

Fujiwara Teika's
*Hundred-Poem Sequence of
the Shōji Era, 1200*

A Complete Translation,
with Introduction and Commentary,
by
ROBERT H. BROWER

SOPHIA UNIVERSITY · TOKYO

In the summer of 1200, the youthful Ex-Emperor Go-Toba commissioned a score of outstanding poets to compose sets of a hundred poems, which have come to be known as the *Shōji hyakushu*. To his dismay the 38-year-old Fujiwara Teika was not invited to participate, and it was only after much intercession had been made on his behalf that his name was added to the list. In a frenzy of activity Teika spent two weeks composing his sequence of a hundred poems and finally submitted his work one day after the deadline.

The result was Teika's *Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era*, a composition which contains some of the famous poet's best poems and won for him imperial favor.

Professor Robert H. Brower is well known for his published work on medieval Japanese court poetry. In this monograph, he describes the political and poetic rivalries behind Teika's nomination, outlines the development of poetic sequences, and presents an annotated translation of Teika's set of a hundred poems.

Robert H. Brower is Professor of Japanese and Chairman of the Department of Far Eastern Languages and Literatures at the University of Michigan.

Fujiwara Teika's
*Hundred-Poem Sequence of
the Shōji Era, 1200*

A Monumenta Nipponica

Monograph

55

夢三番

右

Handwritten Japanese text in cursive style, likely a poem or letter, written vertically on the right side of the page.



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For
Mizukami Kashizō, 1924-1975
In memoriam

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Introduction

I. Foreword¹

THE great Japanese classical poet and critic Fujiwara no Sadaie, or Teika,² is best known to popular history for his little anthology of thirty-one-syllable poems called *Hyakunin isshu*,³ 'One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets'. Even today, this collection is memorized by most cultured Japanese, if only because a literary card game played during the New Year season is based upon it. More important, the *Hyakunin isshu* has for the past three hundred years and more been the chief vehicle by which the Japanese have come to learn something of their native tradition of classical poetry, and so closely is Teika identified in the popular mind with this anthology (and often little else), that I may perhaps be forgiven this rather peculiar way of beginning: namely, by stressing that the collection presented here is an entirely different work.

The 'Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era', or *Shōji hyakushu*⁴—the set of a hundred poems we *are* dealing with here—is a sequence of Teika's own composition written in 1200 (the second year of the Shōji era) by command of Ex-Emperor Go-Toba.⁵ This was a little more than two years after the young sovereign had abdicated and in his new-found freedom from the stifling ceremonial restrictions of full imperial state, had begun to turn

¹ I wish to express thanks for invaluable assistance from the late Professor Mizukami Kashizō 水上甲子三 (1924–1975), who devoted much of his waning strength during the spring and early summer of 1975 to helping me revise my manuscript. His premature death has deprived me of a cherished friend and irreplaceable counselor of many years. I am also indebted, as usual, to the teacher of us both, Professor Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, who allowed me precious hours of time despite his many other commitments at Tsukuba National University. His special contribution is acknowledged separately below. Professor Fukuda Hideichi 福田秀一 of the National Institute of Japanese Literature has provided indispensable help

in deciphering and interpreting the holograph fragment discussed in the Appendix. Professor Abe Akio 阿部秋生, formerly of Tokyo University, has also contributed helpful comments and interpretations. An early draft of the translation was presented before the Colloquium of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, in May 1973. A grant from the Center for Japanese Studies of the University of Michigan enabled me to revise and complete the study.

² 藤原定家, 1162–1241.

³ 百人一首

⁴ 正治百首

⁵ 後鳥羽, 1180–1239; r. 1183–98.

his restless energies and enthusiasms to the pursuit of the arts and the patronage of artists, particularly poetry and the poets of the native tradition, the vernacular *waka*. As for Teika's *Shōji* sequence, it is but one of many which the poet wrote during his long life—his personal collection begins with fifteen sequences of a hundred poems, for example. However, the *Shōji hyakushu* was both a landmark in his artistic development and crucial to the advancement of his career. It also contains a few of his best poems. Compared to the *Hyakunin isshu* (whose value and literary importance I would not for a single moment deny), Teika's *Shōji hyakushu* was an individual achievement of far greater importance both to the poet himself and to his contemporaries. As an example of the *hyakushu*, or 'hundred-poem sequence', the poetic genre that became so popular during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it is both characteristic and seminal.

I have touched upon the *Shōji hyakushu* elsewhere in terms of its importance to Teika's life and career—how it provided the means of establishing him in Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's favor, and played a pivotal role in consolidating his special position as the poetic heir of his father, the great Shunzei or Toshinari,⁶ and as poetic lawgiver in his own time and for centuries following.⁷ I shall refrain from recounting many details of that story again here. Rather, my primary purpose in the pages that follow is to present a translation and commentary of the *Shōji hyakushu* itself. However, to the best of my knowledge, this is the first translation into a Western language of a complete hundred-poem sequence composed by any individual Japanese classical poet. Consequently, some explanation of the genre and of Teika's particular work seems in order.⁸

⁶ 俊成, 1114–1204.

⁷ See my 'Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings: *Go-Toba no In gokuden*' 後鳥羽院御口伝, in *HJAS*, 32 (1972), especially pp. 14–16. Also the translation and study by Earl Miner and myself of Teika's *Kindai shūka* 近代秀歌: *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time: A Thirteenth-Century Poetic Treatise and Sequence*, Stanford U.P., 1967; and our *Japanese Court Poetry* [JCP], Stanford U.P., 1961, especially Ch. VI, 'The Mid-Classical Period, 1100–1241'.

⁸ Of special value have been the following Japanese secondary works: the pages devoted to the *Shōji hyakushu* in Ishida Yoshisada 石田吉貞, *Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū* 藤原定家の研究 (Bungadō Shoten,

1957); Ishida's collaborative edition with Satsukawa Shūji 佐津川修二 of Ienaga's (?1170–1234) diary, *Minamoto no Ienaga nikki zenchūkai* 源家長日記全註解 (Yūseidō, 1968); the excellent study by Kubota Jun 久保田淳, *Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū* 新古今歌人の研究 (Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), especially pp. 793–834; Yasuda Ayao 安田章生, *Fujiwara Teika kenkyū* 藤原定家研究 (Shibundō, 1967); Ariyoshi Tamotsu 有吉保, *Shinkokin-wakashū no kenkyū: kiban to kōsei* 新古今和歌集の研究, 基盤と構成 (Sanseidō, 1968), especially pp. 42–85; and the articles on *hyakushu* and *Shōji hyakushu* by Ichimura Hiroshi 市村宏 and Taniyama Shigeru 谷山茂, respectively, in *Waka bungaku daijiten* 和歌文学大辞典 (Meiji Shoin, 1962).

II. The Development of Poetic Sequences

SETS by single poets consisting of five, ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, fifty, or a hundred poems became increasingly common from the tenth century. The popularity of such poetic sequences grew apace with that of the *utaawase*,⁹ or poetry contests. It also paralleled the increasing tendency during the eleventh and twelfth centuries to compose formal poetry on conventional topics (*daiei*),¹⁰ as distinguished from informal poems exchanged between individuals—lords and retainers, friends, lovers—in the give and take of private social intercourse. Perhaps the oldest example of what became the standard length—the *hyakushu*, or hundred-poem sequence (also, *hyakushuuta* or *hyakushu no uta*)¹¹—was a set presented by Minamoto no Shigeyuki¹² to the crown prince, the future Emperor Reizei (950–1011; r. 967–69), and preserved in Shigeyuki's personal collection.¹³ Shigeyuki's sequence is already an example of the classical structure for most *hyakushu*: it echoes in microcosm the major divisions of the first imperial anthology, the *Kokinshū*¹⁴—divisions preserved with minor variations in subsequent official anthologies and in many private and personal collections. That is, the poems are arranged in groups according to subject categories, beginning with nature in the order of the seasons, followed by human affairs, notably love, followed in turn by 'miscellaneous' or 'mixed poems' (*zōka*)¹⁵ on topics not included among the preceding categories. In Shigeyuki's sequence, the seasons predominate, with twenty poems each on spring, summer, autumn, and winter, ten on love, and finally ten 'miscellaneous' poems.

The composition of *hyakushu* was greatly stimulated—in fact, turned into a fashionable craze among the courtier poets of the early twelfth century—by the famous *Horikawa hyakushu*:¹⁶ hundred-poem sequences composed on two separate occasions by a number of outstanding poets on the order of Emperor Horikawa (1079–1107; r. 1086–1107). The first series of Horikawa sequences (known familiarly as Tarō, or 'the eldest son') were completed by some sixteen poets around 1104.

⁹ 歌合

¹⁰ 題詠

¹¹ 百首歌, 百首の歌

¹² 源重之, d. ?1000.

¹³ Konishi Jin'ichi, 'Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in

Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry', in *HJAS*, 21 (1958), pp. 67–127. See especially pp. 108–09.

¹⁴ 古今集, 905.

¹⁵ 雑歌

¹⁶ 堀河百首

The freshness of the Horikawa sequences—the feature that endowed them with instant popularity and an influence that lasted for centuries—was that within the general categories of spring, summer, autumn, winter, love, and miscellaneous, each poem was on a set topic prescribed in advance. To take the twenty spring poems as an example, the topics were: The Beginning of Spring, The First Day of the Rat, Spring Haze, The Warbler, Young Shoots, Remaining Snow, Plum Blossoms, Willows, Fern Shoots, Cherry Blossoms, Spring Rain, Spring Foals, Geese Returning North, The Cuckoo (*yobukodori*), Rice Seedlings, Violets, Iris, Wisteria, The Yellow Rose, and The Last Day of the Third Month (i.e., the last day of spring). It was not the newness of the Horikawa topics themselves that gave the sequences such interest, even though some of them appear to have been used for the first time in formal poetry on this occasion. Nor was the ordering of the spring and other seasonal poems according to the natural progression of nature any new thing, for we find this principle already in the *Kokinshū* and repeated in the three subsequent imperial anthologies that had been compiled by Horikawa's time. Rather, it was the novelty of a specific topic for each poem. Such an exercise appealed to the virtuoso inclinations of the court poets more than being told simply to compose twenty poems on Spring, say, and the Horikawa precedent immediately became a standard pattern for hundred-poem sequences on set topics, called *kumidai hyakushu*.¹⁷ The Horikawa topical pattern was repeated and imitated for formal and informal occasions, and virtually every serious poet set it for himself over and over again as a practice exercise.

Perhaps another of the attractions of the Horikawa topics was that, strictly prescribed though they were, they were nonetheless single topics permitting more freedom of treatment than 'compound topics' (*musubidai*)¹⁸ such as 'Cranes and Snow-Covered Pine Branches', or 'The Autumn Moon Filtering Through Lowered Blinds'—topics in fairly wide use already by the early twelfth century and increasing in variety and popularity over the next hundred years.

That the hundred-poem length was considered standard and the Horikawa topics provided a new point of departure is not to imply that thenceforth every sequence was of a hundred poems and the topics always on the Horikawa model. Rather, the variations in numbers of poems in a sequence and the number and kinds of topics proliferated during the following century, resulting in many curious combinations and hybrids. The sequences were, indeed, given as many manipulations and variations as were assayed in the

¹⁷ 組題百首

¹⁸ 結題

poetry contests—those poetic occasions *par excellence* which became during the twelfth century the principal means short of an imperial anthology for serious poets to ‘publish’ their work. And there was considerable interaction between the two genres: for by Teika’s time, poets produced sequences of fifty or a hundred poems, say, expressly to be arranged into the ‘rounds’ (*ban*)¹⁹ of a semi-fictitious poetry contest conducted by a group of officials ‘on paper’, as it were. The best known and grandest of such occasions was the ‘Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds’ (*Sengohyakuban utaawase*)²⁰ commissioned by Go-Toba in 1201, the year after the Shōji sequences.²¹

It has been suggested that poetic sequences were regarded as complete works in themselves. Whether of ten, twenty, or a hundred poems, they were intended to be read from beginning to end at a single time, and their quality was judged by standards applying to the total effect as much as to the separate poems. These principles have been introduced to Western students and discussed in some detail by Professor Konishi.²² However, for our purposes they may be briefly summarized here.

First, the principles of association and progression. Allowing always for the inevitable divisions within a sequence imposed by unrelated topical categories such as The Seasons and Love, or Love and Miscellaneous, it became increasingly a preoccupation in the composition of sequences that the poems ‘progress within a category’ so as to provide natural movement from point to point, whether in the course of a season from beginning to end, or the arrangement of love poems to illustrate the conventional stages of a courtly love affair, from awakening passion to the ineluctable denouement of disenchantment, bitterness, and despair. The principle of progression is found already well developed in the *Kokinshū*, and so is the principle of association, although the latter was obviously followed with considerably less skill and consistency. Both principles interacted in complex ways, but association in particular was applied with increasing refinement and subtlety in successive imperial anthologies, achieving in many respects its finest results in the eighth, the *Shinkokinshū*, commissioned by Go-Toba in 1201.²³

Of these two principles, association offered more complexities and possibilities. Obvious (though extremely effective) connections were links from poem to poem of the same or related images, such as mountains leading to clouds, leading to cherry blossoms. Less immediate relationships between successive poems might involve suggesting by juxtaposition a common

¹⁹ 番

²⁰ 千五百番歌合

²¹ See ‘Go-Toba’s Secret Teachings’, p. 8.

²² See n. 13, above.

²³ Konishi, ‘Association’, p. 103; JCP, pp. 322–29.

allusion to an older poem or poetic precedent. The responses of the aristocratic readers were shaped and guided by their intimate experience of one common tradition, and by well-established conventions of poetic treatment whereby dew, for example, traditionally suggested tears, cherry blossoms the fragility and evanescence of love and life.

The increasing skill and subtlety of associational techniques was undoubtedly influenced in large measure by the popularity of hundred-poem sequences in the twelfth century and early thirteenth, particularly during the 'Age of the *Shinkokinshū*', or *Shinkokin jidai*²⁴—the period of Go-Toba, Teika, and the many other poets of the first rank who gave this period its special brilliance. And of all the poets of the age, Go-Toba himself appears to have been greatly intrigued with the possibilities of associational techniques. As Professor Konishi has written,

Although practice varies with individual poets, we find that in most cases the same poet has composed some sequences in which no attempt at association is made and others in which the poems are linked through deliberate associations of imagery. There is, however, one significant exception—the work of the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba. In all of his extant sequences, each successive poem is linked with the preceding one through association of images. This fact seems of particular importance because of Go-Toba's relation to the *Shinkokinshū*: although this anthology was nominally compiled by a group of five courtiers headed by Fujiwara Teika, their function was in reality only that of assistants or advisers to Go-Toba, and it was the Ex-Emperor himself who was the chief compiler and had the final say in the selection or rejection of poems. Therefore we may conclude that the application of techniques of association in such thorough fashion in the *Shinkokinshū* was a reflection of Go-Toba's own taste and preference for these techniques.²⁵

Together with the techniques of association and progression as developed and refined in the *hyakushuuta*, we find an equally important principle behind the use of a multiplicity of styles, poetic textures, degrees of personalism and impersonalism, harmony, contrast, variety, and changes of pace. Again, I can do no better than quote Professor Konishi:

Because the hundred-poem sequence was intended to be appreciated as a single artistic whole, the overall effect of harmony and balance, variety, and contrast was therefore of greatest importance. In producing the desired impression, a conscious effort was made to vary the pace and

²⁴ 新古今集, 新古今時代

²⁵ Konishi, 'Association', pp. 110–11.

avoid monotony within the progression by creating a certain number of high and low points. The high points were individual poems which were striking or remarkable for technical or other reasons, and the effect of such poems might be considered to last longer in the minds of the audience if they were placed next to more mediocre poems which would create no strong impression. In other words, the poet would deliberately include a certain number of bland or 'easy' poems at crucial points in his sequence so as to enhance the effect of the more interesting ones and create a general impression of sinuous, undulating flow. By analogy with a piece of woven material, the 'easy' verses were called *ji no uta*²⁶ or 'background poems,' and the more striking ones were known as *mon no uta*,²⁷ or 'design poems': just as the effect of beauty in a piece of material is made more striking when a pattern is contrasted against a plain or neutral background, so with a sequence of poems.²⁸

As Professor Konishi goes on to observe, we do not know exactly when the esthetic principle of *ji* and *mon* was first applied to the hundred-poem sequences, but in his poetic treatise known as *Go-Toba no In gokuden*, Emperor Go-Toba uses the term *ji no uta* as a matter of course, evidently expecting it and the principle behind it to be perfectly familiar to his readers. Writing, it must be admitted, some years after the Shōji sequences and the *Shinkokinshū*, Go-Toba remarks about the poetry of the talented Go-Kyōgoku Yoshitsune²⁹ that, 'he might well have been criticized for including too few background poems in his hundred-poem sequences.'³⁰

Unfortunately, there is no unquestionably authentic pronouncement on *ji* and *mon* in the extant writings by or attributed to Teika. In fact, Go-Toba's cryptic remark about Yoshitsune is all we have to work with from the generation of *Shinkokin* poets. Nevertheless, we may accept as a conscientious effort to transmit Teika's views the prescription given around 1263 by his son and poetic heir Tameie,³¹ who wrote in a treatise variously known as *Eiga ittei* (General Principles of Poetic Composition) or *Yakumo kuden* (Secret Teachings on the Art of the Eight-Fold Clouds)³²:

In composing a hundred-poem sequence, a person ought to 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

²⁶ 地の歌

²⁷ 文の歌

²⁸ Konishi, 'Association', p. 111.

²⁹ 後京極良経, 1169-1206.

³⁰ 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', p. 36.

³¹ 為家, 1198-1275.

³² 詠歌一体, 八雲口伝

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 hundred-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.³³

As to the balance deemed desirable between design and background, it may be assumed, as Go-Toba's brief comment implies, that standards varied considerably, with individual preferences, degrees of formal decorum, the requirements of a given occasion, and the poet's judgment of the tastes of his audience or patron all playing a part. I shall come back to this matter below in a more particular description of Teika's *Shōji hyakushu*, but as best one can determine, approximately a third of his poems might be described as more design than background, more *mon* than *ji*. However, only a very small number of these—some four or five, perhaps—are so striking as to leave no room for argument or qualification. It is perhaps such a very limited number, excluding mixed and borderline cases, which Go-Toba had in mind, and it may also have been the criterion for the strict limitation on the number of *mon* poems which we find prescribed in the treatise *Kirihioke*,³⁴ 'The Paulownia Brazier'.

