

JIN'ICHI KONISHI
EARL ROY MINER
AILEEN GATTEN

A History of
Japanese Literature,
Volume 3

The High Middle Ages



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A HISTORY OF
JAPANESE LITERATURE

VOLUME THREE
The High Middle Ages

皇^上は^上涉^下河^下 和^リ家^リの^シ建^セ丸^ク
 建^ハ考^ヤり^ハし^レ依^レ藍^ルる^リ 甲^ニ童^ク 久^ク
 交^ハ河^ニ造^ルる^リし^レう^ハ喜^ビハ^カ鹿^ク
 小^シ左^サ菟^ウて^エ秋^ニハ^ウ骨^ノ小^シ交^リり^リ
 甲^ト廊^ラハ^シ風^ノ子^シ倒^レも^テ上^ニ岸^ニ系^ルれ^ル

Heike Mabushi
 Scorebook of the Heike Monogatari
 Compiled by Ogino Kengyō (1731-1801); copied ca. 1900.
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*A History of
Japanese Literature*

VOLUME THREE
THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

By Jin'ichi Konishi

TRANSLATED BY
Aileen Gatten AND
Mark Harbison

EDITED BY
Earl Miner

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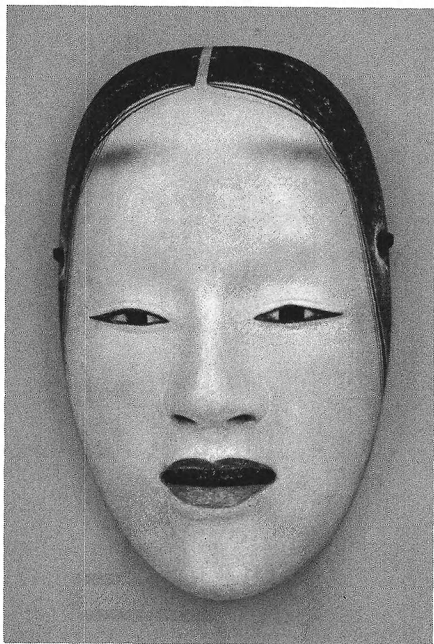
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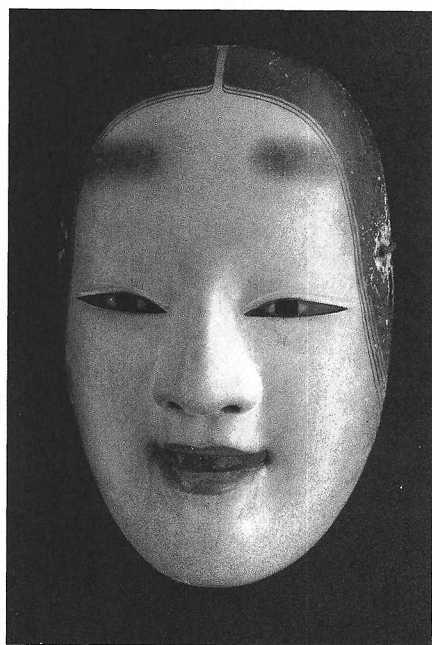
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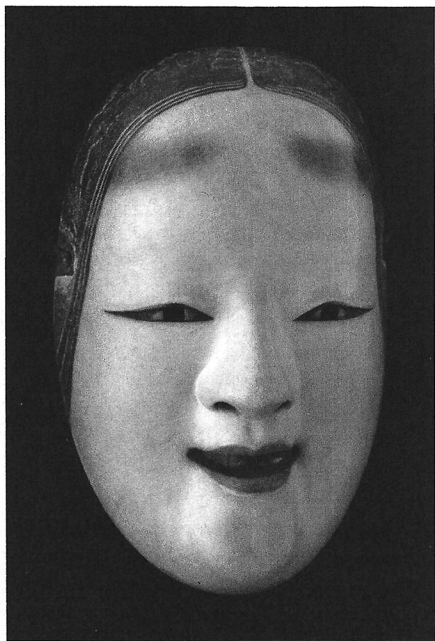


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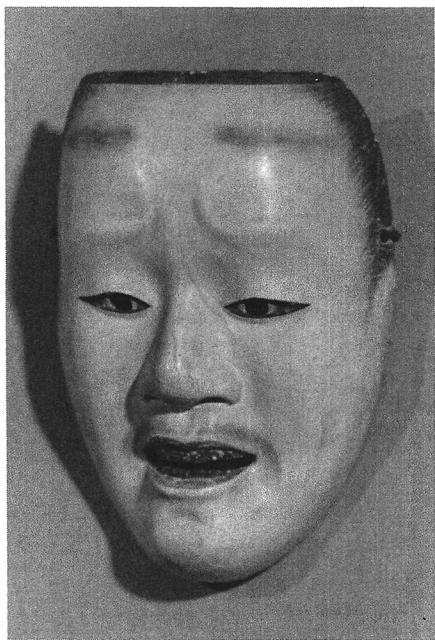
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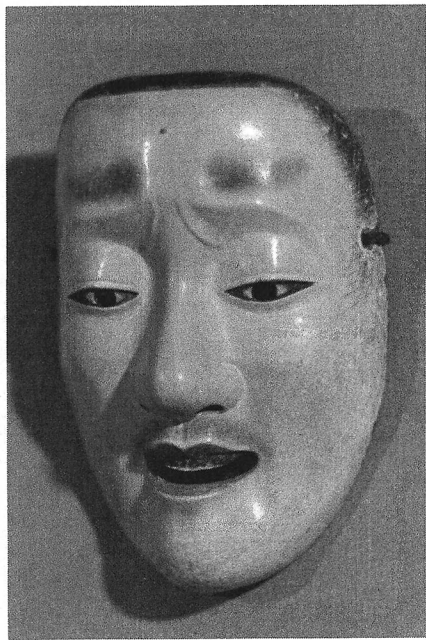
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IN MEMORIAM

Nose Asaji

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Heike Mabushi. Scorebook of the *Heike Monogatari*. Compiled by Ogino Kengyō (1731-1801); copied ca. 1900. In the possession of the Library of Congress. By permission of the Library of Congress.

PLATES (EIGHT NŌ MASKS)

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

This is the third of the five volumes of Jin'ichi Konishi's *History of Japanese Literature*. His career has been unusual among modern Japanese scholar-critics in that his work ranges from earliest times to poetry in his own lifetime. (In fact he is a published poet himself and makes a brief renga sequence in this volume.) It is also true that if one were required to specify a period of literature in which he has seemed most at home, it would be that represented by this volume. That fact no doubt explains why this will be the longest of the five pre-modern volumes.

The first writer quoted here is Nakahara Hirotoishi (fl. ca. 1130-50), who wrote Chinese verse. The last is Komparu Zenchiku (1405-70), an actor, dramatist, and theorist of *nō*. They and the other writers treated certainly do not monopolize important Japanese literature. Much that is great has been treated in the two preceding volumes, and much that is great will be discussed in the ensuing two. But this volume deals with writers whom Japanese think their most profound. The author does not so much agree with that belief as give grounds for it.

A reader opening this volume without knowledge of the preceding ones may have some questions. Given certain unorthodox features of this *History*, such a reader may well wonder how the author construes "literature," "Japanese," and "history." Other questions might well be asked. What are the author's principles of periodizing? What kinds of ideology does he presume to be at work? Literary historians seldom deign to discuss these matters, and they are not discussed in this volume. Professor Konishi has, however, discussed them in the "General Introduction" that leads off the first volume of this *History*, and readers owe it to themselves to ponder that unusual essay on method. I do not promise that a reader will find that introduction entirely new in its principles or that everything in it may achieve total consent. But I do believe wholeheartedly that it is a remarkable statement of method, that it makes the author's enterprise intelligible, and that it is a model—an unprecedentedly explicit model—for a *literary history*.

Response to the first volumes in Japan has been highly enthusiastic. Our reviews come out more slowly, but what might be termed high gossip about the first volume has involved admiration with the opinion that this *History* may be above the heads of all but specialists. As a condemned generalist, I find that response somewhat surprising, although on reflection it does occur to me that certain articles on Japanese literature by James T. Araki and Howard Hibbett were ahead of their time. Even Robert H. Brower's and my *Japanese Court Poetry* seemed on appearance to have only Donald Keene as an "understander" (opposed by Ben Jonson

to the "mere reader"). It is, however, one thing to desire and another thing to do. If this *History* is in advance of the state of our art, I can imagine our successors saying in another thirty years: "Yes, that seems very true" (or "needs alteration now") and, especially, "Did people really require such things explained then?" In short, I thoroughly believe that if this *History* is in advance of the state of our art, it will bring that state to par in five or ten years. What more could be hoped for?

There are other matters that my responsibility to the author and his readers requires to be made plain. For one thing, this English version departs in some ways from the Japanese. Some matter has been deleted. Some things have been transferred from notes to the main narrative. And things have been added by the translators or myself. Where possible, these are signaled by information supplied in square brackets or otherwise. Such is the author's care that he has supplied detailed "References" for us. From time to time notes will be signaled "Auth., Trans." or "Auth., Ed." These involve a kind of dialogue by the translator or myself with the author, either by adjusting his references into notes or by offering comments based on correspondence with Professor Konishi. Of course the aim in all this is to indicate those instances where the author is not entirely responsible for what appears here.

Another major change involves our reduction of the heavy cross-referencing in the Japanese version. The reason for the cross-references in the original is that there is no index to each volume but only a single index planned to appear in the last. This English version, however, is being published in our usual fashion—volume by volume. We therefore supply detailed indexes to each volume.

The readers of this *History* will include specialists along with those for whom this five-volume account will be the first history of Japanese literature they will read. Specialists may wonder about a period of Japanese literature termed "The High Middle Ages." (The Japanese, "chūsei dainiki," means something rather more like "the second medieval period.") The explanation of the author's division is to be found in the "General Introduction" referred to, and certain matters concerning our usages will be found in the "Editor's Foreword" to the first volume. In particular, our usages are explained there for matters such as names, titles, and terms. (As will already have been clear, we do not italicize Japanese terms unless they would be italicized if they were English words. Anything else would needlessly clutter the pages, and nobody is likely to think that "yūgen" unitalicized or unquoted is an English term.) In leaving numerous terms "as they are" (such as waka, renga, hon'i, en), we do supply translations, definitions, or descriptions. Strictly speaking, however, there are no English equivalents, any more than there is a Japanese equivalent of "sestina" or "the sublime." True understanding—or at least familiarity—

comes only empirically. It is also true that Professor Konishi often attaches his own meaning to terms, and in those cases we have tried to signal his usage. A reader who forgets what is meant by hon'i, for example, can most easily find some account by consulting the index. The entry for "hon'i, defined" may not lead to a true definition, but it will assist in clarification.

Jin'ichi Konishi is well known for the strength, independence, and innovation of his thought. These qualities are sometimes esteemed more in theory than in practice (other than our own). The function of the translators and myself is to present in clear fashion what our author thinks, not to second-guess him. At times, however, he assumes knowledge that may be possessed by Japanese readers but that cannot be assumed by non-Japanese readers. In these instances, we have tried to supply necessary information.

Even specialists will be surprised by some things. There are two notable poets who appear in this volume, Kyōgoku Tamekanu and Saionji Sanekanu. At first I thought the translator was wool-gathering in mentioning them, but a look at the Japanese manuscript beside the English on my desk showed that Mark Harbison had got things right. Curious about the demise of my old acquaintances, Tamekane and Sanekane, I asked Professor Konishi why he designated them Tamekanu and Sanekanu. He replied that, in reading a facsimile of an old, trustworthy edition of Gofukakusa In Nijō's *Towazugatari*, he found that she consistently writes (in kana syllabary) "Tamekanu" and "Sanekanu." Since she knew them both, she knew how their names were pronounced.

A few other matters can be clarified. The age represented in the second volume of this *History* was no doubt the most creative of new kinds of writing of any age of Japanese literature. Specialists and novices alike will do well to consult (perhaps by its index) that volume for Professor Konishi's definitions of terms that apply to literary phenomena first appearing in the period of that volume. In particular I recommend attention to his discussions and definitions there of monogatari, nikki, and zuihitsu. In this volume, new kinds of literary practice emerge: for example, imayō, nō, and renga. To consider the last, Professor Konishi is one of but two or three living people to have composed renga. (His renga master, Yamada Yoshio, came from a family that practiced Satomura-school renga as an art.) His personal library is rich in old manuscripts of renga sequences and renga treatises. As he says in one of his books, his knowledge of renga and his criteria for judging that form of linked poetry are those he was taught. He says in effect that there may be other conceptions, but he does not know them. Because there is a little debate in the United States whether the dominant unit in renga is the stanza or the entire sequence, I have taken some pains to get the author's ideas clear, taking particular

care over chapter 15, and consulting Professor Konishi about details of presenting renga in English. I have also added an appendix to help nonspecialists gain a minimum idea of that kind of linked poetry.

In mentioning such matters, I owe it to the translators to thank them for their ardent care with the original. The three of us are well aware that we have had many peaks to cross, numerous shoals to ford. Getting across—the end of translation—is something we do not do clearly and gracefully without work, without luck. The translators have been not only devoted to the original but patient with my editing. Since I have been the last to lay hands on the volume, and since I have often retranslated, especially in the case of literary examples and passages, any faultfinding with the translation should begin with me.

To compare great things to small, this volume does not simply represent a momentous period in the history of Japanese literature. It also is the end of one stage in the English version. Aileen Gatten, the main translator of the first three volumes, ends her work with chapter 12 here, and I end my work with this third volume. I can say for both of us that we feel something of the pangs of ending that Gibbon felt for more authoritative reasons on completing his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. But each of us feels that it is the time for fresh minds to deal with the fourth and fifth volumes. In order to smooth the transition, we have sought and acquired the skills of Mark Harbison, who has translated chapters 13 through 18. Henceforth the editor is expected to be J. T. Rimer, whose qualifications are well known.

As with its two predecessors, this volume will be seen through press by Aileen Gatten and me. The acknowledgments will recount various kinds of aid we have received. And I speak for both of us in saying that if the first three volumes of this *History* mean as much to others as they have to us, readers will find this volume in particular no ordinary experience.

My apologies are due the author, the translators, and the readers of this volume for the delay of its appearance. The problems encountered were but two. For a time the material simply sat in the office of the editor to whom it had been assigned, with nothing happening till it had been moved to reader hands. The more serious cause of delay has been the nature of the “material.” The two translators decided to speed matters by using word processors. Unfortunately, in spite of strenuous efforts, it proved impossible to coordinate the software of three different word-processing systems, including that of Princeton University Press. As a result, the very long manuscript had to be typed and proofread in the old way.

Princeton
Spring 1985, Summer 1987

THE TRANSLATORS

AILEEN GATTEN has been chief translator of the first three volumes of this *History*. She is Research Associate at the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, and has taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the University of Michigan. Her interests and publications center on the *Genji Monogatari* and later eleventh-century vernacular fiction.

MARK HARBISON, translator of the last six chapters of this volume, resides in Tokyo. His interests include classical poetry, modern prose narrative, and activities of The Society for Study of Monogatari. He is the designated translator for the remaining volumes of this *History*.

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Aileen Gatten wishes to express her gratitude to the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan—especially to its former director, Professor John Campbell, and to Ms. Elsie Orb—and to Mr. Weiyang Wan, Mr. Masaei Saitō, and Ms. Choo-won Suh of the Asia Library, University of Michigan, for their valuable advice and assistance.

