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“EX-EMPEROR GO-TOBA’S SECRET TEACHINGS”: *GO-TOBA NO IN GOKUDEN*

Translated, with an introduction and notes by

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I. INTRODUCTION

IF the poetic achievements of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in Japan are identified largely with the esthetic ideals and literary accomplishments of the Mikohidari 御子左 house—Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) and his son Teika 定家 (1162–1241) and their adherents—the age is no less surely dominated by the talents, tastes, and vivid personality of the imperial patron *par excellence*, Ex-Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽院 (1180–1239; r. 1183–1198).¹ Perhaps the most talented of Japan’s many poet-emperors, Go-Toba was also an astute and sensitive critic. And one of the most important critical documents of the early thirteenth century is his “Secret Teachings” (*Go-Toba no In gokuden* 後鳥羽院御口傳),² a short treatise written probably during the last few years of his life, when the ex-emperor lived in exile in the province of Oki 隱岐, a group of inhospitable islands in the Japan Sea off the northwest coast of Honshu.

The present study consists of an annotated translation of the “Secret Teachings,” together with a discussion of Go-Toba’s significance as a poet and patron and an account of his relations with Teika, the man who became the most important critic of the age. For not only is the treatise of considerable intrinsic interest and value as poetic criticism; it is a forceful and telling attack upon Teika’s personal idiosyncrasies and critical attitudes, and it provides revealing insights into the conflicts between the greatest patron and the doyen of professional poets in the Age of the *Shinkokinshū*.

Go-Toba as Poet and Patron

Although Go-Toba's importance to Japanese literary history is as a poet and a patron of poetry, he was an intelligent, energetic man with varied interests and enthusiasms. He was a devotee of the military arts—archery, riding, and swordsmanship—and insofar as his exalted state permitted, was even something of an athlete. As sovereign and ex-sovereign, he was determined to exercise active rule; he achieved a considerable measure of success by establishing a strong “camera government” (*insei* 院政) and by firmly controlling the two reigning emperors who succeeded him, his sons Tsuchimikado 土御門 (1195–1231; r. 1198–1210) and Juntoku 順徳 (1197–1242; r. 1210–1221).

Go-Toba's political obsession was to overthrow the “illegitimate” Minamoto 源-Hōjō 北條 military regime at Kamakura and “restore” authority to the Kyoto court, and when his oldest son Tsuchimikado proved insufficiently enthusiastic about this plan, he deposed him and set up Juntoku, his third son, as puppet emperor. But the long period of watchfulness and military preparation, begun on the death of the first Minamoto shogun, Yoritomo 頼朝 (1147–1199), ended in a swift and ignominious defeat in the brief Shōkyū 承久 War of 1221. Go-Toba's military forces were completely routed by a strong Kamakura army; the ex-sovereign and the Emperor Juntoku were sent into permanent exile to the Oki islands and the island of Sado 佐渡, respectively; and although Tsuchimikado had played a passive role and was judged innocent of wrongdoing, he went into a self-imposed exile in the province of Tosa 土佐 and later Awa 阿波 for the remainder of his life.³

Go-Toba's political activities succeeded ironically only in entrenching in power the feudal regime he hated, but his participation in and sponsorship of the cultural life of the court—particularly the many activities that centered upon the practice of *waka* 和歌, or Japanese poetry—had more gratifying results. At the same time, his intelligence and lively temperament led him to take an interest in everything around him, and he gained considerable skill either as a participant or connoisseur in most of the courtly pastimes and accomplishments of his age.⁴ He was a trained performer on the lute and other instruments, an excellent *go* 碁 player, an expert on court football (*kemari* 蹴鞠), an authority on court practices and traditional lore, and an

enthusiast of *sarugaku* 散申樂, the early dramatic performances of his day, and of the singing and dancing of the female *shirabyōshi* 白拍子 performers.⁵ Horse racing, hunting, cock fighting, wrestling, swimming, shooting at running dogs and stationary targets from horseback, swordsmanship and the judging of swords, and other martial arts are also listed by the chroniclers as activities that absorbed him at different times, especially during the period of restless, almost obsessive moving about from palace to country villa, to distant shrine or temple, and back to the capital that followed immediately after his abdication in 1198.⁶ Eulogizing the ex-emperor's gifted versatility, his private secretary Minamoto Ienaga 源家長 wrote:

Letting the radiance of his power and majesty shine forth unobscured, at the same time he amused himself with every variety of art and accomplishment. In all of these he was second to none, so that people wondered when and how he had gained such proficiency. And many who were experts at one or another of these arts were enabled by the ex-emperor's interest to attain fame and fortune. It is said that the Buddha leads all men to salvation, even those guilty of the ten evils and the five deadly sins. For his part, the ex-sovereign showed an interest in every accomplishment, even those which seemed of the most trivial and insignificant kind, so that all sorts of people who had any claim to knowledge of these matters were summoned to his presence, where, it appears, they could petition freely for his favor.⁷

However, as Ienaga goes on to write,

Among all these arts, his skill in Japanese poetry might be said to leave one at a loss for superlatives. People may think that to speak in this way is to make much out of nothing. But since a great many of the ex-sovereign's compositions may be easily found in various collections, anyone can judge for himself. It may be imagined what must have been his skill in other arts and accomplishments. But as long as endure the texts of his poetic compositions as people have written them down and preserved them, even remote generations may see for themselves the extent of his poetic mastery.⁸

Go-Toba's participation in the poetic life of his time began in earnest with his abdication in 1198 at the age of eighteen. No sooner had he attained his freedom from the ceremonial prison of the imperial palace, than he began to sponsor and participate in poetry parties and contests, and in due course he made known his intention of commissioning a new imperial anthology of Japanese poetry. The new collection, the eighth, was to be called *Shinkokinwakashū* 新古今

和歌集, the "New Collection of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and Modern," a title which echoed that of the first and most revered of the imperial collections, the *Kokinshū* 古今集 (905). At the same time, the title announced the hope of Go-Toba and his committee of compilers of recapturing the standard of poetic excellence that, it was held, had gradually deteriorated over most of the intervening three centuries until a resurgence of talent and poetic achievement in recent times. The *Shinkokinshū* was to contain some of the best poetry of the past while providing the coveted means of publishing the finest work of the compilers' own day.⁹

From the outset, Go-Toba personally supervised the compilation. In the seventh month of Kennin 1 (1201), he established a Bureau of Poetry (*Wakadokoro* 和歌所) at his Nijō 二條 palace, naming his secretary Ienaga Librarian (*Kaikō* 開圖) and appointing eleven Fellows (*Yoriudo* 寄人) from the most prominent and promising literati of the day. Later in the same year, the ex-emperor officially appointed six of the Fellows compilers of the *Shinkokinshū*, and work on the collection formally began. The Bureau of Poetry was not, however, merely an office where work on the imperial anthology was carried on: it was the center for numerous formal and informal poetry meetings, contests, and other activities sponsored by the enthusiastic Go-Toba. The ex-emperor personally took part in many of these events (his poems were always submitted under a transparent alias, such as "The Lady in Waiting"), and many of the poems produced were chosen for the *Shinkokinshū*.

Indeed, Go-Toba participated in at least eighty poetry meetings and contests between 1201 and the end of 1226. These are the occasions for which there is a written record and from which poems by the ex-emperor have survived, but there were doubtless many more.¹⁰ The single most famous and important event was the Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds (*Sengohyakuban utaawase* 千五百番歌合) commissioned by Go-Toba in 1201 and probably completed late in 1202. The poetry contest actually took place on paper: it was put together from sequences of 100 poems composed by Go-Toba and twenty-nine other participants. The resulting 3,000 poems were paired off into rounds, and nine of the participants were designated judges for specific portions of the contest. The ex-emperor himself judged a segment of 150 rounds, couching his decisions in acrostic verses which made up in

novelty for what they lacked in critical acumen. This event was unprecedented in size and importance—an obvious attempt by Go-Toba to outdo the Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds (*Roppyakuban utaawase* 六百番歌合) sponsored by Fujiwara (Go-Kyōgoku 後京極) Yoshitsune 良經 in 1193, hitherto the grandest affair of the kind. The list of participants in Go-Toba's great contest includes most of the outstanding poets, both men and women, of this brilliant poetic age. And though but one of the many such occasions sponsored by Go-Toba in the early thirteenth century, the Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds may be taken as representative of the new spirit and impetus which the ex-emperor's enthusiasm brought to the cultural life of the Court.¹¹

The number of Go-Toba's surviving poems is impressive. A canon of some 2,364 poems can be put together from the two principal texts of his personal collection and from other sources.¹² As modern Westerners, we need not be overawed by the imperial glory; at the same time, although Go-Toba's poetry seems often to fall short of the best the age produced, it must be admitted that its general quality is high. In the context of the different poetic schools of his age, the ex-emperor has been described as one of the "rhetoricians"—a label somewhat arbitrarily attached to such poets as Go-Toba, Jien, and others who belonged to no special faction, but maintained a middle course, emphasizing the central tradition of courtly elegance inherited from the age of the *Kokinshū*.¹³ Following is Go-Toba's most famous poem, composed when he was twenty-five years old; it exemplifies the style of the rhetoricians in its treatment of the view from the ex-sovereign's favorite villa at Minase in terms of the rival claims to beauty of spring and autumn:

Miwataseba	As I gaze far out, I see
Yamamoto kasumu	The spring haze rise upon the lower slopes
Minasegawa	Along the River of Minase:
Yūbe wa aki to	Why had I always felt that evening
Nani omoiken.	Had beauty only in the autumn light? ¹⁴

Another important strain in the ex-emperor's poetry is his preference for the "lofty style" (*take takaki yō* たけたかき様) of noble dignity and forthrightness, often expressed in simple declaration or description. Such poems were considered especially appropriate to

one in Go-Toba's exalted station. The following represents his use of the style.

Sasanami no	Along the shore
Shiga no urawa ni	Of Shiga in Sasanami
Kiri harete	The mist has cleared,
Tsuki sumiwataru	And the moon shines forth radiant
Karasaki no hama.	Upon the beach of Karasaki. ¹⁵

Of Go-Toba's surviving poems, more than 1,600 were composed between 1199 and the Shōkyū War of 1221, and of these, nearly 1,200 can be traced to the seven-year period between 1199 and 1205.¹⁶ The fact is significant as a reflection of Go-Toba's restless spirit and shifting interests. The period of his most intense involvement in poetry was between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five, from just after his abdication until the first official version of the *Shinkokinshū* in 1205. Once the festivities celebrating the completed anthology were over, the ex-emperor became increasingly absorbed in other matters: court ceremonial, football, linked verse and the composition of poetry and prose in Chinese, religious rites and pilgrimages, the military arts, and, of course, political intrigue. Although he continued to tinker with the *Shinkokinshū*,¹⁷ his enthusiasm for *waka* was largely supplanted by these other concerns until after his exile to Oki.¹⁸ In such a lonely place, there could be no elaborate ceremonials, football matches, or elegant parties, and it should not be surprising if, *faute de mieux*, the ex-sovereign's interest in *waka* should have revived. Indeed, according to the *Masukagami*, it was poetry alone that consoled the ex-emperor as he dragged out the remaining eighteen weary years of his life.¹⁹

Among the books and papers which Go-Toba carried with him into exile was, of course, a copy of his beloved *Shinkokinshū*, and this he began to mark up and revise afresh, adding new poems and deleting others that no longer seemed suitable. The ex-emperor's revised text, known as the *Okibon* 隠岐本 *Shinkokinshū*, has not survived independently, but the nature of his revisions can be established fairly accurately from annotations in other manuscripts and copies of the anthology.²⁰ As far as Go-Toba's own poetry is concerned, although we have only about 700 poems from these last eighteen years of his life, it may be assumed that a great many more have not been preserved. It is known that he kept up a correspondence with several

people in the capital, particularly with his loyal supporter, the aging Fujiwara Ietaka 家隆 (1158-1237), formerly a member of the Bureau of Poetry and compiler of the *Shinkokinshū*, of whose poetry Go-Toba writes with warm appreciation in his treatise. In fact, the ex-emperor's enthusiasm for poetry revived to the point where in 1236 he even conducted a poetry contest, the famous "Poetry Contest from the Distant Isles" (*Entō utaawase* 遠島歌合). For this he asked Ietaka to send to him sets of ten poems from some of his former intimates and sympathizers in the capital, and he then paired the poems (including ten of his own) into eighty rounds and judged them himself, writing out his comments in considerable detail.²¹

Go-Toba's poems composed for this and other occasions in his later years often contain specific references to his pathetic circumstances. A few—especially some of those written in the early years of his exile—are bitter and recriminatory in tone. Although such laments on the speaker's sad plight form a recognized category in the traditional classification of poetic topics and themes—that of *jukkai* 述懷 or "personal grievances"—Go-Toba's sometimes insistent self-pity can make a modern Western reader uncomfortable. To many Japanese, however, who have tended not to distinguish clearly between the poet and the poem, between the personal life and circumstances of the man and the quality of his work, the verses in which the exiled former emperor refers to his wretched life have had a moving pathos that we as Westerners cannot perhaps expect to feel to quite the same degree. The following poem is from a sequence of a hundred probably composed not long after Go-Toba arrived at his place of exile.

Mi no uki wa	In such a world,
Toubeki hito mo	Where those who ought to ask do not inquire
Towanu yo ni	About my wretchedness,
Aware ni kinaku	How touching that the timid woodthrush
Hototogisu kana.	Still comes and sings at his appointed time. ²²

The three poems that follow are from a sequence of 500 probably written several years later.

Kyō mo kure	The empty years pile up,
Asu mo suginaba to	While I continue hopelessly
Omou ma ni	Brooding on the time,
Munashiki toshi no	Wondering, "Will this day never end?"
Mi ni tsumoritsutsu.	Will tomorrow never pass away?" ²³

Tsuyu shigeki	In the loneliness
Mugura no yado no	Of my garden overgrown with mugwort
Sabishiki ni	And heavy with dew,
Mukashi ni nitaru	The chirping of the bell-crickets
Suzumushi no koe.	Still sounds unchanged from long ago. ²⁴
Omoe tada	Oh, think of me!
Koke no koromo ni	Night after lonely winter night
Tsuyu okite	I lie awake,
Nezame sabishiki	While the dew settles on my mossy robe
Fuyu no yona yona.	Stained with the falling of many tears. ²⁵

If Go-Toba maintains a high standard within the restrictions of the *waka* tradition, his poetry nevertheless lacks that quality of intensity and conviction possessed by the best poems of Shunzei or Teika. The difference is not merely a matter of varying poetic gifts; there is also a difference of attitudes toward poetry. To poets like Shunzei and Teika, the composition of poetry was a way of life, an activity of supreme importance, requiring intense discipline and a quasi-religious effort to achieve spiritual identity with the poetic materials. Go-Toba, on the other hand, while appreciating the need for discipline and practice, remained throughout his life the grand dilettante—a man who in his way appreciated and loved poetry, but who never ceased to regard it as a kind of elegant pastime. Such an attitude is implicit in the ex-emperor's flitting from hobby to hobby, and it is, as his poetic treatise illustrates, at the heart of his critical differences with Teika. "Why," Go-Toba asks in effect, "cannot a poem be appreciated as much for the occasion that produced it as for any intrinsic merit? Why must there be only a single standard for judging poetic quality?"

Such questions reflect attitudes that are by no means unique to Go-Toba or to his literary age. And although an attempt to deal with them in detail lies outside the scope of this study, since the ex-emperor's poetic treatise is in large measure an attack on Teika for his uncompromising standards as well as for his unamiable personal qualities, a brief account of the relationship between the two men will help explain the opposition in their critical views.

*The Relationship Between Go-Toba and Teika*²⁶

In 1198, when Go-Toba abdicated, Teika was scarcely overjoyed. He was now thirty-six years old, and for almost ten years had been ingloriously occupying the minor court post of Lesser Commander of

the Palace Guards of the Left (*Sakon'e no Shōshō* 左近衛少將). Although he was well known as the son of Shunzei and was a brilliant, if controversial, poet in his own right, he had worldly ambitions too, and there was little prospect of improvement in his political and material fortunes as long as Minamoto (Tsuchimikado 土御門) Michichika 通親 (1149–1202), Go-Toba's father-in-law and the political enemy of Teika's Kujō patrons, remained in power. Indeed, Teika wrote in his diary, *Meigetsuki*, on the day Go-Toba's forthcoming abdication was announced, "This has worked out very well for Lord Michichika, but apart from him there is no one from the new sovereign on down who will rejoice."²⁷ Later, rumors of the new ex-emperor's frivolous gaddings-about were greeted by Teika with indignation at Michichika and Go-Toba's other advisers, who seemed incapable of controlling or guiding the hot-headed young man.²⁸ One evening in the following year, Teika had a nearly disastrous encounter with the ex-emperor's carriage on one of its frequent nocturnal dashes through the streets of the capital. Teika was on horseback accompanied by one or two retainers, and "On my way home," he wrote, "I met the ex-emperor's carriage. It came hurtling at me at terrific speed, as if rushing off to the ends of the earth, and at the crossing of Takatsuji 高辻 and Higashi no Tōin 東洞院 it was already within 100 yards. I put my horse to the gallop and fled to take cover, but my servants told me afterwards that though I managed to reach safety, the ex-emperor's carriage nearly shaved off the chest-piece of my horse's trappings. Such was the divine protection accorded me this day, showing that my stock of good karma has not yet been utterly exhausted. But I shall be extremely cautious about going out into the streets after this. And since no good could come of this episode, I warned my servants to keep quiet about it."²⁹

The stories that the new ex-sovereign intended to sponsor many poetry contests and other activities that might bring honor and recognition to the participants and provide fresh material for a new imperial collection also brought cold comfort to Teika, whereas his arch-rivals, the Rokujō 六條 poets and their leader Suetsune 季經 (1131–1221), were elated, for they hoped to gain advantage for their waning poetic faction through their patron Michichika. Teika's patrons, on the other hand—Kujō Kanezane 九條兼實 (1149–1207); his son, the young and poetically talented Yoshitsune (1169–1206); and Kane-

zane's brother, the former Tendai Abbot Jien 慈圓 (1155-1225)—had been living in retirement since Michichika had brought about their fall from power in 1196. And although Yoshitsune was permitted to return to Court as Minister of the Left in 1199, there was little the Kujō could do to recommend Teika to the ex-sovereign's favor. Shunzei had enormous prestige as the grand old man of Japanese poetry, but he was eighty-four years old at the time of Go-Toba's abdication, in poor health, and in no condition to play an active part on Teika's behalf. Between Teika and the ex-emperor's notice stood the arch-enemy Suetsune, determined to use his influence with Michichika to prevent Teika's superior poetic gifts from receiving attention.