Now *Kirihioke* is a patent forgery, spuriously attributed to Teika, but possibly by his descendant Nijō Tamezane,³⁵ and admittedly a forgery is a poor foundation for any hypothesis. Nevertheless, spurious though it may be, *Kirihioke* is not without value as a reflection of conservative poetic standards of a period not so very much later than the Age of the *Shinkokinshū*, and it is worth quoting for this reason. 'In a hundred-poem sequence,' writes the supposed Teika, 'the way to proceed is first to do all the background poems, quickly, smoothly, and with no special elegancies; then to compose a few striking verses, putting them in here and there among the others. Seven or eight, but no more than ten of these in a sequence will give the effect of a brocade of different colors woven in with the rest. Such were the instructions imparted to me by his lordship, my late father Shunzei.'³⁶

³³ See 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', p. 57, n. 122.

³⁴ 桐火桶

³⁵ 二条為実, 1266–1333.

³⁶ *Kirihioke*, in *Nihon kagaku taikai* [NKT] 日本歌学大系, IV, p. 288.

III. The *Shōji hyakushu*

OWING to Go-Toba's special interest in the popular *hyakushu* genre, it is not surprising that his first official gesture towards the poetic art as ex-sovereign should have been to issue a call for a series of hundred-poem sequences. There were actually two separate groups of these commissioned in 1200, the second year of Shōji. And because the two series are known by a number of alternative names and designations, it is best to establish a few bibliographical and historical facts before proceeding to Teika's contribution.

The first and more famous of the two sets of Shōji sequences—the one of which Teika's forms a part—was commissioned by the twenty-one-year-old former sovereign around the seventh month of 1200. It is known perhaps most commonly as *Go-Toba no In shodo hyakushu*,³⁷ or 'Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's First Hundred-Poem Sequences', but it was also called *Shōji ninen shodo hyakushu*³⁸ (The First Hundred-Poem Sequences of Shōji 2), *Shōji ninen In onhyakushu*³⁹ (The Ex-Emperor's Hundred-Poem Sequences of Shōji 2), *Shōji shodo hyakushu*⁴⁰ (The First Hundred-Poem Sequences of the Shōji Era), just plain *Shōji hyakushu*; and finally, like the Horikawa sequences, it was irreverently dubbed 'Tarō' as distinguished from 'Jirō',⁴¹ the second and lesser set.

Although Go-Toba's command first went out to a score of outstanding poets, the final list of participants for the first set numbered twenty-three.⁴² Behind this seemingly slight change lies a fascinating episode of political and poetic intrigue involving Shunzei, Teika, and their Mikohidari⁴³ family and poetic faction on the one side, and their arch-enemies, the Rokujō⁴⁴

³⁷ 後鳥羽院初度百首

³⁸ 正治二年初度百首

³⁹ 正治二年院御百首

⁴⁰ 正治初度百首

⁴¹ 太郎, 次郎

⁴² The identity of one of the participants, a certain Nobuhiro 信広, is a mystery. As best as has been determined, there was no such person, and the name may have been an alias, but for whom? The Archbishop Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), or conceivably Go-Kyōgoku Yoshitsune, according to Kubota (*Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū*, p. 794). On the other hand Ariyoshi believes the sequence attributed to

Nobuhiro to have been a later accretion to the text, for it comes at the very end of the complete version in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* [ZGR] 続群書類従, Book 382 (XIVB, pp. 568–629), even though Nobuhiro's name appears fifth in the list of participants at the beginning (see Ariyoshi, *Kenkyū*, pp. 76–78). In short, either a single individual composed two sequences, one under a pseudonym, or the actual number of both participants and sequences was originally twenty-two, with the twenty-third a later addition.

⁴³ 御子左

⁴⁴ 六条

family of poets and their adherents and political patrons on the other. In brief, despite an effort by the Rokujō leader Suetsune⁴⁵ and his helper Tsuneie⁴⁶ to exclude Teika and certain other of the younger and more gifted Mikohidari poets, a last-minute plea by Shunzei seems to have moved Go-Toba to overrule his advisers and add Teika, Ietaka,⁴⁷ and Takafusa⁴⁸ to the list. The decision was vital to the position and future status of Teika in particular, affording an opportunity to establish contact and ingratiate himself with the powerful ex-sovereign and to demonstrate his poetic prowess to the discomfiture of his enemies. One hesitates to make such a sweeping statement as that the course of Japanese classical poetry would have been forever altered had Teika been shunted aside at this juncture to eke out the remainder of his days in wretched obscurity. On the other hand, his dramatic rise to favor, though far from guaranteeing this temperamentally disgruntled poet a lifetime of happiness and contentment, did enable him to consolidate his position as poetic heir apparent. It also rang a knell for the last faint hopes of the Rokujō faction, who had, indeed, never fully recovered from the defeat handed them by the soft-spoken but relentless Shunzei as judge of the 'Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds' (*Ropyakuban utaawase*)⁴⁹ of 1193. And when one considers that Teika's hegemony was perpetuated in the hereditary monopolies over traditional court poetry exercised by his grandchildren, their allies and disciples, one may be excused for thinking his inclusion in the Shōji sequences more than a mere ripple on the surface of Japanese literary history.

Without trying the reader's patience with a detailed list of the participants, I shall merely observe that the final choice included a fair number of the most outstanding poets of the day. Both Mikohidari and Rokujō factions were represented, headed by the venerable Shunzei on the one hand and Suetsune on the other, and on the list were members of the imperial family, high nobles, lesser courtiers, and women as well as men. (Four women, to be exact: the splendid Princess Shikishi or Shokushi,⁵⁰ and the ladies Sanuki,⁵¹ Kojijū,⁵² and Tango.⁵³ The first and last named are mentioned by Go-Toba in his treatise).⁵⁴ Go-Toba himself participated in both first and second *Shōji hyakushu*, as did the Archbishop Jien⁵⁵ and Fujiwara no Norimitsu.⁵⁶

⁴⁵ 季経, 1131–1221.

⁴⁶ 経家, fl. ca. 1200.

⁴⁷ 家隆, 1158–1237.

⁴⁸ 隆房, 1148–1209.

⁴⁹ 六百番歌合

⁵⁰ 式子内親王, ?1151–1201.

⁵¹ 讃岐, 1141-ca. 1217.

⁵² 小侍従, fl. ca. 1200.

⁵³ 丹後, fl. ca. 1200.

⁵⁴ See 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', especially pp. 36 & 38.

⁵⁵ 大僧正慈円; posthumously called Jichin 慈鎮, 1155–1225.

⁵⁶ 範光, 1155–1213.

The command for the first set went out around the seventh month of 1200; the second was commissioned later in the same year. It was less grandiose than the first, with only eleven participants in all. Among them, however, were several poets and literary figures of the first importance: Go-Toba and Jien, as mentioned; Kamo no Chōmei,⁵⁷ author of the famous *Hōjōki*⁵⁸ (Record of My Hut), but more renowned in his own day as poet and critic; and the former sovereign's private secretary, Minamoto no Ienaga, Librarian of the Bureau of Poetry from 1201 and author of a valuable 'diary', chiefly an account of Go-Toba's poetic activities.⁵⁹ Like the first set, the second is known by a number of different names (including Jirō, 'the younger brother', as mentioned above). The most common are: *Shōji ninen In dai nido hyakushu*⁶⁰ (The Ex-Emperor's Second Hundred-Poem Sequences of Shōji 2), *Shōji saido hyakushu*⁶¹ (The Second Hundred-Poem Sequences of the Shōji Era), and *Go-Toba no In saido hyakushu*⁶² (Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Second Hundred-Poem Sequences). No doubt the pleasure of the first set whetted the retired emperor's appetite for more. And he doubtless felt it a pity to have left out such gifted people as Chōmei and the young Lady Kunaikyō⁶³ the first time around, despite their relatively inferior social status. At all events, it should be stressed that Go-Toba's enthusiasm for poetry set off a flurry of activity. He himself sponsored several other major poetic events in 1200, and others followed suit, particularly his uncle, the poetically minded Cloistered Prince Shukaku,⁶⁴ and Go-Toba's chief adviser of the moment, his new father-in-law Minamoto (Tsuchimikado) no Michichika.⁶⁵

The topics for the two sets were not identical. Those for the first, or *Shodo hyakushu*, adhered to the general classical structure of a miniature imperial anthology, but allowed considerable variation under the principal categories: twenty poems each on Spring and Autumn; fifteen each on Summer and Winter; ten poems on Love; five on Travel; five on A Mountain Dwelling; five on Birds; and five on Celebrations. These last twenty poems together obviously represent the familiar *Zō*, or Miscellaneous category. The topics for the *Saido hyakushu* were more prescribed, with five poems each assigned to the following topics: Haze, The Warbler, Cherry Blossoms (Spring); The Wood Thrush, The Rains of the Fifth Month (Summer); Fall Flowers and Grasses, The Moon, Crimson Leaves (Autumn); Snow, Ice (Winter); Shinto, Buddhism, Dawn, Dusk, A Mountain Path, The Seaside, The Imperial Palace, Entertainments and Banquets; Ceremonials,

⁵⁷ 鴨長明, 1155–1216.

⁵⁸ 方丈記

⁵⁹ See n. 8, above.

⁶⁰ 正治二年院第二度百首

⁶¹ 正治再度百首

⁶² 後鳥羽院再度百首

⁶³ 宮内卿, d. ca. 1205.

⁶⁴ 守覺法親王, 1150–1202.

⁶⁵ 源 (土御門) 通親, 1149–1202.

Celebrations (Miscellaneous). It can be seen that the second series, its basic structure little different from the first, is closer to the Horikawa pattern in its more detailed designation of specific topics.⁶⁶

In general, the importance of the Shōji sequences, especially the first, to the literary life of the age can be gauged from the mere statistical fact that seventy-nine poems from the *Shodo hyakushu* were finally chosen for the *Shinkokinshū* (including three of Teika's). This is second only to the ninety poems selected from the 'Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds' as a source of materials from public poetry gatherings and contests that found their way into this eighth and in many respects greatest of the twenty-one imperial anthologies.

⁶⁶ Text printed in *Gunsho ruijū* [GR] 群書類従, Book 170 (XI, pp. 238–66).

IV. Teika and the *Shōji hyakushu*

WHEN the rumor spread that Go-Toba was about to issue an official command to a favored few to participate in the first *Shōji hyakushu*, Teika was for the moment quite hopeful. He had long been in the doldrums as far as his official career was concerned, having spent many discontented years at the same relatively low rank without prospect of advancement, and the patrons of his Mikohidari family and poetic group, the Kujō⁶⁷ branch of the Fujiwara, had been eclipsed at court by a sudden coup brought off by Michichika and his faction. Michichika had continued an important figure in court politics through many vicissitudes and changes of reign, including the Gempei wars, but his special influence with Go-Toba derived chiefly from his closeness to Lady Tango,⁶⁸ a favorite concubine and helpmate of the ex-sovereign's grandfather, the famous Go-Shirakawa.⁶⁹ Tango (who is not to be confused with the participant of the same name in the *Shōji hyakushu*) had nursed and cosseted Go-Toba since his infancy, and continued to hold great sway over him. Consequently, with the help of this lady and her son by Go-Shirakawa, the Cloistered Prince Shōnin,⁷⁰ Michichika had succeeded in introducing his adopted daughter Zaishi (later, Shōmei Mon'in)⁷¹ into Go-Toba's household, and in 1195 she had borne the then Emperor his first son, destined to succeed him in 1198 as Emperor Tsuchimikado.⁷² The effect of all this was to make the position of Go-Toba's first wife Ninshi,⁷³ daughter of the Kujō leader Kanezane,⁷⁴ untenable, and she retired from court in 1196. With her went the power and influence of her father and his entire family, and overnight the patrons of Shunzei, Teika, and their adherents were edged into retirement and 'disgrace' that lasted with some mitigation until Michichika's death in the tenth month of 1202 and the appointment of Kanezane's son Yoshitsune as Regent in the twelfth month of the same year.

With such seemingly abysmal prospects in 1200, what reason, then, had Teika for hope? First, Shunzei's prestige as arbiter of poetry was above all politics and seemed only to increase with advancing age. He is believed to

⁶⁷ 九条

⁶⁸ 丹後局, d. 1216.

⁶⁹ 後白河, 1127-92; r. 1155-58.

⁷⁰ 承仁法親王, 1169-97.

⁷¹ 在子, 承明門院, 1171-1257.

⁷² 土御門, 1195-1231; r. 1198-1210.

⁷³ 任子, also pronounced Taeko, 1174-1238. She was formally known as Gishū Mon'in 宜秋門院.

⁷⁴ 兼実, 1149-1207.

have been at least nominal tutor of poetry to the child Emperor Go-Toba,⁷⁵ and though ill and infirm at the age of eighty-six, he was held in even deeper reverence and admiration by the ex-sovereign, now a young man. Second, Saionji Kintsune,⁷⁶ younger brother of Teika's wife and an important courtier in spite of the general stigma attached to the Kujō faction, had repeatedly and enthusiastically recommended Teika to the Ex-Emperor's notice, and had reported that Go-Toba seemed favorably disposed. These hopes were dashed the moment Michichika entered the proceedings and caused it to be announced that only 'senior poets' were to participate. This was the pretext for eliminating Teika, Ietaka, and others from consideration, although Teika's thirty-eight years might well qualify as advanced middle age by twelfth-century Japanese standards. 'I never heard of such a thing as choosing only senior poets,' Teika wrote in his diary, *Meigetsuki*,⁷⁷ on the eighteenth of the seventh month. 'I can just see Suetsune at the bottom of this, contriving by some bribe that I be left out. It has to be Suetsune, Tsuneie, that whole family. Well, I have no regrets, for there is no possible hope for me now. But I did write in confidence to Kintsune so this may all come out eventually. He has replied that there is still room for hope.'⁷⁸

The next three weeks or so were spent in an agony of waiting, while Teika made at least one visit to the Kitano Shrine⁷⁹ for prayers and offerings, and gave vent to conflicting feelings of self-pity, resignation, and pretended indifference in his diary. 'These hundred-poem sequences have nothing to do with the Ex-Emperor's wishes and decisions, I have been told. Instead, it is all in the hands of those madmen in power. Shame on the lot of them,' he wrote on the twenty-sixth.⁸⁰

Finally, Shunzei himself entered the fray, asking the good offices of Michichika's son Michitomo,⁸¹ who also happened to be one of the revered poet's numerous sons-in-law (Shunzei had some twenty children by his several ladies). But Michichika turned a deaf ear even to Michitomo's request. Finally, as a last resort, Shunzei addressed directly to Go-Toba his famous letter known as the *Waji sōjō*⁸² or 'Appeal in Japanese' (substituting Japanese

⁷⁵ Ishida, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 328.

⁷⁶ 西園寺公経, 1171-1244.

⁷⁷ 明月記. All references are to the printed text (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911, 3 vols.), as follows: era name and year; equivalent year (in parentheses) in the Western calendar, followed by month and day; volume and page numbers in the printed text, in parentheses.

⁷⁸ *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200)/7/18 (I, p. 161).

⁷⁹ 北野神社, dedicated to the god of poetry, Temman Tenjin 天満天神, the deified spirit of the ninth-century poet, scholar, and political figure, Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真, 845-903.

⁸⁰ *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200)/7/26 (I, p. 162).

⁸¹ 通具, 1171-1227.

⁸² 和字奏状. Also called 正治奏状 (Shōji Appeal) and 正治二年和字奏状 (Appeal in Japanese of Shōji 2).

for the official but stilted Chinese to demonstrate his deep sincerity). In the letter he stressed that a choice of only senior poets was unprecedented for a set of hundred-poem sequences, and leveled a barrage of miscellaneous criticism at the heads of the Rokujō faction.⁸³

Fortunately, Shunzei's letter reached Go-Toba safely, without interference from Michichika or his entourage, and on the ninth of the eighth month Teika was able to write in his diary, 'Early this morning came a message from Lord Kintsune that last evening the Ex-Emperor ordered my inclusion among the participants for the hundred-poem sequences. . . . To have been added to the list for this occasion fills me with inexpressible joy. Though now they can hinder me no more, I am still convinced that the trouble was all due to the machinations of those evil men. And that it has turned out this way is a fulfillment of all my hopes and prayers for this life and the next.' And again on the tenth: 'Learned that the list of topics had also been sent to Ietaka and Takafusa. This, too, is in conformity with the request of my father, the Lay Priest Shunzei.'⁸⁴

In gratitude for divine intervention, Teika presented a scroll of his poems to the Kitano Shrine.⁸⁵ His jubilant spirits, together with the mere fact of the ailing Shunzei's intervention, are convincing enough proof of the very great importance the family attached to participation in this first public poetic event of Go-Toba's independent life as retired sovereign. Now Teika might even hope for official admittance to the abdicated Emperor's court. For although he had been in good standing at the imperial palace when Go-Toba was reigning Emperor, he was not thereby automatically qualified to wait upon him as Ex-Emperor. Rather, the privilege had to be reconfirmed for each individual, whatever his previous standing, and lacking it, Teika had already been languishing for more than two years outside Go-Toba's gate.

During the next fortnight, Teika applied himself to preparing his poems. Ever a perfectionist, for whom writing poetry was a slow, excruciating, exhausting labor, he worked day and night. On the nineteenth he wrote in his diary, 'Having extreme difficulty composing my poems. Remained shut up at home.' But on the twenty-third came a message from the ex-sovereign's

⁸³ A relatively complete, intelligible text of this letter has been published in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., *Chūsei no bungaku: Karonshū, I* 中世の文学, 歌論集一 (Miyai Shoten, 1971), pp. 271-76. The only other printed text hitherto available—in GR, Book 293 (xvi, pp. 358-59)—is so fragmentary and garbled as to be virtually

useless.

⁸⁴ *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200)/8/9 and 8/10 (I, p. 164). Actually, Takafusa (n. 48, above) was a Rokujō partisan. See Ariyoshi, *Kiban to kōsei*, pp. 74-75.