As editor, I wish to offer thanks to Walter Lippincott, Director of the Princeton University Press, for cutting the Gordian or computer knot that bound fast this volume. His payment for retyping in the old-fashioned manner enabled me to engage the services of Helen Wright, who has done excellent typing for me over a period of many years.

Cathie Brettschneider, the copyeditor of the previous volume, taught Aileen Gatten and me a good deal about copyediting then and has given assistance to the present volume. To Margaret Case we owe the benefits of faith, intelligence, and good humor in this volume's vicissitudes. One of the two readers of the manuscript of this volume, Marian Ury, identified herself, so enabling me to thank her on behalf of the author, the translators, and myself for an extraordinarily meticulous reading that has led to greater accuracy in numerous details.

Since my editorial responsibilities end with this lengthy, rich, and rewarding volume, it is altogether decorous to thank Nicholas Teele, who translated part of the first volume; Mark Harbison, who has begun with this volume; and Aileen Gatten, who has been the main translator of the first and third volumes and the sole translator of the second. I cannot imagine a more responsible or cheerful colleague than Aileen. Her voice returns in my memory as I read pages here and there. Although I have revised, changed, and retranslated, particularly the literary examples, and although I recognize that final responsibility for the English version of these first three volumes rests with me, I cannot thank her enough. She has also assisted greatly by making the index to this volume.

The manuscript of this volume consists of almost thirteen hundred pages. Fortunately, two skilled pilots helped bring it to port. Siobhán A. Roder of Princeton University Press has been unfailingly cheerful, helping not only on this large undertaking but also on additional navigational tasks. Of our copyeditor, Nancy Moore, I can offer no higher praise for that demanding task than this: she has the intelligent art of distinguishing at one end the essential from the important and, at the other, the small from the irrelevant. Would it were always so.

Of course, as Japanese say, the original is the original. I lack words to

describe the satisfaction of working about a decade on these first three volumes of Jin'ichi Konishi's *History of Japanese Literature*. The privilege is a rare one, as has been learning about waka and renga from close discussions with him begun over thirty years ago and now continued through the very end of reading copyedited manuscript on this segment of medieval Japanese literature. "Kyō ni nosuru gin."

PART ONE

*Between the Early and
High Middle Ages*

CHAPTER 1

The Afterglow of Prose and Poetry in Chinese

THE LATE T'ANG STYLE AND THE SHIFT TOWARD PLAINNESS FOR VERSE IN CHINESE

We begin with Japanese shih (poetry in Chinese). During the eleventh century this poetry was characterized by simplicity and increasing conventionalization, and it displayed no significant change with the beginning of the twelfth century. The shih flourished in quantity but was lackluster in quality. Yet the equally lackluster work of the twelfth century saw the rise of new trends.

The first of these was a broadening of subject matter. Eleventh-century Japanese shih unquestionably gravitate toward the safety of conventional subjects. A glance at any shih collection from this period will reveal a succession of subjects: "A Sketch of a Spring Day," "A Fu Composed on Peonies," "Delighting in the Moon at the Hosshōji Temple," or "At the Hearthside, Refined Conversation." They demonstrate that the shih constituted a Japanese version of the *ga* (refined, high-art) ideal from the eleventh to the twelfth century. In China this was the time of the middle of the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1126), which fostered a new, colorful shih style. Japanese shih, on the other hand, moved toward ever more homogeneous expression.

Chinese shih display various styles from the T'ang period (618-906) on. If we include the *yüeh-fu* (ballad) among the forms of Chinese poetry, their subject matter touches every aspect of life in society (see vol. two, ch. 6). Japan followed an opposite course, essentially because official relations had broken off between the two countries. The thirteenth Japanese embassy to the T'ang court, departing in 838, was the last official mission for centuries, and the consequent severing of government-sponsored exchange with China had a great effect on Japanese culture.¹ Private commerce by merchant ships, combined with many instances of Japanese monks traveling to China aboard these ships (Mori, 1948, 174-88), ensured that new Chinese books would continue to reach Japan. But books and information were imported only sporadically with this non-

¹ [Official relations with China recommenced in the latter half of the fourteenth century, at the behest of the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu.—Trans.]

governmental procedure and could not raise a cultural momentum great enough to affect the whole of Japan. There is no sign, after the tenth century, of literary activity equal to that engendered by the earlier overwhelming influence of Po Chü-i's (772-846) shih style on Japanese rulers and the court intelligentsia. For this reason, the situation of Japan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries resembles its self-imposed isolation from the seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. The varied stylistic currents within Chinese poetic circles were not reflected in the shih of Japanese poets, whose fixed critical standards consisted only of those widely applied in Japan. In this respect the period may be considered an extension of the Early Middle Ages.

The Japanese who wrote shih in the twelfth century constituted a self-contained group. They adopted little in the way of new poetic styles from China, not because the Japanese had developed their own styles, but due to certain preferences. Of all the poetic subjects deemed appropriate for the literati in China, the Japanese chose one category—called “leisure and tranquility” (hsien-shih) by Po Chü-i—and the stereotyped stance associated with it. The speaker of a poem composed in this style would employ lofty sentiments in praising the tranquil beauty of a suburban villa, a fisherman's thatched cottage, a renowned temple, or a similar place he has visited. A Japanese shih composed “On Visiting the ——— Temple on an Autumn Day” might be concerned with the temple of Chōrakuji, Ryōzenji, or Hōrinji, but the poem bears no relation to the subject of the title. The treatment is virtually identical regardless of the temple's or the poet's identity. Modern readers tend to dismiss such stereotyping out of hand. But before we force our own critical views—which stem from European Romanticism—on twelfth-century shih, we should consider why their authors were content to use the same approach repeatedly. Where we moderns find only uniform expression, they discovered a subtle, deeply resonant freshness. Moreover, a poet repeatedly composing on the same subject using the same treatment would be drawn to characteristic aspects of that subject. The poet's approach was, then, to strive to grasp the most typical element of the subject, its essence. It is highly significant that this approach was applied to shih at roughly the same time as waka poets were concerning themselves with the principle of hon'i (essential nature; see ch. 2).

Occasionally atypical shih subjects appear. They are few, but well worth our notice. Several shih, for example, are concerned with kugutsu, itinerant female performers commonly doubling as prostitutes.² Oe no

² There are, so far as I can tell, seven such poems in the extant corpus of twelfth-century Japanese shih. Burton Watson has translated one, Fujiwara Tadamichi's “The Puppeteers” (*Hosshōji Shū*, 406; Watson, 1975, 69).

Masafusa (1041-1111) treats this subject in prose in his “Kugutsuki” (“An Account of the Kugutsu”; see vol. two, ch. 9). It seems to have been a rather popular subject. Our concern is with its treatment. “The Kugutsu,” by Nakahara Hirotoishi (fl. ca. 1130-50), contains these lines (*Honchō Mudaishi* [= *HMDS*], 2:239):

They peddle love in Tamba, unaware of their ugliness;
 In notorious Akasaka, many sport moustaches.
 Faces powdered and daubed with rouge, they flirt constantly,
 Always praying that the gods and buddhas will grant
 them favor.

Hirotoishi appends commentary to his shih: he wrote the first line, he says, “because every kugutsu in Tamba is ugly”; and the second line was written “because a great many kugutsu from Akasaka, in Mikawa province, have moustaches. They are called the Moustachioed Misses.” It is a shameful scene—the notoriously homely Tamba kugutsu and their Akasaka counterparts, known for their moustaches, making coquettish approaches through heavy make-up—but it also communicates a sense of pathos.

Let us consider another shih, “On Seeing a Peddler Woman,” by Fujiwara Tadamichi (1097-1164; *HMDS*, 2:240).

A sorry sight, this downcast woman in her shabby clothes
 Who goes about peddling until the sun has set:
 Raising the price for undue profit, she stands before a door,
 Or cries her name outside the gate, lingering there awhile.
 A poor household offers custom, but she pays no heed,
 Forcing herself unbidden onto one of greater wealth.
 “The autumn moon” and “spring blossoms” struck me as passé,
 But this topic came to me very naturally.

This is the entire poem. Tadamichi occupied the supreme court offices of regent and chancellor. We do not know how he came to be so well informed about life in the city streets, but he gives a vivid description of the peddler woman. That is, modern readers find the poem vivid: other twelfth-century shih writers probably deemed it unacceptable. What is more, “On Seeing a Peddler Woman” clearly outdoes Hirotoishi’s “Kugutsu” in the frequent use of expressions that would puzzle a native Chinese. It goes far beyond the usual degree of linguistic distortion practiced by Japanese shih poets and yields a sense of unnaturalness in disregarding

Chinese poetic concepts. This is not simply a matter of diction. In the last two lines, the speaker takes the part of the composer to explain why the poem was written, a technique corresponding to the authorial intrusion (*sōshiji*) in fictional monogatari. Such expression is anomalous in regulated verse (*lü-shih*). Tadamichi probably intended his poem as a light piece, but the existence of several similar twelfth-century *shih* can only mean that they represent a contemporary poetic trend.³

Twelfth-century *shih* poets found value, then, in repeating established subject matter and styles, but its members also composed on the humblest of topics, using unprecedented approaches. A corresponding movement was taking place with *waka* during this period. There were two trends: to discover a subtle freshness in poems observing established expression and to seek out unprecedented subjects and styles (see ch. 2). Essentially, then, two literary positions coexisted during the twelfth century, one advocating retention of the formal *ga* aesthetic, and the other seeking to find freshness in the realm of *zoku* (nonstandard, lower art). We can only conclude that an identical literary consciousness functioned in both *shih* and *waka* and that this is one of the hallmarks of the twelfth century.

A second trend in the twelfth-century Japanese *shih* is a limited revival of the ornate (Ch. *ch'i-li*, J. *kirei*). Ornate features are also present in eleventh-century *shih*, but it is a Six Dynasties (400-618) style of ornateness—familiar to Japanese *shih* poets from the ninth century on—that becomes less striking through Po Chü-i's impact on Japanese *shih*. The ornateness in eleventh-century *shih* therefore suggests a possible return to the Six Dynasties style (see vol. two, ch. 6). By contrast, twelfth-century *shih* (though relatively few in number) abandon a muted ornateness to display something denser. This trend approximates the Late T'ang style more than that of the Six Dynasties. Po's style reigned in China during the Middle T'ang period (766-835), after which it swiftly declined.

During the Late T'ang period (863-906), poets like Tu Mu (803-52), Li Shang-yin (812-58), and Wen T'ing-yün (812-70?) reinstated the ornate style. The Six Dynasties ornate style is inclined toward beautiful diction, and overelaboration is more striking than the poetic concept. The Late T'ang emphasis, on the other hand, is on beauty emanating from the concept itself. The beauty of Late T'ang *shih* is underscored by a sense of

³ "On Seeing a Woman Peddling Charcoal" (*HMSD*, 2:240), by Prince Sukehito, describes a vendor from the northern suburbs of the capital. Subject matter for other *shih* includes: farmers, salt merchants, prostitutes, fortune-tellers, greengrocers, patent medicines, rice cakes, dogs, mice, flies, and colloquial speech. Gamblers appear in "One Hundred Couplets Composed in Reminiscence on a Day in Early Winter" (*Honchō Zokumonzui* [= *HZM*], 1:15-18), by Fujiwara Atsumitsu (1063-1144), which depicts ordinary urban affairs.

extreme delicacy, the ethereal attraction (*yōen*), say, of a flower at the last moment before it begins to fade. The beauty suggested by Six Dynasties poetry is youthful, while the Late T'ang sense verges on the emptiness of imminent decline. The High T'ang period (710-65), the most accomplished in the long history of China, began its downward course after An Lu-shan's revolt (755-63). After the Late T'ang period proper, there came a new, unsettled time, the Five Dynasties (907-59), an age of constant political upheaval. Late T'ang poetry charms one with its beauty, but leaves a sense of emptiness. This alluring, empty beauty reappears, albeit rarely, in twelfth-century Japanese *shih*.

The Late T'ang style has many facets. Its shared features with the twelfth-century Japanese *shih* are perhaps best seen in nature poetry. One example is "View from a Farmhouse on an Autumn Day," by Minamoto Tsunenobu (1016-97; *HMDS*, 7:283).

I visit a farmhouse at dusk; then, about to leave, I hesitate.
 Pressed to stay, I linger awhile, to gaze at the scenery.
 On the way through the suburbs, the last flowers were fading;
 At my lodge, near the water's edge, bent willows show autumn
 colors.
 Clouds darken the thatched eaves, rain comes from the mountain;
 A gale opens the pine door on fields veiled in mist.
 Reeds on the strand shine tonight with the moon bright on the
 waves.
 Oh, to row off angling with an aged fisherman!

There is no sign of the sumptuous diction characteristic of Six Dynasties poetry. The subject matter is similarly austere: autumnal growth is depicted as it fades rather than at the height of its beauty. This calls up a vision in the speaker's mind of the flowers as they had been at their peak, and because it is idealized, the envisioned beauty of the flowers exceeds their past beauty in reality. Focusing on fading reality while evoking an underlying beauty superior to that of reality is a technique redolent of Late T'ang poetry. The other subjects treated in Tsunenobu's *shih* are equally lacking in splendor. The autumnal willow, dark clouds, thatched eaves, the pine door, mist-wrapped fields, and reeds are all images of desolation. But because the scene is bathed in moonlight, the tone of the poem as a whole is one of tranquil beauty. The nature poetry of the High T'ang poet Wang Wei (699?-761) is justly celebrated, and it is not impossible that his collected works had reached Japan by this time. Wang's nature poetry certainly deals with rural scenes and phenomena, but the

keynote is the vigor and vitality of nature. There are no scenes of emptiness. In other words, Tsunenobu's shih bear closer affinities to Late T'ang poetry.

Of course, the Late T'ang style was oriented toward more than tranquil beauty, and many Late T'ang poems are brighter in tone. A corresponding example from the Japanese shih corpus is by Ōe no Masafusa: "Gazing at the Snow and Serving Wine" (*Chūyū Shihai*, 43).

My face peach colored, I am drunk: petals seem to dance;
 A tea branch cracks, my eyes open: the sound of bamboo breaking.
 The frigid moon is held captive by the indigo waters at dawn.
 White clouds fill the clear sky over jade mountains.

An evening's entertainment of snow-viewing and drinking continues through the night, and then the day begins to dawn. One is struck by the fresh, lovely colors—crimson peach blossoms, indigo waters, white clouds at dawn—and by the auditory image of bamboo branches snapping in the cold. This is a more affirmative poem than Tsunenobu's. Yet its beauty is sustained only by minute observations, a feature shared with Late T'ang poetry. Minute observation is an important element of the Late T'ang style, and it yields a beauty particularly characteristic of the period when verse is in the descriptive mode.

Subtly depicted scenes also appear to some extent in twelfth-century Japanese shih. There are several examples in *Honchō Mudaishi*.⁴

Glimpsed through a grove of scarlet leaves, the huts of fishermen;
 Mountain peaks pierce blue sky, the birds' path is secluded.
 (1:229; Minamoto Tsunenobu, "The Royal
 Progress to the Temple Byōdōin")

Their fragrance reaches my shutter; bedecked with dew, how
 charming they are!
 Stamens blow in an oblong course under the bamboo blinds.
 (2:233; Fujiwara Atsumitsu, "On Gazing at
 Blossoms in the Garden")

Slender leaves blow in the wind, a sound heralding autumn's chill;
 Glimpsed through delicate branches, one moon is bright despite the
 dawn. (2:237; Koremune Takatoki, "On Gazing at
 the Bamboo at My Window")

⁴ SGRJ ("Bumpitsubu," 7).