Such was the alignment of forces when, in the seventh month of 1200, Go-Toba announced the first major poetic event of his camera rule. Known today as "Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's First Hundred-Poem Sequences" (*Go-Toba no In shodo hyakushu* |||| 初度百首), it was a poetry contest to be put together from sets of 100 poems submitted by a score of the most accomplished poets of the day.³⁰ Predictably, Teika was omitted from the list by Suetsune's contrivance—a calamitous turn of events of which Teika wrote in his diary in pretended indifference, while in fact carrying on a frantic campaign to have his name added to the roster.³¹ Michichika justified the choice of participants by claiming that the honor was to be extended only to "older poets" on this occasion—a lame excuse, since Teika and certain others of his faction who had been left out were scarcely young any more by contemporary standards.³² Prayers and offerings at the Kitano 北野 Shrine may have helped the choice of an opportune moment for delivering the desperate letter from the aged Shunzei that actually seems to have turned the trick. Writing directly to Go-Toba only after repeated appeals to Michichika had proved ineffective, Shunzei argued that the ex-emperor should make his choice on the participants' merits, not on the basis of their closeness to him.³³ The letter arrived at the office of the palace guards at a moment when Go-Toba happened to be personally present, and so there was no opportunity for Michichika to intercept it and report its contents to the ex-emperor with suitable deletions and emendations. On reading the letter—which had been written in Japanese instead of the official Chinese in order to emphasize Shunzei's sincerity—Go-Toba immediately commanded that Teika and two other promising younger poets of his

faction, Ietaka 家隆 (1158-1237) and Takafusa 隆房 (1148-1209), be added to the list of those to submit sets of 100 poems.³⁴

Having received the coveted invitation, Teika took extraordinary pains with his sequence. He composed, revised, deleted, and added new poems over a period of more than two weeks, and finally presented the sequence a day late, after submitting it to the inspection and criticism of Shunzei, Kanezane, and Yoshitsune. To his great joy, he received a letter from one of Go-Toba's secretaries the following day, granting him official access to the ex-emperor's inner palace. In the pleasure of the moment, Go-Toba's failings and his own dissatisfactions were all forgotten. Ever prone to identify his personal successes and reverses with the fortunes of the Art of Poetry, Teika wrote in his diary,

This was quite unexpected. I had made no request for the privilege recently, and so it was a complete surprise. Could it be that the ex-emperor was suddenly moved to pity by the poem in which I complained of being excluded from his palace? On the other hand, it is not surprising after all that I should be admitted to the palace at this point, nor is it anything I had my heart set upon. But that the privilege should be conferred on the basis of my hundred-poem sequence—this is a great honor for the Art of Poetry and a beautiful and inspiring story to pass on to future generations. My gratification is unbounded. This incident shows better than anything else that a revival of poetry has taken place.³⁵

According to Ienaga's diary, the poem Teika intended particularly to move Go-Toba is number ninety-three in the sequence, the third in a small sub-group of five on the topic, "Birds":

Kimi ga yo ni Kasumi o wakeshi Ashitazu no Sara ni sawabe no Ne o ya nakubeki.	In our Lord's gracious reign, Will I still have cause to cry aloud, As cries the crane Who now stalks desolate in reedy marshes, Far from his former cloudland of spring haze?
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As Ienaga explains, Teika alludes to a poem sent by Shunzei to Ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa fourteen years previously, in 1186, the year after Teika himself had been disgraced and temporarily banished from Court for striking a superior officer. The allusion conveys the hope that just as Shunzei's poem obtained his erring son's restoration to rank and office under Go-Shirakawa, now Teika's own poem will win him admission to Go-Toba's Court despite his connection with

the "disgraced" Kujō faction. Teika also suggests by the metaphor of the earthbound crane who once knew celestial realms that he had formerly been a courtier in good standing at Go-Toba's palace when the latter was reigning emperor.³⁶

Teika's sequence is remarkable in other ways. It is one of the best he ever composed, and it contains several of his finest compositions in the mode of descriptive symbolism for which he and his father Shunzei are famous. The following two poems, the first on spring, the second on winter, are perhaps the best:

Ume no hana	Upon my perfumed sleeve,
Nioi o utsusu	White plum blossoms pour their fragrance,
Sode no ue ni	Vying in beauty
Noki moru tsuki no	With moonbeams filtering through the eaves
Kage zo arasou.	And sparkling in the wetness of my tears. ³⁷
Koma tomete	There is no shelter
Sode uchiharau	Where I can rest my weary horse
Kage mo nashi	And brush my laden sleeves:
Sano no watari no	The Sano ford and its adjoining fields
Yuki no yūgure.	Spread over with a twilight in the snow. ³⁸

Teika was elated by the ex-sovereign's appreciation of his poetic efforts. He was henceforth in constant demand at Go-Toba's palace to participate in impromptu poetry parties, to judge contests, and to give his opinion on other poetic matters.³⁹ His reputation and prestige were greatly enhanced by these marks of imperial favor, and his "right" to succeed Shunzei as supreme arbiter of poetry at Court became much more firmly established. Not surprisingly, he was soon designated by Go-Toba as one of the participants in and one of the nine judges of the important "Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds," and he was appointed Fellow of the Bureau of Poetry on its establishment in the seventh month of 1201, and named one of the six compilers of the *Shinkokinshū* in the eleventh month of the same year. Go-Toba even put together and judged a little "contest" made up of six each of his own and Teika's poems, giving Teika three wins, two draws, and only one loss.⁴⁰

If we may believe Teika, he reciprocated the ex-emperor's warm admiration. The comments in his diary on Go-Toba's hundred-poem sequence for the "Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds" are typical: "I was commanded to inspect the poems composed for the occasion by

the ex-emperor. Truly, a poetic voice as rare as gold and precious jewels! This time all of his compositions were beautiful beyond the power of words to express. In the present age there is no one, high or low, who can match him. Each poem was marvelous. I could scarcely keep from shedding tears of admiration."⁴¹

Although allowances must be made for Teika's deep veneration for the imperial office as distinguished from the intrinsic merits of Go-Toba's poetry, such a poem as the following on the coming of spring—a combination of simple description with forthright declaration in the "lofty style"—cannot have failed to strike Teika as happily appropriate to the exalted poet.

Katsuragi ya	In Katsuragi
Takama no yama ni	Upon the Peak of Takama,
Yuki kiete	The snow melts away:
Saeshi arashi wa	Before, the freezing winter gale,
Haru no hatsukaze.	Now, the first warm breeze of spring. ⁴²

But the happy atmosphere of sweet accord did not long endure. It was a heavy burden for Teika, whose chronic bronchitis and rheumatism made him a semi-invalid, to be caught up in the ex-emperor's hectic life.⁴³ Not only did Go-Toba move restlessly about Kyoto, but he made constant trips back and forth between the capital and his country residences at Toba 鳥羽 and the more distant Minase (near modern Osaka). Teika avoided as many of these journeys as possible, but his presence was often required for poetry parties at Toba and Minase as well as closer to home. These country residences were distant enough from Kyoto to be inconvenient, and in the case of Minase, it was difficult to make the round trip in a single day. Teika was thus often forced to stay overnight in the Minase area, finding makeshift lodgings as best he could, perhaps in the storage shed of a neighborhood oil merchant or in the hut of a local peasant. Sometimes Go-Toba stayed at Toba or Minase for days or even weeks on end, and Teika was expected to be on instant call. He had to hover about the neighborhood, making occasional overnight trips back to his family in Kyoto. The expenses as well as the inconvenience of the ex-emperor's excursions were borne by the courtiers in attendance, and for one who subsisted in Teika's state of shabby gentility, this was an added cause of worry and discontent—especially since the ex-sovereign's apprecia-

tion and favor were seldom expressed in material terms. The lengthy separations from his family were difficult; Teika worried about his children, particularly his young heir Mitsuna 三名 (Tameie 爲家), who were subject to various childhood chills and fevers for which religious incantations were the only known remedy.

On an extremely uncomfortable stay at Minase during some heavy rains in the fifth and sixth months of 1202, Teika wrote in his diary, "Though I work hard, it profits me nothing; though I run about in the service of the great, I am poor and ill, old and lame. Yet there is nothing I can do about my wretchedness. Forced to abandon wife and children, I lie in misery in a dilapidated hut, where the rain leaks through onto my bed. All night I find no rest. How much longer will this drifting life go on?"⁴⁴

It was the work of compiling the *Shinkokinshū*, however, that led to the first serious differences between Go-Toba and Teika. By temperament fussy and irritable, Teika would probably have been dissatisfied with any arrangement requiring him to share editorial responsibility. As it was, the *Shinkokinshū* was compiled by a committee of six courtiers (reduced to five after Jakuren's death),⁴⁵ while Go-Toba himself retained final say in every case. The possibilities for disagreement were myriad: there could be a dozen different opinions about the intrinsic merits of a given poem and its superiority over a number of other contenders for a place in a given book of the anthology. Then there were complicated questions of rank and precedence. Was such-and-such a person entitled to have one poem selected, or two, or none at all? Whose poems were to be given the places of honor at the beginning of each of the twenty books? And so on.⁴⁶ Apparently, Teika's opinions were often disregarded or overruled by Go-Toba, whom we may imagine descending upon the Bureau of Poetry whenever the mood struck him, scattering poems and decisions in all directions. It must also be remembered that in 1204, when the work of compiling the *Shinkokinshū* was in full swing, Go-Toba was a rash young man of twenty-four, Teika an aging courtier of forty-two. Though he could scarcely complain of the treatment accorded his own poems,⁴⁷ Teika's education and temperament disposed him to be extremely careful in questions of protocol, ceremonial, and precedent. He was pained at Go-Toba's willingness to accept poems by social upstarts and poetic nonentities, feeling that compositions by himself and

other recognized poets were cheapened by such company. In the third month of 1205, he wrote in his diary:

In a situation like the present, where he has included poems by a great many people one has never heard of, whose names have remained in almost total obscurity for generations, and persons who have only recently begun to attract attention have as many as ten poems apiece included—in such a situation it is no particular distinction for me to have forty-odd poems chosen, or for Ietaka to have a score or more. The Ex-Sovereign's recent decisions make it appear he is choosing men rather than poems—a questionable procedure.⁴⁸

Since Teika did not confine his criticisms to the pages of his diary, eventually some of his slurs were reported to Go-Toba, who was much displeased. (In fact, as the "Secret Teachings" attest, Teika's criticisms still rankled after many years.) Teika was the only compiler who failed to attend the banquet celebrating the official completion of the *Shinkokinshū*, refusing stiffly for the reason that such a banquet was unprecedented.⁴⁹ Thus, although both Teika and Go-Toba continued to have a genuine respect and appreciation for each other's poetic accomplishments, a certain coolness grew up between them. Perhaps as a consequence, Teika found his ideas largely ignored with respect to revisions of the *Shinkokinshū*, upon which the ex-emperor embarked as soon as the anthology was "complete."⁵⁰

Other problems and disagreements, both personal and political, tended to separate the two as the years went by: Go-Toba encouraged Teika's son and heir Tameie to play court football instead of preparing himself to succeed to the family's poetic headship as Teika wished; the ex-sovereign continued to plot against the military government at Kamakura, which was supported by Teika's patrons, the Kujō family. And after the *Shinkokinshū* was compiled, Go-Toba, as has been mentioned, turned increasingly to other interests, while Teika was also less active in poetic affairs, claiming ill health and a general lack of inspiration.⁵¹

But Teika was responsible for the final rift. In the second month of 1220, he responded to a summons from Go-Toba to a poetry party by producing only after many delays two poems complaining of the ex-sovereign's coldness. The offending poems are preserved, together with an explanatory headnote, in the more complete texts of Teika's personal anthology, *Shūi gusō* 拾遺愚草:

Having been summoned to the palace for a poetry gathering on the thirteenth day of the second month in the second year of Shōkyū [1220], I had begged to be excused because of a ritual defilement, it being the anniversary of my mother's death. I thought no more about it, but quite unexpectedly in the evening of the appointed day, the Archivist Iemitsu 家光 came with a letter from the ex-emperor, saying that I was not to hold back on account of the defilement but was to come in any case. I continued to refuse, but after the ex-emperor had sent two more letters insisting on my presence, I hastily wrote down the following two poems and took them with me.

"The Moon in the Spring Mountains"

Sayaka ni mo	The lofty mountain
Mirubeki yama wa	That should stand out clear before my eyes
Kasumitsutsu	Is hidden in a haze of tears,
Waga mi no hoka mo	While the beauty of the spring night's moon
Haru no yo no tsuki.	Is given to others than myself.

"Willows in the Fields"

Michinobe no	Along the roadside,
Nohara no yanagi	The willows standing in the fields
Shita moenu	Are coming into bud—
Aware nageki no	Compare the smoke of my smouldering grief
Keburi kurabe ya.	With the beauty of their shimmering green! ¹²

Though both of these poems allegorically reproach Go-Toba for bestowing his favor on others and withholding it from Teika, the first poem is at least respectful, whereas the second is stronger—indeed, not a little shocking with its smoking grief and rather abrupt imperative form at the end of the last line (some texts have *ni* instead of *ya*, however). It was evidently this second poem, which could also be taken as complaining of the ex-sovereign's lack of feeling for Teika's grief for his mother (she had actually died in 1194, twenty-six years previously), that infuriated Go-Toba. He banned Teika from further poetic gatherings at Court,⁵³ and it is doubtful that Teika ever managed to make it up with the ex-sovereign before the brief Shōkyū War broke out in the fifth month of 1221.

Unfortunately, Teika's diary as we have it today is almost a complete blank for the nearly six years from the second month of 1219 until New Year's Day, 1225. However, that he remained detached from the violent events going on around him may be gathered from a colophon he appended to a copy of the second imperial anthology, *Gosenshū* 後撰集. The colophon, dated the twenty-fourth day of the

fifth month, 1221, is as follows (Teika alludes twice to the *Shu ching*, the Chinese "Classic of History"):

I finished copying this text at the Hour of the Horse [11:00 A.M.–1:00 P.M.] on the twenty-first day of the fifth month of the third year of Shōkyū [1221]. At this moment a great mobilization of warriors is going on throughout the country. The Emperor and the three Ex-Emperors are all gathered in one place. "The white banners flutter in the breeze, and the frosty blades glitter in the sun." But the chastisement of the red banner of the insurgents is no concern of mine. Lying alone in my wretched hut, I continue to nurse my ailing body, but only suffering is my lot. "When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kuan, gems and stones are burned together." In the brief span that yet remains to me, I could only brush away the bitter tears of old age [and set about copying this text].⁵⁴

There is no record that Teika ever wrote to Go-Toba during his exile—the dereliction has been contrasted unfavorably with the unflagging devotion of Ietaka, who corresponded and exchanged poems with the ex-sovereign through the years of his exile and arranged his "Poetry Contest from the Distant Isles." Further, when in 1234 or thereabouts Teika submitted the final draft of the ninth imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, *Shinchokusenshū* 新勅撰集 (of which he had been appointed sole compiler by Ex-Emperor Go-Horikawa 後堀河), the completed version contained not a single poem by Go-Toba, nor by the two other exiled former sovereigns, Juntoku and Tsuchimikado. Although the facts are not entirely clear, it appears that the decision to omit all poems by the ex-sovereigns in disgrace was rather that of the Regent, Kujō Norizane 教實 (1210–1235) and his father Michiie 道家 (1193–1252): Teika had evidently included some in his manuscript, but deleted them because his nervous patrons feared to offend the Kamakura government. Yet it cannot be denied that his silence and tame obedience are uncomfortably suggestive of time-serving.⁵⁵

Since the *Shinchokusenshū* was compiled during the ex-sovereign's lifetime, it may be assumed that Go-Toba knew of Teika's failure to include any of his poems. And his indignation at Teika's neglect during the years of exile and his recollections of Teika's arrogance and intransigence in the days of the *Shinkokinshū* probably contributed to the acerbic tone of the ex-emperor's remarks about his former courtier in the "Secret Teachings." Even so, the student of Japanese poetics

cannot but be surprised and a little shocked to discover that what starts out ostensibly as a few rudimentary remarks on the composition of poetry ends as a bitter and resentful attack on the great Teika himself. Go-Toba's harshness is in startling contrast to the prevailing Teika-worship of the later medieval critics.

It might be supposed that Go-Toba's attack would have led to defenses and rebuttals on the part of Teika's descendants and the hereditary poetic schools that sprang from them. In fact, their silence is total. Although in the fifteenth century such a famous poet and critic as Shōtetsu 正徹 (1381-1459) went so far as to invoke a curse upon anyone who might dare impugn Teika's perfection,⁵⁶ reverence for the imperial throne apparently made Shōtetsu and other adulators of Teika shy away from specific criticism of Go-Toba. The best that could be done was ignore the embarrassing document, stress Go-Toba's often-expressed admiration for Teika's individual poems, and pass over in silence the personal animosity between the two men.⁵⁷

In spite of the medieval critics, the liveliness and strength of Go-Toba's remarks will strike the modern reader as the most interesting, even entertaining, aspect of the "Secret Teachings." Yet Go-Toba's unflattering sketch of Teika's personality is combined with a genuine if grudging appreciation of Teika's skill as a poet and a sensitive analysis of one of his finest poems. The attempt at fairness disposes us the more to accept the criticism, and the injured tone and defensiveness in turn reflect Go-Toba's own personality—the proud, sensitive, gifted, yet capricious nature that played such an important role in the age of the *Shinkokinshū*.

Structure and Contents of the "Secret Teachings"

As it has come down to us, Go-Toba's short treatise falls into three distinct parts.⁵⁸ These divisions appear to be a combination of planned and impromptu elements, and the general impression is of incompleteness—as if the document were a draft that the ex-emperor had set aside for further work. It should be pointed out here that the original work probably bore no title. "Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings" may seem a rather exotic and mystifying way to render *Go-Toba no In gokuden*, the title by which the text came to be known, but the element *kuden* 口傳—literally, "oral transmission"—justifies the translation. The word originally meant handing on verbally cer-

tain inner mysteries of esoteric Buddhism: the secret ritual transmission of precious knowledge by a master to a disciple who had attained the proper stage of enlightenment. From the twelfth century, the word came to be used in the titles of poetic treatises, the art of poetry having become by this time a Way (*michi* 道) influenced in many respects by the usages of esoteric—specifically Tendai—Buddhism.⁵⁹ Although there is actually nothing occult or mysterious in most such treatises, they were jealously kept from the eyes of outsiders. In the squabbles of the Nijō 二條, Kyōgoku 京極, and Reizei 冷泉 families of hereditary poets descended from Teika, the possession of such documents was essential to bolster claims to poetic legitimacy.⁶⁰ And like the first colophon to Go-Toba's "Secret Teachings," warnings and injunctions were often added by copyists to treasure these writings and keep them secret.

In spite of the later mysterious trappings of title and colophon, Go-Toba's treatise is quite straightforward and practical. The first section, at least, was avowedly written as a simple aid to students in the early stages of their poetic training—although for whom and under what specific circumstances is not known.⁶¹ The document begins with a short introductory statement of a kind often found in Japanese poetics: Go-Toba declares that excellence in poetry is spontaneous, proceeding from the individual sensibility and not to be achieved by artificial means.⁶² At the same time, the ex-sovereign continues, important considerations besides spontaneity and inspiration affect the success or failure of a poem: decorum, suitability to a given occasion, and an appropriate poetic style. Notwithstanding the complexity of the subject, Go-Toba writes, he has summarized under seven headings certain principles essential for the beginner.

Although the ex-emperor's seven items contain no secrets and few surprises, they nevertheless furnish valuable confirmation of principles basic to the composition of poetry in the age, and set forth in other important treatises, such as Teika's *Kindai shūka* 近代秀歌, *Maigetsushō* 毎月抄, and *Eiga taigai* 詠歌大概: the need for constant practice, familiarity with alternative styles suited to different subjects and occasions, a basic knowledge of the poetic tradition, and facility in handling the conventional topics with decorum and correctness.⁶³ Go-Toba's seven points also provide certain details not to be found elsewhere in the poetic documents of the period concerning the extent

to which the poet may use the classical prose literature as well as older poetry as sources for allusion.⁶⁴

Essentially, Go-Toba's counsels to the aspiring poet deal with practical problems rather than abstract theory or esthetics. His concern with such matters as whether it is permissible to borrow ideas as well as diction from poems in certain prose works may seem trivial to the modern Western reader, but like the rules for poetic allusion set forth by Teika in his *Kindai shūka* and *Maigetsushō*, Go-Toba's recommendations reflect what was thought to be central to the composition of poetry in the strongly neo-classical age of the *Shinkokinshū*.

Having concluded his seven items with the remark that he could take up many other matters of a similar nature, Go-Toba turns to an entirely new subject, the criticism of individual poets. Structurally, this third part of the "Secret Teachings" has little to do with the practical advice of the preceding section, and since it comes at the end to be increasingly obsessed with Teika and then to break off rather abruptly, the effect is of fragmentation. At the same time, the ex-emperor's comments on fifteen of the most famous poets of the *Shinkokinshū* age are unique and invaluable, the first such systematic criticism of individual poets since Tsurayuki's 貫之 discussion of the different styles of the "Six Poetic Geniuses" in his Preface to the *Kokinshū*.⁶⁵

The poets are taken up in a fairly consistent chronological order beginning with Minamoto Tsunenobu 源經信 (1016-1097), one of the first exponents of the new descriptive poetry, nearly a century before the time of Go-Toba. The ex-emperor next discusses the eccentric Toshiyori or Shunrai 俊賴 (1055-1129), Tsunenobu's son and the outstanding poetic innovator of the early twelfth century. Four major poets of the mid-twelfth century follow: Fujiwara Toshinari or Shunzei, head of the Mikohidari poetic house, father of Teika, and the great judge, critic, and arbiter of poetry in his time; the priest Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190), celebrated poet of asceticism; Fujiwara Kiyosuke 清輔 (1104-1177), arch-rival of Shunzei and head of the Rokujō poetic house; and the priest Shun'e 俊惠 (b. 1113), son of Shunrai and teacher of the so-called Karin'en 歌林苑 (Garden of the Forest of Poetry) group of poets. Go-Toba next turns to poets of "more recent times," beginning with the eldest and most august, the Imperial Princess Shokushi (or Shikishi) 式子内親王 (ca. 1150-1201),

and continuing with two other poet-patrons of the highest rank: the Regent Go-Kyōgoku Yoshitsune (1169-1206), and Yoshitsune's uncle, the Archbishop Jien (1155-1225), four times Abbot of the Tendai monastery Enryakuji 延暦寺.