⁸⁵ *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200)/8/13 (I, p. 165).

secretary that his sequence was due on the following day. In consternation Teika went to see Shunzei: 'Twenty poems still unwritten. Submitted the finished ones to my father's inspection. He said there was nothing wrong with them and that I should make haste and submit the completed sequence.'⁸⁶

The next day Teika dashed off more poems, taking them this time to Kanezane, but on the twenty-fifth, already a day late, he was still in a frenzy. Then he carried his sequence to Yoshitsune for advice, only to be told that his patron was not quite satisfied with some three of the poems. 'Though unable to think of anything better, I wrote out another one or two and sent them in for his inspection. A lady-in-waiting brought out word that they were acceptable. Then, having offered suggestions about his lordship's own sequence, I withdrew, finally arriving at the Ex-Emperor's palace after dark to submit my poems. They told me Takafusa had appeared with his about the same time.'⁸⁷

The effect of Teika's contribution was all he could have hoped. Go-Toba had evidently been on the watch for Teika's sequence, and read it almost immediately. He responded warmly to the work as a whole, to the beauties of individual poems, and to those features calculated to arouse his personal sympathy. As a result, Go-Toba sent one of his secretaries on the following morning to tell of his pleasure and to announce that Teika had been granted access to the ex-sovereign's court. On the twenty-sixth of the eighth month, the elated poet wrote in his diary—not without disingenuousness, for he had really been burning to be admitted to Go-Toba's entourage: '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 one of last night's poems in which I complained of being excluded from his palace?'⁸⁸ 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.'⁸⁹

Thus began a period of close association between Teika and his young imperial patron. For a brief period the two had an excellent effect upon

⁸⁶ *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200)/8/19 and 8/23 (I, p. 166).

⁸⁷ *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200)/8/25 (I, pp. 166–67).

⁸⁸ See poem No. 93, below, with com-

mentary; also, 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', pp. 15–16. See also the Appendix.

⁸⁹ *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 2 (1200)/8/26 (I, p. 167); 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', p. 15.

each other. Go-Toba's favor and patronage temporarily lifted Teika's gloomy spirits, and this in turn had a palpable effect upon his poetic creativity and style. In return, Teika's judicious criticism, his control, discipline, and restraining hand were of undoubted benefit to the younger man.⁹⁰ It is too bad that the relationship began to deteriorate so soon. But that story need not concern us here,⁹¹ and we may turn instead to Teika's own *Shōji hyakushu*, the sequence of a hundred poems that was of such importance to him.

⁹⁰ A number of examples could be adduced to show that Go-Toba's style was clearly influenced by Teika as soon as the two came into direct contact. For the *Shōji hyakushu* itself, for example, Go-Toba may well have read and studied Teika's sequence first before putting the finishing touches upon his own. Indeed, the semi-final version in the Ex-Emperor's personal collection contains one poem so similar to

Teika's No. 34 (see Translation, below), as to preclude coincidence. However, the retired sovereign evidently had second thoughts, for the poem does not appear in his final draft. See Kubota, *Kajin no kenkyū*, pp. 798-99; Ariyoshi, *Kiban to kōsei*, pp. 81-84.

⁹¹ See *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 8-11; 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', pp. 16-22 & 38-41.

V. Teika's Sequence

FROM his early twenties to his mid-thirties, Teika tried his hand at experimentation. And as with many a talented young poet, his experiments tended to the ornate and complex. Some of his attempts at novel techniques and effects verged on the bizarre and the rococo, and they met with a storm of criticism and invective from more conservative groups. Indeed, it is well to remind ourselves that the Japanese classical poetic tradition in all periods was predominantly conservative. It was suspicious of the unexpected; accepted the new and unprecedented only slowly and grudgingly; and even at its most creative periods was tireless in transmitting the 'great tradition'—the styles, conventions, and techniques passed on from generation to generation from the age of the *Kokinshū* and before.

In such a milieu, the young Teika provoked hoots of derision by his weird reversals of diction, his startling juxtapositions of images functioning as symbols of an unearthly, romantic beauty not unlike that of Keats' nightingale who 'Charm'd magic casements opening on the foam/ Of perilous seas in faery lands forlorn.' By his more tradition-minded contemporaries—particularly the Rokujō poets, ever on the alert for opportunities to discredit the Mikohidari—the poetry of Teika's youthful period was scorned as incomprehensible nonsense, like the riddles and conundrums of the Rinzaï Zen priests and their eccentric practices—those newly imported notions and quackeries to which the Kyoto nobles remained overwhelmingly hostile in the late twelfth century. The Rokujō poets therefore lost no time in labeling Teika's experimental verse *Darumauta*,⁹² 'poems like Zen gibberish', but a number of lesser poets and poetasters as quickly began to pay him the uncomfortable compliment of blind, uncomprehending imitation. His stylistic idiosyncracies were soon driven to grotesque extremes, his serious efforts at creating a new kind of beauty aped by fops and faddists.⁹³ At this point Teika took alarm and began to draw back, leaving the imitators to flounder about by themselves. Instead, while preserving the best of the gains his experiments had achieved—especially, some of the symbolic techniques of *yōen*⁹⁴ (ethereal beauty) and *yūgen*⁹⁵ (mystery and depth), he

⁹² 達磨歌

⁹³ A good, brief account of Teika's *Daruma* styles may be found in Yasuda, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 78–82. More detailed and also excellent descriptions and analyses

of his early styles are in Ishida, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 289–319, and Kubota, *Kajin no kenkyū*, pp. 540–791, *passim*.

⁹⁴ 妖艶

⁹⁵ 幽玄

moved to a more traditional interpretation of his father Shunzei's famous neo-classical dictum of 'old diction, new treatment' (*kotoba furuku, kokoro atarashi*)—an ideal which he worked out in ways shaped by his personal experience of life and perception of the literary heritage.

Teika's return to this more traditional, balanced neo-classicism may be said to have come with his Shōji sequence.⁹⁶ The change would doubtless have come in any case, but his consciousness of the significance of the literary occasion, the absolute necessity of participating and distinguishing himself, must have been extremely important. This was no time for anything smacking of 'Zen gibberish', but for a sequence of such skill and traditional beauty as both to silence his critics and to appeal to the Ex-Emperor's sensibilities, to waken his interest and inspire his admiration.

In modern times, largely because of the poems in the *Hyakunin isshu*, Teika has been taken to task for his taste for 'artifice'—by which seems to be meant an excessive dependence upon the 'great tradition' or 'Fujiwara style',⁹⁷ and a preoccupation with conventional rhetorical techniques, chiefly pivot words (*kakekotoba*)⁹⁸ and word associations (*engo*)⁹⁹ but also the older, semi-metaphorical 'preface' (*jo, joshi, jokotoba*),¹⁰⁰ and pillow word (*makurakotoba*).¹⁰¹ For the most part, critics since the Meiji period have admired instead the 'artless simplicity' of Japan's oldest songs and poems preserved in the eighth-century chronicles and the *Man'yōshū*.¹⁰² And whether it be the *Hyakunin isshu*—not Teika's poetry, we have pointed out, but his choices for a particular purpose—or his own work in the *Shōji hyakushu* and elsewhere, we cannot fail to see the 'artifice' and the rhetoric. But to say this is merely to attribute to Teika the concerns of his age and tradition—concerns which to the extent that they may be faults (or perhaps more accurately, inconsonant with modern taste), should be in some measure laid at the door of any other twelfth-century poet, not excepting the renowned paragon of artlessness and sincerity, the Priest Saigyō.¹⁰³ However, this is not the occasion to enter upon an elaborate defense of Teika. His fall from

⁹⁶ Or, suggests Kubota, possibly slightly earlier, in a fifty-poem sequence composed in 1198 at the behest of the Cloistered Prince Shukaku (*Kajin no kenkyū*, p. 810). Known as *Shukaku hōshinnō gojisshu* 守覚法親王五十首, or *Ninnaji no miya gojisshu* 仁和寺宮五十首, the individual sequences were later—probably in 1201—worked into a 'paper poetry contest' called *Omuro senka awase* 御室選歌合. Teika was one of eighteen

participants in this event.

⁹⁷ See JCP, pp. 220–21.

⁹⁸ 懸詞, 掛詞

⁹⁹ 縁語

¹⁰⁰ 序, 序詞

¹⁰¹ 枕詞

¹⁰² 万葉集

¹⁰³ 西行, 1118–90. See JCP, *passim*; also, 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', pp. 35–36 & n. 113.

grace in modern times would probably not have been so precipitate had he not been virtually deified by his descendants, who cast his influence over the entire course of classical poetry for more than six hundred years after his death.¹⁰⁴ And at all events, he has begun to come into his own again in the critical esteem of Japanese literary scholars, if not of professional writers and poets.¹⁰⁵

As to Teika's *Shōji hyakushū*, despite the pressure and haste with which it had to be composed, it shows the thirty-eight-year-old 'maker of poems', as the fifteenth-century critic Shinkei called him,¹⁰⁶ at the height of his powers. The individual poems display his control of a variety of styles, from the simple 'archaic mode' (*kokatei*)¹⁰⁷ and 'lofty style' (*chōkōyō*)¹⁰⁸ often redolent of the *Man'yōshū* (e.g., Nos. 2, 13, 15, 22), to the evocative imagery and tonal complexity of *yōen* and *yūgen* in poems that have been regarded for centuries as among his finest (e.g., Nos. 6, 7, 67). In fact, each of the three poems chosen from Teika's sequence for the *Shinkokinshū* is typical of a different major style: No. 6¹⁰⁹ is a model of *yōen* or ethereal beauty; No. 13¹¹⁰ is archaic and 'lofty'; No. 67¹¹¹ is a masterpiece of *yūgen*, mystery and depth. At the same time, Teika's return to traditionalism and actually, for him, a temperamentally more congenial conservative bent, is also evident in his handling of the generic requirement of a large number of easy, conventional background poems—his facile reworking of timeworn tropes, conceits, themes, and styles. So we have variations on the expected scenes and situations, from cherry blossoms hanging like white clouds upon the hills, to the lovelorn stag calling for its mate. Further discussion of such matters may be left to the commentary under the individual poems. I should like, however, to make a few remarks about one important technique which history has identified with Teika and his age, and which we

¹⁰⁴ For an account of the monopolistic hereditary schools of poets descended from Teika, see JCP, pp. 341 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Witness the important scholarly writings about Teika mentioned in n. 8, above. In addition, Professor Yasuda—himself a *tanka* poet and leader of a poetic group—has recently published a short comparative study of Saigyō and Teika, entitled *Saigyō to Teika* 西行と定家 (Kōdansha, 1975). Further, Professor Kubota has been working on a complete annotated edition of Teika's personal collection, *Shūi gusō* 拾遺愚草 and its supplement *Shūi gusō ingai* 拾遺愚草員外—

a corpus of more than 4,500 poems. It has not yet been published as of this writing.

¹⁰⁶ 心敬, 1406–75. See his treatise of 1463, *Sasamegoto* ささめこと (also called *Shigoshō* 私語抄), in *Nihon kagaku taikei* [NKT] 日本歌学大系 (rev. ed., Kazama Shobō, 1957–64), v, p. 314.

¹⁰⁷ 古歌体

¹⁰⁸ 長高様. The terms *take* たけ (stature) and *taketakashi* たけ高し (lofty) were also used. See Teika's treatise *Maigetsushō* 毎月抄, or 'Monthly Notes', quoted in JCP, pp. 246–47.

¹⁰⁹ *Shinkokinshū*, I: 44.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I: 91.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI: 671.

find employed to varying degrees and in a number of ways in his *Shōji hyakushu*.

The technique is *honkadori*,¹¹² 'allusive variation', or 'taking a foundation poem'—the neo-classical practice of allusion to a well-known older poem. Sometimes the allusion was an echoing of a recognizable few key words of the original composition, sometimes a famous poetic conceit or conception identified with a particular older poem. The result was a complex superposition of the new poem upon the old, so that the meaning and atmosphere of both were simultaneously apprehended, whether blended, harmonized, or contrasted. A *honka*,¹¹³ or 'foundation poem', might serve primarily as a precedent, or to help convey a sense of the past, as in some poems in the 'archaic style'. Sometimes—perhaps characteristically in the greatest poems of the *Shinkokin* age—the technique conveyed a sense of mystery and depth, of the passage of time from the age of the original poem to that of the new composition, and often a tone of poignant sadness and loss. In Teika's *Shōji hyakushu*, the technique is used to superb effect in those very poems just mentioned as chosen for the *Shinkokinshū*: the sensuous beauty of plum blossoms past and present contrasted with the passing of a season and the depredations of human suffering (No. 6); an evocation of a simpler, more idyllic past in an echoing of the *Man'yōshū* (No. 13); the contrast between the speaker's physical discomfort expressed in a *Man'yō* poem and the unutterable beauty and sadness in the scene of Teika's solitary traveler in the twilight snow at Sano (No. 67).

Along with *honkadori* should also be included the parallel, though less common, technique called *honzetsu* or *honsetsu*.¹¹⁴ Meaning something like 'foundation story', the term indicated allusion to the prose context, real or fictitious, of an old poem instead of the poem itself, or allusion to a famous incident or situation in an old Chinese work or Japanese romance. Permitted at first almost exclusively for Chinese allusions, by the time of Shunzei and Teika the technique was tolerated increasingly for allusions to famous Japanese prose works, particularly the collections of *utamonogatari*,¹¹⁵ or 'tales of poems', *Ise monogatari* and *Yamato monogatari*,¹¹⁶ but also for other Heian works. The great *Tale of Genji* was the favorite, but other prose works and romances were alluded to as well, such as *Eiga monogatari*,¹¹⁷

¹¹² 本歌取

¹¹³ 本歌

¹¹⁴ 本説

¹¹⁵ 歌物語

¹¹⁶ 伊勢物語 and 大和物語—both works

probably date from the tenth century.

¹¹⁷ 栄華物語, a fictionalized 'history' covering the years 887–1092, written by an unknown author sometime between 1030 and perhaps 1100.

Sagoromo monogatari,¹¹⁸ or *Matsura no miya monogatari*.¹¹⁹ Sometimes the allusion was very general—to a chapter, book, or section of a work rather than to any specific action or relationship, and in such a case it was the *omokage*¹²⁰—the ‘vision’ or ‘atmosphere’ of the older work—that was evoked.¹²¹ In his *Shōji* poem on the village of Uji (No. 88), Teika raises the *omokage* of the Uji chapters, the last part of *The Tale of Genji*, in just such a general tonal sense.

Thus much we know about some of the major poems in the *Shōji hyakushu*—poems which have been commented upon over and over again by generations of *Shinkokin* scholars and other traditional *waka* critics. But on the other hand, a serious limitation must also be admitted. That is, my translation and study of Teika’s *Shōji hyakushu* have perforce been based upon no more than a completely bare, unannotated text of the poems. The reason is simply that, as of this writing, there exists no complete annotated version of Teika’s personal collection, *Shūi gusō*, and its supplement, *Shūi gusō ingai*.¹²² I have made thorough use of those commentaries that do exist for the few poems taken into the *Shinkokinshū*, or that have found their way into one or two modern selections of Teika’s work, even if only sometimes to determine upon a perversely different interpretation.¹²³ The fact remains that Teika’s *Shōji* sequence is found only in unannotated versions, of which heretofore the standard one has been the edition by his modern descendant, Reizei Tameomi, in his text of Teika’s complete poems, *Fujiwara Teika zenkashū*.¹²⁴ But although based upon a precious holograph manuscript now unavailable to outsiders, the printed text is not without apparent errors and misprints, and it lacks the *nigori*, or diacritics, that differentiate a voiced consonant from its unvoiced counterpart. Sometimes such differences can

¹¹⁸ 狭衣物語, a romance strongly influenced by *The Tale of Genji*; probably written during the middle or late eleventh century.

¹¹⁹ 松浦宮物語, traditionally attributed to Teika, this romance of unknown authorship survives in fragments dating probably from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

¹²⁰ 面影, 佛

¹²¹ Go-Toba’s views on the use of romances as sources for allusion are briefly stated in his treatise. See ‘Go-Toba’s Secret Teachings’, p. 34 & n. 102.

¹²² See n. 105, above.

¹²³ The principal modern selection from Teika, consisting of some 451 poems with

exegetical notes and commentary, has long been Tani Kanae 谷鼎, *Teika kashū hyōshaku* 定家歌集評釈 (Mejiro Shoin, 1930). This includes sixteen poems from the *Shōji hyakushu*: Nos. 17, 31, 34, 37, 38, 47, 56, 61, 62, 69, 72, 74, 78, 86, 88, & 90. Most recently, five poems from the sequence (Nos. 6, 7, 20, 21, & 67) appeared in Tsukamoto Kunio’s 塚本邦雄 selection of seventy-seven of Teika’s poems in *Nihon no koten* 日本の古典, Vol. 15 (Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1972). Professor Kubota’s projected complete edition has been mentioned in n. 105, above.

¹²⁴ 冷泉為臣, 藤原定家全歌集, Bummeisha, 1940. Referred to hereafter as the Reizei holograph text.

be crucial (e.g., is it *mite*, 'seeing', or *mide*, 'not seeing'?), and compounded by possible errors of transcription, the pitfalls are practically unavoidable.

For my part, I have used the Reizei holograph text intensively, but since the publication in 1973–74 of a newer edition by Akahane Shuku, *Fujiwara Teika zenkashū zenku sakuin*, I have adopted the latter as my basic text.¹²⁵ Professor Akahane had previously issued a complete index by lines of the Reizei holograph text, but he has now collated that text with other versions for his new edition, correcting details which he has identified as misprints and miscopyings. However, although the collation and emendations are most helpful, Akahane still gives only a bare text without *nigori*.

It follows (for myself, at all events) that the margin for error in simple interpretation is uncomfortably great, and even when the basic meaning of a poem is reasonably clear, the room for differences of opinion as to its overtones and implications is often nearly as large. To be sure, deliberate ambiguities are of the nature of *waka*, implanted and exploited by the poets, but the Western student or translator must nonetheless make specific choices and interpretations. When the problem concerns identification of *honkadōri* or other types and degrees of allusion, considerable subjectivity is virtually inescapable. And in Teika's Shōji sequence many poems seem to lie in a shadowy area where one cannot be certain whether a specific allusion is intended, or merely a borrowing or a conventional poetic treatment closely similar to one or more older poems. The situation is complicated by knowing on the one hand that Teika was working out his prescriptive ideals for *honkadōri* during this period, and on the other, lacking any reliable statement of his principles until at least nine or ten years later.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ 赤羽淑, 藤原定家全歌集全句索引, 2 vols. (collated text and index by lines of the poems), Kasama Shoin, 1973–74 (No. 42 in *Kasama sakuin sōkan* 笠間索引叢刊). Referred to hereafter as Akahane.