Forest blossoms scatter like snow on a gently breezy evening;
 Riverbank willows are wreathed in mist, a pleasant daytime sight.
 (4:257; Fujiwara Atsumoto, “A Reluctant
 Farewell to Spring”)

Mist enfolds the dewy bamboo, as on the banks autumn deepens.
 The wind brings a cicada’s song, chill as the forest darkens.
 (5:271; Fujiwara Michinori, “Composed
 Alone and at Leisure”)

Leaves scatter scarlet, covering my guests’ path;
 A stretch of moss, still green, will make them splendid seats.
 (9:298; Fujiwara Shigeaki,
 “On a Scene Before Me, One Autumn
 Day at the Zenrinji Temple”)

An indigo stream, colored by leaves, seems aflame in autumn;
 From a grand hall, a bell’s tolling comes in snatches on the dawn
 wind. (9:299; Fujiwara Mototoshi,
 “On a Scene Before Me, One Autumn
 Day at the Zenrinji Temple”)

The sunset light beneath the eaves comes filtered through the trees;
 A sound at dawn, bamboo leaves rustling at the window.
 (10:316; Fujiwara Chikamitsu, “On a Scene
 Before Me, at a Monastery in Higashiyama”)

Observation this minute does not easily accord with the fabricated logic characteristic of the Six Dynasties style.⁵ All the verses given above are in a purely descriptive mode, a feature also common to the Late T’ang style.

In absolute numbers, twelfth-century Japanese shih do not contain great quantities of expression in the Late T’ang style, but then again it is not a rare occurrence. What circumstances would account for this? As has been said, merchant ships continued to travel between Japan and the continent after the Japanese discontinued their embassies, suggesting that collections of Late T’ang shih may have entered Japan by such means. We know that Fujiwara Michinori (d. 1159) had poetry collections by Lo Yin (833-909) and Tu Hsün-ho (846-904) in his library.⁶ It follows that other Late T’ang collections were probably brought to Japan. A passage from Ōe no Masafusa’s “Shikyōki” (“An Account of the Stages of Shih”)

⁵ Fabricated logic is discussed in connection with the Early Middle Ages (see vol. two, ch. 1).

⁶ *Michinori Shomoku*, 548, 553.

reads: "In recent times, Po Chü-i and Yüan Wei-chih [Yüan Chen] changed the fashion. . . . The result came to be called the Yüan-ho style. It was practiced by everyone, including Chang Hsiao-piao, Hsü Hun, Tu Hsün-ho, and Wen T'ing-yün" (*Chōya Gunsai* [= CG], 3:64-65). We may correctly conclude that Masafusa mentions Chang Hsiao-piao and the other Late T'ang poets not simply as names known to him, but because he had read their shih collections.

Nevertheless, there was no effort made on official levels to adopt Late T'ang culture, an indication that the poetic styles of the Late T'ang period did not revolutionize Japanese shih. Typical Japanese shih remained focused on the traditional Po style. We have seen, however, that some twelfth-century Japanese shih contain expression in common with Late T'ang poetry: can this be satisfactorily explained by the sporadic importings of Late T'ang poetry collections? I would like to consider one more factor, the role played by Korean shih. Because few survive from the tenth and earlier centuries, their stylistic hallmarks are difficult to discuss. Ch'oe Ch'i-wön, an exemplary Korean shih poet during the late ninth through early tenth centuries, has left us examples written in the Late T'ang style, however (see vol. two, ch. 1). The many extant twelfth-century Korean shih are also written principally in the Late T'ang style, and so the same was probably true for the centuries immediately preceding. One example, drawn from the *Tong Munsön* (*Korean Selections of Refined Literature*), is the work of the renowned twelfth-century Korean poet Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151) and is titled, "Worshipping at the Temple of Anhüasa" (19:224).⁷

Though autumn nears its end, the shade is dense from garden trees;
The night still, I hear clean sounds of water coursing stones.
I waken to a chilly morning, as though rain might fall,
And recollect a night spent in a fishing boat among the reeds.

Kim's poem, like Tsunenobu's, captures a tranquil beauty through the minute description of scenery. This style appears frequently in twelfth-century Korean shih, although a brighter beauty is also to be found. "The West Capital," by Chong Ch'i-sang (d. 1135), is a good example of the latter (*Tong Munsön*, 19:226).

A spring breeze sweeps misty rain through the grand avenues;
Dust lies undisturbed, willow branches bend.

⁷ The *Tong Munsön* is an anthology of traditional poetry and prose written in Chinese by Koreans and is patterned after the Chinese anthology *Wen Hsüan*. The *Tong Munsön*, in 154 units, was compiled by royal command during the Yi dynasty, between the reigns of Söngjong (r. 1470-94) through Chungjong (r. 1506-44). The editors include So Kō-jöng and Sin Yong-gae.

Green window-frames, vermilion shutters, sad songs to the music
of pipes:
Each house belongs to a professional entertainer.

The lively imagery of the poem harks back to the ornate Six Dynasties style, but its detailed observation is truly characteristic of Late T'ang shih. "After Drinking," by the same poet, also has a Late T'ang beauty (*Tong Munsŏn*, 19:226).

In rain made crimson by peach blossoms, birds twitter and chirp;
The blue mountains ringing my house are dimmed by green mist.
My black silk cap is crooked; too much trouble to adjust it;
Drunk, I sleep on a flowery bank and dream of Chiang-nan.⁸

This poem and Masafusa's "Gazing at the Snow and Serving Wine" share a similar tone.

It is unclear whether such similarities do indeed stem from the influence of Korean shih. So far as I know, we have no information indicating whether Korean shih reached twelfth-century Japan in any quantity or how deeply they affected Japanese shih circles. On the other hand, during the twelfth century, both Korea and Japan undeniably slighted High T'ang poetry, preferring to compose in the Late T'ang style. If we discount direct influence, we must conclude that common features evolved in Korean and Japanese shih for some specific reason. That reason remains obscure. Nevertheless, both Korea and Japan made the Late T'ang style an object of enthusiasm during the twelfth century, a hundred years after its decline in China. This demonstrates that the cultural proximity between Japan and Korea was greater than that with China.

GA IN PARALLEL PROSE AND ZOKU IN PLAIN PROSE

Parallel prose (Ch. p'ien-wen; J. bambun) was the principal style of prose written in Chinese during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Japan, while the plain prose (Ch. san-wen; J. sambun) style was only beginning to emerge. The advance of plain prose becomes more marked in the twelfth century. Not that parallel prose went into retreat: it continued to be used frequently in Japan for formal documents. Despite the vast quantity of parallel prose works generated during this period, however, hardly a one deserves enthusiastic judgment. This may be because the Japanese were not exposed to the innovative plain prose styles of Han Yü (768-824) and

⁸ Chiang-nan, a region in southeast China centering on the Yangtze River, is famous for its scenery. Its rose plum blossoms, willows, and bamboo are often celebrated in shih. [Auth., Trans.]

Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819; see vol. two, ch. 6). Han and Liu advocated plain prose in reaction to the tired parallel prose style. As the plain prose style became more subtle, however, the writers of parallel prose were also obliged to strive for a more refined style. In fact, Late T'ang parallel prose, reinvigorated after the collapse of Han's and Liu's plain prose movement, displays expression even more finely rendered than that found in Early T'ang parallel prose, an indication of the Late T'ang desire that parallel prose not lose to plain prose in delicacy of treatment.⁹

Japanese plain prose, by contrast, simply employs freer expression than that used in parallel prose. It has none of the pleasing, compact structure and other features that are hallmarks of Chinese plain prose. Instead it might be described as a headlong rush toward lax expression. Deprived of the stimulating discipline that knowledge of true plain prose would have brought, Japanese parallel prose quite predictably lacks polish.

Although Japanese shih share some stylistic points with Late T'ang poetry, twelfth-century Japanese parallel prose is not at all like its Late T'ang counterpart. The reason may be that parallel prose was chiefly used for practical purposes in Japan. For example, *Honchō Zokumonzui* (*Continued Superlative Literature of Japan*), an anthology in thirteen parts, contains fu and shih in Part One and shih prefaces in Parts Eight through Ten. But the rest of the text is given over to various public documents such as royal edicts (sho), royal responses (chokutō), certificates of court rank (iki), formal responses (saku), official requests (hyō), memorials to the throne (sōjō), official letters (shojō), and to practical writings like encomia (san), disputations (ron), poetic inscriptions (mei), interbureau notices (chō), statements for sponsoring Buddhist services (hyōbyaku), and formal Buddhist prayers (gammon).¹⁰ The trend is more marked still in another work, *Chōya Gunsai* (*Anthology of Public and Private Documents*), extant in twenty-one parts.¹¹ Although Parts One through Three are entitled "Rhymed and Unrhymed Verse and Prose," there are not many works in such acknowledged literary genres as fu, shih, shih prefaces, waka prefaces [written in Chinese prose], prose on emotional themes (ji), and prose accounts (ki).

More than half these books consists of practical documents: poetic inscriptions, prose encomia, expositions to the throne (kei), formal Buddhist prayers, sponsors' statements, explanations of the origin of a cere-

⁹ Li Shang-yin and Wen T'ing-yun are exemplary composers in this style. Books on parallel prose composition appeared in great numbers earlier, during the Middle T'ang period, in response to growing technical subtleties (Kuo S., 1934, 273-81).

¹⁰ *Honchō Zokumonzui* contains works composed between 1018 and 1140. It is attributed, without firm evidence, to Fujiwara Suetsuna.

¹¹ *Chōya Gunsai*, originally made up of thirty parts, was compiled by Miyoshi Tameyasu (1049-1139).

mony or a religious institution (*engi*), explications of rules and customs (*shiki*), royal edicts (*sho*), pledges (*kishō*), state declarations to gods and buddhas (*kokubun*), and petitions to gods and buddhas (*saimon*). The twenty-five sections beginning with Part Four are given over entirely to public documents: royal decrees (*choku*) and edicts, informal royal messages (*senji*), state directives (*kampu*), certificates of court rank, official documents of resignation (*jihyō*), monthly court duty rosters (*gassō*), official requests (*seisō*), applications (*mōshibumi*), and internal memoranda (*chōjō*). The most utilitarian official documents were written in plain prose, but parallel prose was used in formal circumstances. Practical documents like formal Buddhist prayers and sponsors' statements were also written in parallel prose as a rule. Whether ceremonial or official, the circumstances in which parallel prose was employed were governed by the situation at hand, so rendering highly decorative language infeasible.

There are four essential conditions for parallel prose: (1) it must consist primarily of lines of four and six characters; (2) the main section must utilize parallelism; (3) the principal diction must follow evident prior example; and (4) a given one-line unit must follow an established pattern of level and deflected tones (see vol. two, ch. 1). But the matters dealt with in bureaucratic or everyday documents are of a different temporal nature from the subjects of the ancient Chinese classics, and appropriate literary precedents are not easily discovered. Japanese parallel prose in the twelfth century was therefore inevitably poor in literary allusions and not at all lovely by Chinese critical standards.

T'ang parallel prose is thought to have reached its zenith with the work of the Middle T'ang writer Lu Chih (754-805; Liu Lin-sheng, 1936, 88-94), but two somewhat later figures, Li Shang-yin and Wen T'ing-yün, also wrote beautiful parallel prose during the Late T'ang. Because of their abundant classical allusions, their works in practical prose kinds are quite lovely. Apparently, dealing with one's own national classics made it less difficult for the Chinese to express contemporary practical matters in precedent language. Further, the use of tonal patterns to differentiate one line of parallel prose from another was in effect no more than an intellectual, conceptual convention to the Japanese, who were unable to appreciate the beauty created by Chinese tonal patterns (see vol. two, ch. 1). So long as a work consisted basically of four- and six-character lines and used parallelism in its main section, Japanese considered it parallel prose.

Japanese parallel prose may be criticized from two perspectives: its failure to fulfill half the requirements of parallel prose (conditions 3 and 4 above) makes it rather dull literature, and its formal restrictions, which inhibit an author from stating his ideas freely, kept the genre from developing. Neither criticism hits home, however. Both are negated by a single fact: parallel prose was composed in great quantities from the thirteenth

century on. The volume reaches particularly impressive proportions with the fifteenth century and Gosan literature.¹² If parallel prose had been an uninteresting or an extremely difficult style, compositions employing it would not have appeared in such number.

Japanese parallel prose is lackluster when measured by Chinese criteria, but medieval Japanese, who did not take such criteria into account, undoubtedly found it quite interesting. Its fascination lay in the basic structure of parallel prose, which effectuates logical thought processes. Although the Japanese have not often shown talent for writing orderly, reasoned prose, an external framework can enable them to compose in a logical style. The more inept one is at writing logically, the greater one's satisfaction at finally being able to do so. It may seem bothersome to write prose entirely by the rules. On the other hand, one has only to keep the parallel prose form in mind and shape everything else to fit it, and one will achieve, fairly effortlessly, a decent prose style. This method will not yield a great style, but then neither will it be poor. This can be deduced from the *sōrōbun* style, the standard Japanese epistolary form up to the 1920s.¹³

It follows that parallel prose composition demands above all that form be kept in mind. Not surprisingly, the growing popularity of parallel prose during the twelfth century was accompanied by a demand for handbooks on parallel prose composition. *Sakumon Daitai* (*Basics of Composition*), compiled by Nakamikado Munetada (1062-1141), is an excellent example. One of its chapters, "Hitsu Daitai" ("Basics of Formal Prose"), gives a very clear picture of parallel prose structure.¹⁴ It mentions the following kinds of parallelism, used in the principal sections of a parallel prose piece (*Sakumon Daitai*, 68-69).

Decorative couplet (*shōku*): 3 characters per line (appears after the *hokku*, or opening phrase).¹⁵

¹² ["Gosan" or "five mountains" refers to three sets of five temples from the early fourteenth through the late sixteenth centuries: five of Zen monks in Kyoto, five of Zen monks in Kamakura, and five of nuns. Since little is presently known of the five convents, the expression refers principally to the monasteries. The identity of the five in Kyoto and Kamakura was not always the same, and there were not always five in one or the other place.—Ed.]

¹³ *Sōrōbun* originated from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century colloquial Japanese that was later polished into a literary language. It became a fixed form from the seventeenth century. Only a primary school education was necessary to compose a correct letter in *sōrōbun*, so long as it formed part of the curriculum. Writers usually followed a set pattern that could be varied to include the correct proper nouns, season, and location relevant to each letter.

¹⁴ The chapter probably predates Munetada's time (see vol. two, ch. 1, n. 61).

¹⁵ "Syllables" might be employed in this passage in place of "characters," since a Chinese character is monosyllabic.

Short couplet (*kinku*): 4 characters per line.

Long couplet (*chōku*): from 5 to 9 characters per line and occasionally exceeding 10.

Alternating couplets (*kakku*; a reference to alternating parallelism. Subdivisions follow).¹⁶

Light alternating couplets (*keikakku*): 4 characters per line in the first couplet, 6 per line in the second.

Heavy alternating couplets (*jūkaku*): 6 characters per line in the first couplet, 4 per line in the second.

Sparse alternating couplets (*sokaku*): 3 characters per line in the first couplet, any number in the second.

Dense alternating couplets (*mikkaku*): 5 or more characters per line in the first couplet, 6 or more per line in the second.

Equivalent alternating couplets (*heikaku*): both couplets have either 4 or 5 characters per line.

Mixed alternating couplets (*zakkaku*): 4 characters per line in the first couplet and from 5 to 8 per line in the second. Or, from 5 to 8 characters per line in the first couplet and 4 per line in the second.

