from poets both "old and new." In summary, the meaning of

^{99.} The expression appears in an elegy for Emperor Tenchi (Man'yöshū, vol. 2, no. 153) and other poems.

^{100.} A reference to a legend contained in the Records of the Historian (Shi ji, J. Shiki), by the great Han historian Sima Qian. In the episode in question, Emperor Shihuangdi (J. Shikōtei, r. 221-210 B.C.E.), founder of the Qin dynasty, orders his retainer Xu Fu to go to Penglai (J. Hōrai), one of the Daoist Isles of the Blessed, in search of the Elixir of Immortality. Upon his return, Xu Fu reports that he was unable to land on the island because of a giant whale. Some legends say that this mythic land may be Mount Hōrai (present-day Wakayama Prefecture), which at the time might still have been surrounded by the sea.

^{101.} This is an association between the words "inlet" and "bay" (ura), concealed in the word "longing [resentment]" (ura-mi). Although urami literally means "resentment," in court poetry, as this poem exemplifies, it was frequently taken as a synonym for "longing" or "unrequited love" (koi).

^{102.} In response to Shunzei's criticism, Kenshō wrote his own comments on the rounds (Kensho chinjo). With regard to this poem, he wrote: "Is to capture whales really frightening? Those versed in poetry should know no fear." The disagreement over the opportunity to use words from the Man'yōshū reflects the different views held by Shunzei and Kenshō and by their respective schools. For Shunzei, who advocated refinement of imagery and elegance of diction, many of the rougher or more colloquial expressions of the Man'yōshū had no legitimate place in poetry.

the poem should be new; its diction should derive from the superior poems in the *Three Collections*; and the superior poems of both old and new poets should provide a model for poetic style.

Teika also is concerned about plagiarism and the lack of originality. His rules for allusive variation (honkadori) on a base poem are an extension of those he prescribed for kotoba and represent a solution to the difficulties imposed by the necessity of using only "old" diction. At the end of the preface, which is written in kanbun, Teika notes that "one should always keep in mind the scene [keiki] of old poetry and let it sink deep into the heart." Keiki refers to not just the poetic scenes and images that appear in the poetic world but also its poetic associations. Significantly, Chinese poetry, which played a significant role in the development of Heian waka, became a major source for these associations. In the original text, certain lines appear to be notes—as they are in smaller print than that of the main text—and have been placed in parentheses in the translation.

When it comes to the meaning [kokoro] of poetry, newness must come first. (One must seek a conception or an approach that has yet to be used.) When it comes to diction [kotoba], one must use old words. (One must not use anything not found in the Three Collections. The poems of ancient poets collected in the Shinkokinshū can be used in the same way.) The style [fūtei] of poetry can be learned from the superior poems of superior poets of the past. (One should not be concerned about the period but just learn from appropriate poems.)

Regarding the conception and diction of recent poets, even if it is a new phrase, one should be careful and leave it alone. (In regard to the poetry of those poets, one should never use the words from poems composed in the last seventy or eighty years.)

Poets frequently use and compose with the words of the poetry of the ancients. That already is a trend. But when using old poems and composing new poems, taking three out of the five measures $[ku]^{103}$ is too much, and these poems will lack freshness. It is permissible to take three or four syllables more than two measures [ku]. However, it is too much if the content is the same and one uses words from old poems. (For example, using a foundation poem on flowers to compose on flowers or using a foundation poem on the moon to compose on the moon.) One should take a foundation poem on the seasons and compose on love or miscellaneous topics, or take a foundation poem on love and miscellaneous topics and compose on the four seasons. If done in this way, there probably will be no problems with borrowing from old poetry. . . .

One should always keep in mind the scene [keiki] of old poetry and let it sink deep into the heart. One should learn in particular from the Kokinshū, The Tales of Ise, Gosenshū, Shūishū, and from superior poets in the Thirty-six Poets' Collection. (Those who should come to mind from the Thirty-six Poets' Collection are Hitomaro, Ki no Tsurayuki, Tadamine, Ise, Ono no Komachi, and so on.)

Even if one is not a master of Japanese poetry, in order to understand the seasonal scenes, the ups and downs of the human world, and the essence of things, one should always be sure to absorb the first twenty volumes of Bo Juyi's Collected Works. 104 (These deeply resonate with Japanese poetry.)

Poetry has no master. One simply makes the old poems one's teacher. If one dyes one's heart in the old style and learns from the words of one's predecessors, who would not be able to learn to compose poetry? No one.