¹²⁶ Teika provided his classic prescriptions and 'rules' for *honkadōri* in the treatises *Kindai shūka* (Superior Poems of Our Time, 1209), *Maigetsushō* (Monthly Notes; see n. 108, above; treatise written ca. 1219), and *Eiga taigai* 詠歌大概 (General Principles of Poetic Composition, ca. 1222). The most circumstantial of these statements is in *Maigetsushō* (here quoted from Brower & Miner, *Teika's Superior Poems*, p. 46): 'In regard to the method of taking a foundation poem . . . it is only for the most accomplished poets to

use a poem on cherry blossoms just as it is for one of their own on cherry blossoms, or a poem on the moon for one on the moon. Ordinarily, there should be some change—with a poem on spring used for one on autumn or winter, or a poem on love incorporated into one on a mixed or seasonal topic—yet done in such a way that it is clear that one has used the older poem. Taking too many of the words of the foundation poem must be avoided. The proper method is perhaps to use two phrases or so that seem to be the very essence of the poem and space them out between the upper and lower verses of the new one. . . . I have been told that it is bad to use too many phrases that are so unusual and striking that they are the chief distinc-

One possible source of illumination is Shunzei's famous letter to Go-Toba, the 'Shōji Appeal'. 'These self-styled poets,' declares Shunzei, referring to the Rokujō faction,

. . . write ugly, distasteful verses. They are too wordy, their styles are all in bad taste. For his part, Teika changes the total effect of a traditional conception, employing his diction with freedom and in complex ways, striving to give his compositions novelty and interest so that they will not be mere imitations of old poems. By contrast, even at their best these other so-called poets produce either exact duplicates of the old poems, or else fill their verses with the most vulgar colloquial language. Regardless of all this, envious of Teika's skill, they have called *him* by insulting names and gone out of their way to speak ill of him to others.¹²⁷

Obviously, Shunzei is defending Teika's inventiveness and protesting against Rokujō slanders of 'incomprehensible Zen gibberish', not necessarily describing his techniques of allusion. However, we do get from Shunzei's words an insight into Teika's attempts to make original compositions from traditional materials, to adhere to the principle of 'old diction, new treatment'. And we know that Teika's characteristic means of achieving depth and tonal resonance was by the use of *honkadōri*. One thing at least is clear: in 1200 he was more willing to allude to older poems without changing the topical category or the season, say, as he later more or less insisted should be done.

As for Teika's allusions in the *Shōji hyakushū*, to date I am aware of only one scholarly discussion of the subject—an article published by Professor Tsujimori Shūei in 1960.¹²⁸ Comparing the extent of allusive variation by Teika, Yoshitsune, and Ietaka in several different sequences which they composed in the early 1200s, Tsujimori concludes with respect to the *Shōji hyakushū* that Teika's *honkadōri* total twenty-one poems. This is surprisingly, or rather, disquietingly few considering Teika's concern with the technique and by comparison with Tsujimori's figures of thirty-four for Yoshitsune and forty-three for Ietaka in their sequences for the same occasion.

tion of the foundation poem. On the other hand, since it is also said that nothing is accomplished by employing a poem in such an obscure way that it does not look as if one had used it at all, one must be sure to understand such matters when taking a foundation poem.'

Inconveniently for our purposes, Teika wrote these words nearly two decades

after his *Shōji hyakushū*.

¹²⁷ *Shōji sōjō*, in *Chūsei no bungaku: Karonshū*, I, p. 273.

¹²⁸ Tsujimori Shūei 辻森秀英, 'Shin-kokin jidai koten eikyō no ichidanmen' 新古今時代古典影響の一断面, in *Kokubungaku kenkyū*, Vol. 22 (October 1960), pp. 56-69, especially pp. 61-62.

Now although in general agreement with Professor Tsujimori's identifications as far as they go, I nevertheless believe that he has missed a number of additional fairly clear-cut instances among Teika's poems. Of course, it ultimately comes down to one's individual perception of the limits of *honkadōri* as understood by the age, together with one's familiarity with the large traditional stock of older poems constituting permissible sources of *honka* for the *Shinkokin* poets. These latter amount to a formidable total of thousands of verses, consisting of books of Six Dynasties and T'ang poems, especially those of Po Chū-i;¹²⁹ collections of famous Chinese couplets and Japanese *tanka* for singing and chanting;¹³⁰ some 200-odd familiar verses in the *Man'yōshū*;¹³¹ then—at least theoretically—the sum of the first four imperial anthologies from the *Kokinshū* through the *Goshūishū*;¹³² and finally, the various *utamonogatari*, romances, and other prose works already alluded to above.

For my part, I have credited Teika's sequence with thirty-three fairly definite examples of allusive variation—a number more comfortably close to Yoshitsune's thirty-four (according to Tsujimori). In addition, I have distinguished some eight possible allusions, and fourteen more that seem at least conceivable—fifty-five poems all told. Beyond this, one wanders further and further into that vague realm of instinct and guesswork, so that in dealing with degrees of similarity, borrowing, and straightforward allusion in the comments accompanying the translations, I have found myself employing a gamut of terms, from 'allusive variation' to 'background' and 'precedent', from 'alludes' to 'echoes', 'evokes', 'recalls', 'suggests'—all occasionally qualified by 'seems to' or 'perhaps'. In general I have attempted to combine caution with an openness to suggestive overtones and nuances, but occasionally in cases of disagreement with friends and counselors, have let

¹²⁹ 白居易, 772–846. Best known by his surname and sobriquet, Po Lo-t'ien (Jap. Haku Rakuten) 白樂天, Po was the only pre-modern Chinese poet whose works were already popular in Japan during his lifetime. His poetry exerted a pervasive influence upon both Chinese verse written by Japanese and the developing *waka* tradition in the Heian period.

¹³⁰ Widely circulated in collections such as the *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集, compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō 公任, 966–1041; and *Shinsen rōeishū* 新撰朗詠集, compiled by Fujiwara no Mototoshi 基俊, ?1056–1142.

¹³¹ This being the approximate number commented upon by Shunzei in his treatise *Korai fūteishō* 古來風體抄 (Notes on Poetic Style Through the Ages), written for Princess Shikishi (see n. 50, above). See JCP, p. 245.

¹³² Texts differ somewhat, but the *Kokinshū* has about 1,111 poems; the second imperial anthology, *Gosenshū* 後撰集 (mid-tenth century), about 1,426; the third, *Shūishū* 拾遺集 (late tenth century), about 1,351; and the fourth, *Goshūishū* 後拾遺集 (completed 1086), about 1,220.

my own stubbornness prevail. It clearly follows that all faults and mistakes in these pages are entirely my own.

Design and background poems have been already discussed in terms of their importance to a hundred-poem sequence felt and apprehended as a single literary work. It has also been necessary to acknowledge the almost complete lack of a poetics of *ji* and *mon* from the *Shinkokin* period. Hence it is virtually impossible with any confidence to label many poems in Teika's sequence as the one or the other, beyond a very few that must appear to every eye as brilliant design poems: No. 6, of course; then the high point in the Winter section covering Nos. 66, 67, and 68—three striking design poems followed by a fourth of considerable traditional elegance (No. 69), leading finally to the tonal conviction but contrasting plainness of the personal appeal to Go-Toba in the strategically placed final winter poem (No. 70).

Again, one might point to a rather large number of fairly obvious background poems—obvious if for no better reason than although sometimes technically and rhetorically complex, perhaps even allusive variations, they lack that traditionally beautiful imagery of dew sparkling in moonlight, or cherry blossoms whirling like snow, that automatically would qualify a poem as more striking than the average. Such a background poem is No. 2, which despite its allusion and its rough-cut gems, is so smoothly conventional as to glide on past the reader with scarcely a pause. The important point is that complexity of technique did not necessarily qualify a poem as *mon*, and conversely, simple, uncomplicated declaration or description did not necessarily mean *ji*.

Between the contrasts of high and low lies a large area where a poem can best be described as more *mon* than not, or more *ji* than not. Given the lack of precise information on contemporary standards, one might well have left all speculation to the reader, letting each sense the differences in pace and tension unquestionably present, but extremely subtle and difficult to specify. However, believing the subject of considerable interest, while at the same time not presuming to pontificate, I asked Professor Konishi's help on this specific point. Though protesting the impossibility of knowing in detail the standard of Teika's age, he agreed to the compromise of looking at the sequence from the perspective of a later period and of a closely related but different genre: namely, the standards for *ji* and *mon* of the great sixteenth-century master and critic of *renga* or linked verse, Satomura Jōha (or Shōha).¹³³ Professor Konishi viewed each of Teika's poems in terms of

¹³³ 里村紹巴, 1525–1602. In contrast to the almost exclusive concern of other *renga* masters with the linking of verse to

verse, Jōha stressed the total effect of the *hyakuin* 百韻, the standard hundred-link form. See Kidō Saizō 木藤才藏, *Rengashi*

Jōha's criteria, employing four relative terms: *mon*, *yaya mon*, *ji*, and *yaya ji*;¹³⁴ that is, 'design', 'predominantly design', 'background', and 'predominantly background'. I have reported his conclusions by the simple notation, *mon*, *ji*, *yaya mon*, or *yaya ji*, for each successive poem.

With respect to association and progression, once the general principles are understood, their functioning can be more or less readily discerned, and readers can work out a scheme for themselves if they choose, without having a detailed and perhaps too arbitrary analytical apparatus imposed upon them. Therefore, I have commented only here and there upon particular problems or points of interest, dispensing with lists of associated images, delineations of movements through space, time progressions from morning to evening, or from day to day, and the like. Besides, it is well to remember that the relationships between poems in a sequence are to some extent fortuitous: when two poems on winter are placed side by side, for example, some association of imagery is virtually inescapable. And in Teika's age, such relationships were also to a large degree probably a matter of instinct—at all events not painstakingly worked out according to fixed structural rules or an elaborately articulated theory. In the reader's response, too, there could be a degree of latitude within conventional limits. Indeed, perhaps the worst mistake is by working out the details in too schematic a fashion to slight the potentiality, even the likelihood, of alternative 'readings' of the same passage in a sequence, depending upon the multiplicity of possible unspoken implications, imagery, and subtle nuances—the *yojō*,¹³⁵ or 'overtones', which are the essence of the characteristic poetry of the *Shinkokin* period.

In spite of these limitations, a few general remarks may nevertheless be in order. First, it is my view that Teika's overriding structural concern in this sequence is progression. Associations are also of course basic, but there are rough spots as well, and one may reasonably surmise that uppermost in the poet's mind was the more or less steady progression of major conventional topics. The order of these major topics may be set forth as follows:

Spring (20 poems): beginning of spring (1–3); change to spring clothing (4); plum blossoms (5–7); spring rain (8); haze (9); geese returning north (10); cherry blossoms (11–18); wisteria (19); end of spring (20).

Summer (15 poems): beginning of summer (21); summer grasses (22);

ronkō 連歌史論考 (2 vols., Meiji Shoin, 1971–73), II, pp. 787–88. Jōha's best known treatise, *Renga shihōshō* 連歌至宝抄, deals with such practical matters as the distinction between *waka* and *renga*, season words, and rules of various kinds. See also Shimazu Tadao 島津忠夫, *Rengashi*

no kenkyū 連歌史の研究 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1969), pp. 186 ff.

¹³⁴ 文, 稍文, 地, 稍地. For an explanation of *ji* and *mon* in *renga* poetics, see Konishi Jin'ichi, *Sōgi* 宗祇 (Chikuma Shobō, 1971), pp. 177 ff.

¹³⁵ 余情

hydrangeas (23); Kamo festival (24); iris festival (25); wood thrush (26–29); summer rain (30); short summer night (31); hunting by flares (32); wind in the reeds (33); late summer (34); end of summer (35).

Autumn (20 poems): beginning of autumn (36–38); autumn wind (39–40); *hagi* blossoms (41–42); deer (43); wild geese (44); autumn moon (45–50); autumn rain (51); fulling clothes (52); frost (53); end of autumn (54–55).

Winter (15 poems): falling leaves (56); winter drizzle (57); winter frost (58–59); storm (60); hail (61); short winter day (62); ice (63); waterfowl and frost (64); plovers (65); snow (66–69); end of winter (70).

Love (10 poems): lover's unrequited passion (71); suppressed love (72); lover's desperation (73–74); lady awaits the lover (75); parting at dawn (76); lady's fruitless waiting (77); lady's frustration and fear of scandal (78); betrayed lady's resentment and despair (79–80).

Travel (5 poems): pillow of grass (81); the sea (82); mountains (83–84); the shore (85).

Mountain Dwelling (5 poems): Mount Ogura (86); Ōhara (87); Uji (88); rustic door (89); desolate abode (90).

Birds (5 poems): chanticleer (91); falcon (92); crane (93); geese (94); plovers (95).

Celebrations (5 poems): Ex-Emperor (96); Ex-Emperor's consort (97); crown prince (98); imperial family (99); reigning Emperor (100).

Within the temporal progressions of the seasonal and love sections, and in the other sub-groups as well, Teika's poems are clearly ordered by detailed techniques of association. These include common imagery, diction, and phrasing; sub-sequences of famous place names (e.g., the progression from Yoshino, to Hatsuse, to Tatsuta, to Takasago, in Nos. 11 through 14), and the like. At the same time, Teika's apparent lesser concern with smooth associational transitions may be demonstrated by two or three examples. Thus, in the spring poems, we seem to have daytime in No. 14, dawn in 15, then daytime again in 16, instead of a smoother cycle through a twenty-four-hour period. Among the summer poems, the wood thrush is introduced in No. 24; his favorite haunt, the mandarin orange tree, appears in No. 25. Then the two images are dropped, to be re-introduced sequentially in the 'proper place' for the season, Nos. 26 through 29. Again, the image of frost is introduced as early as No. 50, the fifteenth poem of twenty in the autumn section. Although some texts have 'dew' instead, and although the poem's dominant image is the autumn moon, the appearance of frost at this point is somewhat startling. As in the preceding example, this image, too, is dropped, to be re-introduced later in its 'proper position' among the winter poems (Nos. 58–59, 64).

Depending upon the critic's mood, a virtue could be made of these and other irregularities in the sequence. The early introduction of frost, for example, could be interpreted as more true to nature than not, for everyone knows of an exceptionally early frost every few years. At all events, I do not wish to imply that the occasional rough spots are displeasing. It is, however, probably true that Go-Toba's own *Shōji* sequences, though not so high in general quality as Teika's, are more smoothly integrated in detail. As Professor Konishi has pointed out, the retired sovereign's preference for the techniques of association and progression was both more consistent and more insistent than that of his courtiers.¹³⁶ Here was an area, indeed, where Teika and his royal patron seem to have clashed only a few years later, when the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū* was in progress.¹³⁷

I have stressed the concept of the hundred-poem sequence as a single work, a harmonious, integrated whole, whose total effect is the sum of its individual poems. By the same token, one may speak of the general character of Teika's *Shōji hyakushū*. The best analogy with a Western art form may perhaps be found in music, with a structure such as that of the typical classical symphony or string quartet. These are usually divided into four distinct movements, just as Teika's *hyakushūta* has its categories of nature, love, and miscellaneous poems. In a given musical composition there is no essential connection between the movements, and the structure cannot usually be called architectonic. It is instead the cumulative effect of the individual parts, with their contrasts, harmony, and balance in form, key, and rhythm, that matters. And often—certainly in the greatest of the classical and romantic works—there is a prevailing mood or tone that dominates the composition, giving it a special character. So we often hear music critics speak of the grandeur yet underlying unease and foreboding of Mozart's 'Jupiter Symphony', or the brooding introspection of Beethoven's late quartets.

In Teika's *Shōji hyakushū*, too, despite the great differences, we can sense an analogous effect. His sequence has its own character that distinguishes it from the others composed for the occasion, obviously, but it has a prevailing tone, as have the musical works of Mozart or Beethoven. Teika's tone is one of beauty and sadness—no unique effect in Japanese classical poetry, to be sure, but in this case a special mood which Teika creates by the overtones of love and of *jukkai*,¹³⁸ or 'personal grievance', running like leitmotifs through his sequence. Again and again his poems have the aura or possible implication of unhappy love. Poem No. 6, for example, ostensibly on spring plum blossoms, conveys the wistful melancholy of a romantic

¹³⁶ 'Association and Progression', pp. 101–11.

¹³⁷ See *Superior Poems of Our Time*, p.

9, and 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', pp. 18–19.

¹³⁸ 述懷

past. Among the summer poems, the wood thrush is personified as a lover abandoning his grieving mistress, the mountains (No. 26); and similarly in the autumn and winter sections are poems with at least potential overtones of love's sadness and loss (e.g., Nos. 37, 48, 65). The love sequence as such goes without saying, but again in the concluding sets of miscellaneous poems, the overtones persist, as in Nos. 81 and 84 of the travel poems.

Along with the tonal effect of pathos which these overtones of love give Teika's sequence, there are the even more important points where he addresses himself directly to Go-Toba through the medium of *jukkai*, the 'personal grievance'. From informal beginnings as a poetic subject born from the very real frustrations and disappointments of court life, *jukkai* started by the early twelfth century to appear as a topic for formal poetry as well, and by Teika's time it was fully established among those subjects, such as 'secret love'¹³⁹ or 'resentful love',¹⁴⁰ which could be treated as either fact or fiction. The topic was also joined with other elements in compound topics, or *musubidai*, as in Shunzei's *Jukkai hyakushu*,¹⁴¹ 1140 or 1141, where the then young poet combined it with the hundred Horikawa topics in a sequence probably designed to gain him Emperor Sutoku's¹⁴² notice.