In all cases, couplet lines end in an alternating tonal pattern. Parallel prose elements other than couplets include the following, none of which requires attention to tonal patterns.

Opening line (*hokku*): generally 1 or 2 characters but sometimes 3 or 4. Used to begin a work.

Free-form line (*manku*): from 4 to 8 characters and occasionally exceeding 10.

Concluding line (*sōku*): 1 or 2 characters. Indicates the end of a sentence.

Interjection (*bōji*): the wording is similar in nature to that used in the opening phrase. Interjections appear well into the work.

Correctly arranged, these lines produce prose that is beautiful in form and lively despite the predominance of four- and six-character couplets. *Basics of Composition* quotes Ki no Haseo's "Prayer on the Occasion of Dedicating the Round Hall at Temple Ninnaji" as an example of parallel prose (*Sakumon Daitai*, 70-71). An excerpt may be diagrammed with certain symbols: "L" indicates a level tone, "D" a deflected tone, and "X" the acceptability of either tone.¹⁷

¹⁶ In alternating parallelism, lines 1 and 3 and lines 2 and 4 form antitheses (see vol. one, ch. 7).

¹⁷ Varying the tone only at the end of a line is an abbreviated form, but this became standard in Japan (see vol. two, ch. 1).

(interjection)
 X X
 (mixed alternating couplets)
 X X X X X L
 X X X X X X D
 X X X X X D
 X X X X X X L
 (interjection)
 X X
 (decorative couplet)
 X X D
 X X L
 (long couplet)
 X X X X X L
 X X X X X D
 (interjection)
 X X
 (free-form line)
 X X X X X X X X X X
 (short couplets)
 X X X L
 X X X D
 X X X D
 X X X L
 (light alternating couplets)
 X X X L
 X X X X D
 X X X D
 X X X X L

Such prose did not always meet the Chinese criteria for truly beautiful writing. Nevertheless, the Japanese must have been amazed to find that they could turn speculative or nonlyrical subjects into orderly, cadenced prose if they followed the parallel prose form. And such disciplined prose had considerable charm for Japanese in the twelfth century. Without the element of this appeal, we cannot explain why so much parallel prose was composed, or why it was included with shih and fu in collections of literary prose and poetry in Chinese.

Twelfth-century Japanese parallel prose certainly has no appeal for twentieth-century readers. But this is because our scant knowledge of, and experience with, parallel prose keeps us from enjoying the same *ga* perspective as did the twelfth-century Japanese. We can have no reason to doubt their preference for parallel prose. The *Heike Monogatari* (*The*

Tale of the Heike) bears this out by quoting on nine occasions internal memoranda, solicitations for ecclesiastical contributions (kanjinchō), formal Buddhist prayers, and supplications to gods and buddhas (ganjo)—all parallel prose forms.¹⁸ In the widely circulated version (rufubon) of the *Heike*, these documents are transcribed in Chinese characters interspersed with kana, but the original versions of the parallel prose texts can easily be demonstrated. The documents are quoted in their entirety in the *Heike* because audiences enjoyed hearing them read aloud. The presence of nō plays like *Kiso*, *Ataka*, and *Shōzon*—where the important scene is one in which an official document is read aloud—gives further support to my statement.¹⁹ The musical techniques of reading a work out loud are emphasized in nō; but why was this particular style of document recitation incorporated into nō plays? Such documents had been objects of literary appreciation since the twelfth century, and their later role as artistic recitations served to enhance the original appeal that parallel prose had for Japanese.

The original parallel prose text (written in Chinese) retained its appeal when mingled with Japanese. When parallel prose is read aloud in Chinese, the long and short syllables, tempo, cadence, and tonal patterns are a symphony of vocalic contrasts, but this beauty vanishes when parallel prose is read in Japanese. Appeal nevertheless remains in the significance of the work, specifically in its parallel couplets.

The Japanese interest in parallel couplets originated in the tenth century. One of the chief motives for compiling anthologies like the *Wakan Rōeishū* (*Collection of Japanese and Chinese Songs*, 1013) was to revel in parallelism (see vol. two, ch. 6). Admiration was limited to individual parallel couplets, however. When parallel prose is read in Japanese, antithetical couplets are intermixed with non-antithetical ones, making the parallelism in the text stand out more than in the original. There is no monotony in its variety of long and short parallel couplets. Japanese prose dominated by parallelism had been attempted in the Japanese Pref-

¹⁸ *Heike Monogatari* [=HM] (Kakuichi manuscript), 4:297-98, 299-300, and 300-302; 5:357-58 and 369-70; 7:70-71, 85-87, 88-89, and 89-91. If Yasuyori's norito [text for Shinto rites] is counted as equivalent to parallel prose, there are ten instances (2:200-201). Royal commands by former tennō (10:251-53 and 11:364-66) are not counted.

¹⁹ Reciting the document texts in these three plays has become a focal art in modern nō. *Kiso* is based on an episode in the *Heike* in which Kiso Yoshinaka, a commander of the Genji forces, has his secretary Kakumei compose a prayer (ganjo) to Hachiman, tutelary deity of the Genji clan, beseeching him to grant Yoshinaka's forces victory over the Heike army in a coming battle. The recitation of the prayer and Kakumei's dance before the shrine form the core of the play. One of the high points in *Ataka* is Benkei's impromptu recital of the contents of a make-believe subscription list for rebuilding the temple Tōdaiji in Nara. In *Shōzon*, the warrior-monk Shōzon, sent by the shogun Yoritomo to assassinate Yoshitsune, writes a pledge (kishō) before Yoshitsune attesting that he has not in fact come to kill him. [Auth., Trans.]

ace (kanajo) to the *Kokinshū* (the first royally commissioned collection of Japanese poetry, ordered in 905). But that was an exception.

By the twelfth century, on the other hand, the popularity of reading prose in Chinese by means of a Japanese transcription was joined by the practice of appreciating parallel prose in this form too. The apparent result was the rise of Japanese prose in the mixed style (*wakan konkōbun*), influenced by parallel prose.²⁰ Nakatada, one of the heroes of the *Utsuho Monogatari* (*The Hollow Tree*), is commanded to read aloud a work written by his grandfather Toshikage. He does so, “once in Japanese pronunciation [kun] and once in Chinese [koe]” (*Utsuho Monogatari*, “Kurabiraki,” Pt. 2: 268/1062).²¹ This was the tenth-century method of reading. By the twelfth century, however, Chinese prose seems hardly ever to have been read in its original word order and according to Sino-Japanese pronunciation. My surmise is supported by the rapid increase, from the twelfth century on, of manuscripts of works in Chinese with detailed *kunten* annotations [supplementary kana and marks indicating Japanese word order; see n. 21]. Prose in the mixed style, influenced by parallel prose, arose from these conditions. They provide important points of reference in considering the *Hōjōki* (*An Account of My Hut*) and *The Tale of the Heike* (see ch. 11).

Twelfth-century Japanese prose in Chinese is noted for its breadth of subject matter. Japanese were taking an interest in the matter of their writing as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries (see vol. two, ch. 6), and by the twelfth, many essays had appeared on events occurring in Japan and on matters of private import. Up to this time, writers of prose in Chinese had selected such subjects as could be expressed in the classical literary language and had made no attempt to write about things that could not be elegantly expressed. By contrast, twelfth-century writers made no effort to avoid previously eschewed subjects. The reasons are of a reciprocal nature. First, Japanese writers had become more advanced in composing prose in Chinese. They were now able to write about matters that did not demand attention to proper diction and parallelism. Second, Japanese prose in Chinese began to take on a more indigenous cast as

²⁰ Passages in the *Eiga Monogatari* appear to be parallel prose transcribed into Japanese, indicating that prose in the mixed form originated in the eleventh century (see vol. two, ch. 8). The practice of reading parallel prose in Japanese did not become popular until the twelfth century, however. [*Wakan konkōbun*, mingling of Sinified and Japanese readings of characters, designates a practice that developed over the centuries, becoming in effect the standard way of writing and speaking and so the basis of modern Japanese.—Ed.]

²¹ [“Kun” refers, in one meaning, to reading Chinese prose or poetry in Japanese word order (which differs significantly from the Chinese) and with Japanese particles and verb endings. Special marks (known as *kaeriten*) inserted between characters indicate how the Chinese text is to be reordered in its Japanese reading. “Koe” (now “on”) refers to reading the Chinese text in its original form, and pronouncing the characters in a Japanese approximation of the original Chinese sounds.—Trans.]

Japanese tolerance increased toward writers using language that would appear odd to Chinese readers. This is why subjects previously left untouched now begin to appear. Needless to say, plain prose was the only feasible style for such subjects. Parallel prose would have been virtually a technical impossibility.

A good example of a nontraditional subject is *Mutsu Waki* (*Account of the Mutsu Rebellion*), which describes the suppression, from 1051 to 1062, of a rebellion in Mutsu province.²² It is written in fairly proper Chinese prose. I say “fairly proper” because the diction and couplet structure in *The Mutsu Rebellion* are relatively free of Japanese usages, and its author is familiar with parallel techniques. Since *The Mutsu Rebellion* is written in plain prose, it contains only two instances of alternating parallelism [requiring two couplets], but several skillfully composed single couplets appear in the work.²³ It also contains many classical allusions. Composing such a work demands considerable erudition, a fact that has led, probably correctly, to the conjecture that the author was a Confucian official gifted in prose composition (Ōsone, 1964, 45-51). There are indeed many allusions to the Chinese classics, but the quantity is striking only in a twelfth-century Japanese context. There are also qualitative problems. A contemporary Chinese intellectual had access to far more classical texts than his Japanese counterpart and memorized them from childhood. He could therefore choose the allusion that would most effectively express a given matter in his composition. But Japanese writers, who were far less conversant with the Chinese classics, had enough to do applying their meager store of allusions as aptly as possible. Inevitably, incorrect allusions occurred. The author of *The Mutsu Rebellion* embellishes several accounts of events with information gleaned from Chinese classics (Ōsone, 48-50). This is less fiction or invention than a sign that the author, limited in his knowledge, was unable to choose the most appropriate literary authority.

Attempts to write on Japanese subjects in Chinese prose increased rapidly during the twelfth century. Some examples are Ōe no Masafusa’s “Yūjoki” (“An Account of Courtesans”), “Kugutsuki” (“An Account of the Kugutsu”), and “Rakuyō Dengakuki” (“An Account of Dengaku in the Capital”), all of which are concerned with popular matters of the day.²⁴ Masafusa’s “accounts” (ki) deal with subjects unbecoming a genre

²² *Fusō Ryakuki* (XII.1062) quotes a section from a work called *Ōshū Kassenki* (*Record of the Civil War in Mutsu*; *Fusō Ryakuki*, 29:298-99) that very nearly matches part of the *Mutsu Waki* text. Variants unique to each text suggest that *Ōshū Kassenki* is an early draft of the extant *Mutsu Waki*. The older text is assumed to date from the end of the eleventh century, and so *Mutsu Waki* was probably written in the early twelfth century.

²³ *Mutsu Waki*, 36 and 46.

²⁴ “Yūjoki” (CG, 3:66-67); “Kugutsuki” (CG, 67); “Rakuyō Dengakuki” (CG, 68-69).

ranked as the literary equal of poetic inscriptions, prefaces, official requests, and prose encomia.

In the ninth century Po Chü-i wrote a great deal on the popular society of his time, but his medium was always the shih, not prose. Subjects like Masafusa's do not appear in the extant twenty-four prose accounts by Po. Aside from a difference of scale, Masafusa's accounts are essentially similar to Yang Hsüan-chih's (fl. 528-50) *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi* (*Account of the Monasteries of Loyang*).²⁵ Yang's work is a record of what he saw and heard in the former capital of the Northern Wei dynasty, Loyang—its scenery, culture, customs, and history. Despite his humble subject, Yang's style is far above base writing. It differs in nature from the ornate mainstream style of the Six Dynasties period, but Yang's sorrow at the lost glory of Loyang is vividly expressed by this emotionally controlled work. By comparison—and setting aside the question of thematic weight—Masafusa's accounts have nothing in their style that moves us. But rather than lament that a Joseph Conrad did not happen to be born in twelfth-century Japan, I would like to discuss the abundance of varied subjects treated by writers of prose in Chinese during this time. Their interest in popular subject matter proved to be highly useful in strengthening the bond between the intelligentsia and setsuwa [here, as in “setsuwa bungaku,” setsuwa are stories originating in the past or present (usually the past) and presented as if actual or true].

Masafusa was apparently fond of local gossip and stories; his *Gōdan-shō* (*The Ōe Conversations*) contains several such entries. A fondness for gossip is not limited to Masafusa. *Fukegatari* (*Lord Fuke's Stories*) and *Chūgaishō* (*Notes on Matters Inside and Outside the Capital*) are similar works that also display the contemporary intellectuals' strong interest in stories about society.²⁶ Masafusa's *Honchō Shinsenden* (*Accounts of Japanese Immortals*) provides further evidence of his interest in local tales. It recasts setsuwa from conventional documents into the Chinese biographical sketch (*chuan*) genre. But Masafusa relied on more than written setsuwa. There are clear signs that he incorporated oral folk transmissions

²⁵ [A translation of this work appears in W.J.F. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493-534)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).—Trans.] The Chinese capital was moved to Loyang by Emperor Hsiao-wen in 493, during the Northern Wei dynasty. Loyang flourished until 534, when civil war forced Emperor Hsiao-wu to move the capital to Yeh, and subsequent wars reduced Loyang to ruins. In 547, during the reign of the Eastern Wei dynasty, Yang Hsüan-chih visited Loyang on official business, was pained to see its sorry state, and re-created its past glory in his prose account. Little is known of Yang's life.

²⁶ *Fukegatari* is Takashina Nakayuki's (1121-79) record of some of Fujiwara Tadazane's (1078-1162) conversations. Tadazane was known as Lord Fuke (Masuda, 1960b, 42-67). *Chūgaishō* is another collection of Tadazane's conversations, recorded by Nakahara Hiromoto (dates unknown). The first part is missing its opening passage, but the second survives intact.

to embellish his stories. The anonymous author of *The Mutsu Rebellion* writes, "This book is composed of excerpts from reports sent from the provincial seat to the central government, combined with what I gathered from conversation among the populace" (*Mutsu Waki*, 57).

There seems to have been a contemporary tendency to make use of oral folk transmissions. One of these is Masafusa's "Kobi Ki" ("A Record of Fox Magic"), an example of unusual events set down in Chinese prose.²⁷ "Fox Magic" records how foxes bewitched people in Japan and China and includes an instance of a Japanese bewitched in 1101. The Chinese have written from antiquity about foxes that take human form and bewitch people. Masafusa writes: "The Chinese histories record many instances of foxes bewitching people to mysterious effect. Consort Ta of Yin was in fact a fox with nine tails who had taken human form. Miss Jen became a man's concubine, but when she went to Ma-wei she was killed by a dog" (*HZM*, 11:192).²⁸ Stories of humans bewitched by foxes were probably transmitted from China and disseminated among the people through the agency of intellectuals, an instance of an elite subject "descending" to a lowlier plane. On the other hand, after such stories became popular among the common people, they reappeared in prose in Chinese. Here the opposite phenomenon occurs: a subject of lowly origin "ascends" to a higher literary plane. (For further details, see vol. one, General Introduction.) In both cases, an intelligentsia well grounded in the Chinese curriculum (*kangaku*) played an instrumental role. The phenomenon of intellectuals mediating between lowly and refined subjects first shows signs of life in the eighth century and by the twelfth had made marked advances. One facet of this phenomenon was the tendency of twelfth-century literary figures—including writers of prose in vernacular Japanese and in the mixed form—to deal with subjects centering on society. Then again, the interest taken in such subjects by Masafusa and other *kangaku* specialists would have given the trend considerable impetus.