Finally, the ex-emperor turns his attention to a group of five poets of lesser rank: the Priest Jakuren 寂蓮 (*ca.* 1139-1202), Teika's foster brother; Ietaka, adopted son of Jakuren and pupil of Shunzei; Asukai Masatsune 飛鳥井雅經 (1170-1221), also Shunzei's pupil and like Jakuren, Teika, and Ietaka, one of the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū*; Fujiwara Hideyoshi 秀能 (or Priest Nyogan 如願, 1184-1240); and Lady Tango 丹後 (*fl. ca.* 1200), both personal favorites of Go-Toba; and finally Teika himself.⁶⁶ Since the amount of space given to Teika is about equal to that devoted to all the other poets together, this last part of the "Secret Teachings" might be considered a separate division of the work.

The ex-emperor's remarks, even those concerned with Teika, can hardly be called extended criticism: most of the poets are characterized in only a sentence or two, or at most a scant paragraph, just as the Six Poetic Geniuses are treated in Tsurayuki's Preface to the *Kokinshū*. Like Tsurayuki, Go-Toba shows himself an astute critic, but in the "Secret Teachings" a more appreciative one, since in contrast to Tsurayuki's emphasis upon the poets' shortcomings, the ex-emperor stresses the merits of his subjects in terms of certain standards and poetic preferences of his own. Shunzei, with his style "gentle and evocative, infused with deep feeling, and moving in its sensitivity," particularly appeals to the ex-sovereign, as do those other poets—Tsunenobu, Yoshitsune, Ietaka, Hideyoshi, and Jakuren—adept at the "lofty style" (*taketakaki tei* たけたかき體) so congenial to the former monarch. In all, Go-Toba employs nearly a dozen words and phrases to describe poetic styles and effects pleasing to him. Such terms as *take ari* (lofty), *yasashi* (gentle, easy), *uruwashi* (elegant, beautiful), *kokoro fukashi* 心深し (suffused with deep feeling) are used repeatedly; others, such as *en* 艶 (evocative) and *omoshiroshi* 面白し (interesting), are less frequent, whereas *momimomi* (polished and ingenious) characterizes a poetic effect which Go-Toba warns the student to avoid, while admitting its effectiveness in the hands of a master like Shunrai or even Teika.

It should be noted that although Go-Toba probably wrote the "Se-

cret Teachings" some time during his exile, between 1221 and his death in 1239, he wrote of the poets as he recalled them from a score or more years earlier, back when the *Shinkokinshū* was being compiled. (In this section of the "Secret Teachings" are found verb and adjective inflections chiefly in the aspect of *kaisō* 回想 or "recollection of the past," for the most part the suffix *-ki* in its various paradigmatic forms.) In several cases he could do little else, for some of the most important of his poets—Shunzei, Shun'e, Princess Shokushi, Saigyō, Jakuren, and the noble Yoshitsune—had died shortly after or even before the *Shinkokinshū* was compiled.⁶⁷ On the other hand, Ietaka and Teika had continued to change and develop over the intervening years. The point is particularly crucial for Teika, because his influential late ideal of *ushin* 有心 (intense feeling, conviction of feeling) and preference for simpler poetic effects over the complexities of his earlier style of "ethereal beauty" (*yōen* 妖艶) are important aspects of his total development that Go-Toba completely ignores. Otherwise we should be at a loss to explain the ex-sovereign's statement that "Teika is not fond of the effect known as the 'style of intense feeling.'" Allowing for some difference in the meaning of the term *ushin* as used by Go-Toba, the ex-emperor's statement might be accepted as true, or more true, of Teika in his younger period, before the *Shinkokinshū* and before Teika wrote his *Maigetsushō* (?1219), in which he insists so emphatically upon the related ideals of "intense feeling" and "conviction of feeling."⁶⁸

Indifference to the "style of intense feeling" is not the only poetic misdemeanor of which Go-Toba holds Teika guilty. The first criticism of him in the "Secret Teachings" has to do with the correct treatment of prescribed poetic topics, particularly the "compound topics" (*musubidai* 結題) consisting of two or more substantive elements, such as "A Mountain Village at Dusk" or "A Distant View of the Sea." To Go-Toba and the more conservative poets of the time, the correct way to treat such topics was the traditional one of making their imagery or situational elements the most prominent material of the poem. As an example of decorous treatment of a compound topic, Go-Toba approvingly quotes a poem by Yoshitsune on "The Water in the Pond is Half Frozen Over." Teika, on the other hand, complains the ex-sovereign, "paid scant attention to the topic." And "as a result, in recent times even beginners have all come to be like this."⁶⁹

Although Go-Toba cites no specific instance of Teika's mistreatment of a poetic topic, an example may be found in a rather mediocre composition on the same topic as Yoshitsune's (and probably composed for the same occasion):

Ike no omo wa	Perhaps the pond
Kōri ya haten	Will freeze over completely,
Tojisōru	For the nights
Yogoro no kazu o	Pile up one upon the other,
Mata shi kasaneba.	Each adding to the cover of ice. ⁷⁰

From the strict "legalistic" point of view of a poetry contest, Teika may be faulted for neglecting the idea of "Half" in the topic, whereas without actually using the word, Yoshitsune made the conception the witty focus of his poem (see the translation of the text, below).

To us, the criticism may seem trivial or irrelevant, since we are not accustomed to judging poems on the basis of adherence to a topic. Nevertheless, the matter was central to poetic practice in the age of the *Shinkokinshū*, and although Teika could if he chose satisfy the strictest rules of any poetry contest, often he departed even further than in this example from the literal wording of the topic, as his poems in the so-called "Daruma" 達磨 style attest.⁷¹ No doubt Go-Toba had in mind the range of Teika's practice, from relatively tame examples like the poem above to the "gibberish" of the Daruma poems.

The ex-emperor makes a less direct criticism of Teika in the second part of the "Secret Teachings" in the course of some remarks about the great innovating poet of the late eleventh century and early twelfth, Toshiyori or Shunrai. Shunrai, the ex-sovereign points out, had two distinctive styles: a gentle, evocative style of natural description (inherited from his father Tsunenobu and flowing into the poetic mainstream of descriptive symbolism in the following generation); and a kind of complicated, ornate style (characterized by far-fetched conceits, ingenuity of wit and intellectual play, and contorted syntax).⁷² Clearly, the ex-emperor prefers Shunrai's more quiet, descriptive mode, but, he writes with an almost audible sniff, "It is the latter style of which Lord Teika thinks so highly."

Again, there is justice in Go-Toba's observation. In fact, the very poem the ex-emperor quotes to illustrate Shunrai's "complicated" style is also found in Teika's own treatises, *Kindai shūka* and *Eiga*

taigai, as well as in other collections of exemplary poems put together for his pupils.⁷³ There is no doubt that Teika admired this poem by Shunrai, and to a considerable extent was influenced by the style which it embodies, especially in his more exuberant youthful period which, as has been pointed out, Go-Toba seems to have in mind.

The third reference to Teika is to be found at the end of the ex-emperor's appreciative comments on the poetry of one of his favorites, Hideyoshi. Again, the criticism is somewhat oblique, ostensibly a simple statement of fact: "Nevertheless, I have heard that in recent years Teika has pronounced Hideyoshi's poetry to be extremely bad." Seemingly innocent enough, but in the context of Go-Toba's relationship with Teika, his other comments about him in the "Secret Teachings," and his expressed liking for Hideyoshi's "easy, forthright style," the statement damns Teika as impossibly snobbish and fussy, if not downright cruel and unfeeling. The phrase "in recent years" also suggests that at this one point in his treatise Go-Toba may be reporting a story about Teika brought from the capital to his place of exile.

The section of the "Secret Teachings" specifically dealing with Teika is a mixture of appreciation and indignant disapproval. Two things in particular arouse the ex-emperor's ire: Teika's proud and arrogant bearing, his too eager readiness to criticize; and his stubborn refusal to accept a flexible standard for judging poetic quality, a "double standard" which Go-Toba rightly claims to represent the traditional courtly (and dilettante) attitude in the highly social and occasional contexts of Japanese poetry. It is this second "fault" that epitomizes the difference in outlook between the two gifted men, both products of one tradition and one age, but basically opposed in their views of the importance of the poetic art. The ex-emperor is one of the chief ornaments in a long history of imperial and aristocratic patronage and dabbling in the arts.⁷⁴ Teika represents the tougher, more demanding standards of the professional to whom poetry stood for a way of life. To the ex-emperor, the social occasion and personal circumstances of the poet were as significant in judging a poem as its intrinsic qualities of expression. This viewpoint is as old as Japanese—or Chinese—poetry itself, and it is a perennial attitude, often finding expression in an insistence that the poetry is inseparable from the man.⁷⁵ The emphases are different in each historical period, but Go-

Toba's attitude may be said to be the more truly endemic one in Japanese literary history, whereas Teika's uncompromising standard, though not merely an idiosyncrasy, is newer, deriving from the unprecedented seriousness with which Japanese poetry came to be regarded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The seriousness had many causes: the total commitment to art for art's sake was one aspect, but the rise of competing poetic houses and the struggle for social status, literary fame, and even economic security played a role.⁷⁶ Upon examination, the motives behind neither Go-Toba's nor Teika's standards could be described as "pure"—nor was Teika always consistently loyal to his own ideal, even though his insistence that the poem must stand or fall on its own merits is more congenial to our modern viewpoint.

From Teika's sharp tongue and scorn for opinions different from his own, Go-Toba had suffered enough for the soreness still to remain after many years. Nevertheless, the ex-emperor is fair in the "Secret Teachings" in recognizing that his own judgment has not been infallible, and his willingness to grant Teika's unusual poetic skill and his appreciative comments on his former courtier's poem on the "Grove of Ikuta" cannot fail to excite our admiration. Indeed, the brief discussion of Teika's poem is an outstanding example of sensitive analysis in traditional Japanese poetic criticism. If toward the end of his treatise Go-Toba seems to become almost obsessed with Teika's arrogance and offensive behavior, there is much else that helps to make the "Secret Teachings" one of the most interesting and valuable literary documents of the age.

Time of Composition of the "Secret Teachings"

Certain people and events referred to by Go-Toba help to date the treatise: Teika's poem on the palace cherry tree (1203, according to Ienaga's diary);⁷⁷ the *Shinkokinshū* ("completed" in 1205; mentioned as if long past); references to Yoshitsune as the "late Regent" (he died in 1206); the contest of poems for the sliding doors of Go-Toba's Chapel of the Four Deva Kings (1207). Although the latest of these events serves only to place the work after 1207, Japanese scholars have suggested other reasons for a later date. First, as has been mentioned, the ex-emperor's choice of verb inflections in part suggests the time of writing to have been considerably after the beginning of the

thirteenth century. Second, certain alternative titles by which the treatise was known suggest that it was written after Go-Toba went into exile in 1221: "The Epistle of the Ex-Emperor at Oki" (*Oki no In mishōsoku* 隱岐院御消息), "The Imperial Epistle from the Distant Isles" (*Entō mishōsoku* 遠島御消息), and "Imperial Notes from the Distant Isles" (*Entō mishō* 遠島御抄).⁷⁸

Specifically, a *terminus a quo* of 1225 has been postulated on the theory that Go-Toba did not write his treatise until after the Archbishop Jien's death in 1225. Had Jien been alive, it is argued, Go-Toba would not have risked offending him by writing that he was mistaken in preferring the Archbishop's poem to Teika's for his Chapel of the Four Deva Kings. As a *terminus ad quem*, the year 1237 has been suggested, the year of the death of Fujiwara Ietaka, of whom Go-Toba writes in his treatise as if he were still living.⁷⁹

Other considerations bolster the theory that the "Secret Teachings" was written at some time during the period suggested above. There is the fact of the ex-emperor's renewed interest in poetry, particularly during the last thirteen or fourteen years of his life. The first known product of this new enthusiasm, a "personal poetry contest" (*jikaawase* 自歌合) sent for judging to Ietaka in Kyoto in 1226, was followed by activities of a similar kind: a "contest" Go-Toba put together between poems by Ietaka and Teika, and his "Poetry Contest from the Distant Isles" in 1236; sets of ten poems commissioned from various poets in 1237, and so on. It is also believed that during this period the ex-emperor worked intensively on his revisions of the *Shinkokinshū*. In general, the period between 1225 and 1237 would appear to have been the most reasonable time for Go-Toba to compose a poetic treatise.⁸⁰

The original holograph manuscript of the "Secret Teachings" no longer exists, but the older colophons suggest that the text has come down in a reliable series of copies of copies. For example, a note signed by one Priest Renshin 蓮信房 states:

I copied this from a manuscript in the ex-emperor's own handwriting in the possession of the Venerable Kyōnen 教念上人 at the Fugendō 普賢堂 of the Sairin'in 西林院 on Mount Ōhara 大原 on the eighth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Ninji [1240]. There were no versions other than this holograph manuscript. It is too complicated to write down the details of how the manuscript came into the possession of Kyōnen. But

there are very important reasons. It must be carefully treasured and not shown to outsiders under any circumstances.

A colophon following the above on some manuscripts explains how Kyōnen (otherwise unknown) obtained the holograph:

This Venerable Kyōnen accompanied the ex-emperor to his far place of exile and remained with him until his death, it is said. Feeling it too great a pity that all such documents should be destroyed and burned, he appropriated this one manuscript and made a copy of it.⁸¹

Although these notes do not specifically say that Go-Toba wrote his treatise during the period of exile, the statement that it was among his personal effects at death seems to give the theory additional force.

II. TRANSLATION

EX-EMPEROR GO-TOBA'S SECRET TEACHINGS

In composing Japanese poetry, it has been accepted from remote antiquity down to the present that only spontaneously—not by following the instructions of others, nor by conscious effort, but rather by having a natural talent and inclination—has rare beauty of poetic conception been achieved.⁸² Nevertheless, a poem may be good or bad in spite of a person's expectations, for whether he succeeds or not also depends upon the particular occasion. There are a great many different styles of poetry suitable to varied circumstances, and it is impossible to adhere narrowly to a single one. There is a style of elegant beauty and noble dignity, a style of gentle delicacy and evocative charm. In some styles the chief emphasis is upon the poetic conception, in others it is upon the total effect of the combined elements. Were I to seek to express all my thoughts and opinions on this subject, therefore, my remarks would be interminable, and yet in limiting myself to the barest essentials I could not give adequate expression to my views. In the present instance, I shall summarize the basic principles for those who are beginning their studies, setting forth seven fundamental points. Greater or less weight should be given to these depending upon the individual.⁸³

Item. Whether a person becomes a scholar of Japanese poetry, making a study of problems and obscurities and amassing great learning, depends upon his special circumstances. For the average person, it is enough if he simply acquires sufficient knowledge to read the text of the *Manyōshū*. If he were to feel that even such an effort as this is unnecessary and omitted it, he would be unable to understand poems whose diction and phrasing are borrowed from the *Manyōshū*. That would be deplorable.⁸⁴ Occasionally it will be best to consult an authority in order to ascertain at least the proper accent for some word in the *Manyōshū*.⁸⁵ In the *Kokinshū* as well, there are poems that will be read incorrectly without such knowledge. And these collections contain all manner of other poems that require special study.⁸⁶ One must take care to remember this.

Item. As a person's fondness for the poetic art increases, it is good

for his training to try unusual feats, such as composing a certain number of poems in the time it takes the lamp wick to burn down an inch, or completing a sequence of a hundred poems in two hours;⁸⁷ but the best discipline of all is simply to compose a hundred-poem sequence and then when it is finished to begin afresh, sometimes doing a sequence without fixed topics, sometimes changing the topics from one category to another, over and over again.⁸⁸ If such poems are laid aside and not shown to others, they may later prove useful in emergencies, a great convenience.⁸⁹ A poem with little strength or substance may often be found in a casual set of ten or twenty,⁹⁰ but when a person has reached the experienced stage of composing sequences of a hundred poems, it is unfortunate if there is a falling-off in quality toward the end of a set.

Item. It is important for the beginner to realize that if he has been reading the *Manyōshū* and at the same time composes poems of his own, half the poems in his hundred-poem sequences may turn out to be in *Manyō* style; or if he has been reading the *Genji monogatari* or other romances, there may be a similar influence. A person should take heed of this when composing his poems.

Item. When a beginner sees a poem composed in an interesting way by one of the more skillful poets, he will invariably seize upon some unusual word or turn of phrase and use it unchanged in one of his own poems. Such a tendency must be guarded against.⁹¹

Item. Now and then it is good to practice composing poems on difficult topics. In recent times there has been a tendency to enter too deeply into the poetic conception to the neglect of the topic, and even poems on compound topics have been pronounced acceptable in spite of the fact that they seem to pay little heed to the meaning of the topic.⁹² On the other hand, those who devote a great deal of careful thought and attention to the proper handling of the topic are dismissed with ill-mannered contempt as "like Suetsune and his crowd."⁹³ Such an attitude is very wrong. Jakuren was greatly opposed to these notions.⁹⁴ "In such a case, a poem with no topic at all and a poem on a compound topic would sound just alike. There is no point to it," he said. And he was quite right. Jakuren was particularly skilled at composing poems on compound topics.⁹⁵ Teika, by contrast, has paid scant attention to the topic. As a result, in recent times even beginners have all come to be like this.⁹⁶ [There is no justification for it.]⁹⁷ For

only when a person concentrates very hard upon a compound topic and composes a poem which centers upon that topic is the result of any interest. The modern tendency is a great pity. It is absolutely essential to practice composing poems on compound topics in the correct way. The late Middle Counsellor and Regent⁹⁸ used to say that it was especially important to emphasize the topic when it was a compound. For example, his poem on the topic, "The Water in the Pond is Half Frozen Over":

Ikemizu o	How does the winter gale
Ika ni arashi no	Distinguish in its blowing
Fukiwakete	Across the waters of the pond
Kōreru hodo no	As to leave as much unfrozen
Kōrazaruran.	As it has turned to ice? ⁹⁹

Not a particularly distinguished poem, and yet an interesting treatment in which full consideration is given to the significance of the topic.

Item. Shakua,¹⁰⁰ Jakuren, and others have said that when composing poems for a poetry contest, a person may not be too free in expressing his originality. However, poems composed for such an occasion are actually put together no differently from other poems.¹⁰¹ "Give careful thought to the significance of the topic, make sure your poem is free of poetic ills, and use diction from the poems in the *Genji* and other romances if you like, but do not use poetic conceptions from such works," they said.¹⁰² As a rule, it has been similarly unacceptable to use the conceptions of poems from prose works when composing hundred-poem sequences, but in recent times the practice has not been vigorously objected to.¹⁰³

Item. At an impromptu poetry gathering, the poet will be better able to produce some good poems without becoming nervous or flustered if he first composes his poems on each topic without any great concern for their quality, and then works them over to see whether a few particularly apt or happy revisions may suggest themselves. If a person starts out with the first topic intent on producing a good poem, the later it grows, the more nervous and upset he will become, and he may even treat the topic incorrectly or commit other blunders.¹⁰⁴

There are a great many similar matters on which I might comment, but I shall omit them.

Now, the styles of poetry are like the human face: each individual

has his own, different from the rest—but I have not the leisure to set forth all the details about such a subject here. Nevertheless, I shall set down a few remarks about some of the most accomplished poets of recent times,¹⁰⁵ describing their special styles, and now and then perhaps quoting a few of their poems.

The Great Counsellor Tsunenobu's poetry is particularly distinguished for its lofty dignity.¹⁰⁶ It has an elegant beauty, and at the same time shows cleverness of conception. Toshiyori, too, was an accomplished poet. He composed in two distinct styles. As with Tsunenobu, the great majority of his poems are in a style of elegant beauty and gentle simplicity. At the same time, he composed in a polished, ingenious style which other people could never hope to emulate. It is this latter style of which Lord Teika thinks so highly. This is the style:

Ukarikeru Hito o Hatsuse no Yamaoroshi yo Hageshikare to wa Inoranu mono o.	Her cold disfavor Blows like the storm that rages down From the mountain of Hatsuse, Although my prayer at that sacred shrine Was not that her cruelty be increased! ¹⁰⁷
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On the other hand, his style of elegant beauty:

Uzura naku Mano no irie no Hamakaze ni Obananami yoru Aki no yūgure.	At the Cove of Mano, Where the quail raise their plaintive cry, The wind along the shore Swells the tassels of the plume grass In waves of deepening autumn dusk. ¹⁰⁸
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It was on the occasion of a poetry meeting in praise of Hitomaro¹⁰⁹ at the residence of the Tsuchimikado Minister of the Center,¹¹⁰ I remember, that Shakua observed that such a fine poem was by no means easy to produce. Yes, Toshiyori had a profound grasp of the art. When required to compose a poem on a difficult compound topic, he used first to have the people in his household make up poems on it, and then, if one of these happened to show a particularly telling stroke of originality, he would carefully revise it, applying his own learning and knowledge, and make the poem his own. He produced many fine poems in this fashion.¹¹¹

In the generation after Toshiyori come Shakua and Saigyō. Their styles are not so strikingly unusual in effect. I recall Shakua's poetry

as gentle and evocative, infused with deep feeling, and moving in its sensitivity.¹¹² His style particularly appeals to my humble taste. Saigyō's poetry is interesting and gives expression to unusually deep feeling combined with rare qualities of originality—a born poet, I feel. But his poems are not suitable for imitation by those who are still uncertain of their art. His is a skill that cannot be explained in words.¹¹³ As for Kiyosuke, his poetry has no particular distinguishing characteristics, but still, as might be expected, one occasionally comes upon a poem with a pleasingly archaic flavor:¹¹⁴

Toshi hetaru	I would ask you,
Uji no hashimori	O Guardian of the Bridge of Uji,
Koto towan	Hoary with your years—
Ikuyo ni narinu	How many ages have flowed away
Mizu no minakami.	Since these clear waters first gushed forth? ¹¹⁵

This is the style I mean. Priest Shun'e¹¹⁶ composed in a smooth, quiet manner. He is said to have declared that a poem should be composed so that it seems to glide as smoothly as a drop of water rolling down the length of a five-foot iris leaf:

Tatsutayama	Upon Mount Tatsuta,
Kozue mabara ni	Only a few bright leaves still cling
Naru mama ni	To the barren branches,
Fukaku mo shika no	While deeper sounds the footfall
Soyogu naru kana.	Of the stag as he walks the forest floor. ¹¹⁷

Shakua said that this was an elegant and refined poem.