That Teika should have made use of *jukkai* in his Shōji sequence was to be expected, considering the specific occasion and purpose. Nevertheless, new evidence has very recently come to light showing that in doing so he deliberately disobeyed specific instructions from the Ex-Emperor forbidding the participants to include *jukkai* poems. The new evidence is a holograph fragment comprising the sub-sequence on Birds (poems Nos. 91 through 95), with brief queries and comments in Shunzei's hand and replies and notes in Teika's. The exciting revelation of this precious document in the summer of 1977 casts new light upon Teika's sequence. More important, it gives new insights into his character and personality, his attitude toward poetry, and his relation to his contemporaries and the ex-sovereign. The holograph fragment and its significance are discussed in detail in the Appendix. As far as *jukkai* itself is concerned, the motif is first found in No. 8, a spring poem transformed into a lament upon the contrast between the speaker's futile march toward old age and the happy birds' unchanging song. Behind this generalized complaint, which could be taken as merely formal and conventional, lies the specific application to Teika's circumstances. So with poem No. 70, which brings the winter section to a close by contrasting the speaker's hopelessness with the approaching spring's promise of renewal.

Finally, we have the climax in the small sub-group of five poems on Birds.

¹³⁹ *Shinoburu koi* 忍ぶる恋

¹⁴⁰ *Uramuru koi* 恨むる恋

¹⁴¹ 述懐百首

¹⁴² 崇徳, 1119-64; r. 1123-41.

By incorporating *jukkai* into these poems that come virtually at the end of his sequence, just before the final sub-group on Celebrations, Teika was able to make use of the mode with maximum effect, forcing Go-Toba's attention to the contrast between his personal misery on the one hand and his prayers for the imperial family's glory and prosperity on the other.

Of these five *jukkai* poems, the prevailing view, based upon the account of Go-Toba's secretary Ienaga, is that it was No. 93 which particularly moved the Ex-Emperor. As is explained in the commentary under the poem, Teika made his topic, 'The Crane', the basis for an allegory upon his own banishment from the former sovereign's court. His poem probably also echoes one by Shunzei, who some fourteen years before had addressed a similar appeal to Ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa on behalf of the same Teika. On that occasion, the hot-tempered young man had gotten into a scrape by quarreling with a superior officer, had been temporarily stripped of his official ranks and offices, and had been sent home from court. The echo is apt, and the poem both traditionally pleasing and personally effective, so that it is not difficult to credit Ienaga's story, even though some problems, discussed in the commentary, do remain.¹⁴³

Between the seven widely separated *jukkai* poems in Teika's sequence are a number in which overtones of unhappy love might with almost equal justice be interpreted as 'personal grievances'. It is the very ambiguities and shadings between the two topical elements added to the major categories that give Teika's sequence its special character, and in my estimation, contribute to its conviction as a moving and estimable literary work.

With respect to my translations, I make no other claim than having striven to render them passably readable and accurate, given my limited abilities and the great differences of language and expression between classical Japanese and modern English. I have followed my usual practice of adhering to a general pattern of five relatively shorter and longer English lines. This self-imposed convention is intended to convey a general sense of the form and cadences of the original poems, all of which follow the thirty-one-syllable *tanka* scheme of five lines in the order 5, 7, 5, 7, 7. Notwithstanding many difficulties and shortcomings, I hope that the translation and exegetical commentary may help readers to respond to the whole as Teika intended: to grasp the sequence as a single structural entity, an esthetic experience whose total effect adds up to a good deal more than a hundred unrelated poems. The best way to approach the sequence as such a unit is, I believe, to read it through at a normal pace, returning afterwards to individual poems and to such notes and commentary as may be of interest.

¹⁴³ See poem No. 93, with commentary, | 15; and Ishida & Satsukawa, *Ienaga nikki*,
below; 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', p. | pp. 43-46.

Fujiwara Teika's
Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era, 1200

Presented on a Day in Autumn
in Obedience to a Command
from the Retired Emperor
to Compose a Sequence of One Hundred Poems.

Topics received on the eighth day
of the eighth month in the second year of Shōji.

Completed sequence submitted
on the twenty-fifth day of the same month.

Offered by the official, Fujiwara no Ason Sadaie,
of the Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade,
Acting Lesser Commander of the Palace Guards of the Left,
and concurrently Acting Vice-Governor of the Province of Aki.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ This headnote (in *kanbun* 漢文) precedes the sequence in Teika's *Shūi gusō*. (See Akahane, pp. 25–26.) The hundred poems are numbered sequentially in both Akahane and in the Reizei holograph text from 901 through 1000. In *Zoku kokka taikan* 続国家大観, the standard older text and index of the personal collections of classical poets, Teika's poems for the *Shōji*

hyakushu are numbered sequentially from 9448 through 9547. (See the reprinted edition of Matsushita Daizaburō 松下大三郎, ed., *Zoku kokka taikan*, I [Kadokawa Shoten, 1958], pp. 136–37.) In the translation, I have simply numbered the poems 1 through 100.

The impressive-sounding posts occupied by Teika were, of course, quite nominal.

Spring: Twenty Poems

— 1 —

Yaya mon

<i>Haru kinu to</i>	At fair Yoshino,
<i>Kesa Mi-Yoshino no</i>	In this morning's dawn I see
<i>Asaborake</i>	Spring has come—
<i>Kinō wa kasumu</i>	Can it have been just yesterday
<i>Mine no yuki ka wa.</i>	The hazy peaks were veiled in snow?

Although Teika does not actually base his own composition upon it, Mibu no Tadamine's¹⁴⁵ famous poem on the first day of spring in the mountains of Yoshino almost inevitably comes to mind (*Shūishū*, I: 1):

<i>Haru tatsu to</i>	Is it just because
<i>Iu bakari ni ya</i>	They say this is the day which marks
<i>Mi-Yoshino no</i>	The coming of spring
<i>Yama mo kasumite</i>	That even the mountains of fair Yoshino
<i>Kesa wa miyuran.</i>	Are veiled this morning in haze?

Mi- in line 2 of Teika's poem and line 3 of Tadamine's is a decorative prefix meaning something like 'fair' and is also in Teika's usage a form of the verb *miru*, 'see'.

— 2 —

Ji

<i>Aratama no</i>	It seems the warbler
<i>Toshi no akuru o</i>	Has waited for the year to dawn,
<i>Machikerashi</i>	New as rough-cut gems,
<i>Kyō tani no to o</i>	For today he first comes forth
<i>Izuru uguisu.</i>	Through the doorway of his valley home.

¹⁴⁵ 壬生忠岑, fl. ca. 920.

An allusive variation on a poem by Priest Sosei¹⁴⁶ in the *Shūishū* (I: 5):

<i>Aratama no</i>	From the very morning
<i>Toshi tachikaeru</i>	When a fresh year comes again,
<i>Ashita yori</i>	New as rough-cut gems,
<i>Mataruru mono wa</i>	Most of all I eagerly await
<i>Uguisu no koe.</i>	The warbler's first notes of song.

Teika's poem is in the 'archaic style', combining older diction and techniques with more contemporary elements. The pillow word *aratama no* in line 1 is of uncertain meaning, but was glossed by folk etymology as 'rough-cut gems'. The juncture between pillow word and its head noun was said to be merely the partial sound similarity between *toshi* (year), as in line 2 of Teika's poem, and the verb *togu* (to polish gems). *Machikerashi* (seems to have waited) in line 3 is an archaic verb form found in the *Man'yōshū*. In contrast to these archaic details of diction and technique, the cause-and-effect conception is in the traditional *Kokinshū* or 'Fujiwara' style, as are the *engo*, or verbal associations: *akuru*, 'dawn', but also 'open' with *to* (door) in line 4 and *izuru* (come forth) in 5. The technique of ending the poem with a substantive¹⁴⁷ which Teika uses here (the final word, *uguisu*, means 'warbler'), can be found in older poetry as well, but became a kind of vogue in the late twelfth century and is a hallmark of the Age of the *Shinkokinshū*.

— 3 —

Yaya mon

<i>Haru no iro o</i>	Seeking green signs of spring,
<i>Tobuhi no nomori</i>	I ask the guardian of Tobuhi
<i>Tazunuredo</i>	To search his fields,
<i>Futaba no wakana</i>	But the snow has not yet melted
<i>Yuki mo kieaezu.</i>	From the young twin-leaved shoots.

¹⁴⁶ 素性, fl. ca. 859–922. His secular name was Yoshimine no Harutoshi | 良岑玄利.
¹⁴⁷ Called *taigendome* 体言止.

An allusive variation on an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū* (I: 18):

<i>Kasugano no</i>	O guardian of the fields
<i>Tobuhi no nomori</i>	Of Tobuhi in Kasuga,
<i>Idete miyo</i>	Come out and look,
<i>Ima ikuka arite</i>	And tell how many days I still must wait
<i>Wakana tsumiten.</i>	Until the joyous time to pick young shoots.

Owing to the old *kana* spelling, the first word in Teika's second line is a place name, but also contains the verb *tou*, 'ask'.¹⁴⁸ Again, Tobuhi means 'beacon fire' or 'beacon post'¹⁴⁹—presumably from the fact that such an installation was established in this part of Kasuga Plain in 712 to protect the new capital of Nara.

Teika's allusion to the older poem, with its evocation of the age of the *Man'yōshū*, gives his composition a slightly archaic flavor.

— 4 —

Yaya ji

<i>Morohito no</i>	In the capital,
<i>Hanairogoromo</i>	The people are all arrayed in robes
<i>Tachikasane</i>	Of flowered hues:
<i>Miyako zo shiruki</i>	Throngs of gay patterns prove
<i>Haru kitari to wa.</i>	That spring has truly come.

It was held that spring came to the capital earlier than to the countryside. Therefore, while the fields of Tobuhi in the preceding poem may be still covered with unmelted snow, the courtiers in the capital are out strolling in their spring finery.

Tachikasane in line 3 means both 'cut and wear in layers' and 'set out in throngs'. In the first meaning it associates with 'robes' (*-goromo*) in line 2. The element *tachi-* also means 'rise' or 'begin' and thus associates with 'spring' (*haru*) in line 5.

¹⁴⁸ In the *kana* script Tobuhi was written とふひ; *tou* was written とふ.

¹⁴⁹ The name was written 飛火 or 烽 in Chinese characters.

<i>Uchiwatasu</i>	In the distance,
<i>Ochikatabito wa</i>	Though the wayfarer hurries by
<i>Kotaenedo</i>	Without an answer,
<i>Nioi zo nanoru</i>	The fragrance of the flowering plum
<i>Nobe no umegae.</i>	Calls out its name across the fields.

The poem is also included in the eleventh imperial anthology, *Shokukokinshū*,¹⁵⁰ I: 63, with the headnote, 'Among the poems for a sequence of one hundred composed in the second year of Shōji.'

An allusive variation upon a pair of old anonymous *sedōka*¹⁵¹ in the *Kokinshū* (XIX: 1007–08):

<i>Uchiwatasu</i>	O wayfarer,
<i>Ochikatabito ni</i>	Hurrying by in the distance,
<i>Mono mōsu ware</i>	I would ask a question:
<i>Sono soko ni</i>	What are they called,
<i>Shiroku sakeru wa</i>	Those pretty white blossoms
<i>Nani no hana zo mo.</i>	Flowering near you over there?

'The Reply'

<i>Haru sareba</i>	When spring comes,
<i>Nobe ni mazu saku</i>	The first to bloom among the fields,
<i>Miredomo akanu hana</i>	These flowers whose beauty never palls—
<i>Mai nashi ni</i>	Yet dare you think them
<i>Tada nanorubeki</i>	Wanton flowers that give their name
<i>Hana no na nare ya.</i>	To anyone without a courtship gift?

Although Teika's wayfarer fails to answer the question posed in the first of the older poems, his plum blossoms are less coy than the flowers—allegorically a young maiden—of the second one.

¹⁵⁰ 続古今集, completed in 1265.

¹⁵¹ 旋頭歌, an old poetic form in the pattern 5,7,7,5,7,7 syllables. By the Heian

period, it was no longer composed except as a literary exercise.

<i>Ume no hana</i>	Upon my sleeve,
<i>Nioi o utsusu</i>	Plum blossoms pour their fragrance,
<i>Sode no ue ni</i>	Vying in beauty
<i>Noki moru tsuki no</i>	With moonbeams filtering through the
<i>Kage zo arasou.</i>	eaves
	And sparkling in the wetness of my tears.

As has been pointed out in the Introduction, this famous poem was selected for the *Shinkokinshū* (I: 44), where it has the headnote, 'When he presented a sequence of one hundred poems.' It is an allusive variation upon an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū* (I: 46), 'For the poetry contest at the Palace of the Empress in the Kamyō era [889–898]':

<i>Ume ga ka o</i>	If I could retain
<i>Sode ni utsushite</i>	The fragrance of these plum blossoms
<i>Todometeba</i>	Within my sleeve,
<i>Haru wa sugu tomo</i>	It would be a precious keepsake
<i>Katami naramashi.</i>	Though spring must pass way.

The *honka*, or foundation poem, provides key images and the elegant notion of transferring the scent of cherished flowers to one's sleeve, but Teika makes his new poem into an ideal example of his distinctive style of *yōen*, 'ethereal beauty'. Implications of traditional images convey tonal depth and resonance, and a mysterious atmosphere is suggested by ambiguities of background and situation. The imagery of plum blossoms and moon is echoed and reflected in the speaker's implicit tears. The whiteness of blossoms and moonlight is both lovely and mysterious, glowing in purity, yet suggesting emptiness and loss.

The translation suggests implications only latent in the original. The speaker may be pictured as a former courtier—or an old man, or perhaps even a deserted woman. Living in poverty (it is only the broken eaves of a neglected house that admit the moon), he or she ponders the happier times suggested by the *honka*, and possibly recalls a former love. The plum's fragrance and the moonbeams are personified: now they are the lonely speaker's only visitors. Again, it is conventional that only sleeves wet with dew (and tears) reflect the moonlight, to which they 'give lodging' (*yadosu*). The personification, together with the sensuous imagery of sight and smell set off against the background of night and a desolate house contribute to

the romantic atmosphere. The effect is of enchantment and beauty made poignant by the speaker's sorrow and the ravages of time.

These characteristics strongly imply an additional source of allusion for Teika's poem. This is the famous episode No. 4 in *Ise monogatari* which contains Ariwara no Narihira's¹⁵² best known poem. The allusion is not directly to Narihira's poem, but instead to the prose context, or headnote, and the circumstances it recounts, thus making the technique of borrowing that of *honzetsu* or *honsetsu*.

The episode is also told in a headnote to Narihira's poem in the *Kokinshū*, XV: 747. The *Ise monogatari* version follows in Helen McCullough's translation:

Once when the ex-empress was living in the eastern Fifth Ward, a certain lady occupied the western wing of her house. Quite without intending it, a man fell deeply in love with the lady and began to visit her; but around the Tenth of the First Month she moved away without a word, and though he learned where she had gone, it was not a place where ordinary people could come and go. He could do nothing but brood over the wretchedness of life. When the plum blossoms were at their height in the next First Month, poignant memories of the year before drew him back to her old apartments. He stared at the flowers from every conceivable standing and sitting position, but it was quite hopeless to try to recapture the past. Bursting into tears, he flung himself onto the floor of the bare room and lay there until the moon sank low in the sky. As he thought of the year before, he composed this poem:

<i>Tsuki ya aranu</i>	Is not the moon the same?
<i>Haru ya mukashi no</i>	The spring
<i>Haru naranu</i>	The spring of old?
<i>Wa ga mi hitotsu wa</i>	Only this body of mine
<i>Moto no mi ni shite.</i>	Is the same body . . .

He went home at dawn, still weeping.¹⁵³

In the context of the Shōji sequence, the implications of love in Teika's poem convey the dominant tone of sadness and loss applicable to his personal circumstances.

¹⁵² 在原業平, 825–80.

¹⁵³ Helen Craig McCullough, *Tales of Ise: Lyrical Episodes from Tenth-Century*

Japan (Stanford University Press, 1968), pp. 71–72.

<i>Hana no ka no</i>	So entrancing
<i>Kasumeru tsuki ni</i>	Is the beauty of moonlight blurred
<i>Akugarete</i>	With the scent of blossoms,
<i>Yume mo sadaka ni</i>	That these spring nights are a time
<i>Mienu koro kana.</i>	When even dreams are seen through haze.

An allusive variation upon an anonymous love poem in the *Kokinshū* (XI: 527):

<i>Namidagawa</i>	In my floating sleep,
<i>Makura nagaruru</i>	Pillow awash upon the torrent
<i>Ukine ni wa</i>	Of the River of Tears,
<i>Yume mo sadaka ni</i>	My dreaming is so pitched and tossed
<i>Miezu zo arikeru.</i>	That even visions of love are blurred.

It has been suggested that Teika also alludes (*honzetsu*) to the second chapter of the romance *Matsura no miya monogatari*, of which he has been traditionally the putative author.¹⁵⁴ An interesting idea, but difficult to substantiate.

Teika's poem completely alters the effect of grotesque hyperbole in the foundation poem, and again creates the mood of 'ethereal beauty'. Like No. 6, this poem conveys the magical atmosphere of moonlight in the fragrance of plum blossoms. The distinction between sleeping and waking, between vision and reality, is blurred in the speaker's mind just as the air is softened with spring haze—haze poetically identified with the heavy scent of blossoms. A dream on a spring night was conventionally a dream of love, often unfinished because of the night's brevity, and the love element in Teika's poem is strengthened by allusion.

¹⁵⁴ Kubota, *Kajin no kenkyū*, p. 798. See also n. 119, above.

<i>Momochidori</i>	A myriad birds:
<i>Koe ya mukashi no</i>	But is not their song unchanged
<i>Sore naranu</i>	From its former sound,
<i>Waga mi furiyuku</i>	While I move ever onward to old age
<i>Harusame no sora.</i>	And spring rain fills the sky?

An allusive variation upon an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū* (I: 28):

<i>Momochidori</i>	In the spring,
<i>Saezuru haru wa</i>	When a myriad birds chirp lustily,
<i>Monogoto ni</i>	All things of nature
<i>Aratamaredomo</i>	Take on new life, while I alone
<i>Ware zo furiyuku.</i>	Move ever onward to old age.

Furiyuku in line 4 of Teika's poem means both 'move onward to old age' and 'go on falling' (of rain). The rain suggests tears, the tears of the 'aging', unrewarded Teika, who directs this appeal (*jukkai*) to the young Ex-Emperor Go-Toba.