²⁷ *HZM*, 11:191-92.

²⁸ There are episodes in *Sou-shen Chi* (18:219-20) and *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi* (4:204-205) concerning foxes that take human form. Such stories therefore seem to date from the Six Dynasties period. Masafusa's allusion to Consort Ta is obscure, but we may assume that the writer mentions Miss Jen in reference to the T'ang story "Jen-shih Chuan" ("The Story of Miss Jen") by Shen Chi-chi. The latter story appears in *T'ang-Sung Ch'uan-ch'i Chi* (*Ch'uan-ch'i*, 1:33-42), and is translated by H. C. Chang in *Chinese Literature, Volume 3: Tales of the Supernatural* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984). A man named Cheng falls in love with a beautiful woman, Jen, who is in fact a fox in human form. Cheng eventually discovers this, but his love for her remains unchanged, and the two continue to live happily together. Then Cheng is posted to a remote area in the west, and he asks Jen to accompany him. She refuses, saying that a sorceress warned her not to go west that year. Cheng mocks her superstition and forces her to go with him. When they reach a place called Ma-wei, a hunting dog bounds out of a thicket. Jen falls from her horse, takes her true form, and runs away, but the dog catches and kills her. The fox is buried with great ceremony by the grief-stricken Cheng. [Auth., Trans.]

The situation differed considerably in the field of Chinese prose written by Koreans. Under the leadership of Kim Pu-sik in the early twelfth century, plain prose had begun its rise, while parallel prose was excluded from formal composition. A Korean approach to plain prose composition, modeled on precepts of the Chinese *ku-wen* (ancient prose) style, first manifested itself in Yejong's reign (1106-23), but became fixed during the reign of Injong (1123-47). The Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) established official relations with Sung China in the late tenth century, and Sung literature entered the country in great quantity. In 1080, Pu-sik's father, Kim Kŭn (dates unknown), was dispatched as a government envoy to China. This proved to be the direct impetus for the Korean adoption of the plain prose style systematized by Su Shih (Tung-p'o, 1037-1101). Kim Kŭn, a devotee of Tung-p'o's school of plain prose, taught his children the style upon his return to Korea.²⁹

To be sure, little survives from the twelfth-century corpus of Korean prose in Chinese. The few pieces contained in such anthologies as *Tong Munsŏn* (*Korean Selections of Refined Literature*) provide insufficient data for any general observations (Yi, 1961, 102), but Pu-sik's *Samguk Sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*), in fifty parts, indicates the level attained by contemporary Korean plain prose. Because Pu-sik naturally relied on already extant documents in writing his history, we cannot tell how much of the text reflects his own style. Nevertheless, Pu-sik's orderly narration of a wide range of events displays a command of advanced plain prose techniques, and his faithful observance of Chinese vocabulary and grammar is very likely a tendency shared by Korean intellectuals of the time.

There are obvious differences between the *The History of the Three Kingdoms* and a Japanese historical work like Fujiwara Michinori's *Honchō Seiki* (*The Annals of Japan*). Michinori, one of the best known *kan-gaku* scholars of the twelfth century, wrote his *Annals* in a Chinese prose style heavily laced with Japanese usages. This is due to the author's small inclination to reproduce faithfully accurate Chinese; it does not indicate that Michinori was less proficient in Chinese than Kim Pu-sik. *The History of the Three Kingdoms* and *The Annals of Japan* underwent similar formative processes, since both are amalgams of earlier records. But where Pu-sik seems to have corrected texts with erroneous or unnatural

²⁹ Kim Kŭn had four sons, Pu-p'il, Pu-ch'ŏl, Pu-sik, and Pu-ŭi. The eldest son was named after Fu Pi (1004-83) ["Pu-p'il" is the Korean pronunciation for characters read "Fu Pi" in Chinese], a famous government minister of the Northern Sung dynasty; the second son was named after Su Che (1039-1112) ["ch'ŏl" and "Che" are written with the same character], and the third son after Su Shih ["sik" and "Shih" are written with the same character]. Pu-ch'ŏl used the pseudonym Tzu-yu (also employed by Su Che) and later changed his name to Pu-il. Kim Kŭn probably chose such names out of a wish to make Sung culture, which he greatly admired, take root in Koryŏ Korea (Kim S., 1973, 173-74).

Chinese usages, Michinori evidently left the Japanese usages in his sources untouched. Their procedures reflect the difference between Korean and Japanese attitudes toward Chinese culture, rather than individual differences between Kim Pu-sik and Michinori.

Twelfth-century Japanese intellectuals revered Chinese culture and worked hard to absorb it, but they did not fret if aberrant features appeared in their writing. Accordingly, from the thirteenth century on, Japanese produced great quantities of prose in Chinese that would have struck a Chinese as incomprehensible. This corpus has been subjected to criticism and reexamination by Japanese scholars of Chinese in more recent times. In ideal terms, study of a foreign culture should yield the ability to express oneself as correctly as a native of that country. But the ideal is rarely attained. Once one realizes the infeasibility of speaking and writing like a native, there are two paths from which to choose. With the first, one gives up trying to express anything that cannot be phrased correctly in the foreign language, limiting oneself instead to what *can* be expressed. The second approach is to say whatever one wishes, regardless of the result.

The Japanese intellectuals of the twelfth century took the latter path. Their choice invites criticism on purely rational grounds, but its consequences were not all pernicious. Prose from the twelfth century on was greatly enriched by its authors' attempts to express—in something resembling Chinese prose—content that could never have been accurately presented in proper Chinese. A Koryō literatus would have found works like the *Azuma Kagami* (*The Mirror of the East Country*) acutely discomfiting and would not have wished to write anything of the sort. And yet I need not stress how vividly *The Mirror of the East Country* communicates a sense of thirteenth-century Japan. Since most of the Koryō literary corpus was destroyed by war and rebellion, we cannot assert that Koryō never possessed literature on various aspects of society. On the other hand, Japanese written records also suffered severe damage during the wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and yet even the most inconsequential works of prose in Chinese happen to survive. We may conclude that the Koryō intelligentsia composed and transmitted only works written in correct Chinese. It depends on a country's criteria whether or not Chinese culture is adopted in its purest, most faithful form. The opposing positions taken by Japan and Korea unquestionably guaranteed that the two countries would produce differing literatures in versions of Chinese from the thirteenth century onward.

CHAPTER 2

Old and New Styles in Waka

INNOVATION AND CONSERVATION

Once the subjective *Kokinshū* style was consolidated in the *Shūishū* (1005-1008) period, the only literary phenomenon worth remarking in waka (poetry in Japanese) until the compilation of the *Goshūishū* in 1086 is an enormous output. That year also marked the initiating of indirect rule by the strongly individualist abdicated sovereign Shirakawa (r. 1072-86), and the commencement of a period of rule by cloistered sovereigns (*insei*).¹ The political trend was not immediately reflected by poetry, however, which continued to keep to established styles. The first clear indication of a new style appears in the *Kōwa* era (1099-1104) with the *Horikawa In no Ontoki Hyakushu Waka* [= *Horikawa Hyakushu*] (*Hundred-poem Sequences from Horikawa's Reign*). The new style can hardly have sprung up in those five years. Poets had clearly been moving toward the new style for some time, although lack of external evidence makes it impossible to arrive at precise dating. If we adopt the reasonable assumption that the formation of the innovative style required at least ten years, we may conclude that the first developments occurred around 1090.

The *Shinkokinshū* period (in the wide sense, ca. 1190-1232) marks the formation of another revolutionary style, and that collection offers the quintessential literature of the High Middle Ages. Needless to say, the age did not suddenly come into being when this, the eighth royally commissioned waka collection, was submitted to the throne in 1205. As with the new waka style of the eleventh century, we must go back some years to find the origin of the *Shinkokinshū* style, and again there is no clearly discernable date. The *Shinkokinshū* was immediately preceded by the

¹ [In 1086 Shirakawa abdicated in favor of his son Taruhito, who reigned as Horikawa Tennō. Horikawa was eight years old at the time of his enthronement. Because he had no Fujiwara connections on his mother's side, the new tennō was not controlled by a Fujiwara maternal relative—as had long been the practice—but by his abdicated father. Shirakawa thus continued to rule indirectly through his son. The *insei* system [indirect rule by a retired monarch] continued—with varying degrees of actual power—until the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate in 1185. For further information on Shirakawa and *insei*, see G. Cameron Hurst III, *Insei: Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan, 1086-1185* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 3-9 and 130-47.—Trans.]

Senzaishū, submitted in 1187. In 1193, the famous *Poetry Match in Six Hundred Rounds* (*Rōppyakuban Utaawase*) was convened. The *Shinkokinshū* style of profound beauty is a strong presence in the *Match*, and proved so overwhelming that even Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204), the Grand Old Man of Waka, could not suppress it. Thus even the most conservative estimate would place the emergence of the *Shinkokinshū* style no later than 1190, the year of the poet Saigyō's death.

Taken cumulatively, these points indicate that there are clear signs of transition from the *Kokinshū* style to the *Shinkokinshū* style during the hundred years from 1090 to 1190. The transitional period ends about ten years before the start of the twelfth century proper. For purposes of convenience, however, I shall term the innovative poetry twelfth-century waka, since its chronological boundaries can only be vaguely delineated.

One obvious fact aiding us in determining the nature of twelfth-century waka is a fifty-percent reduction in the scale of the royal collections of this period. There are various explanations why the fifth and sixth anthologies, the *Kin'yōshū* (ca. 1124-27) and the *Shikashū* (ca. 1151-54), are the only ones to consist of ten rather than twenty books. Whatever the reason for the reduction, both anthologies were compiled by royal command, so that the change of scale would have required the concurrence of their sponsors, a tennō or former tennō. The fancy titles—*Kin'yōshū* (*Collection of Golden Leaves*) and *Shikashū* (*Collection of Verbal Flowers*)—must have been equally surprising for twelfth-century readers. The titles of preceding anthologies—*Gosenshū* (*Later Collection*; 936-66), *Shūishū* (*Collection of Gleanings*), and *Goshūishū* (*Later Collection of Gleanings*)—all signify the transmitting and supplementing of material bequeathed by earlier ages. This was essentially true for the poems and their subjects. But in keeping with its revolutionary name, the *Kin'yōshū* includes innovative categories like renga.² Such radical departures could not have been achieved without the strong concurrence of the *Kin'yōshū* sponsor, the cloistered Shirakawa.

Shirakawa named Minamoto Shunrai (i.e., Toshiyori; 1055?-1129?) editor of the *Kin'yōshū*. Shirakawa did not act in the usual way of sponsors, however, and passively certify the results of the editor's labors. Quite the contrary: the first draft of the *Kin'yōshū*, probably submitted between the Twelfth Month of 1124 and the First Month of 1125, was rejected by Shirakawa as "too old-fashioned."³ Shunrai thereupon took the drastic step of omitting most of the works by poets already repre-

² [The renga involved is not that of sequences as usually thought of but tanrenga (short renga), a capping of the first three lines of a waka form with the last two by another poet. See *Kin'yōshū*, 10:692-710. See also "From Waka to Linked Poetry" in this chapter.—Ed.]

³ Ikeda Tomizō has deduced the probable date of submission (Ikeda, 1973, 88-91). Shirakawa's opinion is quoted in *Imakagami*, 7 ("Musashino no Kusa"):313.

sented in the first three royal waka anthologies, among them at least thirteen poems by Ki no Tsurayuki (884-946) that had appeared in the first draft.⁴ But the second draft, “representing none but poets favored by His Majesty,” was also rejected.⁵ The third draft, which Shirakawa finally accepted, included several more poems by Fujiwara Nagayoshi, Minamoto Michinari (fl. ca. 1020), and Sone no Yoshitada (fl. ca. 985), and borrowed considerably from Nōin’s *Gengenshū*.⁶

The favor accorded waka composed by Yoshitada—who had been labeled a “crazy, addled fellow” during his lifetime—is a further indication that new literary conceptions were coming into being. These events are frequently interpreted politically, as signifying Shirakawa’s extending into the realm of waka his determination to overthrow the Fujiwara regency and return the country to royal rule. This process may well have occurred. But explanations linking a literary phenomenon to a single source tend to present difficulties. It is difficult to see the connection between the ideal of a royal restoration and the wildly fluctuating editorial decisions made in the three drafts of the *Kin’yōshū*, other than as fluctuations clearly occasioned by Shirakawa’s strongly held opinions. The impress of royal opinion is one of the hallmarks of twelfth-century waka.

Poetic styles also exemplify individuality. Unless one remembers the poet’s name, tenth- and eleventh-century waka are difficult to distinguish by style alone. Then contemporary readers would have found subtle differences among such poems, but even those by the most famous poets of the period—Tsurayuki, Ki no Tomonori (d. ca. 905), Ōshikōchi Mitsune (dates uncertain), and Mibu no Tadamine (d. ca. 920), for example—all seem alike to modern readers. Only Yoshitada and Izumi Shikibu (b. 976?) have distinct poetic styles, and neither received much recognition from contemporaries. From the twelfth century on, their waka came to be valued highly. Two prominent twelfth-century waka poet-critics, Shunrai and Fujiwara Mototoshi (1056-1142), have very distinct waka styles. There are equally clear differences between Saigyō’s (1118-90) and Shunzei’s poems. Individual poetic styles become still more pronounced in the *Shinkokinshū* period, when the poetic scene presents a grand spectacle of many different flowers abloom all at once.

⁴ The only extant manuscript of the first draft, in the Seikadō Bunko collection, is in a hand attributed to Fujiwara Tamesuke (Matsuda Takeo, 1956, 186). It is, unfortunately, incomplete, reproducing only the first five books. Thirteen of Tsurayuki’s waka appear in this section, and there may have been more in Books 6-10. That is why I say “at least thirteen” of his waka were omitted.

⁵ *Imakagami*, 7:313. The second draft was submitted to Shirakawa in IV.1125. This has been the widely circulated version (rufubon). The third draft is a relatively recent discovery.

⁶ “The monk Nōin lived not long ago. He determined to follow in Kisen’s footsteps, and his poetry was famous. Selecting waka by every poet he had ever known, Nōin called his collection the *Gengenshū*” (*Goshūshū*, Preface, 426). [Further information on Nōin appears in the next section of this chapter.—Trans.]

An antecedent phenomenon occurs during the twelfth century, that is, in the Japanese shift in shih poetry from the Six Dynasties style to the T'ang style, which took place about four hundred years after the original Chinese trend. The Chinese were able to distinguish among individual Six Dynasties poetic styles: "Yü Hsin's style is clear and fresh, / And Pao Chao's elegant and free." They strike one, however, as about as distinct as Tomonori's style is from Tsurayuki's. Yet even I can make some distinctions among poems by Li Po (701-62), Tu Fu (712-70), Han Yü, Po Chü-i, Li Shang-yin, and Wen T'ing-yün. Increasing individuality proves to be an important indicator in differentiating the waka of the High Middle Ages from that of the Early Middle Ages.