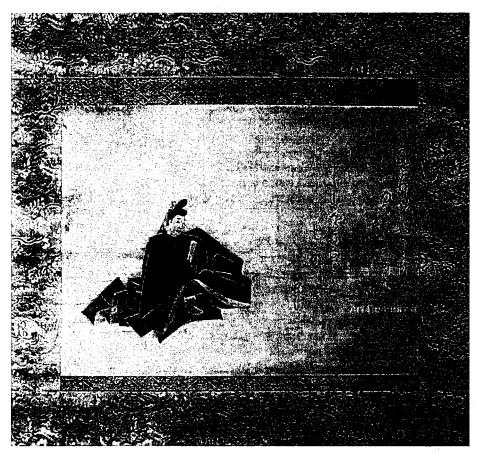
ŚHINKOKINSHŪ (NEW COLLECTION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN POEMS, CA. 1205)

The Shinkokinwakashū, better known as the Shinkokinshū, is an anthology of nearly two thousand Japanese poems (waka), all in the same standard prosodic form, thirty-one syllables in five measures. It was compiled and edited during the first two decades of the thirteenth century and was the eighth in what became a series of twenty-one anthologies of classical poetry created in response to an imperial edict, beginning with the Kokinshū (ca. 905) and ending with the Shinshokukokinshū (1439). Its title - literally, New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems or New Kokinshū-implies that the Shinkokinshū was conceived and edited in calculated emulation of the first such imperially commissioned collection. The attempt to produce an anthology that would match, if not surpass, the achievements of the Kokinsh \bar{u} was widely deemed successful in the judgment of later generations. Its chronological scope is broader, not only because it postdates the Kokinshū by three centuries, but also because it includes poetry by authors of earlier periods deliberately excluded from the Kokinshū, and the range of styles encompassed is arguably richer. The question of which of these collections is superior, makes for better reading, or serves as a more reliable model for aspiring poets has been the subject of debate for several centuries and has not yet been resolved.

^{103.} There are five (5/7/5/7/7) measures (ku) in a thirty-one-syllable waka.

^{104.} Seventy-one volumes in all, of which the first twenty are on Chinese poetry.

An "allusive variation" (honkadori) poem, by Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241)



Poetry Contest in 1500 Rounds (1202); Shin kokin wakashū #487 (compiled ca. 1205)

[When he presented poems for a one-hundred-poem sequence [on Autumn, 4th round, 1202]:

Hitori nuru yamadori no o no shidario ni

shimo okimayou toko no tsukikage

Taken for frost resting on its long drooping tail where the pheasant sleeps alone

--moonlight falling upon his bed

(an allusive variation [honkadori poem] with Hitomaro's (late 7th/early 8th ce.) poem as foundation:)

ashihiki no yamadori no o no shidario no

naganagashi yo o hitori ka mo nemu

Must I sleep alone through this long, long night,

long as the drooping tail of the mountain pheasant? (Shūi wakashū #778)

Teika's own judgment on this poem: "The pheasant's long drooping tail, the light of the moon on the bed, meandering thoughts on a frosty night: there are many ways in which these words are lacking [kotoba taranu tokoro ooku] and I have the impression that the intended meaning may be hard to fathom [kokoro mo wakaregataku haberumeru]." He awarded the win to the other poem in the round.

Image: detail from, "Poetry Competition Between Poets of Different Eras" in the Mary Jackson Burke Collection, New York City

610 EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WAKA AND NATIVIST STUDY

or instruction. The poetry of the ancients makes this clear, and our own poetry should be the same. . . .

We should be careful, though, about poetry by women. The anonymous poems in the Kokinshū²¹ include some that begin with those Nara-period poets who came after the Man'yōshū and continue until the early years of the present capital.²² If we recite these poems and compare them with those of the Engi period [901–923],²³ we will see that the former imitate the Man'yōshū in that they have a wide range of subject matter and a rich and courtly spirit. They also are smooth and refined, though, so they are truly poems appropriate to women. In ancient times men were brave and manly, and so was poetry. But by the time of the Kokinshū, even men were composing in an effeminate style, so women's and men's poems were indistinguishable. So while one could say that it is enough for women to study the Kokinshū, this collection is from an age that had declined somewhat. People's hearts were full of artifice; their words no longer were sincere [makoto]; and their poems were crafted deliberately, so their poetry was naturally poor and cumbersome in conception.