When we come to more recent times, among the outstanding poets are the Former Imperial Virgin of Ōimikado,¹¹⁸ the late Nakanomikado Regent,¹¹⁹ and the Former Archbishop of Yoshimizu.¹²⁰ The Imperial Virgin composed in a very polished and ingenious style.¹²¹ The late Regent emphasized a noble dignity, but I remember that he was adept in all styles. It was strange how his diction seemed to carry authority, with never a word or phrase in any of his poems that seemed out of place. On the other hand, he might well have been criticized for including too few background poems in his hundred-poem sequences.¹²² There are so many fine poems by him that it would be difficult to cite just two or three. The Archbishop resembles Saigyō in his general manner,¹²³ and he is inferior to no other accomplished poet in his finest poems. He used to be particularly fond of a style emphasizing

ingenuity of conception.¹²⁴ This is the manner of many of his best liked poems that people are constantly quoting. Such poems as his "Tell me, O winter rain,"¹²⁵ or "I shall compare my scarlet sleeves / To the leaves of trees,"¹²⁶ or "Let me yet linger / Upon this road of darkness"¹²⁷—these are in this style. Notwithstanding, some of his finest poems are in a more ordinary style of elegant beauty. "When I gaze up at the sky";¹²⁸ "My eyes by tears unclouded";¹²⁹ "Striving with the clouds";¹³⁰ "The sleeve / Of him who travels into autumn";¹³¹ "Like the drizzle, / Unable to dye the pines to scarlet";¹³² "The thickets of bush clover in the garden";¹³³ "No one now comes / To cut down the tufts of plume grass";¹³⁴ "The hidden rivulets / In a marsh where snipe wing off"¹³⁵—these are but a few of his many fine poems.

Next we have Jakuren, Teika, Masatsune,¹³⁶ Hideyoshi,¹³⁷ and others of their class. Jakuren never composed in a casual or peremptory manner. But because he gave such excessive attention to the details of his compositions, there was seldom to be found in them any marked element of noble forthrightness.¹³⁸ On the other hand, given the specific task of composing a poem in the style of lofty beauty—for example, when he composed for me his set of poems in three prescribed styles—his performance was amazing, as is demonstrated by his poem, "The mountain depths of Tatsuta / Are covered with white-petaled clouds."¹³⁹ And the way in which he responded to the requirements of all sorts of occasions, producing a composition of substance and taste on the spur of the moment, turning out an impromptu poem with ease and assurance, composing linked stanzas,¹⁴⁰ and even turning his hand at comic verses¹⁴¹—these things show that he was a poet of true skill and accomplishment.

Lord Ietaka was not particularly well known in his younger days, but from about the time of the Kenkyū era,¹⁴² his reputation grew markedly.¹⁴³ He gained assurance, showing that he could achieve complete identity with his materials,¹⁴⁴ and he produced more fine poems than practically anyone else. His style has a noble dignity combined with originality of invention.

Masatsune was the kind of poet who pondered his compositions deeply, revising them again and again. It seems that he did not attempt to compose a very large number of poems in the lofty style, but still he was very accomplished.

Priest Hideyoshi¹⁴⁵ had a style of lofty dignity above his social level.¹⁴⁶ For this reason, even his less consequential poems seem to have produced a striking effect. In fact, even among the informal poems that he preserved in his private collection,¹⁴⁷ there were some in this easy, forthright style. Nevertheless, I have heard that in recent years Teika has pronounced Hideyoshi's poetry to be extremely bad.¹⁴⁸

Of poets among the court ladies, Tango¹⁴⁹ composed many poems in a style of gentle delicacy. Take, for example, her "Wind from the pine trees / That comes to visit my sleeves of moss,"¹⁵⁰ or her "No longer clouded by the leaves of trees,"¹⁵¹ or "No trace is left / Of the boats that rowed along the shore,"¹⁵² or "What has become / Of those leaves of words—your vow / That you would not forget?"¹⁵³ or "In the unexpected gale / That blows down from the peaks."¹⁵⁴ Apart from these poems, I can recall many that have a similar gentle delicacy. In my humble opinion, she was a far better poet than most people recognized. The late Regent¹⁵⁵ often used to say to me, "Because of your gracious praise, she has improved considerably in her old age."

Teika is in a class by himself. When one remembers that he thought even the poems of his father, who was such a superior poet, to be shallow affairs, it should be clear that he did not consider it worth his while to bother with the poems of other people.¹⁵⁶ His style of polished ingenuity combined with a gentle elegance¹⁵⁷ was indeed hard to find elsewhere, and his mastery of the art was remarkable. But the way he behaved, as if he knew all about poetry, was really extraordinary. Especially when he was defending his own opinion, he would act like the man who insisted a stag was a horse.¹⁵⁸ He was utterly oblivious of others and would exceed all reason, refusing to listen to anything other people had to say. In general, the tenor of his Lordship's critical viewpoint was that he would never take into consideration any extenuating circumstances of time or occasion in his judgment of a poem, and because he himself was incapable of a relaxed, casual attitude toward poetry,¹⁵⁹ he would scowl angrily even when people praised one of his poems, if it happened to be one of which he was not particularly proud. Once many years ago, when the cherry tree at the Palace was in full bloom,¹⁶⁰ a group of courtiers, reminded by its beauty of springs of old, gathered informally at the foot of this

tree and composed poems which they presented to me. Teika, who was Middle Commander of the Palace Guards of the Left,¹⁶¹ composed the following.¹⁶²

Toshi o hete Miyuki ni naruru	Through many familiar springs Have I come like this and sighed to see your blossoms
Hana no kage Furinuru mi o mo Aware to ya omou.	Scatter like falling snow— O cherry tree whom royal favor blesses, Do you not in turn feel pity for my state? ¹⁶³

He had been all of twenty years an under officer in the Palace Guards of the Left. In addition to expressing with gentle refinement the significance of "Personal Grievances,"¹⁶⁴ the poem takes on a wonderful appropriateness from the special circumstances of the poet and the occasion. It seemed to me a poem of which he could be justly proud. The masters of old were always especially fond of their own poems in which the particular circumstances of the occasion were handled with gentle refinement and effectiveness, without any special regard for whether they were objectively good or bad in themselves. On the very day that Teika composed this poem, I put some of the cherry petals that had fallen in the palace courtyard into the lid of a writing box and sent them to the Nakanomikado Regent.¹⁶⁵ The poem he sent in reply—"These cherry blossoms, / Have they lingered in compassion / For him who was not called?"¹⁶⁶—was not such a great masterpiece, and yet he requested that it be included in the *Shinkokinshū*, and I recall hearing him express his fondness for it many times. "It is the best of all my poems that are being considered for this new anthology," he said. Such has always been the way of viewing these matters. On the other hand, no matter how splendid a poem may be, if its circumstances of composition are not suitable—as in the case of a love poem composed for some scandalous affair—it is never sent to those responsible for compiling an imperial anthology.¹⁶⁷ Is it possible that anyone can be unaware of these ancient practices and precedents? Notwithstanding, Teika insisted repeatedly during the deliberations of the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū* that his own poem on the cherry tree in the palace courtyard was unacceptable.¹⁶⁸ Ietaka and the others were right there and heard him. It should be evident from this specimen of his intransigence how he behaved on all such occasions.

Again, because his own poem on "The Grove of Ikuta"¹⁶⁹ was not

included among the winning poems for the sliding partitions with paintings of famous beauty spots at my Chapel of the Four Deva Kings,¹⁷⁰ he went about giving vent to his scorn and contempt in various quarters, making many intemperate remarks¹⁷¹—a kind of behavior that served rather to demonstrate his own willfulness and lack of restraint than the poor taste of the judges. To be sure, it was unfortunate that I was so little able to distinguish between the pure and the flawed in poetry, but even the authorities who in generation after generation have undertaken to compile the imperial anthologies have not always succeeded in pleasing everyone by their choices. Nevertheless, who ever heard of continued abuse once their decisions had been made?¹⁷²

Although Lord Teika's poetic manner is employed by him with splendid results, it should not, as a general rule, be taken as a model by others. He is not fond of the effect known as the "style of intense feeling." Rather, he has as his fundamental style a rich evocativeness of diction and gentle elegance of total effect.¹⁷³ If a beginner should seek to emulate this style before his own personal manner and poetic control had become fully established, he would be bound to deviate from the mainstream of acceptable poetic composition.¹⁷⁴ It is because Teika is innately a superior poet that he can produce such splendid results by putting his materials together in a beautiful way even though the conception and feeling may be rather commonplace:

Aki to dani	The tinge of autumn
Fukiaenu kaze ni	Is still lacking in the gentle breeze,
Iro kawaru	And yet at Ikuta
Ikuta no mori no	The color changes in the lower grasses
Tsuyu no shitakusa.	That lie, dew-laden, in the sacred grove. ¹⁷⁵

In the way this poem begins with *Aki to dani*, continues the rhythm through *Fukiaenu kaze ni* / *Iro kawaru* in the second and third lines, and concludes with the placement of *Tsuyu no shitakusa* in the last line, there is perfect harmony between upper and lower verses¹⁷⁶—truly, it seems the epitome of the poetic style of gentle elegance.¹⁷⁷ And after all, it does appear superior to Jien's poem on "The Grove of Ikuta" that was chosen for the painting.¹⁷⁸ At the same time, such lapses of taste and judgment are likely to occur over and over again, not only on my part but with others as well. One mistake surely should not be held against a person forever.

It is instructive to consider the foregoing poem in detail. Apart from the gentle elegance and evocative charm of the diction, there is nothing particularly striking about either the conception or the atmosphere. "Beneath the trees of the forest are some slightly withered plants"—apart from this, the poem presents no special imagery, no element of wit or ingenuity, and yet how splendid it is in the lovely cadences of its flowing diction! People who know little about the art of poetry would utterly fail to appreciate such a poem. As a consequence, relatively few of Lord Teika's poems are universal favorites, their superiority acknowledged by all.¹⁷⁹ And if this does occasionally happen, it is not with the concurrence of the poet himself.¹⁸⁰ Poets like Shunzei and Saigyō—at least in their finest poems—infuse their compositions with elegant beauty and gentleness of diction, but at the same time there is deep feeling and a sense of conviction. As a result, it would be impossible to count their poems that are always on people's lips. In general, although a poem may be somewhat flat and obvious, in my humble opinion it is good if it is good of its kind. It is too extreme and unreasonable of his Lordship Teika to dismiss a person summarily as a complete ignoramus in poetic matters simply because his ideas do not happen to meet Teika's own standards. Nothing is pleasing to that man's fastidious tastes. And as far as not knowing how to judge poetry is concerned, that is not such a disaster. It is a person's poems, after all, not his opinions, that are put into anthologies and preserved for later generations, so that even if he is not an expert judge and critic it is no great cause for regret.¹⁸¹

"Keep secret, keep secret! Not to be shown to outsiders under any circumstances," it says.¹⁸²

III. NOTES

¹ I wish to acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude much valuable help from Professor Mizukami Kashizō 水上甲子三 of Tokyo on numerous problems connected with this study. Needless to say, all the mistakes are mine. For the time to complete my work, I am indebted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose senior fellowship program relieved me from teaching duties in the academic year 1970-1971. My colleague, Professor Edward G. Seidensticker, kindly read the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions.

In our *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford University Press, 1961; cited hereafter as *JCP*), Earl Miner and I gave a general account of the poets, poetry, and poetics of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries—the period often called the “Age of the *Shinkokinshū*” (*Shinkokin jidai* 新古今時代) from the eighth imperial anthology completed in 1205. See Ch. VI, “The Mid-Classical Period, 1100–1241,” *passim*.

² There are other ways to read the title of Go-Toba’s treatise, the most common being *Go-Toba In onkuden*. I have followed the reading given in the article by Kojima Yoshio 小島吉雄 in *Waka bungaku daijiten* 和歌文學大辭典 (Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1962), p. 380.

³ A detailed account of the Shōkyū War may be found in William H. McCullough, “*Shōkyūki*: An Account of the Shōkyū War of 1221” (*MN* 19[1964].163–215 and 420–455), and “The *Azuma kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War” (*MN* 23[1968].102–155). See also John S. Brownlee, “The Shōkyū War and the Political Rise of the Warriors” (*MN* 24[1969].59–77).

⁴ The principal sources for a knowledge of Go-Toba are: *Minamoto Ienaga nikki* 源家長日記, the eulogistic “diary” of his private secretary, Minamoto Ienaga (d. ?1234); the first three chapters of the fictionalized history, *Masukagami* 増鏡 (completed between 1368 and 1375); and the accounts of the Shōkyū War mentioned in note 3, above. In addition, there are references to Go-Toba in the standard chronicles and diaries of the period, particularly Teika’s diary, *Meigetsuki* 明月記 (printed text: Kokusho Kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1911, 3 vols.). Short fragments are all that remain of Go-Toba’s own diary, *Go-Toba no In shinki* 後鳥羽院宸記; these are collected in *Kaitai shūsei shūran* 改訂史籍集覽, Vol. xxiv, and in *Ressei zenshū: shinkishū* 列聖全集宸記集, I (1915), 207–232. Of secondary materials, I have found particularly useful the study of Higuchi Yoshimaro 樋口芳麻呂, “Go-Toba In,” in *Nihon kajin kōza* 日本歌人構座 (Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1961), IV, 1–77; and the portions devoted to Go-Toba and to his relations with Teika in Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Fujiwara Teika* (2nd ed., Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1962 [*Jimbutsu sōsho* 人物叢書, Vol. 95]), and in Yasuda Akio 安田章生, *Fujiwara Teika kenkyū* 研究 (Shibundō 至文堂, 1967).

⁵ For example, on the nineteenth day of the third month of Kennin 1 (1201), Go-Toba went with a retinue to the Toba palace, and thence by boat to Minase 水無瀬, where he was received by groups of dancing girls from the neighboring pleasure districts of Eguchi 江口 and Kanzaki 神崎. For most of the next three days, the ex-emperor and his courtiers were entertained with singing of *imayō* 今様 and other popular songs, *shirabyōshi* dancing, and so on. (Cf. *Meigetsuki*: Kennin 1 [1201]/3/19 [I, 201–202].) Ienaga mentions *imayō* singing and *sarugaku* antics as among the ex-emperor’s entertainments for the Gosechi 五節 Festival in the middle of the eleventh month of Kennin 3 (1203). (Cf. Ishida Yoshisada 石田吉貞 and Satsukawa Shūji 佐津川修二, *Minamoto Ienaga nikki zenchūkai* 全註解 [Yūseidō 有精堂, 1968], pp. 180–183.) Again, on the night of the seventh of the eighth month of Kenryaku 2 (1212), entertainers performed at Go-Toba’s palace with *imayō*, *shirabyōshi* dancing, and *sarugaku*. (*Meigetsuki*: Kenryaku 2 [1212]/8/17 [II, 179].) (The *shirabyōshi* [lit., “unaccompanied rhythms”], incidentally, were narrative and dramatic pieces as well as popular love songs

sung and mimed by courtesans in male attire; *sarugaku* at this period was probably little more than slapstick clowning and short comical skits.)

⁶ Higuchi, "Go-Toba In," pp. 6-7. In his collection of tales and anecdotes, *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 (completed in 1254), Tachibana Narisue 橘成季 tells a rather suspicious story of Go-Toba's great physical strength: the ex-emperor, he relates, once led an expedition to capture a notorious bandit, who was expected to put up a vigorous resistance; to everyone's surprise, however, the bandit tamely surrendered, and on interrogation said that he had been overcome with a feeling of hopelessness when he saw the ex-emperor signaling to his warriors by waving about a heavy oar as if it had been as light as a fan. (*Kokon chomonjū*, Item 436, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文學大系 [Iwanami Shoten, 1957-68], LXXXIV, 347-348; hereafter, *NKBT*.) Narisue also recounts that several courtiers, experts at the game of court football (*kemari* 蹴鞠), proposed the ex-emperor be made official head of the sport because of his skill. (*Kokon chomonjū*, Item 414; *NKBT* ed., p. 330.) A small fragment survives of what is thought to have been a treatise on court football by Go-Toba; see *Go-Toba no In gyoki* 御記 in *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類從, Book 353 (XIX, 390-391); hereafter, *GSRJ*.

⁷ Ishida and Satsukawa, *Zenchūkai*, p. 34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

⁹ Cf. Kojima Yoshio, *Shinkokinwakashū no kenkyū* 新古今和歌集の研究 (Hoshino Shoten 星野書店, 1954), I, 11-13.

¹⁰ Higuchi, "Go-Toba In," p. 12.

¹¹ Ariyoshi Tamotsu 有吉保 has recently published a definitive collated text of the "Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds": *Sengohyakuban utawase no kōhon to sono kenkyū* 〓〓〓の校本とその研究 (Kazama Shobō 風間書房, 1968).

¹² The two major texts of Go-Toba's poems are printed respectively in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 續群書類從 (hereafter, *ZGSRJ*), Book 423 (xvB, 569-627), and in *Ressei zenshū: gyōseiishū* 御製集, I, 275-498. The *Ressei zenshū* text is reprinted in Vol. x of *Kokka taikai* 國歌大系 (hereafter, *K. taikai*). *Rokkeshū* 六家集, I, 25-180. For other sources of poems by Go-Toba, see Higuchi, pp. 12-30. Higuchi gives the total number of Go-Toba's extant poems as 2,364 (pp. 58-60).

¹³ *JCP*, p. 263.

¹⁴ Translation from *JCP*, p. 291. The poem is in the *Shinkokinshū* (I:36), with the headnote, "On 'A Spring View at a Village by the Water,' when the courtiers were composing verses in Chinese and matching them against Japanese poems." The occasion was the so-called "Contest of Chinese and Japanese Poems in the Genkyū Era" (*Genkyū shūkaawase* 元久詩歌合), held at the Itsutsuji 五辻 Palace on the fifteenth day of the sixth month, Genkyū 2 (1205).

¹⁵ *Gyoshū* in *K. taikai*, x, 176. The poem is also found in the sixteenth imperial anthology, *Shokugoshūishū* 續後拾遺集 (completed ca. 1325), v: 337, where it has the headnote, "Composed upon 'Moonlight on the Water.'"

¹⁶ Higuchi, pp. 58-59.

¹⁷ Revisions were carried out at Go-Toba's insistence for some six years after the official "completion" of the anthology—at least until the ninth month of 1210. Cf. Kojima, *Kenkyū*, II, 38-39.

¹⁸ For the dozen years between 1211 and 1222 (the year following Go-Toba's exile), there are only 166 datable poems (Higuchi, p. 59).

¹⁹ *Masukagami*, Ch. 3 (*Fujigoromo* 藤衣), in *NKBT*, LXXXVII, 289: "Reports of many events, happy and sad, that took place far off in the capital, came faintly to his ears, while here in Oki the outrageous years piled up, bringing along with advancing age only an increase of misery. Amidst this rank and weedy growth of endless sorrows, his sole consolation—an activity in which he had long taken pleasure—was in giving expression to his feelings through the Art of Japanese Poetry."¹⁹

²⁰ Gotō Shigeo 五島重雄, *Shinkokinwakashū no kisoteki kenkyū* ||||| の基礎的研究 (Hanawa Shobō 塙書房, 1968), pp. 406–408.

²¹ A printed text is in *GSRJ*, Book 199 (xii, 534–547). Go-Toba describes the circumstances of compiling the work in a long note following the first round.

²² *Go-Toba no In on'hyakushū* ||||| 御百首, in *ZGSRJ*, Book 386 (xivb, 716).