In the judgments handed down at waka matches (*utaawase*) we also find a growing individuality. Mototoshi and Shunrai are important twelfth-century poetic arbiters; Fujiwara Akisuke (1090-1155) and his son Kiyosuke (1104-77) were also influential. But Shunzei was the supreme authority. These judges were instrumental in altering the nature of the waka match. A judge's opinion, which evaluated each waka submitted for competition, naturally differed according to the individual judge. Depending on who pronounced on the poems matched, the results would vary considerably. The variance reflects a twelfth-century change in the attitudes on which judgments were based. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, waka matches were essentially elegant diversions for highborn nobles, who revelled in presenting formal waka amid splendid settings (see vol. two, ch. 7). Victory was less important. But by the twelfth century, winning a waka match meant great glory for a poet, and conversely, defeat brought deep shame. The thought of giving one's life for a single superlative waka, an idea nonexistent in the eleventh century, was a widely held view from the twelfth century on (see ch. 5). Moreover, when the waka match changed from refined rivalry over achieving the utmost luxury of the setting and instead focused on the quality of the poetry itself, the importance of the judge also increased.

This important shift stimulated the development of waka poetics. Through the eleventh century, when victory in a waka match was of less than supreme interest, Fujiwara Kintō (966-1041) and a few others produced some works on poetics. Their authors were well aware of Chinese treatises, and they consciously strove to formulate an authoritative critical account of waka so that it might achieve equality with shih as a premier art. Many of their treatises are theoretical (and occasionally pedantic), rarely having much bearing on actual composition.

Works on waka poetics not only increased markedly during the twelfth century but also are clearly different in quality. Rather than offer pure theory, these treatises incessantly address the practicalities of winning at waka matches. Modern Japanese scholars of their country's literature

tend to perceive waka treatises as works on aesthetics. They are correct insofar as waka is an art; analyzing the principles set forth in waka treatises will therefore yield aesthetic thought. On the other hand, it is difficult, at least with twelfth-century waka treatises, to discern a conscious drive to state aesthetic thoughts in a logical, systematic fashion. Their authors were concerned instead with what they perceived as the most important matter: offering their readers, as amply and accurately as possible, information necessary for victory in a waka match.

Not surprisingly, Shunrai and Mototoshi, both eminent scholar-poets, wrote treatises. Shunrai's *Shumpishō* (*Secret Notes by Shunrai*) strikingly reveals the concerns of his fellow poets.⁷ *Secret Notes*, a far longer work than earlier waka treatises, both demonstrates that such information was sought after and illustrates how copious data were amassed in order to respond to this need. Although somewhat disorganized, the contents of *Secret Notes* may be classified into three categories: (1) ancient customs and precedents; (2) waka interpretation; and (3) distinctions among poetic styles. Shunrai has been taken as the leader of an innovative group of poets. His style certainly takes a new direction, but it is very dubious whether an innovative group was centered around Shunrai. The information in his *Secret Notes* is based on an awareness of poetic models: present practice should follow that of the past. No recognizable innovations are asserted here. He produced innovative waka only in informal circumstances, never on such formal occasions as waka matches, and in his *Secret Notes* he gives the reader information necessary for winning a waka match. Of course it contains no innovative assertions, since waka fine enough to sacrifice one's life for were never recited in informal circumstances. He displays little difference in this respect from Mototoshi, who has been branded a conservative.

Mototoshi wrote a waka treatise, *Etsumokushō* (*Notes to Gladden a Reader*), that does not survive. Its theoretical approach probably resembled Fujiwara Kiyosuke's in his *Ōgishō* (*Notes on Innermost Meaning*) and *Fukurozōshi*. Both works are partially concerned with matters akin to those in Shunrai's *Secret Notes*, although Kiyosuke devotes little space to stylistic distinctions. On the other hand, he goes into far greater detail on matters of ancient custom and precedent and on interpreting waka from the past. Kiyosuke's interpretations are not personal opinions. They reflect a retrospective view, maintaining that poetic tradition dictates the meaning of a given waka. Kiyosuke stresses that the past is the foundation for both composition and interpretation. Retrospection, one of the hallmarks of the High Middle Ages (see ch. 5), was already an established

⁷ *Shumpishō*, also known by the titles *Shunrai Zūmō* (*Shunrai's Essentials*) and *Shunrai Kuden* (*Shunrai's Oral Transmissions*), was probably compiled between X.1114 and I.1115 (*Nihon Kagaku Taikei* [= NKGT], 1 ["Kaisetsu"]:48).

principle by the middle of the twelfth century. All twelfth-century waka poets might be called conservative in this sense.

Shunrai, Mototoshi, and Kiyosuke are alike in basing their composition and interpretation on precedents. There was no confrontation between innovators and conservatives where waka matches and other formal events were concerned, although their opinions sometimes differed when they judged waka matches. Shunrai and Mototoshi certainly had different approaches to judging a match. The clearest instances appear in the *Naidaijin Ke Utaawase* (*Waka Match Held at the Palace Minister's Residence*), convened in the Tenth Month of 1118. Both men served as judges. As a good example of their differences, here is the ninth round of the match, on the topic "Love."

The Left [declared the winner by Mototoshi]: By Lord Michitsune

Au koto no	Our love meetings
Ima wa Katano to	Now are, like Katano, hard;
Narinureba	And that is why
Kari ni toikoshi	He who used sometimes to hunt here
Hito mo toikozu.	Comes to visit me no more. ⁸

The Right [declared the winner by Shunrai]: By Lord Tadataka

Osōreba	Hands cannot check
Amaru namida wa	The overflow of tears that seep
Moruyama no	Down Moruyama,
Nageki ni ataru	Where each sorrowing tree is laden
Shizuku narikeri.	With the teardrops of my grief. ⁹

Shunrai remarks: "The first poem uses the place name, 'Katano,' and so it ought also to have 'comes hunting / comes but seldom' [kari ni ku]. To have the lover 'come no more' [kozu] is at odds with precedent.¹⁰ The

⁸ "Kata" means "difficult and hard" and also functions as part of the place name "Katano." "Kari" can mean both "hunting" and "occasionally," "seldom." The *Ise Monogatari* (*Tales of Ise*) and other sources reveal that Katano was conventionally linked with hunting in waka. The poem alludes to *Kokinshū*, 18:972; see n. 10.

⁹ "Moru" means "to seep, leak through," and also serves as the first part of a place name, Moruyama (Moru Mountain). Similarly, the "-ki" of "nageki" (grief) can also mean "tree." These pivot words effect a metaphor for the speaker's plight: the flood of tears, matching the speaker's depth of grief, is as abundant as the many trees covering Moru Mountain. [Auth., Trans.]

¹⁰ The "precedent" mentioned by Shunrai is a waka from the *Kokinshū* (18:972), a variant of which appears in dan (section) 123 of *Ise Monogatari*. The poem is in reply to one that plays on the place name Fukakusa (deep grasses), the (grammatical) subject of the first line: No to naraba / Uzura to nakite / Toshi wa hen / Kari ni dani ya wa / Kimi wa kozaran. (If it turns to fields, / Like the quails I shall cry on / As the long years pass; / Surely you will come sometimes / To hunt them and to seek me out?) [Auth., Trans.]

second poem shows deep sensitivity with its ‘overflow of tears that seep / Down Moruyama.’ My response was such that I find it reasonable to declare the latter poem the winner.”

Mototoshi says, “Neither poem has outstanding faults, nor is either particularly striking. But the first poet displays greater delicacy when his speaker laments that she does not even hear ‘sometimes’ [kari ni] from her lover” (*Heianchō Utaawase Taisei* [= HCUT], 6:1772).

Mototoshi finds the Left’s poem free of “outstanding faults,” but Shunrai criticizes the impropriety of linking “-kozu” (“does not come”) with Katano, a place name celebrated in waka. Instead, he says, the positive verb “ku” (“come”) should have appeared together with the pivot word “kari.” He is a greater stickler for precedent here than is Mototoshi. Their different approaches are visible in Shunrai’s praising Tadataka for directly stating his speaker’s emotions, as contrasted with Mototoshi’s response to the obliquely presented emotions in the Left’s poem. Michitsune, whose speaker wishes in vain that her lover might give her some comfort by visiting her openly, expresses what is “kokorobososhi” (delicacy, subtlety of import).

By praising a poem in which the speaker gives free expression to her feelings, Shunrai pits himself not only against Mototoshi, but against the *Kokinshū* style itself. The hallmark of that style is obliqueness. Rather than directly express the poet’s sentiments, a work in the style is curvilinear, making detours through the use of fabricated logic (see vol. two, ch. 1). Shunrai rejects that indirection, favoring instead Po Chü-i’s poetry, characterized by an unfettered expression of the poet’s sentiments. This concept came to dominate Japanese shih and, approximately a century and a half later, that Chinese style was absorbed by waka (see vol. two, ch. 7). Mototoshi, on the other hand, emphasizes the significance of “sometimes” in the second poem. He discovers and praises a delicate, peculiarly feminine thought process in the speaker’s lament: her lover’s rare past visits were clearly halfhearted acts, but now he does not even bother to come. The poet is unmistakably using a form of logic—but it is not the fabricated logic of the Six Dynasties period. What Mototoshi is praising is the subtlety inherent in what might be called true logic, a logic characteristic of Late T’ang poetry and linked to the poet’s or speaker’s thought processes.

There were no opposing groups among twelfth-century waka poets, only individually diverging positions and opinions. They were uniformly conservative, and yet opinions like Shunrai’s and Mototoshi’s were aired at a formal waka match convened by a minister of state. This indicates how greatly individuality was prized. The appearance of individual stylistic and critical differences represents the new style of twelfth-century waka. Even Mototoshi, heretofore considered a typical conservative,

must be thought a new-style poet in this sense, because his Late T'ang orientation does not appear in earlier waka.

The twelfth-century acceptance and approval of individual differences was connected with another contemporary concept, the worth of individual existence itself. Although neither held public office, Mototoshi and Shunrai were often asked to judge formal waka matches, a sign that they commanded respect as waka poets.¹¹ Similarly, the low-ranking Tsurayuki and his colleagues were probably appointed editors of the *Kokinshū* because people proficient in waka were relied upon and respected in the tenth century. And yet Tsurayuki and his circle, renowned poets all, were in principle forbidden to attend waka matches even when their own poems were entered into competition (see vol. two, ch. 7). It would have been unthinkable for any of them to act as a judge. That twelfth-century people no longer considered such participation unthinkable manifests, I believe, an altered social awareness: now anyone proficient in an art was worthy of respect, regardless of court rank or position.

Respect for those accomplished in an art, regardless of rank, was not limited to waka, and this attitude was a great break with the past. Through the eleventh century, the only accomplishments considered to be *premier arts were those performed between composer and audience* within a closed circle. Arts that required training beyond the grasp of the usual member of the group were looked down upon as "crafts" (see vol. two, ch. 3). This mentality endured into the twelfth century, undergoing considerable internal change. High-ranking nobles began trying their hand at arts so specialized as to have been regarded previously as skilled crafts. Their actions stemmed from an awareness that artistic specialization was worthy of respect. Horikawa (r. 1086-1107) presents an excellent example. He often performed as a flutist at royal concerts, and his retinue included several virtuosi in various instruments (Hashimoto, 1966, 138-39). The Sung emperor Hui-tsung (r. 1101-26) was an accomplished painter, but his example probably occurs too late to have influenced twelfth-century Japan. The developing Japanese reverence for artistic specialization was apparently an independent phenomenon. Within each artistic field, individual talents came to be acknowledged and prized. The respect accorded artistic specialization was vital in shaping the high medieval ideal of *michi* (artistic vocation; see ch. 5).

Medieval respect for individual waka talents differed from earlier varieties in one essential feature: a medieval poet's abilities were always to be displayed under the aegis of a hereditary school or family (ie). Of

¹¹ Mototoshi was assistant commander of the Left Gate Guards from 1077 to 1081; he held no other official posts (Hashimoto, 1966, 107). Shunrai's earliest recognition came as a musical virtuoso. He became an acknowledged waka poet only when he held no public office (*ibid.*, 145).

course, waka talent also ran in families during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 872-945) and his son Tokifumi offer one such example. Usually, however, these were simply cases of there being more than one poet in the family. There was little sense of responsibility to perpetuate and refine waka as the family art. Fujiwara Akisue (1055-1123) was the first to feel this responsibility. A middle-ranking courtier, Akisue was a confidant of Shirakawa, consequently becoming influential among waka poets as well as in government affairs. Akisue bequeathed his political power to his two oldest sons, Nagazane and Ieyasu, while training his third son Akisuke in waka traditions, composition, and reliable textual transmission (Hashimoto, 1966, 321). Akisue's action is clearly a deliberate effort to transmit the art of waka within a family. This marks the beginning of poetic families or schools. Akisuke named his patrimony the Rokujō Fujiwara School (Rokujō Tōke; abbreviated as Rokujōke, or the Rokujō School). Kiyosuke, the monk Kenjō (fl. 1161-1207), Fujiwara Ariie (1155-1216), and other influential poets active during the *Shinkokinshū* period were members of this school.¹²

Another school of waka, founded somewhat later than the Rokujō, was the Mikohidari. Although its founder was Fujiwara Michinaga's (966-1027) sixth son Nagaie, its reputation as a waka school dates from the time of Toshitada (1073-1123), Nagaie's grandson. Of course, the

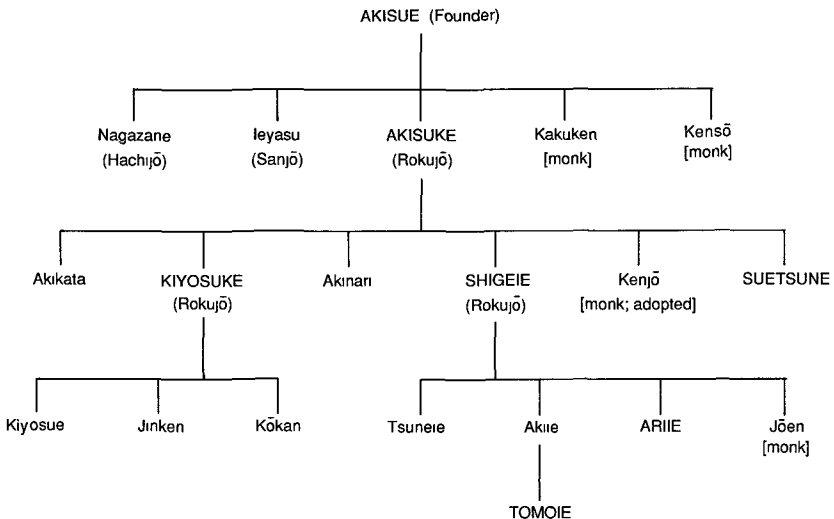


FIGURE 2.1 The Rokujō School (Surnames are "Fujiwara" unless otherwise indicated)

¹² Names given in capital letters in the Rokujō school genealogy denote important poets of the school. The same is true for the Mikohidari school genealogy, given below.

greatest achievements of the Mikohidari school were yet to come. Its fame was truly established in 1138, when Toshitada's son Shunzei became Mototoshi's pupil. On the fifteenth day of the Eighth Month, 1138, Shunzei called on Mototoshi and made "a covenant between master and pupil" with him.¹³ The actual significance of this relationship is unclear. There may be some possibility that Shunzei submitted his waka drafts to Mototoshi for criticism and correction, but we have no evidence of such teaching methods existing in the twelfth century. There are quotations from Mototoshi's oral transmissions, known as "Kingo Osetsu" ("Teachings of the Gate Guardsman") in Mikohidari waka treatises.¹⁴ Also, Shunzei and his son Teika (i.e., Sadaie, 1162-1241) each used Mototoshi's manuscript of the *Kokinshū* as the copytext for their versions.