We should grasp the ancients' straightforward, lofty-minded, and courtly qualities from the Man'yōshū and, only after that, study the Kokinshū. Generations of people have forgotten this principle and have studied the Kokinshū as the basis for poetic composition, so no one is able to compose poems like those in the Kokinshū. And no one really understands the spirit of the Kokinshū. When we look up at things from below, they are blocked by clouds and haze and are unclear. But if we find a ladder, we can immediately climb up it, see what is at the top, and then look at what is below. As I have said before, we can see everything in a single glance, as when we look out across the land from on top of a high mountain. It is the same with people's hearts. Although it is difficult for those below to fathom the hearts of those above, it is easy for those above to know the hearts of those below. For this reason the Chinese, also, have said that we should study by beginning at the top and climbing down from there.

[Karonshū, NKBZ 50: 569–573, 579–580, introduction and translation by Peter Flueckiger]

MOTOORI NORINAGA

Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) was born in Matsusaka in Ise Province (Mie), the second son of Ozu Sadatoshi, a wholesale cotton-goods merchant. When Norinaga was eleven his father died, and when he was nineteen he went to Yamada in the same province to be adopted as the son of a paper merchant. But things did not go well there, and he returned to his original family. A year later, in 1751, his elder brother died, and Norinaga became the head of the Ozu house. He found, however, that he was not suited to be a merchant, and in 1752 he moved to Kyoto at his mother's urging to study medicine. At that time he changed his surname to Motoori. In Kyoto he read the Chinese classics under Hori Keizan (1688–1757), a Confucian scholar and a friend of Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), the founder of the Ancient Rhetoric school. Keizan then introduced Norinaga to the commentaries of Keichū (1640–1701), whose philological methodology was a cornerstone of much of Norinaga's own work.

In 1757 Norinaga returned to Matsusaka to practice medicine, and around this time he produced his first treatise, "A Small Boat Punting Through the Reeds" (Ashiwake obune), an essay on waka. In the following year he began giving lectures on The Tale of Genji and wrote "Defense of Awaré" (Awaré ben), a short piece in which he introduced his theory that awaré (pathos) is the underlying theme of Japanese literature and transcends differences of genre. He followed these preliminary studies with two major works, both written in 1763, that present his literary thought in a form that remained largely unchanged for the rest of his life. The first of these, My Personal View of Poetry (Isonokami no sasamegoto), is a treatise on waka, and the other, The Essence of The Tale of Genji (Shibun yōryō), deals with the monogatari (tale/novel), specifically The Tale of Genji.

Norinaga's literary thought is centered on the notion of mono no awaré, or the pathos of things. He used this term to imply a certain emotional sensitivity to and capacity for empathy, as opposed to rational thinking or rigid morality, and regarded it as a key to understanding both literature and human nature. Norinaga describes human nature as fundamentally weak and emotionally susceptible and sees the strict moral self-control demanded by Confucianism and Buddhism as suppressing natural human emotions. On one level, Norinaga's view that literature is an outgrowth of mono no awaré can be read as a kind of expressive theory, but he was ultimately concerned with intersubjectivity, with grasping the emotional essence (awaré) of others. For Norinaga, the objective of emotional self-expression was not only the release of pent-up emotions but also the process of understanding others, of becoming the object of emotional empathy. Modern scholars have argued that Norinaga's idea of awaré, particularly his deep sympathy for the emotional plight of others, grew out of the sense

^{21.} Kokinshii, the first imperial anthology of waka, was edited in the early tenth century.

^{22.} That is, the early Heian period. The capital was moved to Heian (present-day Kyoto) in 794-

^{23.} This is the period during which the Kokinshū was compiled.

^{24.} The idea here is that poets can compose properly in the Kokinshū style only if they have a thorough knowledge of the Man'yōshū. Mabuchi continues this line of reasoning in the following section, in which he explains the methodology of learning the Man'yōshū before the Kokinshū in terms of the perspective one gains by climbing to a vantage point in order to view what lies below.

^{25.} Those "above" and "below" refer here to the rulers and the ruled.

of alienation experienced at the time by urban commoners (*chōnin*). They have also pointed out that his theory has much in common with the idea of *ninjō* (human emotion), which was the basis of contemporary kabuki and jōruri, and was also developed in the early nineteenth century in Tamenaga Shunsui's (1790–1843) *ninjōbon*.