<i>Ariake no</i>	In the early dawn,
<i>Tsukikage nokoru</i>	The setting moon still glimmers
<i>Yama no ha o</i>	Above the mountain rim,
<i>Sora ni nashitemo</i>	But even were no such wall to hide it,
<i>Tatsu kasumi kana.</i>	The rising haze would still obscure the sky.

Even if the mountains did not conceal the setting moon, the thick spring haze would obscure its light.

Sora in line 4 means both 'sky' and 'nothing' (i.e., 'no such wall').

<i>Omoitatsu</i>	They set forth bravely,
<i>Yama no ikue mo</i>	Wings dipping in the feathery white
<i>Shirakumo ni</i>	Among the clouds,
<i>Hane uchikawashi</i>	Though countless mountain ranges lie ahead
<i>Kaeru karigane.</i>	For the geese returning to their northern home.

An allusive variation upon an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū* (IV: 191):

<i>Shirakumo ni</i>	High among the clouds,
<i>Hane uchikawashi</i>	Wings dipping in the feathery white,
<i>Tobu kari no</i>	The wild geese fly by:
<i>Kazu sae miyuru</i>	Even their very number can be seen
<i>Aki no yo no tsuki.</i>	This autumn night against the moon.

Omoitatsu in line 1 of Teika's poem means both 'make up one's mind' and 'set forth'. *Shira-* of *shirakumo* (white clouds) in line 3 also means 'countless' (lit., 'know not'). The phrase *hane uchikawashi* in line 4 of Teika's and line 2 of the poem to which he alludes has been much debated by the commentators, some holding it to mean 'wing interlocked with beating wing'.

The Siberian wild geese flew south to Japan for the winter months and returned north in the spring (see poem No. 44, below). Consequently, flocks of geese flying *away* are a spring phenomenon in Japanese poetry, not associated with autumn as in Western literature.

<i>Yoshinoyama</i>	No sooner does my heart
<i>Kumo ni kokoro no</i>	Hang upon the clustered clouds
<i>Kakaru yori</i>	In the mountains of Yoshino,
<i>Hana no koro to wa</i>	Than the whiteness in the sky proclaims
<i>Sora ni shirushi mo.</i>	The season for cherry flowers has come.

The 'clouds' on the mountains are masses of white cherry blossoms—a conventional conceit. The speaker's heart is instinctively drawn to the flowers even before they begin to bloom, such is his anticipation.

<i>Itsumo mishi</i>	Can this be the same,
<i>Matsu no iro ka wa</i>	The constant color of the pines
<i>Hatsuseyama</i>	Upon Mount Hatsuse?—
<i>Sakura ni moruru</i>	Glimpsed now through cherry blossoms
<i>Haru no hitoshio.</i>	It seems a brighter hue of spring.

The poem is included in the seventeenth imperial anthology, *Fūgashū*¹⁵⁵ (II: 148).

Not allusive variation, but nevertheless suggesting a poem by Minamoto no Muneyuki¹⁵⁶ in the *Kokinshū* (I: 24):

<i>Tokiwa naru</i>	Spring has come,
<i>Matsu no midori mo</i>	And even the pines, constant in their green
<i>Haru kureba</i>	Through eternity,
<i>Ima hitoshio no</i>	Now turn, still more and more,
<i>Iro masarikeri.</i>	To advancing depths of color.

As in the older poem, Teika plays upon the contrast between what ‘officially’ ought to be and what actually is: according to the learned (Chinese) books, pine trees *should* be an unvarying green, but in fact they change in nature and in the viewer’s eyes, their brighter spring color even more striking in contrast to the whiteness of the cherry blossoms.

Line 3: Mount Hatsuse was the site of a popular temple to the ‘Goddess of Mercy’, Kannon, and was a favorite spot for outings and flower-viewing.

<i>Shirakumo no</i>	There in Tatsuta
<i>Haru wa kasanete</i>	A double layer of white clouds
<i>Tatsutayama</i>	Stands upon spring hills—
<i>Ogura no mine ni</i>	It seems that the crest of Ogura
<i>Hana niourashi.</i>	Must be aglow with cherry flowers.

¹⁵⁵ 風雅集, completed 1344–46.

¹⁵⁶ 源宗于, d. 939.

The poem is the second of three from this sequence selected for the *Shin-kokinshū* (I: 91), where, like poem No. 6, it has the headnote, 'When he presented a sequence of one hundred poems.'

The phrase *shirakumo no haru wa* spanning lines 1 and 2 is a reversal of the normal diction, *haru no shirakumo wa*, but the effect is almost impossible to convey in translation, striking though it is in the Japanese. Again, *niou* (aglow) in line 5 is a synesthetic metaphor when used of colors: the word basically meant 'smell', 'give off scent'. The effect is of a sensuous beauty not entirely harmonious with the otherwise simple, somewhat archaic diction.

Although the Tatsuta mountains were often celebrated in poetry for their autumnal beauty, they were less known for spring cherry blossoms. However, old precedents did exist, e.g., a *chōka* ('long poem') by Takahashi no Mushimaro¹⁵⁷ in the *Man'yōshū* (IX: 1747), where Mount Ogura in Tatsuta is said to be covered with a white cloud of blossoms. It is, indeed, quite likely that Teika intended a specific allusion to the opening lines of the old poem. This would account for the rather archaic flavor of his poem, particularly in the last two lines. The beginning of Mushimaro's *chōka* is as follows:

<i>Shirakumo no</i>	Upon the crest
<i>Tatsuta no yama no</i>	Of Ogura, a waterfall
<i>Taki no ue no</i>	Cascades through clouds
<i>Ogura no mine ni</i>	Of white that veil Mount Tatsuta:
<i>Sakiōru</i>	Above, the cherry trees
<i>Sakura no hana wa. . . .</i>	Spread their flowers over all. . . .

Tatsutayama in line 3 of Teika's poem pivots the place name and *tatsu* (stand, rise). As in poem No. 2, the suffix *-rashi* (seems) in line 5 suggests an older mode, and the poem as a whole may be considered an example of the 'lofty style' (*taketakaki tei*)—a style particularly dear to Go-Toba.

<i>Takasago no</i>	Tell it in the capital:
<i>Matsu to miyako ni</i>	That like the steadfast pine trees
<i>Kotozute yo</i>	On Takasago's sands,
<i>Onoe no sakura</i>	At Onoe the cherries on the hilltops
<i>Ima sakari nari.</i>	Wait in the fullness of their bloom.

¹⁵⁷ 高橋蟲麿, fl. ca. 730.

Takasago (line 1) is both a common noun meaning ‘sandy hill’, ‘dune’, and the name of a place in the province of Harima famous for its shrine and the twin pine trees—symbolic of longevity and conjugal fidelity—that were said to grow there. Similarly, Onoe (line 4) means ‘hilltop’ and also a place in Harima near Takasago. The two are frequently associated in poems.

The pines (*matsu*) are a metaphor for the faithfulness of the cherry trees in blooming year after year and for their patience in waiting (*matsu*) for the courtiers to come from the capital to admire them. Thus the first word in line 2 involves the familiar pivot on ‘pine trees’ and ‘wait’.

— 15 —

Yaya mon

<i>Hana no iro o</i>	A flutter of white:
<i>Sore ka to zo omou</i>	Which is the color of cherry blossoms,
<i>Otomeko ga</i>	Which the hempen sleeves
<i>Sode Furuyama no</i>	Waved by maidens on Furu hill
<i>Haru no akebono.</i>	In the pale light of spring dawn?

Classical and archaic elements are combined in this composition: the speaker’s elegant confusion between the scattering white blossoms and the girls’ waving sleeves is in the tradition of the *Kokinshū*; the place name and imagery of maidens on the hillsides at dawn suggest the poetry and a romantic vision of the simpler, happier world of the *Man’yōshū*. Actually, Teika seems to echo some lines in a poem by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro¹⁵⁸ (*Shūishū*, XIX: 1210; also *Man’yōshū*, IV: 501):

<i>Otomera ga</i>	I have loved you
<i>Sode Furuyama no</i>	As long as has stood the sacred fence
<i>Mizukaki no</i>	Before the shrine,
<i>Hisashiki yo yori</i>	There upon Furu’s ancient hill
<i>Omoisometeki.</i> ¹⁵⁹	Where maidens wave their sleeves.

In both poems, *Furu*- means the place (a shrine near the modern town of Tenri outside Osaka) and ‘wave’; in the older poem the word also means ‘ancient’.

¹⁵⁸ 柿本人麿, fl. ca. 680–710; the greatest poet of the *Man’yōshū*.

¹⁵⁹ This version—probably more familiar to Teika—is in the *Shūishū*: in the

Man’yōshū, the last two lines run, *Hisashiki toki yu/ Omoiki ware wa*. In either case, the difference in meaning is not great.

— 16 —

Yaya mon

<i>Haru no oru</i>	The playful sky
<i>Hana no nishiki no</i>	Tangles threads of gossamer haze
<i>Tatenuki ni</i>	Among warp and weft
<i>Midarete asobu</i>	Of the brocade that Spring
<i>Sora no itoyū.</i>	Weaves from cherry flowers.

The poem uses traditionally elegant metaphors for spring's beauty, with many *engo*: *oru* (weave), *nishiki* (brocade), *tatenuki* (warp and weft), *midarete* (tangled), and *asobu . . . itoyū*. This last expression (in lines 4 and 5) means literally, 'binding playful threads', and is derived from the Chinese *yu ssu*.¹⁶⁰ Both Chinese term and Japanese borrowing are elegant expressions for the shimmering gossamer haze commonly called in Japanese *kagerō*.

Teika's conventional conceit suggests numerous precedents, if not specific allusions. Two examples are the following poems in the *Kokinshū*, the first by Fujiwara no Sekio¹⁶¹ (V: 291), the second anonymous (VI: 314):

<i>Shimo no tate</i>	Warp of frost
<i>Tsuyu no nuki koso</i>	And weft of dew would seem too fragile:
<i>Yowakarashi</i>	The rich brocade
<i>Yama no nishiki no</i>	Of autumn leaves upon the hills
<i>Oreba katsu chiru.</i>	As soon as woven, falls to shreds.

<i>Tatsutagawa</i>	The Godless Month
<i>Nishiki orikaku</i>	Spreads a brocade of leaves
<i>Kaminazuki</i>	On Tatsuta's stream,
<i>Shigure no ame o</i>	With the winter drizzle
<i>Tatenuki ni shite.</i>	Woven into warp and weft.

— 17 —

Yaya ji

<i>Onozukara</i>	Only by chance
<i>Soko to mo shiranu</i>	Did I see the full moon veiled in haze
<i>Tsuki wa mitsu</i>	As I wandered late,
<i>Kurenaba hana no</i>	Seeking, when darkness fell, a place
<i>Nage o tanomite.</i>	To sleep beneath the blossoming boughs.

¹⁶⁰ 遊絲¹⁶¹ 藤原関雄, 805-53.

An allusive variation on a poem by Priest Sosei (*Kokinshū*, II: 95):

<i>Iza kyō wa</i>	Come, just for today
<i>Haru no yamabe ni</i>	Let us lose ourselves in wandering
<i>Majirinan</i>	Deep in spring hills—
<i>Kurenaba nage no</i>	If darkness falls, how can we fail to find
<i>Hana no kage ka wa.</i>	A place to sleep beneath those blossoming boughs?

The elegant speaker of Teika's poem has been intent upon his pursuit of cherry blossoms, but now that darkness has fallen and he stops for the night in the open beneath the trees, he is delighted to see another kind of beauty he had forgotten.

Soko to mo shiranu in line 2 means 'not knowing just where something is': thus, the spring haze (implicit, but not mentioned in the Japanese version) obscures the moon. Such a hazy spring moon was considered particularly beautiful in the cherry blossom season. The phrase may also apply to the speaker: night has found him far afield and not sure of his bearings.

Mitsu in line 3 means both 'have seen' and 'is full' (i.e., the moon).

<i>Sakurabana</i>	Though the time must come
<i>Chirishiku haru no</i>	When cherry petals fall and scatter
<i>Toki shimo are</i>	With advancing spring,
<i>Kaesu yamada o</i>	As I walk through new-turned mountain
<i>Uramite zo yuku.</i>	fields, I cannot but look back in grief.

The speaker grieves not only for the passing of the season, but because the plow turns under the lovely cherry petals scattered over the ground.

Kaesu (turn over, plow) in line 4 and *ura-* (lit., 'underside') of *uramite* (grieve, resent) in line 5 are *engo*: when furrows are plowed in the fields, one 'sees' (*-mite*) the 'underside' (*ura-*) of the earth. *Kaesu* may also mean 'send back', and in this sense associates with *yuku* (walk, go) in line 5. So the mountain fields, readied for summer planting, may be said to be sending spring away and are therefore resented by the speaker.

— 19 —

Yaya mon

<i>Haru mo oshi</i>	Loath to part with spring,
<i>Hana o shirube ni</i>	I shall take its last flowers for my guide,
<i>Yado karan</i>	And seek a place
<i>Yukari no iro no</i>	To lodge beneath the wisteria
<i>Fuji no shitakage.</i>	Whose color holds the season's beauty yet.

The cherry blossoms have fallen, and spring is almost gone, but the speaker would follow the season to one of its last beauties, the late blooming wisteria.

Yukari no iro (lit., 'the color of affinity') in line 4 was a conventional term for the purple hue of the wisteria. Here Teika gives freshness to the expression by suggesting the color's affinity with spring.

— 20 —

Yaya ji

<i>Shinobaji yo</i>	Let vain longings cease!—
<i>Ware furisutete</i>	Abandoned by departing spring,
<i>Yuku haru no</i>	I shall be resigned
<i>Nagori yasurō</i>	To the memories of its presence
<i>Ame no yūgure.</i>	That linger in the rain at dusk.

Furi- of *furisutete* (abandoned) in line 2 also means 'fall', associating with *ame* (rain) in line 5.

Summer: Fifteen Poems

— 21 —

Yaya mon

<i>Nugikaete</i>	Now I have changed
<i>Katami tomaranu</i>	Into a summer robe that keeps
<i>Natsugoromo</i>	No reminder of the spring—
<i>Sate shimo hana no</i>	Even so, a vision of cherry flowers
<i>Omokage zo tatsu.</i>	Still lingers before my eyes.

The poem seems to echo two older ones: *Kokinshū*, I: 66,

<i>Sakurairo ni</i>	I will dye my robe
<i>Koromo wa fukaku</i>	To a deep cherry color,
<i>Somete kin</i>	And I will wear it
<i>Hana no chirinan</i>	In memory of the blossoms
<i>Nochi no katami ni.</i>	After they have passed away.

And a poem by Izumi Shikibu¹⁶² in the *Goshūishū*, III: 165, ‘Composed on the first day of the fourth month’:

<i>Sakurairo ni</i>	Casting aside
<i>Someshi koromo o</i>	The robe I dyed so lovingly
<i>Nugikaete</i>	To cherry color,
<i>Yamahototogisu</i>	From today I eagerly await
<i>Kyō yori zo matsu.</i>	The first notes of the mountain thrush.

(The mountain thrush, or *yamahototogisu*, was associated with early summer. See poem No. 24, below.)

¹⁶² 泉式部, ?967–ca. 1040.

<i>Suga no ne ya</i>	The summer days
<i>Hikage mo nagaku</i>	Lengthen like the trailing roots
<i>Naru mama ni</i>	Of sedge plants,
<i>Musubu bakari ni</i>	While the luxuriant summer grasses
<i>Shigeru natsugusa.</i>	Grow tall enough to bind in sheaves.

An allusive variation on a poem by Minamoto no Shigeyuki, *Goshūishū*, III: 168,

<i>Natsugusa wa</i>	The summer grasses
<i>Musubu bakari ni</i>	Are tall enough to bind in sheaves—
<i>Narinikeri</i>	Amid such growth,
<i>Nogaishi koma mo</i>	Even though bred among these fields,
<i>Akugarenuran.</i>	The young colts must lose their way.

A simple poem, despite the allusion, it suggests the style of the *Man'yōshū*. *Suga no ne ya* (roots of sedge plants) in line 1 is an old pillow word used with *nagaku* (long).

<i>U no hana no</i>	Oh that the dew
<i>Kakine mo tawa ni</i>	Might keep from falling while I thread it
<i>Okeru tsuyu</i>	Into a string of jewels
<i>Chirazu mo aranan</i>	Upon the hedge of white hydrangeas
<i>Tama ni nuku made.</i>	Clustered beneath its crystal weight.

The dew/jewels trope and the conventional conceit of threading the drops on a string evoke the elegance of the *Kokinshū* and the 'Fujiwara style' in contrast to the simplicity of poem No. 22.

The phrase *kakine mo tawa ni* suggests an anonymous poem in the *Gosenshū*, IV: 153, 'Written at a house with a hedge of white hydrangeas':

<i>Toki wakazu</i>	So thick and white,
<i>Fureru yuki ka to</i>	The clustered blossoms in the hedge
<i>Miru made ni</i>	Of white hydrangeas,
<i>Kakine mo tawa ni</i>	As to seem that snow has fallen
<i>Sakeru u no hana.</i>	Unmindful that its time has passed.

<i>Morokazura</i>	Though he is not drawn
<i>Kusa no yukari ni</i>	By these ropes of braided creepers
<i>Aranedomo</i>	Hanging from the blinds,
<i>Kakete mataruru</i>	Still I long unceasingly
<i>Hototogisu kana.</i>	For the first song of the wood thrush.

The poem is included in the eighteenth imperial anthology, *Shinsen-zaishū*,¹⁶³ III: 203, with the headnote, 'When he presented a hundred-poem sequence in the second year of Shōji'.

The first three lines are a preface introducing *kakete* in line 4, with a play on the latter's two meanings: 'hanging' and 'unceasingly'. *Morokazura* (braided creepers) in line 1 refers to the twisted ropes of *kazura* and *aoi* vines hung from the blinds of houses and carriages during the festival of the Kamo Shrines, the 'Aoi Festival' of the fourth month. *Kusa* in line 2 refers to the *aoi*, which in turn conventionally plays on *ō-hi*, 'day of meeting', suggesting that on this of all days the bird ought to put in an appearance. *Morokazura* and *kusa* associate with *kakete* in line 4.