Such evidence suggests that Mototoshi's relationship with Shunzei was chiefly one of transmitting ancient waka traditions, composition methods, and knowledge of reliable manuscripts.¹⁵ Guided by the belief that the best is to be found in the past, the medieval poetic schools took on the duty of transmitting ancient teachings and important materials. Why did not Mototoshi pass on his knowledge to his own descendants? Probably because none had the proper talent. The idea of transmitting an art within a family notwithstanding, a blood descendant who lacked genius could not gain the status of a member. Zeami (1363?-1443?) writes, "A school is not in fact a school unless it properly transmits its art; a man is not in fact a man unless he masters his art" (*Fūshi Kaden*, 7:65). The spirit of Zeami's words seems already present in Mototoshi's teaching.

Mototoshi could not form his own school because his family lacked poetic talent. Much the same occurred with Shunrai: his father, the gifted poet Minamoto Tsunenobu (1016-97), bequeathed him the requisite blood line and poetic achievements for founding an important school. And his own son, Shun'e (dates unknown), had a salon called the Garden of Poets (Karin'en), where accomplished poets assembled for occasional waka gatherings (Yanase, 1977, 29-43). But Shunrai's line did not form a school to rival the Rokujō and the Mikohidari. Transmission was the lifeblood of such schools, and it could only be effected by talented individuals. Neither Mototoshi nor Shunrai was blessed with such descendants. With its marked individuality, the twelfth-century waka world differs from the strongly homogeneous poetic circles of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

¹³ Kamo no Chōmei recorded Shunzei's words in his *Mumyōshō* (56). Shunzei was twenty-five years old at the time, and Mototoshi eighty-five.

¹⁴ "Kingo" is the Sinitified pronunciation of the T'ang term for a palace-gate guardsman. Mototoshi once served as assistant commander of the palace guard (see n. 11).

¹⁵ According to a statement dated Eiryaku 2 (1161), which appears in Shunzei's copy of the *Kokinshū* (Royal Library coll.), Shunzei had earlier made a copy of the *Kokinshū* version in Mototoshi's possession (Kyūsojin, 1961, 35).

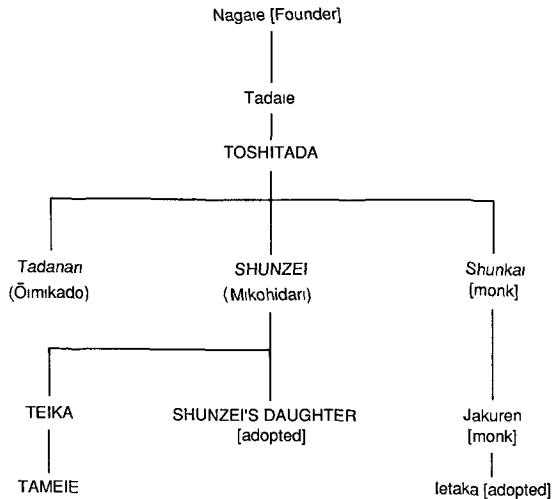


FIGURE 2.2 The Mikohidari School (Parentheses designate branches of the Fujiwara)

THE NEW STYLE MOVES TOWARD THE REFINED

To judge from what has been said so far, one might conclude that twelfth-century waka was thoroughly imbued with the new style. The facts are otherwise, however. The “old style”—in effect since the *Shūishū* period [early eleventh century]—continued to flourish into the late twelfth century and was the dominant style in terms of volume. By contrast, the “new style of waka,” inaugurated in the twelfth century, displays a marked individuality. The nature of this “new-style waka” will be considered later. First I would like to discuss its orientation toward the *ga* ideal.

Poetic Adornments and Composition on Set Topics

One trend among twelfth-century waka poets was a growing interest in *utamakura* (poetic adornments). Originally signifying any subject frequently appearing in waka, *utamakura* later came principally to mean place names often used in waka. Eventually the term was confined exclusively to poetic place names. The first documented appearances of the term “*utamakura*” occur in the early eleventh century.¹⁶ Place names

¹⁶ Examples appear in the *Genji Monogatari* (“*Tamakazura*,” 373) and in Fujiwara Kintō’s *Shinsen Zūnō* (1:66). [*Utamakura* (poetic pillows, convenient adornments) originally included various kinds of matter. For example, the longer version of *Nōin Utamakura* (*NKGT*, 1:73-107) begins with pillow words (*makurakotoba*). It has a section on famous places, province by province (pp. 91-101), but most of the treatise is taken up with explanations, associations, and related concepts for individual words and images. For example,

seem to have made up much of the utamakura corpus by that time. Sei Shōnagon (fl. ca. 1000) probably reflects this when she lists evocative place names in her *Makura no Sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*; see vol. two, ch. 8).

Place names became synonymous with utamakura, because certain locations were thought to possess spiritual properties capable of evoking emotion, and so they served as guide phrases (*dōshi*) during the Archaic Age (to ca. 604) and Ancient Age (ca. 604-905).¹⁷ Examples are Niibari (*Kojiki* [= *KJK*], 25); Ichijishima (*KJK*, 42); Honda (*KJK*, 47); Kusakae (*KJK*, 95); Ōmi no Mi (*Nihon Shoki* [= *NSK*], 95); Hasa no Yama (*NSK*, 71); and Mieshino (*NSK*, 126). Because their spiritual properties invigorated literary expression, their names were used in poetry. Spiritual elements also shaped the medieval concept of poetic place names. Consequently, not all place names were considered utamakura. An utamakura is a place prominent in history or legend, whose rich associations invigorate a waka. The stories associated with utamakura were well known and could easily be told to anyone unfamiliar with them. Poetic place names in the Middle Ages were, so to speak, condensed myths.

The spiritually active guide phrase was transformed in the Early Middle Ages (ca. 850ff.) into two rhetorical devices, the preface (*jokotoba*) and the pillow word (*makurakotoba*). Place names became essential components of waka composition during this time, performing a vital function as poetic material. A comprehensive knowledge of poetic place names was considered important for medieval waka poets, who were urged to learn as many as possible, together with their related legends. *Nōin Utamakura* (*Utamakura Compiled by Nōin*) ministered to this need.¹⁸ Although no clear evidence indicates that the work is really by Nōin (987-1058?), Kenjō quotes from it in his glossary of poetic diction, the *Shūchūshō* (*Pocket Notes*; comp. late twelfth century), and it was regarded as Nōin's collection from that time. Extant manuscripts of *Utamakura Compiled by Nōin* have substantial textual variants, suggesting that the text was augmented and revised around the twelfth century. The manuscript line with the most entries has 718 locations listed under the heading "Place Names of the Provinces" ("Kuniguni no Tokorodokoro

¹⁷ "wasuregai (shell of forgetfulness) means a shell from the sea" (not a river), p. 85. For poetic place names, see Miner-Odagiri-Morrell, 1985, 433-41.—Ed.]

¹⁷ The guide phrase (*dōshi*) is the progenitor of the pillow word (*makurakotoba*) and preface (*jokotoba*; see vol. one). The transformation from guide phrase to pillow word/preface occurred toward the close of the second half of the Ancient Age (see vol. two, ch. 7).

¹⁸ "Utamakura" in the title refers to the broad sense of the term. The work is a compendium of words and phrases—including place names—necessary for waka composition. *Nōin Utamakura* is found in *NKGT*, 1. [See n. 16. "Place names" were "nadokoro" and later "meisho"; the terms are normative, unlike the descriptive modern "chimei."—Ed.]

[no] Na”). Such lists tended to grow longer as time passed. *Utamakura Nayose* (*Place Names with Poetic Associations*), probably compiled at the start of the fourteenth century, contains 2,624 place names.¹⁹

A passion for accumulating information is highly characteristic of the twelfth century. A similar consciousness produced the gigantic *Ruiju Utaawase Maki* (*Classified Scrolls of Waka Matches*).²⁰ Collecting such information in writing surely meant that it was considered knowledge worth sharing among all waka poets. Unless a composition was based on shared information, the audience would have difficulty responding to or understanding the work. Only when both poet and audience shared information would successful literary activity occur. This is the sphere of ga, as defined in the second volume of this *History*.

The tenth century saw a rising awareness of ga by waka poets, centering around Ki no Tsurayuki. The twelfth-century orientation toward ga proved stronger and—at least so far as poetic output can reflect—far more striking than the earlier movement. Once again, however, an intense focusing on ga was accompanied by a wish to come into contact with something predating ga: zoku, the low or commonplace. The wish was manifested in the twelfth century by the concept of the journey (tabi). Poets turned from mere memorizing of poetic place names to traveling to those places, in the hope of gaining direct personal experience of a locale long celebrated in poetry.

Nōin traveled frequently, but we must question whether his motives were exclusively those just described. His principal purpose for traveling was probably horse trading.²¹ But the poet was not likely to have been unaffected by traveling to locales long celebrated in waka. With each visit, Nōin seems to have gained a greater understanding of the importance of his activity. The same is true for Saigyō. His many journeys did not always have clear objectives. One purpose was probably to solicit contributions for temples, and he may well have had other more business-oriented goals as well.²²

¹⁹ *Utamakura Nayose* was compiled shortly before the thirteenth royal waka anthology, the *Shingosenshū* (submitted to the throne in 1303; *Utamakura Nayose*, “Kaisetsu,” 101-107).

²⁰ *Ruiju Utaawase Maki* is an augmented version of *Waka Gasshō*, compiled around 1096. It was discontinued ca. 1106-1108, during the time the *Kokin Utaawase* was compiled. Plans to expand the *Ruiju Utaawase* to twenty books were never realized (Horibe, 1945, 84-101).

²¹ *Nōin Shū*, Nōin’s personal waka collection, contains an unusually large number of poems on horses. Some have been interpreted as stemming from Nōin’s transporting horses from Michinoku province in northern Japan. Other poems, dating from 1040-45, describe Nōin as owning and lending horses. This suggests that horse-trading was on the poet’s mind when he wrote, “On going to Michinoku on pressing business” (*Nōin Shū*, 104, Forenote; Mezaki, 1959, 330-36).

²² There is much to Gorai Shigeru’s theory that Saigyō solicited contributions for temples

The concept of a waka poet wandering at will out of longing for the beauties of the seasons was probably first envisioned around the fourteenth century. Such journeys were unimaginable in the twelfth century, when travel was both difficult and dangerous. Saigyō would nevertheless have found the same meaning as Nōin in personally visiting places celebrated in waka of the past. Their desire—to discover something there with one's own eyes—can only be an orientation toward *zoku*, defined earlier as “a world without precedents” (see vol. one, p. 59). The presence of *zoku* as an entity separate from the intensely cultivated *ga* is a matter of great significance to twelfth-century assumptions and practice.

Much the same might be said for *daiei*, poetry composition on assigned topics. *Daiei* are present as early as the ninth century, but begin to flourish only with the twelfth. Waka on assigned topics are rare in the *Shūishū* (ca. 985). There are considerably more in the *Goshūishū* (comp. 1086), and the three *Kin'yōshū* drafts show a still more dramatic increase.²³ We find a twelfth-century manifestation of this phenomenon in the contemporary preference for waka with assigned topics over waka composed on actual scenes or situations. There is a likely connection between this preference and the transformation undergone by waka matches. As we saw above, twelfth-century poets strove to emerge victorious in strictly judged waka matches. Detailed, accurate judgments on the quality of a poem were most effectively made when the topic was a narrow one. Rather than have a general topic like “Love,” for example, more specific categories—such as “Falling in Love” or “Concealed Love”—provided more accessible grounds for a judgment. If a topic was made still more specific, as in “Love When He Visits but Does Not Stay the Night,” the judgment could be based on the poet's ability to express the nature of the topic. The results were a marked proliferation of categories and subcategories within a given topic, with further encouragement for the already growing popularity of assigned topics in waka.

The practice of composing waka sequences in a fixed number of poems also had a considerable influence on the popularity of assigned topics. I define “waka composed in a fixed number” as a waka sequence made

(Gorai, 1965, 159). This was hardly his only motive for travelling on foot across the country, however (Mezaki, 1978, 261-93).

²³ Waka composed on assigned topics are determined as follows. (1) Cases in which these phrases appear in a fore- or afternote: (a) “Composed on the Topic ‘X,’” (b) “Composed on the spirit [kokoro] of ‘X,’” (c) “Composed on ‘X.’” (2) Cases in which the topic is directly stated as a title to a waka, as in “Trees by the Water Make a Splendid Scene.” (3) Entries in waka matches, where the topics are clearly stated in the match. I exclude eighth-century and earlier waka entitled “Composed on ‘X.’” Fifteen of 1,351 waka in the *Shūishū* are on assigned topics, while the next royal waka anthology, the *Goshūishū*, has 150 poems out of 1,220 on assigned topics. The total number of waka in the *Kin'yōshū*, considering all three drafts but excluding repeated waka, is 1,033; there are 563 waka on assigned topics. [Another implication is that waka was becoming increasingly fictional.—Ed.]

up of a number of waka generally acknowledged as appropriate. The most common number of poems in a sequence is fifty or one hundred. The two earliest surviving examples of hundred-poem sequences were composed by Sone no Yoshitada and Minamoto Shitagō (911-83), each of whom dedicated his sequence to the other. The next oldest instance is by Minamoto Shigeyuki (d. 1000).²⁴ In all cases, the text is divided into large, general categories like “Spring,” “Summer,” “Autumn,” “Winter,” “Love,” and “Miscellaneous,” and none contains more specific topics within the categories.

By the twelfth century, highly specific topics appear in hundred-poem sequences. Exemplary sequences from this period are included in the *Horikawa In no Ōtoki Hyakushu Waka* (or simply *Horikawa Hyakushu*), the *Hundred-poem Sequences from Horikawa's Reign*, composed between 1099 and 1104, and the *Horikawa In Godo Hyakushu* (*Later Hundred-poem Sequences from Horikawa's Reign*, commonly called the *Eikyū Hyakushu*, or *Hundred-poem Sequences of the Eikyū Era*, composed in 1116. Poets probably developed a corpus of increasingly specific waka topics in the course of collecting and systematizing earlier works, particularly categorized waka anthologies like the *Kokin Waka Rokujō* (*The Six-book Anthology of Old and New Waka*) and the *Wakan Rōishū* (*Collection of Japanese and Chinese Songs*), with its section headings (Hashimoto-Takizawa, 1976, 337-41).

The topics in early hundred-poem sequences served as models for later generations and determined their course of study. The incorporation of the hundred-poem sequential form into waka matches deserves special attention. The *Waka Match in Six Hundred Rounds* of 1193 experiments with very specialized topics indeed, but many of them are taken from the *Hundred-poem Sequences of the Eikyū Era*. The *Waka Match in Six Hundred Rounds* (although displaying originality in its subdividing of love topics) must be recognized as a structure based on the hundred-poem sequence form.

The subdividing of waka topics is not itself a matter of great import, but it did lead to the evolution of a noteworthy concept, *hon'i*, born from the poets' concern with *how* to approach a given topic. The following waka provides an illustration. It was composed for the *Kampaku Naidaijin Utaawase* (*Waka Match Held by the Chancellor and Palace Minister*), held on the twelfth day of the Ninth Month, 1121. The poem was presented in the first round by the Left, and the topic was “Mountain Moon.”

²⁴ The first two sequences appear in *Sōtanshū*, 369-470 and 484-583 (compiled ca. 959-61). Shigeyuki's sequence, in *Shigeyuki Shū*, 221-323, was possibly written in the poet's twenties, between the years 958 and 967 (Mezaki, 1960, 274).

*By a Court Lady*²⁵

Ko no ma yori	So great is my delight
Izuru wa tsuki no	To see the moon emerging
Ureshiki ni	From among the trees,
Nishi naru yama no	That I wish to make my dwelling
Nishi ni sumabaya.	Westward of the western mountains.