After his early studies of Heian literature, Norinaga's scholarship developed in a new direction when he turned his attention to Shintō and the earliest Japanese texts. He was interested particularly in the eighth-century Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters), a mythohistory that describes the creation of Japan by the gods and the descent of the imperial line from its divine ancestors. It is said that Norinaga was urged to study the Kojiki by Kamo no Mabuchi, who was the foremost kokugaku scholar of the time. The two met in a famous one-night meeting in Matsusaka in 1763, soon after which Norinaga officially registered as a student in Mabuchi's school and began corresponding with him, discussing poetry and scholarly matters. In 1771 he wrote the first draft of The Spirit of the Gods (Naobi no mitama), which encapsulates his view of the Way of the gods, or the ancient Way, and which later became the general introduction to the Kojikiden, his vast commentary on the Kojiki, which he completed in 1798. Nonnaga valued the Kojiki as a pure example of the ancient Japanese language, and in the Kojikiden he tried to recover the original oral text that he believed lay underneath the obscuring layer of Chinese characters in which the Kojiki had been recorded. Other important late works of Norinaga include A Jeweled Basket (Tamakatsuma), a series of essays covering a wide variety of topics begun in 1793 and written over a period of several years; The Tale of Genji, a Small Jeweled Comb (Genji monogatari tama no ogushi), a revision of the earlier The Essence of The Tale of Genji (Shibun yōryō), completed in 1796; and First Steps in the Mountains (Uiyamabumi), a guide to studying the Japanese classics, written in 1798.

In his writings on Shintō and the ancient Way, Norinaga argued against the position of Ogyū Sorai, who believed that before the appearance of the Confucian sages in ancient China, the world had no ethical order. Instead, in Norinaga's view, the true Way was a creation of the Japanese gods, not of human sages, and allowed both the individual and the state to be governed without the need for the explicit rules and rigid moral codes that he saw as characteristic of Confucianism. In his commentaries on the Japanese classics, Norinaga, like Mabuchi, believed that Japanese texts provided not only pleasure but also ethical, aesthetic, social, and political norms—that is, a "Way" (michi), which he regarded as a superior alternative to the Confucian and Buddhist "Ways." After coming under the influence of Mabuchi, Norinaga began to attack the notion of the "Chinese spirit" (karagokoro), a term that he used not only to refer to the adulation of Chinese cultural artifacts, such as the Chinese writing system and Chinese texts, but also to indicate the infiltration of a foreign mode of thought,

an ethical rationalism that divides all things into good and bad. Noninaga argued that before the importation of such external artifacts, the Japanese had expressed tender, honest emotions, as depicted in the thirty-one-syllable waka and monogatari of the early periods. Today, however, owing to the influence of the "Chinese spirit," the Japanese have lost touch with their "real emotions" (jitsujō) or "sincerity" (makoto) and have no choice but to seek them again in ancient and classical Japanese literature.

Norinaga's work was continued by his disciples, who at first were clustered in the Ise, Mino, and Owari Provinces, with Matsusaka, Norinaga's birthplace, at the center, but gradually spread throughout the country. Norinaga's son Motoori Haruniwa (1763–1828), Suzuki Akira (1764–1837), and Ishizuka Tatsumaro (1764–1823) continued his linguistic studies, and Ishihara Masaakira (1760–1821) and Fujii Takanao (1764–1840) carried on his literary studies. Norinaga's philosophy of the ancient Way was further developed by Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), who molded it into a religious-political ideology that had a powerful influence on the movement that culminated in the Meiji Restoration. The following is Norinaga's most famous waka.

shikishima no If I were asked
yamatogokoro o to explain the Japanese spirit,
hito towaba I would say it is
asahi ni niou wild cherry blossoms
yamazakura hana glowing in the moming sun!28

A SMALL BOAT PUNTING THROUGH THE REEDS (ASHIWAKE OBUNE, 1757)

In the following selection from the opening of "A Small Boat," Norinaga advocates an autonomous role for waka poetry by declaring that it should be subordinated to neither politics nor personal moral cultivation but should simply be an expression of authentic human emotion. As one example, he challenges the view that Buddhist monks should not compose love poetry, arguing that even though their religious practices may demand that they suppress such emotions as love, in the realm of poetry

^{26.} Norinaga affixed this poem to a self-portrait dating from 1790. It represents his ideal of seeking out an essentially Japanese spirit. Cherry blossoms are a conventional image in the Japanese poetic tradition, and the morning sun is associated with Japan, which, as the country farthest to the east, is described (in both Norinaga's time and today) as the "land of the rising sun." Shikishima no is a makurakotoba, an epithet for Yamato (Japan).

came Our hours will controlly be reprivated by the appearance of the changing of the section and by the other joythal and accrowful things of this empercuancest would and wall come to be refined, so that the poetry we compose will also come to embody carteral exactions. The virtue of poetry, then, is not just to express consistent and give vent to findings but also to assemble the excitent degrates, in course to possess the heart of the excitate, and to compose poetry like the success.