The speaker is a man of elegance who duly 'hangs' upon the coming of the wood thrush, but the fourth month is too early. As the warbler is attracted by the plum blossoms of early spring, the wood thrush is associated with the flowering orange tree (*tachibana*) of mid- to late summer, and both are traditionally said to 'wait for the fifth month'. See, for example, *Kokinshū*, III: 137, and poem No. 25, below.

It should also be noted, however, that the wood thrush was treated as singing in the hills in early summer (the fourth month), when it was called *yamahotogisu*, 'mountain thrush'. Then gradually as the season advanced, the creature lost its timidity and descended into the towns and villages. Teika's speaker is thus a courtier awaiting the bird's arrival in the capital.

<i>Ayame fuku</i>	Stirred by the breeze,
<i>Noki no tachibana</i>	The orange tree beside the eaves
<i>Kaze fukeba</i>	Decked with iris blades
<i>Mukashi ni narō</i>	Imparts today a fragrance to my robe
<i>Kyō no sode no ka.</i>	Recalling those scented sleeves of long ago.

An allusive variation upon a famous poem in the *Kokinshū*, III: 139, and in *Ise monogatari*, Episode 60:

<i>Satsuki matsu</i>	Now that I smell
<i>Hanatachibana no</i>	The fragrance of the flowering orange trees
<i>Ka o kageba</i>	That wait for the Fifth Month,
<i>Mukashi no hito no</i>	I am reminded of those scented sleeves
<i>Sode no ka zo suru.</i>	Worn by a person of long ago.

The occasion of Teika's poem is the Iris Festival (*tango no sekku*) on the fifth day of the fifth month. On this day, the long, spear-shaped leaves of the iris (phallic talismans against disease and fire) were stuck into the thatched eaves of houses and palace buildings. The festival was merry, with much flirting and exchanging of verses. The scent of orange blossoms is treated hyperbolically as perfuming the sleeves of the courtier speaker of Teika's poem, its lovely fragrance evoking the mysterious, romantic past of the older poem.

An association between this poem and No. 24 is the conventional relationship between the wood thrush (anticipated in 24) and the orange tree here.

— 26 —

Ji

<i>Ika bakari</i>	How bitterly
<i>Miyama sabishi to</i>	Must those mountain depths lament
<i>Uramuran</i>	Their loneliness,
<i>Sato narehatsuru</i>	Now that the wood thrush has forsaken
<i>Hototogisu kana.</i>	them
	To sojourn in the haunts of men.

For the conventional decorum of treatment, or *hon'i*,¹⁶⁴ of the *hototogisu*, see the commentary on poem No. 24, above. In addition, convention required that the bird be treated as singing only briefly, its few poignant notes the reward for hours of waiting. In this poem, Teika varies the usual treatment by personifying the mountains, stressing their loneliness and yearning for the bird rather than man's desire for it.

An allusive variation upon an old poem by Ōnakatomi no Sukechika¹⁶⁵ in the *Shūishū*, XVI: 1076,

¹⁶⁴ 本意

¹⁶⁵ 大中臣輔親, fl. ca. 1000.

<i>Ashihiki no</i>	The timid wood thrush
<i>Yamahototogisu</i>	Dwelling in the footsore hills
<i>Sato narete</i>	Grows bolder now,
<i>Tasogaredoki ni</i>	For in my village at twilight
<i>Nanori surashi mo.</i>	I seem to hear it call out its name.

— 27 —

Ji

<i>Hototogisu</i>	O wood thrush,
<i>Shibashi yasuræ</i>	Linger but a little while
<i>Sugawara ya</i>	In Sugawara
<i>Fushimi no sato no</i>	At Fushimi village, where the sky
<i>Murasame no sora.</i>	Gives promise of a cooling shower.

The double place names of the third and fourth lines are a conventional phrase probably derived from an anonymous old poem in the *Kokinshū*, XVIII: 981,

<i>Iza koko ni</i>	Well then, after all,
<i>Waga yo wa henan</i>	I shall pass my remaining days
<i>Sugawara ya</i>	Here in Sugawara,
<i>Fushimi no sato no</i>	Painful though it is to see
<i>Aremaku mo oshi.</i>	Fushimi village fall to ruin.

The village of Fushimi in Sugawara was near the ancient capital of Nara, but it fell into neglect after the capital was moved to Kyoto in the late eighth century. Teika contrasts the wood thrush, pausing only briefly before moving on to its ultimate destination in the capital, with his speaker (implicitly the speaker of the older poem), loyal to Fushimi despite its declining fortunes.

Basically a simple poem, notwithstanding its literary associations.

— 28 —

Ji

<i>Hototogisu</i>	O wood thrush,
<i>Nani o yosuga ni</i>	When the orange tree let fall
<i>Tanome tote</i>	Its last blossoms,
<i>Hanatachibana no</i>	What allurements did it propose
<i>Chirihatenu ran.</i>	To coax you once more into song?

The speaker personifies the tree, pretending that it must have had in mind some other way to prevent the bird from leaving—otherwise it would have kept its flowers.

The poem's originality lies in its contrast to such an older treatment as in the following verse by Ōe no Chisato,¹⁶⁶ *Kokinshū*, III: 155,

<i>Yadori seshi</i>	Although the blossoms
<i>Hanatachibana mo</i>	Remain unwithered on the orange tree
<i>Karenaku ni</i>	Where you made your home,
<i>Nado hototogisu</i>	Tell me why, o wood thrush,
<i>Koe taenuran.</i>	Your lovely song has died away.

— 29 —

Ji

<i>Ta ga sode o</i>	Whose scented sleeve
<i>Hanatachibana ni</i>	Has let some other orange tree
<i>Yuzuriken</i>	Lure away my wood thrush?
<i>Yado wa ikuyo to</i>	And how many empty years have passed
<i>Otozure mo sede.</i>	Since its last visit to this house?

This poem echoes the same famous one (*Kokinshū*, III: 139; *Ise monogatari*, Episode 60) as No. 25, above. It also alludes to the following anonymous poem in the *Shūishū*, III: 112,

<i>Ta ga sode ni</i>	Whose scented sleeve
<i>Omoiyosoete</i>	Did the fragrance of orange blossoms
<i>Hototogisu</i>	Bring to mind,
<i>Hanatachibana no</i>	Luring you to the branches of this tree,
<i>Eda ni nakuran.</i>	O wood thrush that now burst forth in song?

Like the warbler and the plum tree, the wood thrush and the mandarin orange were often personified as lovers. The orange blossoms, in turn, were poetically held to derive their scent from the brush of a courtier's perfumed sleeve. Here, the wood thrush has abandoned the speaker's tree for another's (a new lover), as if its blossoms had been perfumed by a more fragrant sleeve. Thus, carrying over from the *honka*, Teika's poem suggests the lament of a woman deserted by her lover.

¹⁶⁶ 大江千里, fl. ca. 810–905.

It should be pointed out that although the wood thrush is not actually named in Teika's poem, the *honka* and the poem's place in the sequence demand the inference.

— 30 —

Ji

<i>Waga shimeshi</i>	Year after year,
<i>Tamae no ashi no</i>	More pliant grow the reeds I fenced
<i>Yo o hete wa</i>	Beside the bay,
<i>Karanedo mienu</i>	And though uncut, they cannot be seen
<i>Samidare no koro.</i>	In the season of summer rains.

The first two lines are a preface for *yo* in line 3, which plays on 'years' or 'ages', the 'joints' of the reed stalks, and 'nights' (of love).

An allusive variation on an anonymous allegorical love poem 'On Grass' in the *Man'yōshū*, VI: 1348 (also found in the *Shūishū*, XIX: 1212, attributed to Hitomaro):

<i>Mishimae no</i>	Since I fenced off
<i>Tamae no komo o</i>	The field of oats at Mishimae
<i>Shimeshi yori</i>	Beside the bay,
<i>Ono ga to so omou</i>	I have considered it already mine,
<i>Imada karanedo.</i>	Though its harvest is still uncut.

Teika's poem may also be interpreted as an allegory, continuing the love element from the preceding poem in the sequence. Here, the speaker is a man, the field of reeds his mistress. As the years (and nights of love) pass, she bends to him, becoming less stiff and willful. So do the reeds bend under the summer rains and efface themselves as the water level rises in the marsh, hiding their lower stalks and making them appear cut or harvested, although they actually are not.

Despite its complex ingenuity, the poem is not particularly striking—not a *mon no uta*. The locution of the fourth line is both awkward and ambiguous: the verb *mienu* could be construed as an affirmative perfective indicative instead of a negative attributive, thus yielding a completely different meaning—'are seen' instead of 'cannot be seen'. Finally, the Reizei holograph text has *karanu to* (possibly a misprint) instead of *karanedo* as in Akahane.

<i>Natsugusa no</i>	No time to dry
<i>Tsuyuwakegoromo</i>	My robes drenched with the dew
<i>Hoshi mo aezu</i>	Of summer grasses,
<i>Karine nagara ni</i>	And my fitful sleep was soon cut off
<i>Akuru shinonome.</i>	As night gave way to daybreak.

An allusive variation upon two older poems, of which the first, a love poem attributed to Hitomaro, is found in somewhat different versions in the *Man'yōshū* and *Shinkokinshū*. Presumably Teika was thinking of the latter version, *Shinkokinshū*, XV: 1374,

<i>Natsugusa no</i>	I do not wear
<i>Tsuyuwakegoromo</i>	A robe drenched with the dew
<i>Ki mo senu ni</i>	Of summer grasses—
<i>Nado waga sode no</i>	Why, then, is there not a moment
<i>Kawaku toki naki.</i>	My sleeves are ever dry?

The second allusion is to a summer poem by Ki no Tsurayuki, *Kokinshū*, III: 156,

<i>Natsu no yo no</i>	On a summer evening,
<i>Fusu ka to sureba</i>	No sooner do I lie down to sleep
<i>Hototogisu</i>	Than the wood thrush
<i>Naku hitokoe ni</i>	Calls out his one brief song
<i>Akuru shinonome.</i>	As night gives way to daybreak.

The conventional theme of Teika's poem is the shortness of the summer night. The speaker—probably a lover on a visit to his lady—makes his way through fields of tall summer grass, his long sleeves and wide trousers soaked with dew. But so short is the summer night, there is neither time to dry his clothes nor to finish his dream of love (or the dreamlike reality of an actual meeting) before dawn awakens and warns him to take his leave.

Karine in line 4 plays on 'fitful sleep' and *kari-*, 'cutting', 'reaping'; in the latter sense it associates with *natsugusa* (summer grasses) in line 1.

<i>Kataito o</i>	If, like winding thread,
<i>Yoru yoru mine ni</i>	It were not drawn in by the flares they burn
<i>Tomosu hi ni</i>	Nightly upon the peak,
<i>Awazuba shika no</i>	The wild deer would have escaped,
<i>Mi o mo kaeji o.</i>	Nor have had to change its form of life.

Like No. 5, the poem is included in the *Shokukokinshū* (III: 254).

The topic would be *Tomoshi*,¹⁶⁷ 'Hunting by Flares'—luring deer within bowshot with flares or torches in the mountains at night. Tsurayuki's poem, *Shūishū*, II: 127, offers a poetic precedent, if not actually a *honka*:

<i>Satsukiyama</i>	In the fifth month,
<i>Ko no shitayami ni</i>	The flares they burn, lighting the darkness
<i>Tomosu hi wa</i>	Beneath the mountain trees,
<i>Shika no tachido no</i>	Are a guide to show the hunters
<i>Shirube narikeri.</i>	Where the wild deer hides away.

Teika's poem has Buddhist implications: in sacrificing its life to the hunter's arrow, the deer must move to a different form of incarnation (perhaps higher, perhaps lower than its present state). The conventional decorum of this topic required an expression of pity for the hunted animal.

Kataito o (thread) in line 1 is a pillow word for *yoru yoru* (lit., winding, winding) in line 2, which in turn is a pivot word also meaning 'night after night'. *Kataito* associates with *awazuba* (lit., unless he meets) in line 4 because threads twined together were said to 'meet'.

<i>Ogi no ha mo</i>	Stealthily, stealthily,
<i>Shinobi shinobi ni</i>	The leaves of reeds begin to rustle,
<i>Koe tatete</i>	While my gossamer robe
<i>Madaki tsuyukeki</i>	And the fragile cicada's wing
<i>Semi no hagoromo.</i>	Already are damp with dew.

Though it is still summer, the season is growing late, and the melancholy autumn can already be sensed in the wind in the reeds and the heavier fall of dew.

Semi no hageromo (robe like the cicada's wing) in line 5 means both the wing itself and a cool, unlined summer robe. The dew is a metaphor for tears in both Teika's poem and in the *honka*, a love poem from the *Utsusemi* chapter (Ch. 3) of *The Tale of Genji* (*Kokka taikan, Monogatari: 785*),

<i>Utsusemi no</i>	The dew that settles
<i>Ha ni oku tsuyu no</i>	Upon the fragile cicada's wing
<i>Kogakurete</i>	Is hidden among the trees,
<i>Shinobi shinobi ni</i>	While stealthily, stealthily, the damp
<i>Nururu sode kana.</i>	Permeates this gossamer sleeve.

— 34 —

Yaya mon

<i>Natsu ka aki ka</i>	Summer still, or autumn?
<i>Toedo shiratama</i>	I ask but cannot discover,
<i>Iwane yori</i>	It will not tell:
<i>Hanarete otsuru</i>	The cool mountain waterfall
<i>Takigawa no mizu.</i>	Casting showers of pearls across the rocks.

The theme is the coolness of a waterfall in the heat of late summer—so cool that the speaker pretends confusion about whether autumn has already come.

An allusive variation on a poem by Minamoto no Tōru¹⁶⁸ in the *Kokinshū*, XVII: 873, 'The morning after the Gosechi Festival, on finding a jewel that had fallen from a hair ornament belonging to one of the dancers, and inquiring whose it was.'

<i>Nushi ya tare</i>	Whose jewel is this?
<i>Toedo shiratama</i>	I ask but cannot discover,
<i>Iwanaku ni</i>	No one will tell:
<i>Saraba nabete ya</i>	Must I, then, fall in love
<i>Aware to omowan.</i>	With each and every one of you?

Borrowing the word play from the older poem, Teika has two pivot words: *shiratama* in line 2, meaning both ‘white jewels’ or ‘pearls’, and ‘cannot learn’; and *iwane* in line 3, meaning both ‘rocks’ and ‘will not tell’.

In his poetic treatise, *Mumyōshō*, Teika’s contemporary Kamo no Chōmei cites this poem as a model of how to borrow striking language from older poetry. (Cf. *Mumyōshō* in *NKBT*, 65, p. 92.)

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Ji

<i>Ima wa tote</i>	In the dawning sky,
<i>Ariake no kage no</i>	The moon’s pale rays filter through
<i>Maki no to ni</i>	With a farewell sadness,
<i>Sasuga ni oshiki</i>	Bringing summer’s final day
<i>Minazuki no sora.</i>	To the black pines at my door.

Though not so poignant as the end of autumn or spring, the departure of summer is also occasion for regret.

Sasuga in line 4 contains a pivot on *sasu* (filter through), whereas *sasuga* itself means something like ‘after all’, ‘as might be expected’. *Oshiki* plays on *oshi* (push open), which associates with *to* (door) in line 3, and also means ‘sad’, ‘regrettable’. *Minazuki* in line 5 means literally the ‘sixth moon’, but by implication the last day of the month and the season. Besides meaning ‘black pines at my door’, the phrase *maki no to* in line 3 may indicate a rough-hewn door of black pine, or even the entrance to a grove of the trees. In any event, the image suggests an isolated spot in the mountains, where the speaker’s only visitors are the seasons and the moon.

Autumn: Twenty Poems

— 36 —

Ji

<i>Kyō koso wa</i>	On this very day
<i>Aki wa Hatsuse no</i>	Autumn comes in upon the gale
<i>Yamaoroshi yo</i>	From the mountains of Hatsuse—
<i>Suzushiku hibiku</i>	How cool the resonance it brings
<i>Kane no oto kana.</i>	To the sound of the temple bell!

An allusive variation on a famous love poem by Minamoto no Toshiyori (or Shunrai),¹⁶⁹ *Senzaishū*,¹⁷⁰ XII: 707,

<i>Ukarikeru</i>	Her cold disfavor
<i>Hito o Hatsuse no</i>	Blows like the gale that rages down
<i>Yamaoroshi yo</i>	From the mountains of Hatsuse,
<i>Hageshikare to wa</i>	Although my prayer at that sacred shrine
<i>Inoranu mono o.</i>	Was not that her cruelty be increased!

Hatsuse in line 2 of Teika's poem pivots *hatsu-* (beginning, first) and the name of a mountain in Yamato province. The place was noted for the popular Hase Temple, dedicated to Kannon. Teika has altered the original poem (a favorite of his), making a seasonal composition from one on love, and treating the emotional coldness of Shunrai's lady as a metaphor for the new coolness of the air on the first day of autumn. Such treatment of the *honka* is more in keeping with Teika's mature prescriptive ideals for *honkadori* set forth in his treatises *Maigetsushō* and *Kindai shūka*, completed some years after this poem was written.

¹⁶⁹ 源俊頼, 1055–1129.

¹⁷⁰ 千載集, the seventh imperial anthol-

ogy, compiled by Shunzei between 1183 and 1187 or 1188.

<i>Shiratsuyu ni</i>	Autumn has come:
<i>Sode mo kusaba mo</i>	For like the plants and grass, my sleeves
<i>Shiorettsutsu</i>	Are bathed with white dew
<i>Tsukikage narazu</i>	Even before the season's sadness
<i>Aki wa kinikeri.</i>	Is reflected in the radiance of the moon.

In this season of melancholy, the dew on the speaker's sleeves is mingled with tears. Later in the season, the dew/tears will reflect the moonlight, which by convention is treated as 'visiting' a person and 'lodging' in the glistening wetness of his sleeves. But at this early stage, the moon is dark, and it is only the dew and tears which tell the speaker of autumn's arrival. The sadness and tears are an instinctive response to autumn, but colored, perhaps, by the recollection of unhappy love.

<i>Aki to ieba</i>	Because of autumn,
<i>Yūbe no keshiki</i>	Already the look of evening
<i>Hikikaete</i>	Is drawn to change,
<i>Mada yumihari no</i>	While the moon, still slender as a bow,
<i>Tsuki zo sabishiki.</i>	Begins to cast a loneliness.

The poem's theme is the traditional one that nature changes as soon as the first day of autumn arrives according to the 'official' Court calendar.