Acting as judge, Mototoshi commented: “It is well known that the moon *emerges* [izuru] from behind a mountain rim [implied: to the east]. What sort of scene does the Left suggest in having the moon emerge instead from among a stand of trees? I have read a good many waka from the past in which moonlight ‘comes filtering [morikuru] through the trees’ ” (*HCUT*, 6:1847). If “moon” appears in connection with a “mountain rim” (yama no ha), the correct verb is “emerge” (izu). Similarly, traditional waka usage demands that the phrase “among the trees” (ko no ma) be employed with the verb “to filter” (moru). Mototoshi’s point, therefore, is that Tadamichi’s use of the word “emerge” is not appropriate to the topic of his waka, “Mountain Moon.” The comment should not lead us to conclude hastily that Mototoshi’s citing of ancient waka is a sign of his conservatism.

The *Yōen Narabō Utaawase* (*Waka Match Held at Yōen’s Nara Residence*), convened in the spring of 1124, contains a poem by the postulant Ushigimi, a member of the Right side. It appears in the second round, on the topic “The Moon.”

Aki no yo wa	This autumn night
Tanomuru hito mo	Is not one when my beloved
Naki yado mo	Will visit here,
Ariake no tsuki wa	And it is the faint dawn moon
Nao zo machiizuru.	That I wait for with such hope.

The judge, Minamoto Shunrai (1055?-1129?), remarked, “‘The dawn moon’ [ariake no tsuki] is a phrase conveying a sensitive, delicate import. But I wonder whether it should appear in a waka match under the topic ‘The Moon.’ If so, we need an earlier waka to provide a precedent” (*HCUT*, 6:1887). Shunrai’s judgment holds that each further condition added to a general topic demands special treatment. In this case, for example, “dawn moon” should be treated differently from “hazy moon,” “midnight moon,” or other subdivisions in the “Moon” topic category.

²⁵ Custom dictated that tennō, former tennō, regents, chancellors, and other eminent participants compete under a pseudonym, such as “court lady.” The custom was an expression of the highest respect. In this case, the “court lady” is Fujiwara Tadamichi (1097-1164).

The judgment is not unique to this poem; it is an observation based on contemporary standards. Shunrai's *Secret Notes* details the art of composing on assigned topics.²⁶ His position is no different from Mototoshi's, since both assert that following the right form will produce esteemed results. Shunrai's classicism is also evident in his reliance on established precedents whenever a poetic decision is in doubt.

The fixed, determined interpretation of each waka topic is called its "hon'i" (essential nature) by twelfth-century waka poets. Consider the following poem, written on the topic "The Moon" and presented by the Right on the thirteenth of the Ninth Month, 1134, in the first round of the *Chūgū no Suke Akisuke Ke Utaawase* (*Waka Match Held at the Residence of Akisuke, Assistant Master of Her Majesty's Household*).

Yomosugara	Throughout the night
Fuji no takane ni	On the lofty peak of Fuji
Kumo kiete	The clouds dissolve,
Kiyomigaseki ni	And at Kiyomi Barrier
Sumeru tsukikage.	The moonlight shines unsullied.

The poem is by Akisuke himself. Mototoshi, the judge, declares it the loser for two reasons. First, clouds conventionally vanish quickly in shih and waka, and Mototoshi finds it odd for these clouds to dissipate gradually over the course of a night. Second, the use of the topic "Fuji" requires a poet also to mention smoke in the waka. Akisuke's substituting clouds for smoke flouts this convention. Mototoshi cites a precedent. "Lady Sagami once composed this poem for a waka match":

Yo to tomo ni	Our relationship
Kokoro sora naru	Floats uncertainly in the sky
Waga koi ya	That is our love—
Fuji no takane ni	On the lofty peak of Fuji
Kakaru shirakumo.	The white clouds gather thickly.

Yet the judge criticized the poet for writing of clouds in place of smoke and for failing therefore to evoke the essential nature [hon'i] of Mount Fuji. It was declared the loser. (*HCUT*, 7:1976)

"The essential nature of Mount Fuji" can only signify the most characteristic aspect of the topic "Mount Fuji," as it became fixed in waka. That, broadly speaking, is the hon'i of a topic. Examples appear in the *Taikō no Suke Taira Tsunemori Ason Ke no Utaawase* (*Waka Match*

²⁶ *Shumpishō*, 137-40. The concepts date back to the *Utsubo Monogatari* (see vol. two, ch. 7).

Held at the Residence of Lord Taira Tsunemori, Assistant Master of the Dowager's Household). This was convened in the Eighth Month of 1167, and its topic for the eighth round was "Autumn Leaves."

The Left: Koreyuki

Momijiba wa	Although the leaves
Kurenai fukaku	On the maple trees become
Nariyukedo	Even redder,
Hitori sametaru	The pine that stands by itself
Matsu no iro kana.	Retains its sober color. ²⁷

The Right: Kojijū

Hahasohara	When drizzle falls
Shigururu mama ni	Turning red the woods of oak trees,
Tokiwagi no	Then I do perceive
Mare narikeru mo	How sparsely there grow the trees
Ima zo miekeru.	Whose leaves are forever green.

The judge, Fujiwara Kiyosuke, commented: "Both sides ignore the topic, 'autumn leaves,' to celebrate evergreens. Neither captures the hon'i of the topic" (*HCUT*, 7:2126). Conforming to a predetermined stance was considered an approach "having hon'i." Another, more general name for the essential nature of a topic is "the spirit [kokoro]" of a given topic. An example appears in the seventh round of the *Naidaijin Ke Utaawase* (*Waka Match at the Residence of the Palace Minister* [Fujiwara Tadamichi]), held on the thirteenth day of the Seventh Month, 1118. The topic is "In Search of an Absent Beloved."

The Left: His Lordship [Tadamichi]

Tazunuredo	I have searched for you
Kimi ni au se mo	In vain without some shallows
Namidagawa	In the Stream of Tears—
Nagarete tsui ni	That flow that you have made me weep,
Shizumu beki kana.	Where I shall sink into the depths.

The Right: Sadanobu

Yuku kata o	Where has he gone?
Toedomo sara ni	I ask about but no one says—

²⁷ Koreyuki implies that the redness is like that which comes to the face of many East Asian people after a certain amount of drink. By contrast, the evergreen is sober. [Auth., Ed.]

Iwashimizu
Soko ni sumu to mo
Shiranu koi kana.

Iwashimizu Shrine
Seems nearby his dwelling place—
What a fragile love is this!²⁸

Fujiwara Akisue, the judge, commented, “The Left does not grasp the spirit (*kokoro*) of the topic. The Right does, and should thus be declared the winner” (*HCUT*, 6:1815). The topic is concerned with searching for an absent lover. But Tadamichi, acting for the Left, presents a poem concerned with an earlier stage in a love affair and communicates no sense of a mistress’ absence. Sadanobu, on the Right, suggests absence with the words “*yuku kata*” (destination) and “*shiranu*” (fragile, lit. unknown), as well as communicating a sense of searching with the word “*toedomo*” (“I ask about it”). His poem indeed grasps “the heart of the topic” and is therefore declared the winner of the round. In later periods, a *waka* lacking the spirit of its topic was described as a *rakudai*, or “lost topic” poem.²⁹

A poet including in a poem all the meanings implied by a given topic had reason to expect praise. This, as we noted earlier, resulted from a demand for objective standards in judging, which in turn stemmed from the strongly competitive nature of *waka* matches. But we must also consider the influence exerted by Chinese treatises on poetics. During his stay in China, Kūkai (774-835) acquired Wang Ch’ang-ling’s *Shih-ke* (*Poetics*), which explains a phenomenon called “*lo-chieh ping*,” a poetic “disease of lost focus.”³⁰ Ch’ang-ling’s example is a *shih* on the topic, “The Moon.”

A jade hook hangs ten thousand feet high;
Waves of gold stretch ten thousand leagues around.
When the pearl wanes, the lunar disc grows smaller;
As the ming leaves drop, the laurel loses shade.³¹

²⁸ [The speaker is a woman trying to ascertain her lover’s identity, so far with few results. Since most romantic meetings took place at night and ended before daybreak, and since lovers saw each other’s faces only when the affair was fairly well advanced, the situation described in the poem would have been familiar to the audience. An excellent example of such an affair is found in the “*Yūgao*” (“Evening Faces”) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. Genji goes to great lengths to conceal his identity from the lady of the evening faces, and though the lady has his messengers followed to discover his address—and thereby his identity—she meets with no success.—Trans. Both poems invoke verbal plays: pivot words (*kakekotoba*).—Ed.]

²⁹ “When treating the topic, ‘Concealed Love,’ the secrecy of the affair should of course be evoked. If a poet unduly emphasizes the element of secrecy, so that the speaker’s excessive caution might draw attention to his affair, the topic may resemble ‘Concealed Love,’ but it is in fact a lost topic [*rakudai*]” (*Chikuenshō*, 420).

³⁰ “Wang Ch’ang-ling, *Shih-ke*, 1 fasc.: I obtained this book in China from an associate of the author” (*Seireishū*, 4:231).

³¹ The Chinese believed pearls waxed and waned within their oyster shells, in correspondence with the phases of the moon. The ming plant and the laurel tree are also associated

The blossoms' fragrance comes blended with the wind,
 And graceful birdsong filters from the trees.
 A wife, left alone in her stately mansion,
 And oblivious to the beauty, passes a sad night.

Only the first two couplets deal with the moon, while the rest tend to focus more on blossoms, birds, and human concerns. This evidently means that the poet has lost the "essential nature" (*hon'i*) of the topic (Konishi, 1953e, 100-105). "Hon'i" was first used in waka match judgments during the *Gosenshū* period (921-81), but only in the ordinary sense of "a longstanding expectation" or "a condition to be satisfied."³² "Hon'i" in the special usage discussed above does not appear until the twelfth century. The "essential nature" discussed in Wang Ch'ang-ling's *Poetics* conforms to the twelfth-century sense of *hon'i* as a specific critical term. Nor can we easily conclude that the use of the word "lost" (J. *raku*, Ch. *lo*) in "lost focus" (*lo-chieh*) and "lost topic" (*rakudai*) is purely accidental. Because Chinese *shih* treatises were imported in considerable quantities during the twelfth century, Wang Ch'ang-ling's *Poetics* cannot be declared the direct source of this concept.³³ Middle T'ang *shih* treatises nevertheless contributed to the development of the concept of *hon'i* in the twelfth century.

Centuries of accumulated precedent led to a standardized treatment of each waka topic. Composition on assigned topics was therefore based on an awareness of the *ga* ideal, according to which already existing expression was a valued model. Exclusive concentration on waka form would quickly degenerate into predictable, hackneyed poetry. For this reason, conforming to the predetermined "spirit" of a topic had also to include the poet's original contribution. This can only reflect an orientation toward the *zoku* ideal, an individual search for freshness. Another hallmark of the twelfth century is this orientation toward freshness, manifested even by the formal waka in royal anthologies. A growing respect for set forms was accompanied by a corresponding increase in original poetic concepts. When a poet's original concept ceased to be concerned with an externally visible freshness and instead sought a level of consciousness so deep that the poet himself was unaware of it, the idea of *hon'i* became the most characteristic focal point of the

with the moon in Chinese lore. The legendary *ming* plant grew a leaf every day for the first fifteen days of the lunar month and shed a leaf every day for the last fifteen days. This was said to have inspired Emperor Yao to invent the lunar calendar. A great laurel tree was believed to grow on the moon. [Auth., Trans.]

³² "Although the poem seems well devised, the *kerria* [in the waka] must be of the double variety or the requisites [*hon'i*] will not be satisfied" (*Tentoku*, 82).

³³ Works like *Sakumon Daitai* refer frequently to various Chinese books on *shih* composition.

Middle Ages (see ch. 5). But that is a matter pertaining to the thirteenth century.

Nature and the Emotions

The popularity of assigned topics brought about a noteworthy phenomenon, the further development of waka that were descriptive of nature. There had been no dearth of poems on nature from the *Kokinshū* period on, but their conceptual foci always had a logical cast. Although there are of course differences of degree, all are oblique.³⁴ The marked increase in the volume of nature poetry written in the twelfth century was accompanied by qualitative changes. Minamoto Tsunenobu (1016-97) was a forerunner in this new style. Not that this style appears in the royal anthologies: only six of Tsunenobu's poems were chosen for the *Goshūishū*, and all follow the traditional *Kokinshū* style. Only one is a nature poem, and it is not cast in a purely descriptive mode: this is "Okitsukaze" ("The wind of the offing"), quoted below. Sone no Yoshitada has nine poems in the *Goshūishū*, all cast in the *Kokinshū* style. Tsunenobu nevertheless did write poems consisting wholly of natural description. A few appear in his personal waka collection, *Dainagon Tsunenobu Shū* (= DTS; *Collected Waka of the Major Counselor Tsunenobu*). Examples follow.

Composed at Fushimi on the topic "Autumn at a Cottage in the Mountains."

Onozukara	Unexpectedly,
Aki wa kinikeri	The autumn has fully come.
Yamazato no	In a mountain village
Kuzu haikakaru	The arrowroot vines entangle
Maki no fuseya ni.	My little hut's brushwood walls.
	(DTS, 97)

Composed at Katsura: "Wind on the Rice Blossoms."

Hita haete	Bird-clappers hang
Moru shimenawa no	And the stout ropes that support them
Tawan made	Are brought to sway
Akikaze zo fuku	As the autumn wind blows in gusts
Oyamada no ine.	On rice plants in small mountain fields.
	(DTS, 102)

³⁴ Examples from Book 1 of the *Kokinshū* are numbers 6, 9, 12, 15, 22, 24, 26, 27, 39, 41, 43, 56, 59, and 60. See also vol. two, chs. 1 and 7. [The "oblique" quality involves elegant confusions of features and in general a clear rational control rather than a pretense to present things as they are.—Ed.]

“Autumn Winds in a Farmhouse”

Yū sareba	As evening falls,
Kadota no inaba	It comes to visit rice plants
Otozurete	In fields by my gate,
Ashi no maroya ni	And to my reed-thatched cottage
Akikaze zo fuku.	The autumn wind has blown its way.

(DTS, 103)

“Looking at an Autumn Ricefield”

Kiri haruru	The mists arise
Kadota no ue no	From the fields before my gate,
Inaka no	And their sheaves of rice
Arawarewataru	Are distinctly visible
Aki no yūgure.	In the autumn twilight.

(DTS, 104)

*Composed when Yorinaka, governor of Tosa,
spent a night at my house in Nagaoka:
“A Winter’s Night in a Mountain Cottage.”*

Yamazato wa	In a mountain village,
Yodoko saetsutsu	I toss and turn in my cold bed
Akenu rashi	Till dawn seems to come:
Tokata zo kane no	From afar there is the sound
Koe kikoyu nari.	Of what seems a temple bell.

(DTS, 167)

On “The Feeling of Travel”

Tabine shite	I sleep upon my way,
Akatsukigata no	And just as dawn is about to break,
Shinobine ni	Along with stifled cries
Inaba no sue ni	There is the sound of rice leaves
Akikaze zo fuku.	Blown over by the autumn wind.

(DTS, 275)

Thus presented, these waka may easily convince a reader that Tsunenobu’s forte was descriptive nature poetry. In fact, however, these six are the only ones of their kind in the 277 poems comprising Tsunenobu’s *Collected Waka*. The rest have the oblique reasoning characteristic of the orthodox *Kokinshū* style. Tsunenobu was particularly proud of one such poem:³⁵

³⁵ Manuscript A of *Dainagon Tsunenobu Shū* (Royal Collection) contains 277 waka.