(MOVE a g. all-au, go-ya, yg-ya, ca, introduction and installation by Peter Phreological

MT PERSONAL VIEW OF POSTS! (MONUSAMEND NO SASAMEGOTO, 1761)

In My Penerual View of Postry Nationaps further develops many of his ideas about walks poetry that he had first presented six years earlier in "A Small Boat Presting Through the Reeds." In My Personal View of Party he describes poetry as the product of the emotional experience he refer to so more no exact, or the pathos of things. For Normaga, can who "know mane so sweet" has the capacity to be deeply moved personally, is well to to sympathiae with the sufferings of others. (has of the most important ideas in My Personal View of Fluory is the notices that by making our despect essalions known to others, purely serves to establish feelings of martial empethy than form the facts for our relations with others. Montage argues that deep exections can he communicated only through language that possesses eye, or design, a term he uses for an elevated form of language associated with the end recitation of poetry. He then darume the credical and crimedian achieved decough poetry as having certain political and motal benefits. While this may seem to contradict Normage's earlier statement in "A Small Rose" that the assumes of poetry is not to aid in government, he is excelled to point out that these political and social benefits are a reconstary effect of poetry and are not part of its assessial return which is steeply to express bossus resictions. Another hav point presented in the selections translated here is the idea that poetry is the repository of an exembally lepanese spirit, a view that has much in common with Norman's later writings on Shield.

Poctry is not just something that we compose when we are unable to bear essend so ments (the pathos) very deeply, composing alone still not satisfy our heart, so we have a person listen to us and are comforted. When another hears what we have a person listen to us and are comforted. When another hears what we have composed and sympathizes, if greatly clean the heart. Moreover, this is something natural. For example, if a person feels something strongly about something that is difficult to keep bottled up in his heart, even if he talks to harcost about it is great detail, his heart will not be cleared. So he tells someone else and has him listen, and then his heart is cleared. And if the person who

home agrees with what he says and sympathines, the poet's heart will be cleared mean more. Therefore it is difficult not to tell others about the things that on feel deeply in our heart. When we see and hear things that are arranged bightering, or arrange, we always want to tail others about them, and it is difficult to loop them bottled up in our heart. Although it is not on our to consider as others when we tell them about such things, it is not said that we consider help but do so. This is the nature of poetry, to having termounts lines is truly the masters of poetry and not an accidental aspect of it. Them who fail to understand this principle my that true poetry conside samply of saying what we fail just as we feel it, whether well or pourly, and that the majori that mines to the latener is not true points placed or pourly. Although this seems responsible at first glance, it fails to group the true principle of poetry. It is important that poetry be heard by another who respectives, so it is the attention and well-modulated voice, and it has been this may more the age of the gods.

Ordinary language can explain the meaning of things in great detail, and its legic seconds precise, but without postry it is difficult to express the industribuble emotions of sweet. The reason that such deep independable means can be expressed through poetry is because poetry has design to its words. Because of this design, even limitless except can be expressed.

Our angust country is the segue country of the see golden American. Oreitami. It is the beautiful and magnificent august country seperior to all other countries, so people's hear's and articus, as well as the works they speak are straightforward and elagant. In the past, the realm was governed peacefully without incident, so unlike in other countries there was not the least train of anything bothersome or troubling. But then writings came over from China, and people began to send and muly them. When people see things within about other countries in these writings, they were impressed that everything appeared to be wise and profound, and they came to think of these writings as splendid. Soon they came to do nothing but evaluate their spirit, and in the Nasa period everything was as it was in China. But were at this time, posses, alone, was different from all other things, as both its spirit and to language remained in accordance with the natural spirit of our region country from the ago of the gods.

New I will speak about the benefits for people who are sensitive to award. First, those who govern the people and the country must have a detailed harm-

all. The term "regest," which is essent to enemy translate the sense of Neurope's selfcreationally archain only in this pumpe, is used as a translation for various bosonial terms pertaining to gods and emperors. This bind of deliberate archains is particularly prominent in The Spirit of the Gods.

edge of the condition of the hearts of the ordinary people and know mono no awaré. Yet those of high rank usually are ignorant of such detailed knowledge of the hearts of those who are lowly and beneath them. In general those who are prosperous and powerful have all their needs met, so they do not understand what it is to be troubled, and thus they have little sympathy. They do not understand that lowly and poor people always have many sorrows, so they feel no compassion.