²³ *Gyoshū*, in *K. taikēi*, x, 51.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁶ On this subject, see also Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time* (Stanford University Press, 1967), Introduction, pp. 6–11.

²⁷ *Meigetsuki: Kenkyū* 9 (1198)/1/7 (I, 51).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, *Kenkyū* 9 (1198)/2/19 (I, 69).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, *Shōji* 1 (1199)/7/14 (I, 103). The ex-emperor's ox-drawn carriage could hardly have been travelling as fast as Teika pretends; still, it would have been up to him to scramble out of the way as best he could.

³⁰ There were actually two separate contests, called together the *Shōji hyakushū* 正治百首 (Hundred-Poem Sequences of the Shōji Era). The first and more important, the one in which Teika participated, is printed in *ZGSRJ*, Book 382 (xivb, 568–629).

³¹ See *Meigetsuki: Shōji* 2 (1200)/7/15–8/10, *passim* (I, 159–164).

³² Teika's indignation was not technically on this score, but rather because a decision to include only older poets was unprecedented. See *Meigetsuki: Shōji* 2 (1200)/7/18 (I, 161).

³³ A fragmentary and somewhat corrupt text of the letter, known as the "Shōji Appeal" (*Shōji sōjō* 正治奏狀) is printed in *GSRJ*, Book 293 (xvi, 358–359).

³⁴ *Meigetsuki: Shōji* 2 (1200)/8/10 (I, 164).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, *Shōji* 2 (1200)/8/26 (I, 167).

³⁶ See Ishida and Satsukawa, *Ienaga nikki zenchūkai*, pp. 43–46. Ienaga also quotes Shunzei's poem to Go-Shirakawa, together with the reply, both of which are also preserved with explanatory notes in the seventh imperial anthology, *Senzaishū* 千載集, compiled by Shunzei around 1188. Shunzei's poem (*Senzaishū*, xviii: 1155) is as follows:

Ashitazu no	Now that the year
Kumaji mayoishi	Has closed in which it lost its way
Toshi kuzete	Upon the cloudland path,
Kasumi o sae ya	Must the crane still be kept apart
Hedatehatsubeki.	Even from the haze of a new spring?

For Teika's poem, see *Shūi gusō* 拾遺愚草, in *ZKT*: 9,540.

³⁷ *Shinkokinshū*, I: 44; *Shūi gusō*, in *ZKT*: 9,453.

³⁸ *Shinkokinshū*, VI: 671; *Shūi gusō*, in *ZKT*: 9,154. The translation is from *JCP*, p. 306.

³⁹ See, for example, *Meigetsuki*: Shōji 2 (1200)/10/1 (I, 175).

⁴⁰ This was the so-called "Extemporaneous Poetry Contest in Six Rounds at the Minase Fishing Pavilion" (*Minase Tsuridono tōza rokushū utawase* 水無瀬釣殿當座六首歌合), dated Kennin 2 (1202)/6/15. The text is in *GSRJ*, Book 192 (XII, 378). See also *Meigetsuki*: Kennin 2 (1202)/6/3, 6/5, and 6/15 (I, 264-265, 267). In the entry for the fifteenth, Teika writes, "While I was in attendance at the Middle Commander's residence, a page came running over from home with the message that Kiyonori 清範 was looking for me. I therefore hurried back to the Ex-Emperor's Palace. Kiyonori said he had been inquiring after me because he had a scroll that the Ex-Emperor had commanded me to examine. It seemed that it was the text of the Ex-Emperor's poems and mine that he had matched at Minase, with his judgments written out. Expressing my humble sense of the too great honor done me, I withdrew."

⁴¹ *Meigetsuki*: Kennin 1 (1201)/6/16 (I, 206).

⁴² *Gyoshū shūi* 御集拾遺, in *K. taikai*, x, 148.

⁴³ See Brower and Miner, *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 8-13.

⁴⁴ *Meigetsuki*: Kennin 2 (1202)/5/28 (I, 263).

⁴⁵ Jakuren 寂蓮 (ca. 1139-1202), then known by his lay name Sadanaga 定長, became Shunzei's adopted son when his own father, Shunzei's younger brother, joined the Buddhist priesthood. Sadanaga in turn resigned as Shunzei's adoptive heir and took holy orders and the priestly name Jakuren when Teika was about ten years old. He continued close associations with the Mikohidari family, and was one of the most gifted and active of the *Shinkokinshū* poets. His sudden death was a great blow to Teika. (See *Meigetsuki*: Kennin 2 [1202]/7/20 [I, 272-273].)

⁴⁶ See Kojima, *Kenkyū*, II, 24-41, and Kazamaki Keijirō 風巻景次郎, "Shinkokinshū hensen ni hataraita ishiki |||| 編纂に働いた意識," in *Shinkokin jidai* 新古今時代 (Jimbun Shoin 人文書院, 1936), pp. 182-209.

⁴⁷ Some forty-six of Teika's poems were selected for the *Shinkokinshū*, more than for anyone else of his age group, and he holds sixth place of all *Shinkokinshū* poets for total number of poems selected. Go-Toba even commanded that Teika be specially honored by placing one of his poems at the beginning of Book xv (poem no. 1336). Additional evidence shows that the ex-emperor had a lively appreciation of Teika's work. As late as 1207, Teika records in his diary that on submitting ten of what he considered his own best poems at Go-Toba's command, the ex-sovereign chose two for the revised text of the *Shinkokinshū*, expressing great surprise that they had not been included in the earlier version. (*Meigetsuki*: Shōgen 1 [1207]/4/8 [II, 18].) The two poems appear in current texts of the anthology, and are indeed regarded as among Teika's best. (See *Shinkokinshū*, VI: 672, and X: 953.)

⁴⁸ *Meigetsuki*: Genkyū 2 (1205)/3/2 (I, 410). The text appears to be slightly corrupt, but I believe this to be the meaning.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Genkyū 2 (1205)/3/20, 27 (I, 413-416).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Shōgen 1 (1207)/11/8 (II, 47).

⁵¹ Kojima, *Kenkyū*, II, 324-326; Ishida Yoshisada, *Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū* 藤原の研
究 (Bungadō 文雅堂, 1957), pp. 242-249.

⁵² Reizei Tameomi 冷泉爲臣, ed., *Fujiwara Teika zenkashū* 藤原全歌集 (Bun-
meisha 文明社, 1940), pp. 281-282, poems 2,602 and 2,603.

⁵³ Over a year later, on the twenty-second day of the second month of 1221, the
reigning Emperor Juntoku wrote in his diary: "At night there was a poetry party . . .
but this evening Lord Teika was not invited. He has been forbidden the palace because
of that poem he composed last year, and has been shut up at home in disgrace ever since.
The Ex-Emperor was extremely offended, commanding that he be excluded from all
poetry parties until further notice. Therefore I did not invite him. This was because of
his poem, 'Compare the smoke of my smouldering grief / With the willows' shimmering
green.' Can it be really true that he had been passed over so grievously? On the other
hand, not to include Lord Teika in activities having to do with poetry is surely a very
grave matter." (*Juntoku no In gyōki* 順徳院御記 in *Ressei zenshū: shinkishū*, I, 259.)

⁵⁴ Quoted in Matsuda Takeo 松田武夫, *Chokusen wakashū no kenkyū* 勅撰和歌
集の研究 (Dentsū Shuppanbu 電通出版部, 1944), pp. 105-106.

⁵⁵ On Teika's *lèse majesté*, see, for example, Kuroiwa Ichirō 黒岩一郎, *Fujiwara
Teika to Ietaka* (Hasegawa Shobō 長谷川書房, 1952), pp. 55-58, 180-184. Teika
made up for leaving the three ex-emperors out of the *Shinchokusenshū* by including
poems by so many members of the Kamakura warrior class that the anthology came to
be derided as the "Uji River Collection" (*Ujigawashū* 宇治川集), from the old poetic
tag, *Mononofu no / Yaso-Ujigawa* もののふの八十氏川, "the Uji River, whose
name recalls the Eighty Warrior Clans." See Ton'a's 頓阿 (1289-1372) *Seishō* 井蛙
抄, in Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikai* 日本歌學大系
(rev. ed., Kazama 風間 Shobō, 1956; hereafter, *NKGT*), v, 108.

⁵⁶ Shōtetsu begins his poetic treatise *Tesshōki monogatari* 徹書記物語 with the
words, "Whoever presumes to criticize Teika should be denied the protection of the
gods and Buddhas and condemned to the torments of hell." (*Tesshōki monogatari*, in
NKGT, v, 220.)

⁵⁷ As Professor Hisamatsu points out, although Go-Toba's treatise was originally
transmitted among priests and others not closely associated with the poetic houses, it
had become known to the Reizei 冷泉 branch of Teika's descendants at least before
1285, since some texts have a colophon of this date signed by Teika's grandson Reizei
Tamesuke 爲相 (1263-1328). Apparently, the document came into the possession of
the rival Nijō 二條 family only slightly later: one of the oldest extant texts has a colo-
phon by the Nijō adherent Ton'a (see note 55, above), dated 1351. (Hisamatsu Sen'ichi
久松潜一, *Nihon karonshi no kenkyū* 日本歌論史の研究 [Kazama Shobō, 1963],
p. 255.)

⁵⁸ As my basic text, I have used the recent printed edition with annotations in Hisa-
matsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru 西尾實, eds., *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū* 歌論集,
能學論集 (Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 141-151 (= *NKBT*, Vol. LXV; hereafter,
Hisamatsu and Nishio). I have also used the texts in the following collections: Hisamatsu
Sen'ichi, ed., *Chūsei karonshū* 中世歌論集 (Iwanami Shoten, 1934), pp. 218-228;
NKGT, III, 1-8; and Minegishi Yoshiaki 峯岸義秋, ed., *Karon, utaawaseshū* 歌論歌

合集 (Ōfūsha 櫻楓社, 1959), pp. 169-180. The texts display few significant differences. The important manuscripts and colophons are discussed in detail in Hisamatsu, *Nihon karonshi no kenkyū*, pp. 250-255.

⁵⁹ For example, one of the names for the poetic treatise by Minamoto Toshiyori 源俊頼 (1055-1129) was *Toshiyori kuden* or *Shunrai kuden* 俊頼口傳 (Secret Teachings of Toshiyori); Teika's son Tameie's treatise was known as *Yakumo kuden* 八雲口傳 (Secret Teachings on the Art of the Eightfold Clouds), and so on.

⁶⁰ See *JCP*, pp. 348-356.

⁶¹ As far as I have been able to determine, Japanese scholars have on the whole refrained from speculation on these questions. One can only assume that Go-Toba's original intention must have been to give guidance to one or more of the younger men in his entourage, or that he was responding to a request from someone in the capital.

⁶² Poetic spontaneity is emphasized by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (ca. 868-?945) in the first critical statement on vernacular poetry, the Preface to the first imperial anthology, *Kokinshū* 古今集 (905). See *JCP*, p. 3.

⁶³ For a complete translation of the *Kindai shūka*, see Brower and Miner, *Teika's Superior Poems*. Crucial passages of the *Maigetsushō* are translated in *JCP*, pp. 246-247 and 258-259. The *Eiga taigai* is partially translated in Tsunoda Ryusaku, *et al.*, *Sources of the Japanese Tradition* (Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 183-184. As Professor Hisamatsu and others have pointed out, Go-Toba's principles do not diverge from the mainstream of poetic ideals of his age. In fact, his tastes give evidence of having been shaped to a considerable extent by Shunzei, who was his first teacher. See Hisamatsu, *Karonshi no kenkyū*, p. 261.

⁶⁴ These particulars are discussed more fully in the notes to the Translation, below.

⁶⁵ The "Six Poetic Geniuses" (*Rokkasen* 六歌仙) were so called simply because they are mentioned by name in the *Kokinshū* Preface. They were: Ariwara Narihira 在原業平, Ono no Komachi 小野小町, Bishop Henjō 僧正遍昭, Bunya Yasuhide 文屋康秀, Ōtomo Kuronushi 大伴黒主, and the Priest Kisen 喜撰法師. The first three were by far the best known; the last was a very shadowy figure for whom there are only one or two surviving poems. See also *JCP*, p. 163. I do not mean to imply that criticism of individual poets can be found in none of the poetic treatises between Tsurayuki and Go-Toba. Scattered comments about individual poets may be found, for example, in such heterogeneous collections of poetic lore as Kiyosuke's 清輔 *Fukuro sōshi* 袋草子 and Kamo no Chōmei's 鴨長明 *Mumyōshō* 無名抄.

⁶⁶ With the exception of Masatsune and Lady Tango, these poets are discussed briefly in *JCP*, Ch. vi and *passim*.

⁶⁷ Go-Toba cannot have personally known all the poets of whom he writes. Tsunenobu and Shunrai, of course, were dead long before his time; and Kiyosuke, also, died three years before the ex-emperor was born, and Saigyō when the young sovereign was only ten years old. The date of Shun'e's death is unknown, but he probably did not live much if any longer than Saigyō. Again, although it would have been theoretically possible for Go-Toba to have known Princess Shokushi, it is quite unlikely that they ever met.

⁶⁸ See *JCP*, pp. 258-259.

⁶⁹ See the Translation, below; also *JCP*, pp. 263-264.

⁷⁰ The poem may be found in the text of Teika's *Shūi gusō* printed in Reizei, ed., *Fujiwara Teika zenkashū*, no. 2331. It has the headnote, "From the Contest of Poems on Ten Winter Topics at the Residence of the Minister of the Left in the First Year of Shōji [1199]."

⁷¹ See *JCP*, pp. 264-265.

⁷² See *JCP*, pp. 242-245, 248-249.

⁷³ See *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 94-95.

⁷⁴ The line of literary sovereigns and patrons of poetry goes back to the emperors and empresses of the seventh and eighth centuries who figure in the *Manyōshū*.

⁷⁵ Chinese Confucian doctrine held that the character of a man would find expression in his works. Thus, the last chapter of the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 文心雕龍, the great critical work by Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (6th cen.), contains a section on the effect of a poet's morals on his poetry. (See James Robert Hightower, *Topics in Chinese Literature* [rev. ed., Harvard University Press, 1965], p. 45; and Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons by Liu Hsieh* [Columbia University Press, 1959], pp. 267-268.) In modern Japan, such an impulse led the influential Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1868-1902) to bestow excessive praise upon the poetry of the young Minamoto shogun, Sanetomo 實朝 (1192-1219), and it has led in turn to the apotheosis of Shiki himself by his own disciples.

⁷⁶ See *JCP*, pp. 236, 343ff.

⁷⁷ Ishida and Satsukawa, *Ienaga nikki zenchūkai*, p. 168.

⁷⁸ See the article by Kojima Yoshio in *Waka bungaku daijiten*, p. 380.

⁷⁹ Higuchi, "Go-Toba In," p. 18; Minote Shigenori 巒手重則, "Go-Toba no In gohuden seiritsu nendai kō" 成立年代考, *Bungaku* 文學, XII, No. 4 (Apr. 1944), 9-22 (203-216).

⁸⁰ Kojima, *Kenkyū*, II, 90.

⁸¹ This and the preceding colophon are printed in Hisamatsu and Nishio, pp. 150-151.

⁸² The term translated "poetic conception" is *fuzei* 風情—the "poetic idea" as contrasted with *sugata* 姿, "total effect," "configuration," or even "style." The two terms are opposed a few lines further on, in the sentence beginning, "In some styles. . ."

⁸³ That is, those who have already made some progress with their study of poetry need not give equal attention to all of these principles.

⁸⁴ For some two hundred years after it was completed in the mid-eighth century, the first great anthology of Japanese poetry, *Manyōshū*, fell into neglect, and later generations gradually lost the ability to read many of its poems. The difficulties were partly owing to changes in the language, partly due to the cumbersome system of writing in which the *Manyōshū* was set down: a combination of characters used for their meaning and also phonetically (*Manyōgana* 萬葉仮名), with occasional passages and poems in Chinese syntax intended to be read off as Japanese.

Serious efforts to reconstruct the poetry of the *Manyōshū* were made in the mid-tenth century by the compilers of the second imperial anthology, *Gosenshū* 後撰集. However, a general revival of interest did not begin until the eleventh century, when it paralleled and was stimulated by a new vogue of descriptive poetry. In the twelfth century,

the poets of the Rokujō family, the rivals of Shunzei and Teika, were especially noted for their scholarly knowledge of the *Manyōshū*, but the Mikohidari family—indeed, all serious poets—studied the collection and learned its most famous poems. In addition, it came to be accepted practice for the first time to use the *Manyōshū* as a source for allusion, while to betray one's ignorance by missing such an allusion was a social disaster. However, because of the complications of language and script, it required a special effort even to read the *Manyōshū* with fair comprehension. It is this kind of effort that Go-Toba is calling for, not the detailed knowledge of the professional poets and scholars.

⁸⁵ The expression *moji no shō* 文字の聲 is puzzling. At least one text has *moji no hōe* こえ and others have *moji no ue* うえ. Professor Mizukami explains the *ue* as deriving from the substitution of the easier character 上 (also pronounced *shō* in *on* reading) for 聲, and then mistakenly transcribing the substitute character in its regular *kun* reading, *ue*. The reading *hōe* may be taken simply as a transcription of the regular *kun* reading for the character 聲 in place of the *on* reading presumably intended by Go-Toba. The Chinese term *sheng* 聲, of which the Japanese *shō* is a borrowing, meant the lexical tone of a word; applied to Japanese, it supposedly meant the lexical pitch accent of a word. If this is Go-Toba's meaning, he is presumably referring to cases where a pair of words—in this instance, archaic words in the *Manyōshū*—are distinguished only by a difference in lexical pitch. If the words were no longer current, or if the difference in pitch was no longer made, it would be necessary for the student to consult an authority to ascertain the correct pronunciation (and meaning). In any case, differences of pitch accent were irrelevant to prosody, and such difficulties as this could scarcely be called fundamental.

⁸⁶ Hisamatsu and Nishio suggest that Go-Toba is referring here to poetic handbooks that list difficult poems and their explanations (p. 142, note 21), but this interpretation would be valid only if the final verb form were *noseraretaru ari* instead of *noseraretari*. It seems that the implied subject must be poetic anthologies such as the *Manyōshū* and *Kokinshū* just mentioned, and the poems Go-Toba presumably has in mind are the verse forms other than *tanka* found in these collections (*chōka* 長歌, *sedōka* 旋頭歌), special categories such as *haikai* 俳諧 poems and acrostics, and so on. (For definitions of these forms and styles, see the Glossary in *JCP*, pp. 503ff.) The old handbooks often go out of their way to define and comment upon such forms as *chōka* and *sedōka* as if they were somehow very abstruse. (One problem was that, owing to an ancient scribal error, it became part of esoteric lore that the correct word for a *chōka* was *tanka* 短歌.) See, for example, Shunrai's treatise, *Toshiyori kuden* (*Toshiyori zuinō* || 髓腦), in *NKGT*, I, 120-123.

⁸⁷ The word *shisoku* 脂燭, here translated "lamp wick," was actually a small pine-wood flare about eighteen inches high by three wide, of which the end was charred, then dipped in oil and ignited. The base was wrapped in paper, which accounts for the alternative use of the graph for "paper" 紙 instead of "oil" as the first character in the word. Just how long it took for such a "lamp wick" to burn down one inch, I am not certain, but common sense suggests that several *tanka* could have been composed in the interval, not merely one, as proposed in Hisamatsu and Nishio. For a skilled and practiced poet, it would be no particular feat to compose a single 31-syllable poem in the space of five minutes or less.

With respect to producing a sequence of 100 poems in two hours, the Japanese word *hitotoki* 一時 refers to one of the twelve units into which a single 24-hour day was divided; hence, "two hours" rather than one. The practice of composing poetic sequences in as short a time as possible seems to have been something of a fad in this period. The Archbishop Jien, about whom Go-Toba makes some comments later on, appears to have been particularly noted for his speed in impromptu verse-making; his personal anthology, *Shūgyokushū* 拾玉集, contains several sequences whose headnotes indicate they were composed in a single sitting. Two of them were produced on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of the sixth month of 1190, at Teika's urging and in competition with him. Jien completed the first in two hours as against Teika's ten hours, and the second in two hours and a half to Teika's six. (See *Shūgyokushū*, in *K. taikei*, x, 645-664.) Go-Toba's purpose in recommending this kind of exercise is, of course, to develop quickness and assurance in impromptu verse composition—an essential skill, given the many poetry parties, competitions, and other social occasions for which poems had to be composed extemporaneously.

⁸⁸ Most of the formal, artistic poetry of Go-Toba's day was "composition on a topic" (*daiji* 題詠). There were scores of traditional topics covering nature and the seasons, love, and other human affairs. Poems were judged on the originality, wit, beauty, or other pleasing character of their treatment of such traditional topics, and serious poets practiced continually by composing poems on various combinations. Poetry was thus in part a creative act, in part a performance of improvisation with traditional materials, just as in Western classical music the eighteenth-century symphonist arranged his traditional figures and motives into new patterns, or the Indian citharist today manipulates his *raga* scales. Hence Go-Toba's insistence on practice with sequences. Teika gives much the same advice in his *Maigetsushō*; "While still a beginner, you should accustom yourself to composing poems freely, one after another, by dint of constant practice . . ." (*Maigetsushō*, in Hisamatsu and Nishio, p. 137, lines 11-12). On the composition and integration of sequences, see Konishi Jinichi, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900-1350," *HJAS*, 21 (1958).67-127.

⁸⁹ That is, a poem or two in reserve on a given topic, may come in handy if the topic is assigned when a person's inspiration is at a low ebb or when very little time is allowed.

⁹⁰ On the other hand, weak poems were not tolerated in short sequences composed for formal, public occasions. See Tameie's statement, quoted in note 122, below.

⁹¹ In his treatise *Mumyōshō*, Kamo no Chōmei likewise warns against this kind of plagiarizing and mindless imitation of the idiosyncrasies of the great. See *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 19-20, note 21.

⁹² What Go-Toba means by "entering too deeply into a conception" is treating implications or overtones, or treating a topic symbolically instead of using the language or imagery of the topic itself. It was such an approach that brought down upon Teika's earlier compositions in the *yōsen* style the contemptuous sobriquet "Daruma poems." See the Introduction and also *JCP*, pp. 263-265.

⁹³ The youngest son of Akisuke, Suetsune 季經 (1131-1221) succeeded his father as

head of the Rokujō poetic line soon after 1200. Suetsune was actively hostile to Teika, slandering him and attempting to shut him out from poetic activities centering around Go-Toba and his Court. For his part, Teika felt both personal antipathy for Suetsune and professional contempt for his rather pedantic, unimaginative approach to poetry. Go-Toba undoubtedly has Teika in mind here as the chief offender against "Suetsune and his crowd." (It should be noted that my interpretation of this passage differs from that proposed in Hisamatsu and Nishio, p. 143, note 39.)

⁹⁴ Jakuren (see note 45, above) begins to appear in a number of important poetic events from about 1167 on. He participated in the "Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds" in 1193, where he defended the Mikohidari interests by main force against the Priest Ken-shō 顯昭 of the Rokujō, whom he is said to have attacked with an iron priest's staff during an argument. Jakuren was appointed Fellow of Go-Toba's Bureau of Poetry along with Teika and others, and was named one of the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū*, but he died before the anthology was completed. One of the finest poets of the age, he shaped his style in accordance with Shunzei's ideals of lofty dignity and tonal resonance and depth.

⁹⁵ The ex-emperor is using Jakuren to reproach Teika—a clever device, since Jakuren had at one time stood as Shunzei's heir, and might be supposed to inherit more than anyone besides Teika himself the true orthodoxy of Shunzei's teachings. If Jakuren is against such loose treatment of the topic, something must be wrong with Teika, goes the argument. As to whether or not Jakuren was actually opposed to Teika in this matter, we have no evidence other than Go-Toba's word.

⁹⁶ See the Introduction and *JCP*, pp. 263–265. The beginners, of course, were all imitating Teika, whose influence on the younger generation of poets was overwhelming.

⁹⁷ This sentence is not in the basic text in Hisamatsu and Nishio, but it is found in other versions, e.g., *NKGT*, III, 2, line 6.

⁹⁸ Fujiwara (Go-Kyōgoku) Yoshitsune, scion of the Kujō house and Teika's special patron. Though Yoshitsune and his family were temporarily expelled from Court by Go-Toba's ambitious father-in-law, the Tsuchimikado Minister of the Center, Minamoto (Koga 久我) Michichika, they regained some of their power on Michichika's sudden death in 1202. And despite the political differences, Go-Toba seems to have had close and cordial relations with Yoshitsune, whom he appointed Head Fellow in his Bureau of Poetry, and whose advice and opinions he often followed when supervising work on the *Shinkokinshū*. (See Kojima, *Kenkyū*, II, 37–38.) In addition, Go-Toba honored Yoshitsune by having him write the Japanese Preface, and making one of his poems the first in the anthology. Yoshitsune was an outstanding poet in both Japanese and Chinese, and perhaps the greatest patron of the age next to Go-Toba. His untimely death in 1206 at the age of thirty-seven was a cruel blow to Teika and his friends.

⁹⁹ The poem is included in the eleventh imperial anthology *Shokukokinshū* 續古今集, VI: 631, with the headnote, "On the topic 'The Water in the Pond is Half Frozen Over 池水半氷,'" when a contest of sets of ten poems was being conducted at his residence.

¹⁰⁰ Shakua 釋阿 was Shunzei's priestly name. He took his vows on the occasion of a near-fatal illness in 1177, and remained officially a Buddhist priest and a recluse until

his death twenty-seven years later, although he was very active in poetic affairs. Go-Toba refers to him as Shakua throughout the "Secret Teachings."

¹⁰¹ That is, there is no separate style, diction, or the like for poetry contests. However, since most *utaawase*, especially the more elaborate ones, were a species of public ritual, it was felt that a stricter decorum must be observed for their poems. Experimentation, the skirting of the "poetic ills" (*kabyō* 歌病), and any but the purest diction were considered improper. This is what Shunzei had in mind in distinguishing in his criticism between an ordinary poem and a "poem for a poetry contest." (See *JCP*, p. 239.) As Tameie later wrote, "A poem for a contest should above all be free of errors; therefore, careful consideration should be given beforehand to any points that might be criticized as faulty. A poetic effect should be sought that is serious and elevated and will not offend the sensibilities. Such a poem may be called 'public' [*hare no uta* 晴の歌]." (*Yakumo kuden* [*Eiga ittei* 詠歌一體], in *NKGT*, III, 392, lines 7-8.)

¹⁰² A distinction—sometimes a very fine distinction—was traditionally drawn between the materials or diction (*kotoba* 詞) and the conception, feeling, or spirit (*kokoro* 心) of a poem. The difference was of great importance in the practice of *honkadori* 本歌取, or allusive variation, which became popular in the age of the *Shinkokinshū*. In *honkadori* (lit., "taking a foundation poem"), the poet incorporated elements of a recognizable older poem—whether elements of diction, situation, or conception—into a new composition. The older poem was echoed in such a way that its meaning entered into the new poem, contributing to its complexity of tone or situation, and helping convey such basic poetic themes as the passage of time and the contrast between past and present. Critics argued over how much of an older poem might be used, how the elements were to be distributed in the new poem, and whether it was permissible to use only the language of the older poem, or the conception, or both. (Teika sets forth the most detailed rules for *honkadori* in his treatises *Kindai shūka* and *Maigetsushō*; see *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 44-46.) In the late twelfth century prevailing opinion held that any poem in the first three imperial anthologies—*Kokinshū*, *Gosenshū*, and *Shūishū* 拾遺集—was fair game, and allusions to well-known poems in the *Manyōshū* were, as Go-Toba's treatise shows, not only increasingly tolerated, but actively encouraged. Similarly, a growing tolerance is to be observed for allusive variations based upon poems in some of the better-known prose works, or *monogatari* 物語, especially collections of lyrical episodes like *Ise* 伊勢 and *Yamato* 大和 *monogatari*. Of these prose tales and romances, the *Genji* came to be by far the most important for *honkadori*, but other works were gradually accepted, such as *Yatsugi* 世繼 *monogatari* (*Eiga* 榮華 *monogatari*) and even, as the conservative Rokujō critic Kenshō was reluctantly forced to admit, the relatively non-canonical *Sagoromo* 狭衣 *monogatari*. (See Kenshō's comment on Michitomo's 通具 poem in Round 1,276 of the "Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds": Ariyoshi, *Sengohyakuban utaawase*, pp. 626-627.)

Shunzei's enthusiasm for the *Genji* guaranteed its acceptance as a rich source of allusion for the poetry of the age. In this work, Shunzei held, poets could study better than anywhere else *mano no aware*: human sensibilities, love in its infinite variety, and the melancholy beauty of this transitory world. With respect to the proper decorum for *utaawase* poems, Shunzei and the Mikohidari poets were relatively liberal and innovative,

their Rokujō rivals opposed to change. Thus, even for a poetry contest, Shunzei encouraged allusions to the *monogatari*, especially *Genji*, whereas Suetsune and Kenshō only grudgingly bowed to the trend of the times, emphasizing that the "masters and men of old" had countenanced allusions to such sources as *Genji* only in the most exceptional cases. (See Suetsune's comment on Kintsune's 公經 poem in Round 965 of the "Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds": Ariyoshi, pp. 432-433.)

This passage in the *Secret Teachings* is crucial, because it confirms importantly other contemporary texts—none so clear or specific—giving the views of Shunzei and his followers on poetic allusion to prose works. It may be pointed out that in the freer formal poetry of Shunzei's day, allusions to the various chapter titles of the *Genji*, and to specific incidents and episodes in the prose context, were permitted along with the allusions to individual poems allowed in *utaawase*. (See Teramoto Naohiko 寺本直彦, *Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō* 受容史論考 [Kazama Shobō, 1970], pp. 16-18.)

¹⁰³ As far as I am aware, this is the only statement in the critical literature of the period respecting allusion to prose works in poems for sequences. However, since sequences were sometimes composed expressly for use in poetry contests—as, for example, in the "Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds" and the "Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds"—it can be seen why the strict *utaawase* standard might be applied to them as well. In any case, there are numerous examples of poems in sequences alluding to *monogatari*; a famous one is Teika's poem on spring for a sequence of fifty poems composed by command of the Cloistered Imperial Prince Shukaku 守覺 (*Shinkokinshū*, 1: 38), which alludes to the "Floating Bridge of Dreams" (*Yume no ukihashi* 夢の浮橋), the title of the last chapter of the *Genji*. (See *JCP*, pp. 262-263.)

It may be noted that among the later medieval critics this passage was the best-known section of Go-Toba's treatise. It is first quoted in Ton'a's *Seishō* (see *NKGT*, v, 44), and subsequent writers repeatedly refer to it, citing the passage usually in Ton'a's version.

¹⁰⁴ At an impromptu poetry gathering (*tōza no kai* 當座の會), as contrasted with one for which the topics were handed out in advance (*kendai* 兼題), poets were expected to compose extemporaneously, and there was of course considerably more psychological pressure. Teika gives similar counsel to the poet who finds himself too excited or upset to compose freely: "At such times one should compose poems on scenes in nature, that is, poems whose style and phrasing are light and easy, and whose overall effect, though lacking in any deep emotion, is somehow pleasing to the ear. This advice should be especially borne in mind on impromptu occasions, for even such trivial poems as these will, when a person has composed four or five or as many as ten of them, disperse his heavy spirits and quicken his sensibilities so that he can compose with assurance and in the proper style" (*Maigatsushō*, in Hisamatsu and Nishio, p. 129, lines 3-6).

The term translated "treat the topic incorrectly" is *rakudai* 落題 (lit., "dropping the topic"), and in Go-Toba's usage it would cover the various errors mentioned earlier in the essay. A poem judged guilty of the fault of *rakudai* would be disqualified in a poetry contest.

¹⁰⁵ By "recent times" (*chihaki yo* 近き世, *kindai* 近代), the ex-emperor means much the same thing as Teika does by the same term in his *Kindai shūka*: that is, the period of about 150 years from the mid-eleventh to the early thirteenth century, with emphasis on the most recent decades.

¹⁰⁶ On Tsunenobu and other poets discussed in this section, see the Introduction, above. An innovator and the first great patron in the eleventh century of the newly re-discovered mode of descriptive poetry, Tsunenobu has a special place in Japanese poetic history. "It was only Tsunenobu . . . who preserved the ancient style . . . but although he was without peer in this, no one would accept it as good," wrote Go-Toba's son Juntoku in his treatise *Yakumo mishō* 入雲御抄 (see *JCP*, p. 248). It is especially with the "lofty style," so favored by Go-Toba, that Tsunenobu, and to a large extent Shunrai also, are identified.

¹⁰⁷ Line 2: Hatsuse 初瀬 in Yamato province was famous for the Hase 長谷 Temple, whose Buddhist divinity, Kannon, was believed to have unhappy lovers under her special care.

This poem is found in the seventh imperial anthology, *Senzaishū* 千載集, xii: 707, with the headnote, "On 'Love for a Person Who Will Not Vouchsafe a Meeting Despite One's Prayers to the Gods,' when he composed ten poems on Love at the residence of the Acting Middle Counsellor Toshitada." In addition, it is included in both versions of the *Kindai shūka*, as well as in several other collections of exemplary poems which Teika compiled. In the "version sent away" of the *Kindai shūka*, Teika wrote, "[This poem has] deep feeling, the words freely following the flow of the sentiment, . . . truly an effect difficult to achieve." (See *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 94-95.) There is no doubt that, as Go-Toba alleges, Teika greatly admired this poem and the style which it represents. (See also *JCP*, pp. 242-250.)

¹⁰⁸ *Mano no irie* 眞野の入江 (the Cove of Mano), line 2: an inlet on Lake Biwa in the province of Ōmi.

Shunrai included this poem in the fifth imperial anthology, *Kinyōshū* 金葉集, iii: 254, which he compiled between 1124 and 1127; it has the headnote, "During the reign of Ex-Emperor Horikawa, when various courtiers were choosing topics by lot in the Imperial Presence and presenting their poems upon them, he drew 'Plume Grass,' and presented the following."

The poem is one of Shunrai's most famous compositions in the style of descriptive symbolism. Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊 (1326-1420), famous warrior and bellicose defender of the Reizei poetic traditions in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, cites this poem in his treatise *Rakusho rohen* 落書露顯 (The Anonymous Manifesto Revealed) as an example of *ganzen no tei* 眼前の體, the "Style of Describing Things as They Are." (See *Rakusho rohen*, in *NKGT*, v, 202, lines 6-8.)

¹⁰⁹ Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麿 (fl. ca. 680-710) was the greatest poet of the *Manyōshū*, and perhaps the greatest in the entire history of Japanese literature. He was venerated even in the early Heian period, when direct knowledge and understanding of *Manyō* poetry was at a low ebb. By analogy with ceremonies in praise of Confucius, Japanese literati began in the late eleventh century to perform rites of homage before a painting or sculpture representing Hitomaro; a detailed record exists of one such ceremony, the *Hitomaro eigu* 影供 *waka* of 1118, held at the residence of Fujiwara Akisue 顯季 (1055-1123), founder of the Rokujō line of poets. On this occasion, the participants made offerings before Hitomaro's picture and composed poems in his praise. In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the popularity of the poetry contest led to the addition of this feature to *Hitomaro eigu* ceremonies.

The specific occasion referred to by Go-Toba may be a poetry contest in praise of Hitomaro held in the third month of Kennin 1 (1201). A text of the poems composed for the occasion survives (6 topics and 60 rounds), but the judging was done by the group as a whole, and there is no written record of their decisions. Shunzei may have made his comment on Shunrai's poem in the course of these group discussions. (See *Kennin gannen sangatsu jūrokunichi Tsuchimikado Naidaijinke eigu utaawase* 建仁元年三月十六日土御門内大臣家影供歌合, in Taniyama Shigeru 谷山茂 and Higu-chi Yoshimaro, eds., *Mikan chūsei utaawaseshū* 未刊中世歌合集, 1, 121-146, *Koten bunka* 古典文庫, vol. 140 [1959].)

¹¹⁰ I.e., Go-Toba's father-in-law, Michichika (1149-1202). See also note 98.

¹¹¹ This is scarcely the sort of behavior we would identify with poetic genius, but Go-Toba gives it as evidence of Shunrai's cleverness and practical good sense. As far as I have been able to determine, the "Secret Teachings" is the sole source for this particular bit of lore, though the ex-emperor presumably did not invent the story himself; the medieval handbooks and collections of tales and anecdotes contain many descriptions of Shunrai and his eccentric qualities.

¹¹² The phrase translated "moving in its sensitivity" is *aware naru tokoro mo ariki*. As Hisamatsu and Nishio point out, *aware* (moving, touching) was the dominant esthetic ideal of Heian literature and one of its most common critical terms, but to Go-Toba the word appears to convey such high praise that he is willing to apply it only to Shunzei (see Hisamatsu and Nishio, p. 262, supplementary note 20).

¹¹³ Saigyō occupied a unique position among the poets of his age, his special status being recognized by all. Originally a member of the warrior class and with the lay name Satō Norikiyo 佐藤憲清, he was one of Ex-Emperor Toba's 鳥羽 (1103-1156) palace guards. On entering the priesthood in 1140, he embarked upon the first of many religious and literary wanderings to remote areas of Japan. As the Japanese prototype of the poet-priest seeking inspiration in nature, Saigyō inspired such famous men of later times as the *haiku* poet Bashō 芭蕉 (1644-1694). Despite his nominal detachment from the Court, with its literary rivalries and political intrigues, Saigyō maintained close ties with the most eminent poets, especially Shunzei and Teika. His poetry, some of which may strike the modern Western reader as more simple-minded than sincere, was highly praised by even the most sophisticated of contemporary critics. Go-Toba's admiring comments express the prevailing viewpoint. (See also *JCP*, pp. 300-301.)

¹¹⁴ That is, since Kiyosuke was a member of the scholarly Rokujō family, experts on old poetry and the *Manyōshū*, it is to be expected that he would sometimes compose a poem with a "pleasingly archaic flavor" (*furumekashiki koto* 古めかしき事).

¹¹⁵ The poem appears in the *Shinkokinshū*, VII: 743, with the headnote, "Composed at Uji in the first year of Kaō [1169], when the Lay Priest, the Former Chancellor and Prime Minister, was having people compose poems on 'The Waters of the Stream Remain Ever Clear.'" It echoes an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū*, XVII: 904:

Chihayaburu	I pity you,
Uji no hashimori	O Guardian of the Bridge of Uji
Nare o shi zo	Of the rampaging clans,
Aware to wa omou	For the passage of many years
Toshi no henureba.	Has made you old like me.

Kiyosuke's poem derives its archaic flavor from the repeated syllables in the last line, and from the evocation of the older poem, with its pillow word (*chikayaburu*, "rampaging," in line 1) and its air of folksong.

The Uji Bridge 宇治橋, some miles from the Heian capital in the direction of Nara, had many poetic associations. It was also identified with a mysterious lady or demigoddess, the Lady of the Bridge of Uji, who was treated in poetry as a kind of guardian spirit of the place. (See *JCP*, pp. 276-277.)

¹¹⁶ As the son of Shunrai, Shun'e inherited an important poetic position. During the height of the rivalry between the Mikohidari and Rokujō factions, Shun'e and his adherents made up yet a third party, known as the Karin'en 歌林苑 (Garden of the Forest of Poetry) school. The most famous member of this group was Kamo no Chōmei (1155-1216), whose poetic treatise *Mumyōshō* (Nameless Notes) often claims Shun'e's authority for its views. (See Hilda Katō, "The *Mumyōshō* of Kamo no Chōmei and its Significance in Japanese Literature," *MN*, 23[1968].321-432.) Shun'e had no descendants, however, and his poetic school was relatively short-lived. In general, as characterized by Chōmei and as his own poetry attests, Shun'e agreed in most respects with Shunzei's poetic ideals.

¹¹⁷ As the leaves fall from the trees, they pile up ever more deeply on the ground, making a beautiful carpet beneath the stag's feet. Mount Tatsuta 龍田 in Yamato province was celebrated for its autumn foliage.

The poem appears in the *Shinkokinshū*, v: 451, with the headnote, "Topic unknown."

In his treatise *Isshiden* 一子傳 (Testament to My Heir), or *Ben'yōshō* 弁要抄 (Notes on the Defense of the Essentials of Poetry), Imagawa Ryōshun repeats the above statement attributed to Shun'e, and declares that the conservative Nijō poets of his time completely misinterpreted it to mean an ideal of a soft and gentle style. But, claims Ryōshun, the poem illustrating the principle is *not* particularly soft or gentle, either in conception or in diction. (See *Isshiden*, in *NKGT*, v, 184, lines 7-10.) Nevertheless, the poem's gentle assonance of repeated "a" sounds seems undeniable.

¹¹⁸ *Ōimikado no Zensaiin* 大炊御門前齋院, i.e., Princess Shokushi, or Shikishi 式子 (ca. 1150-1201), daughter of Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河. She served as Imperial Virgin and High Priestess of the Kamo 賀茂 Shrine from 1159 to 1169, but her activities after that are not known in detail. She was, however, a patron of the Mikohidari poetic house, and in the early 1180s Shunzei and Teika are known to have frequented her palace. Shunzei wrote his famous poetic treatise *Korai fūteishō* 古來風體抄 (Notes on Poetic Style Through the Ages) at her request. In 1197, Princess Shokushi was implicated in a political intrigue, and to escape punishment, took holy orders, spending the rest of her life in deep seclusion (see note 67). She was one of the most accomplished women poets of her age. (See *JCP*, pp. 265, 301-302.)