Even though they may have a general knowledge of such matters from reading Japanese and Chinese writings or from things they are told, the fact that they do not share these experiences themselves means that even though they may read or hear of them, they think of them as something pertaining to others, and thus they do not sink deeply into their hearts. Poetry, though, sings of various deeply felt joys and sorrows just as they are, so even if we have not experienced them at all ourselves, when we hear the poetry, it sinks into our heart and we can understand these feelings. We can know in great detail how such and such a person upon encountering such and such circumstances will feel such and such emotions and how this will make them joyful or resentful. The hearts of the people of the realm will appear more perfectly than a reflection in a clear mirror, so this will naturally bring about feelings of sympathy, which will make the rulers not want to do things that harm the people. This is a benefit of making people sensitive to mono no awaré.

This does not pertain only to those who govern, though. In people's everyday dealings with one another as well, those who do not know mono no awaré have no sympathy for anything and are often hard-hearted and cruel. Because they have no encounters with various matters, they do not understand them. The rich do not know the hearts of the poor; the young do not know the hearts of the aged; and men do not know the hearts of women. . . . But when people deeply understand the hearts of others, they naturally act so as not to harm society or other people. This is another benefit of making people sensitive to mono no awaré.

> [MNZ 2: 112-113, 154, 166-168; Motoori Norinaga shū, SNKS 60: 312-315, 414, 441-446, introduction and translation by Peter Flueckiger]

the essence of the tale of genji (shibun yōryō, 1763)

Norinaga is considered the first major Japanese theorist of prose fiction and is noted for fitting Japanese waka poetics into the theory of the monogatari (tale/novel), which had been traditionally treated on either Confucian or Buddhist grounds, usually negatively, as immoral or deceptive, but sometimes positively, as a means of leading to virtue or enlightenment. In the passage translated here from The Essence of The Tale of Genji, Norinaga argues that the monogatari needs to be judged according to its own value system, rather than those of Confucianism and Buddhism. This value system, which monogatari share with waka poetry, is governed by the emotional sensitivity that Norinaga refers to as mono no awaré or the pathos of things, a sensitivity to both phenomena in the natural world, such as cherry blossoms and other traditional objects of poetic beauty, and events in the human world, particularly those that cause sorrow and suffering. He argues that in The Tale of Genji those characters who are presented as "good" are not those who obey rigid moral strictures but those who "know mono no aware," or those who are emotionally sensitive and compassionate toward others. Norinaga does not go so far as to maintain that mono no awaré is a reversal of Confucian and Buddhist values but contends that when reading monogatari, we should simply suspend such moral judgments and instead focus on the depth of emotion, or mono no awaré, displayed by the characters.

All judgments of good and evil differ depending on the relevant Way. They also differ depending on time, place, and circumstance. Some things are considered good according to the Way of Buddhism but evil by Confucian scholars, and some things are considered good according to the Way of Confucianism but evil by Buddhist priests. In this manner, good and evil differ. Poetry and monogatari, unlike the Ways of Buddhism and Confucianism, are not a Way for freeing ourselves from delusions and entering enlightenment, nor are they a Way for cultivating ourselves, managing our household, and governing our country. Still, they naturally contain their own good and evil.

When we investigate what is good and evil in a monogatari, we find that even though it is not explicitly different from what is good and evil in both the Ways of Confucianism and Buddhism, it is nonetheless different. First, Confucianism and Buddhism are Ways that instruct and guide people, so sometimes they conflict with human emotions and severely reprimand people. According to these Ways, it often is evil to act in accordance with our natural emotions, and so it is good to try to suppress these emotions. But monogatari are not didactic writings, so they have no relation to the good and evil of Confucianism and Buddhism. Instead, what they consider good or evil is simply the distinction between what is in keeping with human emotions and what is not ...

Until now, all commentaries have emulated the theories of moralistic Confucian and Buddhist writings, so they also tried to force monogatari to become didactic. They comment on what this monogatari speaks of as good as if it were evil and claim that it is this or that admonition or teaching. Commenting in this way, they often mislead the heart of the reader and lose sight of the true intentions of the author. The reason is that when they try to force the monogatari into being an admonition and view it in terms of punishing evil, they also dilute the mono no awaré [pathos of things]. Although perceptive people are not led astray by the commentary, most people use it as a guide and accept things just as the commentary says to, so they are greatly misled by it. We should not read this monogatari as an admonition at all, as this is not the true intention