¹¹⁹ *Ko Nakanomikado no Sesshō* 故中御門攝政, i.e., Yoshitsune (see note 98). He served as Regent from 1202 until his death in 1206, during the minority of Tsuchimikado.

¹²⁰ *Yoshimizu no Saki no Daisōjō* 吉水前大僧正, i.e., Jien. Sixth son of the Chancellor Fujiwara Tadamichi 忠通, Jien was a younger brother of Kanezane and uncle of Yoshitsune. He became a Buddhist priest at the age of thirteen, and owing to his native

intelligence and ability and aristocratic background, he rose steadily in the Tendai hierarchy. He was appointed Chaplain to Go-Toba in 1185 and Abbot of the Tendai sect in 1192. In the turbulent political conditions of the time, Jien resigned and was reappointed Abbot three times. He was named Archbishop (*Daisōjō*) in 1203, and received many other honors from the Court, including the posthumous name Jichin 慈鎮, conferred upon him thirteen years after his death. An exceptionally able, quick, and witty man, Jien was with Go-Toba one of the aristocratic patrons and "rhetoricians" of the age. He was not a noted innovator, but he was a highly accomplished poet, and an unusually prolific one as well. (His personal collection, *Shūgyokushū*, contains some 6,000 poems.) Apart from his poetry, Jien was a historian of philosophical bent and the author of *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (Miscellany of Ignorant Views), a noted historical work.

¹²¹ Go-Toba applies to Princess Shokushi the critical term, *momimomi* (polished and ingenious; lit., "rubbed," "kneaded") he has used of Shunrai, above, and which he uses again of Teika. The exact sense of *momimomi* in Go-Toba's usage is difficult to define, but it appears to mean an effect of elegant beauty conveyed by a highly wrought poetic conception and complex poetic texture—not a spontaneous or impromptu style. Though the ex-emperor does not necessarily employ *momimomi* as a term of adverse criticism, his overwhelming preference is for the simple, forthright dignity of the "lofty style."

¹²² "Background poems" (*jiuta* 地歌) were poems employing relatively simple, commonplace ideas and techniques, and giving little more than an effect of the pleasingly traditional or familiar. In order to enhance the more elaborate and striking "design poems" (*mon no uta* 紋の歌) in a sequence—and by extension, in imperial anthologies like the *Shinkokinshū*—it was thought desirable to place them in a setting of background poems. Tameie gives the standard prescription in his treatise *Yakumo kuden* under the rubric, "Certain Kinds of Poetry Required in Particular Circumstances": "In composing a 100-poem sequence, a person should distribute through it a certain number of what are called 'background poems,' that is, poems which are in a familiar and commonplace style, and with these as a basis, particular thought should be given to the topics which seem to call for poems with more striking or ingenious effects. It is useless to fret and worry over each single one. Since the fine poems will tend to come to mind spontaneously, for such an extended form as a 100-poem sequence, a person should not think too deeply upon every last poem. On the other hand, for sequences of twenty or thirty poems, each composition should be carefully thought out, and there should be no admixture of background poems." (*Yakumo kuden*, in *NKGT*, III, 392, lines 4-7.) See also the article by Professor Konishi cited in note 88.

¹²³ A close stylistic resemblance between Jien and Saigyō is not immediately apparent. Yet, being priests, both brought a palpable Buddhist coloring to much of their poetry, and perhaps a somewhat greater effect of personalism, since the speakers of their poems are often represented as priests who have, or ought to have, detached themselves from earthly concerns. It may be this latter characteristic—what was thought to be a deeper sincerity—that led later critics like Shinkei 心敬 (1406-1475) to describe Saigyō and Jien as *utayomi* 歌詠み, "poets," in contrast to Teika and Ietaka, who are called mere *utazukuri* 歌作, "makers of poems." (See Shinkei's treatise, *Sasamegato* [Confidential Whisperings], in *NKGT*, V, 314, line 16.)

¹²⁴ The phrase rendered "ingenuity of conception" is *mezurashiki yō* 珍しき様. See notes 87 and 120.

¹²⁵ *Shinkokinshū*, vi: 580. "On Winter Rain."

Yayo shigure	Tell me, O winter rain,
Mono omou sode no	Were it not for these tear-stained sleeves
Nakariseba	Touched by your sadness,
Ko no ha no nochi ni	What would remain for you to color
Nani o somemashi.	After dying to scarlet the leaves of trees?

The winter rain or drizzle (*shigure* 時雨) was conventionally treated as the agent that dyed the leaves to scarlet. The rain is at the same time a metaphor for the speaker's tears, which in the extremity of his emotion have turned to blood, dyeing his sleeves the same color as the foliage. Such fantastic hyperbole made from conventional elements is typical of Jien's rhetorical interests and "ingenuity of conception."

¹²⁶ *Shūgyokushū*, v, in *Zoku kokka taikan* 續國歌大觀 (hereafter, *ZKT*): 5735 (*K. taikai*, x, 865). From "Ten Poems on Winter."

Akeba mazu	When daybreak comes,
Ko no ha ni sode o	I shall compare my scarlet sleeves
Kurabubeshi	To the leaves of trees—
Yowa no shigure yo	O drizzle falling through the night!
Yowa no namida yo.	O tears falling through the night!

The poem is from a set of fifty composed for the "Poetry Contest Between Youth and Age" (*Rōnyaku utaawase* 老若歌合) held under Go-Toba's auspices in the second month of 1201 (text in *GSRJ*, Book 191 [xii, 323-347]). The conception is similar to that of the preceding poem, with the familiar conceits of winter drizzle dyeing the foliage and tears of blood dyeing the sleeves. The implication is that the speaker's sleeves will prove to be even more deeply colored than the leaves.

There is a biographical element in this and many of the other poems which Jien composed for this particular sequence, in that the speaker's grief, expressed however conventionally, reflects Jien's personal circumstances at the time: in 1196, his elder brother Kanezane and his nephew Yoshitsune were driven from Court by Michichika and his faction. In view of the "disgrace," which affected the whole family, Jien resigned his post of Tendai Abbot and went into a retirement that lasted more than four years. Such poems as this made it clear to the ex-emperor that he was duly miserable.

¹²⁷ *Shinkokinshū*, xx: 1932. "From some poems on 'Personal Grievances.'"

Negawaku wa	This is my prayer:
Shibashi yamiji ni	Let me yet linger
Yasuraite	Upon this road of darkness,
Kakage ya semashi	That I may hold up for others
Nori no tomoshibi.	The Lamp of Buddha's Law.

The speaker, a priest (Jien), asks grace to help enlighten others in this corrupt world, unworthy though he may be. The poem is in the book of Buddhist Poems (*shakkyōka* 釋教歌) in the *Shinkokinshū*; it was probably selected by the compilers from the *Jichin Oshō jikawase* 慈鎮和尚自歌合 (The Personal Poetry Contest of the Venerable Jichin), dedicated by Jien to the Hie 日吉 Shrine in the late 1190s (text in *GSRJ*, Book

218 [XIII, p. 373]). The topic in the headnote preceding the poem in the *Shinkokinshū*—that of 'Personal Grievances' (*jukkai* 述懐), was most often handled as a lament or complaint on the speaker's failure to advance in the world, to attain imperial favor or promotion at Court. However, the topic was sometimes treated in terms of a more generalized lament on the sad world, and was often combined with Buddhist elements (*shakkyō*) into a prayer for guidance or salvation. The elements of 'Personal Grievances' in Jien's poem are in the treatment of the world as a "road of darkness," and in the implication that although the speaker has attained the merit of entering the priesthood, he is yet unworthy and incapable of guiding others without divine aid. The word *nori* 法 (Buddha's Law) in the last line also stamps the poem as one on *shakkyō* (Expounding the Buddhist Teachings), itself a conventional topic and a special category in the imperial anthologies from the *Kinyōshū* (ca. 1127) on.

¹²⁸ *Shinkokinshū*, XVIII: 1780. "From a set of fifty poems."

Omou koto o	"Why is it thus,
Nado tou hito no	That no one asks about my sorrow?"
Nakaruran	I say—and yet,
Aogeba sora ni	When I gaze up at the sky
Tsuki zo sayakeki.	There is the brightness of the moon.

Another poem from the "Poetry Contest Between Youth and Age" (see note 126). Although the moon was commonly treated as visiting and bringing comfort to a solitary speaker, Jien's poem has a more specific allegorical dimension: he suggests that, in his retirement and disgrace, he can look only to Go-Toba (the moon) for comfort. In fact, only a few days after the "Contest Between Youth and Age," Jien was reappointed Tendai Abbot through Go-Toba's influence, and his relations with the ex-emperor (who was twenty-five years his junior) continued close for many years.

¹²⁹ *Shinkokinshū*, IV: 379. "From some poems on 'The Moon' for a sequence of 100 poems presented to the Ex-Emperor."

Itsu made ka	Until how long ago
Namida kumorade	Could I yet, my eyes by tears unclouded,
Tsuki wa mishi	Gaze upon the moon?
Aki machiete mo	Now the long-awaited autumn
Aki zo koishiki.	But makes me yearn for autumn still.

The melancholy beauty of autumn—particularly of its most poignant symbol, the moon—affects the lonely old speaker so deeply that he cannot restrain his tears as he was once able to do. Therefore, although he has looked forward to the beauty of the moon, he cannot see it for his tears, and finds himself still yearning for autumn. The poem was composed in 1200, after Go-Toba's abdication, for the second set of 100-poem sequences commissioned from leading poets of the day.

¹³⁰ *Shūgyōkushū*, IV, in *ZKT*: 4515 (*K. taikō*, X, 740).

Yamaji fukaku	Deep into the mountains
Uki mi no sue o	I toil along the pathway to release
Tadoriyukeba	From wretched selfhood:
Kumo ni arasou	The wind striving with the clouds
Mine no matsukaze.	Among the pine trees on the peak.

The poem is from a sequence of 100 Buddhist allegorical poems dedicated to the Hie Shrine in 1212. In this instance Jien has the mountain path standing for the practice of Buddhist discipline, the pine trees for the goal of enlightenment or release, the clouds for obscuring error, and the wind for religious merit. As the clouds try to hide the trees on the peak and the wind strives to blow the clouds away, so the speaker struggles toward enlightenment in the corrupt world.

There is an additional, more mechanical symbolism. In each of the poems for this sequence, Jien includes one image to symbolize the esoteric (*mitsu* 密) teachings, and one to symbolize the exoteric (*ken* 顯). In this poem, the wind, because invisible, stands for the esoteric or hidden mysteries; the clouds represent the exoteric, or open and visible. Such a mechanical approach to religious allegory is characteristic of Jien's verse, but it may be found, as here, in a poem where the same images simultaneously have a different, more particular allegorical significance.

¹³¹ *Shinkokinshū*, x: 984. "On the topic, 'Autumn Travel Along a Mountain Path,' for a contest between Chinese and Japanese poems."

Tatsutayama	Behold the sleeve
Aki yuku hito no	Of him who travels into autumn
Sode o miyo	Upon Mount Tatsuta:
Kiki no kozue wa	It is as if the branches of the trees
Shigurezarikeri.	Had not been dyed to scarlet by the drizzle.

Another poem based on the conceit of sleeves dyed red with tears of blood, also developed here with characteristic hyperbole: compared with the traveler's sleeve, stained with tears of both autumn melancholy and the sadness of travel, the bright foliage on Mount Tatsuta looks as if it had not yet even been touched by the drizzle that tints the leaves.

The poem was composed for the famous "Contest Between Japanese and Chinese Poems of the Genkyū Era" (*Genkyū shiikaawase* 元久詩歌合), sponsored by Go-Toba in 1205 (text in *GSRJ*, Book 223 [xiii, 475-483]).

¹³² *Shinkokinshū*, xi: 1030. "Composed when he submitted a sequence of 100 poems."

Waga koi wa	Like the drizzle,
Matsu o shigure no	Unable to dye the pines to scarlet,
Somekanete	My tearful love is futile,
Makuzu ga hara ni	And like vine fields ravaged by the wind
Kaze sawagu nari.	Is the turmoil of my anguished heart.

Although the drizzle makes the autumn leaves turn color, it is powerless to change the evergreens; so the lover's tears have no effect upon his cruel lady. The last two lines imply a play on *urami* 恨, "resentment," and *ura mi* 裏見, "see the underside," because the wind was conventionally held to reveal the white undersides of the leaves when blowing through vine fields. Such plays of wit are characteristic of Jien's rhetorical mastery.

The poem was composed for the *Shōji hyakushū* of 1200; see note 30.

¹³³ *Shinkokinshū*, xiv: 1322. "Composed as a love poem."

Waga koi wa	My passion withers,
Niwa no Murahagi	Like the thickets of bush clover in the garden,

Uragarete	Beneath your cold disdain—
Hito o mo mi o mo	Now autumn dusk brings heavy weariness
Aki no yūgure.	Of you who torment and of myself who but submit.

The topic of the poem as given in Jien's personal anthology, *Shūgyokushū*, iv (in *ZKT*: 4345; *K. taikei*, x, 721), is "A Love Meeting That Is No Meeting" (*Aite awazaru koi* 逢不逢戀). The speaker is a lover who visits his mistress' house at the customary hour of dusk, only to be refused admittance—presumably in punishment for some infidelity. Piqued, the lover complains that under the lady's cruelty his ardor withers like the frost-killed plants in her garden; and dusk, ordinarily the time for lovers' trysts, brings for him only weariness and disgust at her behavior and at his own weakness in enduring it. There is a play on *uragarete* in line 3 ("withers," but also *ura-garete*, "the heart grows distant"), and on *aki* in line 5 ("autumn," but also "weariness," "satiety").

¹³⁴ *Shinkokinshū*, vi: 618. "From a set of 100 poems."

Shimo sayuru	No one now comes
Yamada no kuro no	To cut down the tufts of plume grass:
Murasusuki	Only these remain,
Karu hito nashi ni	Frozen in the wintry grip of frost,
Nokoru koro kana.	On the dikes between the mountain fields.

The plain, descriptive mode of the poem is also one of Jien's characteristic styles—a style that the scholar and critic Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) suggested was directly due to Saigyō's influence. (See Kubota Utsubo 窪田空穂, ed., *Kambon Shinkokinwakashū hyōshaku* 完本 評釋 [Tōkyōdō 東京堂, 1964], I, 501.) However, as Go-Toba himself suggests, it is rather a "more ordinary style," practiced at least occasionally by most of the leading poets of the age, including Saigyō.

The sequence from which the poem is taken is undated, but the last poem speaks of night growing late at "the barrier of fifty years," suggesting that Jien was past fifty when he composed it (*Shūgyokushū*, vi, in *ZKT*: 5873 [*K. taikei*, x, 875]); if so, it would date from 1205 or later.

¹³⁵ *Shokukokinshū*, iv: 359; *Shūgyokushū*, iv, in *ZKT*: 4493 (*K. taikei*, x, 739). "From a set of 100 poems for the Hie Shrine."

Yūmagure	The hidden rivulets
Shigi tatsu sawa no	In a marsh where snipe wing off
Wasuremizu	At autumn dusk:
Omoizu to mo	Even in recollection, such a scene
Sode wa nurenan.	Will cause my sleeve to be wet with tears.

The poem is from the same allegorical sequence as *Kumo ni arasou*, discussed in note 130, above. In this instance, the allegory is purely mechanical: the hidden rivulets (*wasuremizu*) stand for the esoteric doctrines; the snipe (*shigi*) for the exoteric. The *Shūgyokushū* has *zo* instead of *wa* in line 5, but the meaning is not materially different.

¹³⁶ Masatsune (1170–1221) was a member of the Asukai branch of the Fujiwara, noted as hereditary experts in court football, Go-Toba's favorite sport. At the same time, Masatsune made a serious study of poetry, becoming a pupil of Shunzei and a member of the Mikohidari group. Along with Teika and others, he was appointed Fellow of the Bureau of Poetry and named one of the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū*. He participated

in many of the important poetry contests and other events of the period, and his twenty-two poems rank him only just below the top poets in terms of number of poems included in the *Shinkokinshū*.

¹³⁷ Fujiwara Hideyoshi (1184-1240) was one of Go-Toba's chieftains in the Shōkyū War of 1221, and on the defeat of the ex-emperor's forces, he took the tonsure and the priestly name Nyogan, by which he is best known to literary history. However, Go-Toba refers to him here as Hideyoshi, and a few lines further on, refers to him again as "the Priest Hideyoshi"—a rather strange expression that offers problems of interpretation (see note 145, below). Descendant of a line of hereditary warriors, Hideyoshi first distinguished himself as one of Michichika's house men, and later as a member of the ex-emperor's palace guards. However, his poetry also attracted Go-Toba's favorable notice and led to his appointment as Fellow of the Bureau of Poetry. After Go-Toba's exile, Hideyoshi (now Nyogan) spent his days in seclusion, but he kept in touch with his former lord, corresponding with him and presenting poems for the ex-sovereign's "Poetry Contest from the Distant Isles." (See the Introduction, above.)

¹³⁸ That is, they lacked the simple spontaneity of the "lofty style."

¹³⁹ *Shinkokinshū*, 1: 87. "Composed as a spring poem when the company was producing poems by the Ex-Sovereign's command at the Bureau of Poetry."

Kazuraki ya	Lo, the cherry trees
Takama no sakura	Must have blossomed on Takama's peak
Sakinikeri	In Kazuraki,
Tatsuta no oku ni	For the mountain depths of Tatsuta
Kakaru shirakumo.	Are covered with white-petaled clouds.

A poem in the lofty style of noble forthrightness composed for the famous *Santei waka* 三體和歌, "Poems in Three Prescribed Styles," at Go-Toba's command. The participants on this occasion were, in addition to Jakuren and the ex-emperor himself: Yoshitsune, Jien, Teika, Ietaka, and Kamo no Chōmei. The poems were matched and judged at the Bureau of Poetry on the twenty-second day of the third month of Kennin 2 (1202). As described in Chōmei's *Mumyōshō* (Hisamatsu and Nishio, p. 77), the styles were "broad and grand" for spring and summer, "thin and desiccated" for autumn and winter, and "with evocative charm and gentle elegance" for love and travel. Although the poems were produced on a whim of Go-Toba, who wished "to see how well the poets knew their styles," and did not think of the occasion as a full-scale poetry contest, the record of the *Santei waka* is of unusual significance for the information it provides on contemporary notions of style. In addition, the three styles prescribed are perhaps the three most important of the age. Go-Toba's "broad and grand" (*futoku ōki ni*) corresponds to the "lofty style" (*taketakashi*), and "thin and desiccated" (*hosoku karabi*) to the style of "loneliness" (*sabi*), with its concomittant imagery of a withered, monochromatic beauty. (A text of the *Santei waka* may be found in *NKGT*, III, 269.)

In the poem cited here, Jakuren treats a broad panorama, both before the speaker's eyes and in his imagination. Gazing out at the clustered cherry blossoms, clinging like white clouds to Mount Tatsuta, the speaker infers that the cherries must also be in flower far off on the peak of Takama. The easy reasoning of cause and effect, amounting almost to simple declaration, also conveys a feeling of noble simplicity. Although not,

strictly speaking, an allusive variation upon it, the poem recalls one by Tsurayuki (*Kokinshū*, 1: 59):

Sakurabana	Lo, it appears
Sakinikerashi mo	That the cherry flowers are now in bloom,
Ashihiki no	For in the clefts
Yama no kai yori	Between the beauteous mountains
Miyuru shirakumo.	Can be seen low-hanging clouds of white.

¹⁴⁰ Linked stanzas (*renga* 連歌): since no actual examples of *renga* survive from Go-Toba's day, it is not possible to say with complete confidence what they were like. Contemporary records suggest that long "chain *renga*" (*kusarirenga* 鎖連歌) of fifty or 100 stanzas were being composed, but had not yet taken on the serious character they were later given. Primarily a game of wit and humor (and with wagers often placed on the outcome), they seem to have been produced mostly in the relaxed atmosphere of a drinking party, often after a formal poetry contest. Teika became a devotee of *renga* in his later years, at a time when his enthusiasm for serious *waka* had greatly diminished. "They are an amusement to me in my dotage," he wrote (*Meigetsuki*: Karoku 嘉祿 1 (1225) /4/14 [II, 422]). See Ijichi Tetsuo 伊地知鐵男, *Renga no sekai* || の世界 (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1967), pp. 120-146.

¹⁴¹ *Kyōka* 狂歌: in this as in later periods, *kyōka* or "mad verses" were presumably just humorous *tanka*. An anecdote in *Kokon chomonjū* tells how Jakuren once composed such a comic verse at a party. (*Kokon chomonjū*, Item 633, in *NKBT*, LXXXIV, 483.)

¹⁴² 1190-1198.

¹⁴³ Ietaka studied poetry with Shunzei and in fact was brought up in Shunzei's household as a member of the family, in due course becoming Jakuren's son-in-law. He participated in the "Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds" in 1193, and in other important poetic events of the time, but with Teika, he was left off the list of participants for Go-Toba's "First Hundred-Poem Sequences" in 1200, and was only added on Shunzei's plea (see the Introduction, above). It is probably only from this time that Ietaka became well known to Go-Toba, but he remained one of the ex-emperor's most loyal supporters to the end of his life.

¹⁴⁴ Go-Toba's expression, *uta ni narihaeritaru sama ni* 哥になりかへりたるさまに, is not entirely clear. It might even mean something like, "His verses seemed to have taken on the quality of true poetry." However, presumably the ex-emperor has in mind Ietaka's ability to grasp a poetic topic and express its "essential nature" (*hon'i* 本意) in his own composition.

¹⁴⁵ Go-Toba's term, "Hideyoshi *Hōshi* 法師," seems rather peculiar, and indeed some texts lack the word *Hōshi* altogether. A more natural expression would be either "Nyogan *Hōshi*," using his priestly name, or else "Hideyoshi *Nyūdō* 入道," "the Lay Priest Hideyoshi." At any rate, the ex-emperor is probably thinking of Hideyoshi as of the time of the *Shinkokinshū*, before he entered the priesthood. See Hisamatsu and Nishio, p. 265, supplementary note 45.

¹⁴⁶ Hideyoshi was of relatively low social status: the highest rank he ever held was the Senior Fifth, to which he was promoted in 1217. But the interesting thing about this statement is the suggestion it gives that the "lofty style" was considered appropriate for

the sovereign and for nobles of high rank, but not entirely natural for poets of low degree. The ex-emperor is not criticizing Hideyoshi's poetry for this characteristic—quite the reverse—but he shows that there was much less of a distinction in his mind than in ours between the poet and the speaker of a poem.

¹⁴⁷ By *yomimochitaru utadomo* 詠み持ちたる哥ども, Go-Toba seems to mean poems not necessarily presented at *utaarase* or intended for public scrutiny, yet deemed worthy by Hideyoshi of preservation in his personal collection.

¹⁴⁸ The source of this statement is not known. See the Introduction, above.

¹⁴⁹ The woman whom the ex-emperor refers to simply as "Tango 丹後" was more formally known as Gishū Mon'in 宜秋門院 no Tango, from the "cloistered name" (*ingō* 院号), Gishū Mon'in, of Go-Toba's consort Fujiwara Ninshi 任子 (1173-1238), whose lady-in-waiting Tango became from about 1200. Tango was the daughter of Minamoto Yoriyuki 源頼行, younger brother of the famous warrior Yorimasa 頼政 (1104-1180). She had close ties with Teika and other poets, and achieved considerable renown in her own right, participating in the "Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds," the "First 100-Poem Sequences" of 1200, and other important events. Some 280 of her poems survive, of which three are included in the *Senzaishū*, nine in the *Shinkokinshū*, and numerous others in later imperial anthologies. Though her dates are unknown, she apparently lived to a relatively advanced age. Obviously, Go-Toba feels that "poems in a style of gentle delicacy" (*yasashiki uta*) are more suited to the lady's femininity than the "lofty style" would be.

¹⁵⁰ *Shinkokinshū*, xviii: 1794. "On 'The Wind in the Pines' for the Poetry Contest at the Kasuga Shrine."

Nani to naku	When I hear it,
Kikeba namida zo	Although there is no special reason,
Koborenuru	The tears gush forth—
Koke no tamoto ni	The wind from the pine trees
Kayou matsukaze.	That comes to visit my sleeves of moss.

The speaker (in this case, Lady Tango herself) has taken Buddhist orders and now wears the "robe of moss," a conventional metaphor for the drab monastic garb. As someone who has thrown off worldly cares and attachments, the speaker ought no longer to be susceptible to emotions; nevertheless, the wind in the pines, whose rustling conventionally suggests a human visitor, somehow proves too much—perhaps because it stirs memories of a former friend or lover.

The poetry contest for which the poem was composed was held in the eleventh month of Genkyū 1 (1204). According to Ienaga's diary, the ex-emperor gave Lady Tango a special letter of commendation for this poem. (See Ishida and Satsukawa, *Zenchūkai*, pp. 91-92.)

¹⁵¹ *Shinkokinshū*, vi: 593. "Topic unknown."

Fukiharau	After this winter gale
Arashi no nochi no	Has swept the foliage away
Takane yori	From the lofty peak,
Ko no ha kumorade	Will the clear moon then come forth,
Tsuki ya izuran.	No longer clouded by the leaves of trees?

Although the last bright leaves on the trees are beautiful in early winter, the speaker longs still more for the clear, cold beauty of the unobscured moon. While presenting a rather large scene in nature, the poem has a softness, a femininity, that comes from the emphasis on the subjective longing of the speaker. It is nonetheless cited in the *Sangoki* 三五記, an extremely timid and conservative treatise of the fourteenth century spuriously attributed to Teika, as an example of the rugged "lofty mountain style" (*takaki yama no tei* 高山體; see *Sangoki*, in *NKGT*, iv, 316).

¹⁵² *Shinkokinshū*, xvi: 1505. "On 'The Moon is Bright Above the Lake' for a poetry contest at the Bureau of Poetry."

Yomosugara	No trace is left
Ura kogu fune wa	Of the boats that rowed along the shore
Ato mo nashi	All through the night—
Tsuki zo nokoreru	Now only the moon remains
Shiga no Karasaki.	Above the Cape of Kara in Shiga.

The setting is Lake Biwa, to the east of the capital. The boats that rowed along the shore at night were perhaps pleasure boats, filled with courtiers out for the moon viewing. Now, just before dawn, only the moon and the speaker (whose love for the moon exceeds that of all the others) are left. Although not an allusive variation upon it, the poem recalls Hitomaro's first envoy to his long poem, "On Passing the Ruined Capital of Ōmi" (*Manyōshū*, i: 30; translated in *JCP*, p. 101):

Sasanami no	The Cape of Kara
Shiga no Karasaki	At Shiga in Sasanami still remains
Sakiku wa aredo	As it ever was,
Ōmiyabito no	But though it wait throughout the ages,
Fune machikanetsu.	The courtiers' pleasure boats will not return.

The contest for which Lady Tango's poem was composed was held on the fifteenth night of the eighth month (the night of the harvest moon), Kennin 1 (1201).

¹⁵³ *Shinkokinshū*, xiv: 1303. "On 'Love Meetings Are No More,' for a poetry contest in the third month of the first year of Kennin [1201]."

Wasureji no	What has become
Koto no ha ika ni	Of those leaves of words—your vow
Nariniken	That you would not forget?—
Tanomeshi kure wa	Now the autumn wind of your satiety
Akikaze zo fuku.	Blows through the evening you bade me wait.

¹⁵⁴ *Shinkokinshū*, xvii: 1621. "On the topic, 'A Gale at a Mountain Dwelling,' during a poetry contest at Toba."

Yamazato wa	This mountain village
Yo no uki yori mo	Makes living a greater misery
Sumiwabinu	Than the wretched world of men,
Koto no hoka naru	In the unexpected gale
Mine no arashi ni.	That blows down from the peaks.

An allusive variation upon an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū* (xviii: 944; "Topic unknown"):

Yamazato wa	This mountain village
Mono no sabishiki	May sometimes have its loneliness,
Koto koso are	But when compared
Yo no uki yori wa	With the wretched world of men,
Sumiyokarikeri.	It is a pleasant place to live.

Tango has reversed the conception of the older poem.

It may be noted that the older commentators have praised Tango's use of the phrase *koto no hoka naru* (unexpected) in her fourth line: though sounding quite ordinary, the phrase is a colloquialism unique to this one poem in all of the twenty-one imperial anthologies; Tango thus achieves the ideal of originality clothed in the commonplace. (See Kubota, *Kambon Shinkokinshū*, III, 134.)

¹⁵⁵ Yoshitsune.

¹⁵⁶ Go-Toba is obviously exaggerating. There is no documentary evidence that Teika adversely criticized Shunzei's poetry, although he was such a perfectionist that he may have been reluctant to praise it with as much enthusiasm as the ex-emperor would have liked. Such an interpretation is given the statement by Yasuda (*Fujiwara Teika kenkyū*, pp. 223-224).

¹⁵⁷ "Style of polished . . . elegance": *yasashiku momimomi to aru yō ni miyuru sugata* やさしくもみもみとあるやうに見ゆる姿. See note 121.

¹⁵⁸ The man who insisted a stag was a horse was a famous Chinese traitor, Chao Kao 趙高 (d. 207 B.C.), who, according to the *Historical Records* (*Shih chü*), decided it was safe to revolt after bringing a stag to Court, insisting to the emperor's amusement that it was a horse, and having more courtiers agree with him than with the sovereign. Go-Toba may imply by the comparison that Teika is disloyal as well as stubborn. See *Teika's Superior Poems*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁹ "Because he himself . . . toward poetry": *nushi ni sukitaru tokoro naki ni yorite* ぬしにすきたるところなきによりて. Go-Toba's point is that, unlike himself, Teika lacks the easygoing, yet sophisticated and patrician attitude of the courtier-dilettante, or man of "elegant taste" (*fūryū* 風流).

¹⁶⁰ The ex-emperor is referring specifically to the "Cherry Tree of the Left Guards" (*Sakon no sakura* 左近の櫻) that stood to the east at the foot of the stairs of the Great Hall of State (Shishiiden or Shishinden 紫宸殿).

¹⁶¹ See the Introduction, above.

¹⁶² Teika records this event as having taken place on the twenty-fourth day of the second month of Kennin 3 (1203). (*Meigetsuki*, I, 297.)

¹⁶³ *Shinkokinshū*, XVI: 1454. "Composed when the higher-ranking courtiers went to the Palace to view the cherry blossoms after he had been for many long years in the Palace Guards."

In the *Shinkokinshū*, the poem has *haru* (springs) instead of *toshi* (years) in line 1; the version in Teika's personal collection (Reizei, *Teika zenkashū*: no. 3971) has *haru* in line 1 and also *nareshi* instead of *naruru* in line 2 and *furiyuku* instead of *furinuru* in line 4. These differences do not affect the basic meaning of the poem.

In line 2, *miyuki* pivots "deep snow" and "imperial visit"; in line 4, *furiyuku* (or *furinuru*) pivots "falling" of snow and "growing old without advancement." *Miyuki* and *furiyuku* (*furinuru*) are associated words (*engo* 縁語) in their first meanings.

As a member of the Palace Guards of the Left since 1189, Teika had often stood among the ranks drawn up next to the "Cherry Tree of the Left Guards." The poem is of course a lament on his failure to gain more rapid advancement—an appeal to the cherry tree, the falling of whose blossoms he has regretted for so many seasons, to have pity on him, who has been condemned to a monotonous career of minor posts in the Guards. The cherry tree is fortunate because, unlike Teika, it is always under the sovereign's gracious eye.

¹⁶⁴ That is, quite apart from its personal, autobiographical content, the poem is an admirable treatment of the conventional poetic topic, "Personal Grievances" (*jukkai*). See note 127.

¹⁶⁵ Yoshitsune. Go-Toba included a poem; *Shinkokinshū*, II: 135. "One year when I went to see the cherry blossoms at the Imperial Palace, I put some of the petals that lay scattered in the courtyard into the lid of a writing box and sent them to the Regent with this poem."

Kyō dani mo	Already today,
Niwa o sakari to	When the garden is at its height,
Utsuru hana	The blossoms fall,
Kiezu wa ari to mo	But though they lie unmelted on the ground,
Yuki ka to mo miyo.	Look upon them if you like as snow.

An allusive variation on a famous poem by Ariwara Narihira (825-880), *Kokinshū*, I: 63:

Kyō kozuba	Had I not come today,
Asu wa yuki to zo	Tomorrow the blossoms would have fallen
Furinamashi	Like petaled snow,
Kiezu wa ari to mo	But though they lay unmelted on the ground,
Hana to mimashi ya.	Could I still look upon them as my flowers?

Go-Toba alters the conception of the older verses: in his poem, it is not "tomorrow" that the flowers will fall, but already today when at their peak of bloom. He invites Yoshitsune, if he is reluctant to accept this too sudden demise of the blossoms, to pretend that they are snow (and to hurry to the Palace to see them).

The diction in the second line of Go-Toba's poem also suggests a poem by Fujiwara Saneyoshi 實能 (1096-1157), *Kinyōshū*, I: 61:

Kesa mireba	When I look this morning,
Yowa no arashi ni	The cherry blossoms all lie scattered
Chirihatete	By the winds of night,
Niwa koso hana no	So it is the very ground itself
Sakari narikere.	That now is at its peak of flowers.

¹⁶⁶ *Shinkokinshū*, II: 136. "The reply."

Sasowarenu	These cherry blossoms,
Hito no tame to ya	Have they lingered in compassion
Nokoriken	For him who was not called—
Asu yori saki no	Though scattered before that tomorrow
Hana no shirayuki.	In a fall of petaled snow?

In his reply, Yoshitsune attributes to the blossoms a human sympathy and constancy

despite their ephemeral nature; this is implicitly contrasted with the ex-emperor's heartlessness in failing to invite him before now to the cherry viewing. The rebuke is, of course, a courtly compliment, not a serious expression of resentment. (According to Ienaga's diary, Go-Toba's poem was delivered to Yoshitsune as he was about to leave home for the ex-emperor's palace. See Ishida and Satsukawa, *Zenchūkai*, p. 176.)

¹⁶⁷ That is, a mediocre poem might qualify for inclusion in an official anthology because of the appropriateness or affectiveness of its circumstances of composition; conversely, an otherwise fine poem might be excluded if its circumstances were too indecorous, politically delicate, or otherwise embarrassing. A related principle is already set forth in the Japanese Preface to the *Kokinshū*, where Tsurayuki writes that he will omit persons of high Court rank and office from his critical remarks; and from the *Kokinshū* on, a favorite device in dubious cases was to include the poem but list its author as "Anonymous." In fact, the imperial anthologies contain numerous poems whose circumstances of composition should, one might think, disqualify them. See, for example, the poem sent by Prince Motonaga 元長 (901-976) "To the Kyōgoku Lady of the Bedchamber after their affair became known." (*Gosenshū*, XIII: 961; see *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 65-66.)

¹⁶⁸ Some scholars interpret this sentence to mean that Teika rejected Yoshitsune's poem, not his own. However, the construction of the passage as a whole is against this, and so is common sense: no matter how arrogant Teika was, he would not have taken an open stand of this kind against a favorite poem of his chief patron Yoshitsune. (See Hisamatsu and Nishio, pp. 267-268, supplementary note 57.)

¹⁶⁹ Go-Toba quotes the poem in full a few lines further on. It is to be found in the tenth imperial anthology, *Shokugosenshū* 續後撰集, v: 239, with the headnote, "When he presented some poems on famous places."

¹⁷⁰ Go-Toba had built his Chapel of the Four Deva Kings (Saishō Shitennō In 最勝四天王院) in Kyoto in 1205, in order to enlist divine aid in the overthrow of the feudal government. In 1207, he commanded some of the outstanding poets of the Court to present sets of poems on forty-six different topics—all the names of famous beauty spots—and the one judged best in each case was written on a painting of that particular place. The paintings were mounted on the sliding doors of the chapel. The participants, with the number of their poems chosen, were: Jien (10), Go-Toba (8), Teika (6), Ietaka (6), Masatsune (4), Michimitau 通光 (4), Shunzei's Daughter (2), Ariie 有家 (2), Tomochika 具親 (2), and Hideyoshi (2). A text of the poems may be found in *GSRJ*, Book 178 (XI, 441-451).

Considering that Teika had all of six winning poems, it does seem peevish of him to be so critical of one adverse decision.

¹⁷¹ Since the text of Teika's diary happens to be completely missing for the year in which this event took place, there is no way of knowing what he might have written about it.

¹⁷² Actually, it was not true that imperial anthologies, once compiled, were never criticized. Go-Toba forgets that a century and a half before, Minamoto Tsunenobu, passed over as compiler of the *Goshūishū* in favor of a junior candidate, wrote his famous *Nan Goshū* 難後拾遺, or "Criticism of the *Goshūishū*" (text in *NRGT*, Supplementary

Vol. 1, 1-35). Tsunenobu's precedent was followed more than once in later centuries by disgruntled outsiders, resentful at their treatment by compilers of imperial anthologies. One such was the Priest Shōmyō 勝命 (d. ca. 1187), who wrote a criticism (no longer extant) of Shunzei's *Senzaishū*, in which not one of his poems was included.

¹⁷³ As has been pointed out in the Introduction, above, there is a difference between Go-Toba's and Teika's conception of the "style of intense feeling" (*ushintei*). At the same time, the ex-emperor is doubtless thinking of Teika's earlier poetry of *yōen*, not the plainer, more restrained style he developed after moving to his ideal of "conviction of feeling."

¹⁷⁴ Teika did indeed have a host of imitators, who parroted the rhetoric of his *yōen* style, with its reversals of diction and symbolic juxtapositions. Without mentioning names, Kamo no Chōmei gives a vivid description of such imitators in his *Mumyōshō*, and Teika himself rejects their excesses in his *Kindai shūka*. (See *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 19-20, 49.) Go-Toba rightly warns the beginner against imitating Teika's more ornate style.

¹⁷⁵ The Grove of Ikuta (*Ikuta no mori* 生田の森) belonged to the Ikuta Shrine in Settsu Province (within the modern city of Kobe). It was noted for its scenic beauty, and also as a battlefield in the war between the Minamoto and Taira clans. See also note 169.

¹⁷⁶ The "upper verses" (*kami no ku* 上の句) are the first three lines of a *tanka*, the "lower verses" (*shimo no ku* 下の句) are the last two. Teika's poem is, to be sure, harmoniously integrated in accordance with the dominant ideal of closely related verses (*shinku* 親句). There is a light pause at the end of the second line, and a potential full stop at the end of the third, but because the verb form *kawaru* (changes) can function as both a conclusive and an attributive modifying the following noun, the poem may also be taken as a single syntactic fragment, with all elements qualifying the final noun *shita-kusa* (lower grasses) at the end of line 5. Other elements that draw upper and lower verses together are the related diction, with "autumn" (*aki*) in line 1 associating with "dew" (*tsuyu*) in 5; and also the initial "i" sounds at the beginning of lines 3 and 4.

¹⁷⁷ "Epitome . . . elegance": *yū naru uta no hontei* 優なる歌の本體.

¹⁷⁸ Jien's winning poem was the following:

Shiratsuyu no	I thought to give
Shibashi sode ni to	A moment's lodging on my sleeve
Omoedo mo	To the crystal dew,
Ikuta no mori ni	But here at the Grove of Ikuta
Akikaze zo fuku.	The autumn wind has begun to blow.

The elegant speaker wishes to save the sparkling beads of moisture, glittering like jewels, but the autumn wind rudely blows the dew from his sleeve. The poem relies on conventional associations: the dew/jewels conceit (and also, possibly, dew/tears evoked by the sadness of autumn); the traditional beauty of the place; and the loneliness of the autumn wind. Not one of Jien's best, the poem is not to be found in any of the imperial anthologies.

¹⁷⁹ Go-Toba understates the popularity of Teika's poems. The many imitators must be remembered.

¹⁸⁰ The significance of this sentence is not entirely clear. Another possible interpreta-

tion is, "And if this does occasionally happen, it is not that they fully understand his poems in their hearts." I prefer the version given in the Translation, above, believing the sentence to echo the ex-emperor's previous remarks about Teika's refusal to grant merit to a poem of his own which he considered less than perfect.

¹⁸¹ This final passage is somewhat elliptical, but I believe that by *uta mishiranu* 哥見知らぬ (ignoramus in poetic matters), Go-Toba means primarily a lack of trained judgment in discriminating between good poems and bad. It is this kind of knowledge he appears to have in mind earlier in writing that the way Teika "behaved, as if he knew all about poetry, was really extraordinary" (*uta mishiritaru keshiki yuyushige nariki* 哥見知りたるけしきゆゑしげなりき). Thus, the ex-sovereign defends to the last his right to have made a mistake in preferring Jien's poem on the Grove of Ikuta to Teika's. It is ironical that despite his declaration that it is people's poems and not their judgments that get into anthologies, his own work was pointedly omitted from Teika's *Shinchokusenshū*.

¹⁸² See the Introduction, above, concerning this and additional colophons. I have omitted the latter because they have no direct relation to the treatise.