Hikikaete in line 3 means both 'change' and 'draw', 'pull', thus associating with *yumihari* (far-bent bow) in line 4. *Tsuki* (moon) in line 5 also associates with *yumihari* because of its homophone meaning 'zelkova tree' (a kind of birch), a wood from which bows were often made.

The sequence progresses from no moon in No. 37 to the new moon here.

<i>Ikukaeri</i>	Although the sound
<i>Narete mo kanashi</i>	Has grown familiar with the years,
<i>Ogiwara ya</i>	The sadness is ever there
<i>Sue kosu kaze no</i>	In the wind sighing at autumn dusk
<i>Aki no yūgure.</i>	Across a field of tasseled reeds.

The speaker dwells in the country, isolated from the capital. The sound of the wind in the reeds ironically suggests the rustling garments of a human arrival, but it is only the autumn and the wind that come in 'visit'.

Probably an allusive variation upon a poetic exchange in Book 3 of the romance *Sagoromo monogatari* (*Kokka taikan, Monogatari*: 1642, 1645; *NKBT*, 79, pp. 270–72):

<i>Orekaeri</i>	Prostrate with yearning,
<i>Okifushiwaburu</i>	Never rising nor lying down in peace—
<i>Shitaogi no</i>	Oh, but one word of pity
<i>Sue kosu kaze o</i>	For me, who like a field of tasseled reeds
<i>Hito no toe kashi.</i>	Am bent beneath the cruel wind!

(From the man)

<i>Mi ni shimite</i>	The depths of my being
<i>Aki wa shiriniki</i>	Have already felt the chill of autumn
<i>Ogiwara ya</i>	And the death of love,
<i>Sue kosu kaze no</i>	Even without your cold wind's moaning
<i>Oto naranedomo.</i>	Across a field of tasseled reeds.

(The lady's reply)

The situation of the two *honka* carries over to Teika's poem, suggesting love as the reason for his speaker's sadness and also conveying a sense of the grievous passage of time.

<i>Mono omowaba</i>	On such a night,
<i>Ika ni seyo tote</i>	Already too much for one in grief,
<i>Aki no yo ni</i>	Can the autumn wind
<i>Kakaru kaze shimo</i>	Think to cause still greater anguish
<i>Fukihajimeken.</i>	That it so cruelly begins to blow?

An allusive variation upon an anonymous love poem in the *Kokinshū*, XIV: 725,

<i>Omou yori</i>	Beyond this passion
<i>Ika ni seyo to ka</i>	What more would you ask of me,
<i>Akikaze ni</i>	That like tasseled reeds
<i>Nabiku asaji no</i>	Bending beneath the autumn wind,
<i>Iro koto ni naru.</i>	Your love begins to fade away?

Convention, the position in the sequence, and the *honka* suggest implications of situation and setting for Teika's poem. Thus, the speaker, like that of No. 39, dwells alone in a remote place, and is probably, as in the foundation poem, a lover left desolate by the beloved's betrayal or death. For such a person, the melancholy autumn wind seems deliberately to bring more suffering than can be borne.

<i>Karagoromo</i>	Thatched with cuttings,
<i>Kariio no toko no</i>	The rude hut lies amid the dew—
<i>Tsuyu samumi</i>	A bed so cold,
<i>Hagi no nishiki o</i>	That like a Chinese robe, it wears
<i>Kasanete zo kiru.</i>	A double brocade of <i>hagi</i> flowers.

Teika's first three lines seem to echo an old poem in the *Gosenshū* (VI: 302) attributed to Emperor Tenji (or Tenchi):¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ 天智天皇, 626-71.

Aki no ta no With its thatch in ruin,
Kariio no io no The roof of the watch hut in the fields
Toma o arami Admits the autumn,
Waga koromode wa And it is this that day by day
Tsuyu ni nuretsutsu. Brings yet more dew to wet my sleeves.

In Teika's composition, however, the rude hut in a pastoral setting is made elegant by the typical 'Fujiwara style' conception of brocade for the purple *hagi* flowers.

Karagoromo (Chinese robe) in line 1 associates with *kiru* (wear) in line 5, and *kariio* (rude shelter) in line 2 also associates with *kiru* in its second sense of 'cut' (grass for thatch).

— 42 —

Yaya mon

Akihagi no On autumn fields
Chiriyuku ono no Where the *hagi* drops its flowers,
Asatsuyu wa The morning dew
Koboruru sode mo Spills upon the traveler's sleeves,
Iro zo utsurou. Dyeing them also to an altered shade.

The dew suggests tears of loneliness, and the reddish-purple color of the *hagi* blossoms raises the conventional image of 'tears of blood' shed in extreme sorrow or misery. *Utsurou* in line 5 means both 'fade' and 'dye' as well as 'change' and 'fall' (of flowers). Thus, the effect of the dew on the blossoms is to fade them, but ironically the 'dew' on the traveler's sleeves dyes them a deeper color.

The poem perhaps echoes a less heavy-hearted verse in the *Kokinshū*, IV: 224, whose speaker is determined to enjoy one last look at the *hagi* before its blossoms are gone:

Hagi ga hana Across autumn fields
Chiruran ono no Where the *hagi* drops its flowers,
Tsuyujimo ni I will make my way,
Nurete o yukan Braving the wetness of dew or frost
Sayo wa fuku tomo. And though the night grow late.

<i>Aki no no ni</i>	Across autumn fields,
<i>Namida wa mienu</i>	No tears reveal the path it takes,
<i>Shika no ne wa</i>	So let the stag
<i>Wakuru ogaya no</i>	Borrow instead the dew upon the grasses
<i>Tsuyu o karanan.</i>	To accompany its plaintive cry.

Making its way across dew-drenched fields, the stag calls plaintively for its mate. And along the path it brushes against the tall grasses, spilling drops of dew as if they were its own tears.

The conception brings to mind an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū*, III: 149,

<i>Koe wa shite</i>	I hear your cry,
<i>Namida wa mienu</i>	But cannot see the tears you shed,
<i>Hototogisu</i>	O wood thrush—
<i>Waga koromode no</i>	Borrow, then, this sleeve of mine,
<i>Hizu o karanan.</i>	Already wet with weeping at your song.

<i>Omou hito</i>	I ask no news
<i>Sonata no kaze ni</i>	Of the wind that blows from the place
<i>Towanedomo</i>	Where my beloved dwells—
<i>Mazu sode nururu</i>	Even so, my sleeve is wet with yearning
<i>Hatsukari no koe.</i>	At the cry of the first wild geese.

The 'first wild geese' (*hatsukari*) flew south from the Siberian regions to spend the autumn and winter months in Japan. As shown, for example, by such poems as *Kokinshū*, IV: 207, poetic convention (derived from China) held that wild geese carried letters and messages from distant loved ones. It was also conventional to ask the wind to carry messages. In Teika's poem, the speaker forbears to ask the wind for a message, knowing it to be useless; but hearing the cries of the first geese, he cannot but hope they may bring some news.

<i>Yūbe yori</i>	Although forewarned,
<i>Aki to wa kanete</i>	When I first gazed upon the sky
<i>Nagamuredo</i>	At this day's dusk,
<i>Tsuki ni odoroku</i>	I was startled by the altered color
<i>Sora no iro kana.</i>	Wrought by autumn in the moon.

As soon as autumn officially arrived, a sudden change was supposed to show in nature, especially in the most autumnal of sights, the moon. With a poetic idea, and to some degree even specific diction similar to the following famous poem by Narihira (*Kokinshū*, XVI: 861), Teika may also suggest surprise in a more general sense at the inexorable passage of time:

<i>Tsui ni yuku</i>	Though I had heard
<i>Michi to wa kanete</i>	About the road that all must travel
<i>Kikishikado</i>	At the inevitable end,
<i>Kinō kyō to wa</i>	I never thought my time would come
<i>Omowazarishi o.</i>	So soon as today or tomorrow.

<i>Aki o hete</i>	Through many autumns
<i>Kumoru namida no</i>	Increasing tears so cloud my gaze
<i>Masukagami</i>	That I can scarce believe
<i>Kiyoki tsukuyo mo</i>	The moon still casts its radiance
<i>Utagawaretsutsu.</i>	Like my polished mirror upon the night.

Gazing into her mirror, the speaker sees her own and the moon's reflection but dimly through her tears—though clearly enough to perceive the ravages of time and of love's anguish. Her bitter experience of betrayal has even brought doubts of the very moon's fidelity.

Masukagami (polished mirror) in line 3 is a pillow word for *kiyoki* (pure) in line 4, while *masu-* means 'increase' (of tears). *Kumoru* (cloud) in line 2 is an associated word with both *masukagami* and *tsukuyo* (moonlit night) in line 4.

<i>Omou koto</i>	Even my pillow
<i>Makura mo shiraji</i>	Shall not know my troubled heart
<i>Aki no yo no</i>	On this autumn night
<i>Chiji ni kudakuru</i>	Broken into a thousand fragments
<i>Tsuki no sakari wa.</i>	By the full splendor of the moon.

Forgoing sleep on this autumn night, the speaker will sit up until dawn gazing at the moon.

The poem suggests love, and seems to evoke two older poems in the *Kokinshū*—a famous one on autumn by Ōe no Chisato (IV: 193), and a love poem by Lady Ise¹⁷² (XIII: 676),

<i>Tsuki mireba</i>	A thousand things
<i>Chiji ni mono koso</i>	Overcome me with their sadness
<i>Kanashikere</i>	As I gaze upon the moon,
<i>Waga mi hitotsu no</i>	Although autumn surely was not meant
<i>Aki ni wa aranedo.</i>	To be felt by my one self alone.

(Chisato)

<i>Shiru to ieba</i>	Lest it find out my love
<i>Makura dani sede</i>	I even thrust aside my pillow
<i>Neshi mono o</i>	When I lay down to sleep—
<i>Chiri naranu na no</i>	Why, then, has this false name of scandal
<i>Sora ni tatsuran.</i>	Started up like dust into the sky?

(Ise)

<i>Moyōsu mo</i>	Why blame the moon?
<i>Nagusamu mo tada</i>	For whether gazing on its beauty
<i>Kokoro kara</i>	Summons tears,
<i>Nagamuru tsuki o</i>	Or whether it brings consolation,
<i>Nado kakotsuran.</i>	Depends upon the heart alone.

The theme is the Buddhist one that all beauty (or joy, or sadness) is in the eye of the beholder. The verse marks a kind of pause for generalized comment in this series of autumn poems of sadness and poignant recollection.

¹⁷² 伊勢, fl. ca. 900.

Sabishisa mo For loneliness, too,
Aki ni wa shikaji No time can match the autumn:
Nagekitsutsu Until the dawn,
Nerarenu tsuki ni Sorrowing in the sleepless moonlight
Akasu samushiro. Upon a desolate mat of straw.

The inclusive 'too' (*mo*) in line 1 implies a comparison of autumn's loneliness with its other characteristics, especially its beauty. The 'mat of straw' in the last line should be understood as a pastoral metaphor for the speaker's bed. It may evoke, indeed, together with the moonlight and other details of the composition, the famous anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū*, XIV: 689,

Samushiro ni On her mat of straw
Koromo katashiki Does my Lady of the Bridge of Uji
Koyoi mo ya Once again tonight
Ware o matsuran Spread out her half-folded garment
Uji no hashihime. And await my coming to her side?

The love element of the older poem would provide a more specific reason for the sorrow of Teika's speaker, who might be imagined as a woman waiting in vain for her lover and gazing at the moon as she lies awake until dawn.

Aki no yo no Through an autumn night,
Ama no to wataru The moon courses over the vault of Heaven,
Tsukikage ni While in its radiance,
Okisou shimo no Frost settles layer upon layer
Akegata no sora. As daybreak shows against the sky.

The poem's second and third lines evoke an anonymous love poem in the *Kokinshū*, XIII: 648,

<i>Sayo fukete</i>	Deep in the night,
<i>Ama no to wataru</i>	The moon coursed over the vault of Heaven,
<i>Tsukikage ni</i>	While in its radiance,
<i>Akazu mo kimi o</i>	Our moment of love sped by too quickly,
<i>Aimitsuru kana.</i>	Leaving desire unsatisfied.

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Yaya ji

<i>Somehatsuru</i>	At first impatient
<i>Shigure o ima wa</i>	For the rain to finish its coloring
<i>Matsumushi no</i>	Of autumnal fields,
<i>Naku naku oshimu</i>	Now the pine crickets call back the past,
<i>Nobe no iroiro.</i>	Bewailing their fate and the season's end.

The drizzle of late autumn and early winter conventionally dyed the leaves to their brilliant colors. At first the pine crickets could hardly wait for the fields to be at the height of beauty, but now, conscious of their impending death—and that of the beauty around them—the insects cry for a stop to time.

— 52 —

Yaya mon

<i>Shirotae no</i>	Has the clear echo
<i>Koromo shideutsu</i>	Of the fullers' mallets pounding clothes
<i>Hibiki yori</i>	Of pure white linen
<i>Okimayou shimo no</i>	Become embedded in the color
<i>Iro ni izuran.</i>	Of the frost that settles everywhere?

The sound of fullers' mallets on an autumn night was sad and lonely, and the frost was a symbol of pure cold beauty. These elements are harmonized by the synesthesia of sound and color.

<i>Omoiaezu</i>	O first frost,
<i>Aki na isogi so</i>	Settling upon upland rice fields
<i>Saoshika no</i>	Where the stag calls its mate,
<i>Tsumadou yama no</i>	Do not so hasten autumn's end
<i>Ota no hatsushimo.</i>	That it comes upon us unawares.

An allusive variation upon an anonymous poem from the 'Hitomaro Collection' in the *Man'yōshū*, X: 2220 (attributed to Hitomaro himself in *Shinkokinshū*, V: 459, where the second line reads *tsumadou* as in Teika's fourth):

<i>Saoshika no</i>	Though soon the frost
<i>Tsuma yobu yama no</i>	May fall upon the early ripened grain,
<i>Okabe naru</i>	I shall not reap
<i>Wasada wa karaji</i>	Along those hillslopes where the stag
<i>Shimo wa furu to mo.</i>	Calls out so movingly for its mate.

The stag and the first frost echo key images found earlier in the progression of autumn poems (Nos. 43 and 50, above).

<i>Aki kurete</i>	The end of autumn,
<i>Waga mi shigure to</i>	And with the rain my body falls to age,
<i>Furusato no</i>	While at my native home,
<i>Niwa wa momiji no</i>	Not even a casual visitor's tracks
<i>Ato dani mo nashi.</i>	In the garden stripped of colored leaves.

Furu- of *furusato* (native home, old village) in line 3 pivots 'fall' of rain and 'grow old'. *Ato* (tracks, remains) in line 5 refers both to the leaves and to the footprints of a visitor.

Teika alludes to a love poem by Ono no Komachi¹⁷³ in the *Kokinshū*, XV: 782, thus suggesting a particular cause for his speaker's grief.

¹⁷³ 小野小町, fl. ca. 850.

<i>Ima wa tote</i>	So now farewell—
<i>Waga mi shigure ni</i>	For with the autumn rain my body
<i>Furinureba</i>	Has fallen to age,
<i>Koto no ha sae ni</i>	And of those leaves of words you scattered
<i>Utsuroinikeri.</i>	Even the color has faded away.

With the first line *Aki hatete* instead of *Ima wa tote*, the *honka* is also found among some anonymous winter poems in the *Gosenshū* (VIII: 450). It may well have been the latter version that Teika had in mind.

— 55 —

Yaya ji

<i>Asu yori wa</i>	By another day,
<i>Aki mo arashi no</i>	Autumn will flee before the blustering
<i>Otowayama</i>	gale
<i>Katami to nashi ni</i>	Upon Mount Otowa,
<i>Chiru ko no ha kana.</i>	Where, though no keepsake for such a
	loss,
	The crimson leaves flutter to the ground.

By falling to the earth within reach, the last colored leaves high up in the trees might seem to offer themselves as a keepsake for the loss of autumn's beauty.

Arashi in line 2 pivots 'gale' and *araji*, 'will be no more', 'will flee' (both *arashi* and *araji* being written the same in the old syllabic script). *Oto-* is part of the place name in line 3 and also means 'sound' (conveyed in the translation by 'blustering').

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Ji

<i>Tamuke shite</i>	It is no use
<i>Kai koso nakere</i>	To make an offering at the shrine
<i>Kaminazuki</i>	In this godless month,
<i>Momiji wa nusa to</i>	Although the multicolored leaves
<i>Chirimagaedomo.</i>	Flutter like prayer strips in their fall.

The 'godless month' (*kaminazuki*)¹⁷⁴ was the tenth month of the lunar calendar—the first of the three winter months—when the Shinto gods were believed to absent themselves from local shrines and assemble in conclave at the great shrine of Izumo. Shinto prayer strips (*nusa*) were sometimes made of cloth or paper dyed in five colors—hence the fancied resemblance to autumn leaves.

An allusive variation on a poem by Sugawara no Michizane, *Kokinshū*, IX: 420, 'Composed at the hill of offering when Ex-Emperor Suzaku went to Nara.'

<i>Kono tabi wa</i>	So great my haste,
<i>Nusa mo toriaezu</i>	I brought no prayer strips on the journey
<i>Tamukeyama</i>	For the hill of offering,
<i>Momiji no nishiki</i>	But may the god accept with favor
<i>Kami no manimani.</i>	This brocade of multicolored leaves.

The 'hill of offering' in Michizane's poem is said to be no particular place, but rather a hillside shrine to the god of the road commonly placed on the border between provinces.

Teika's poem may also allude to the following one by Prince Kanemi,¹⁷⁵ *Kokinshū*, V: 298,

174 神無月

175 兼覽王, d. 932.

<i>Tatsutahime</i>	The goddess of Tatsuta
<i>Tamukuru kami no</i>	Makes offerings to the roadside deities
<i>Areba koso</i>	Along her path:
<i>Aki no ko no ha no</i>	That is why these bright autumn leaves
<i>Nusa to chirurame.</i>	Scatter like prayer strips to the ground!

— 57 —

Yaya ji

<i>Yamameguri</i>	The winter drizzle
<i>Nao shiguru nari</i>	Still swirls about the mountains
<i>Aki ni dani</i>	Among the black pines,
<i>Arasoikaneshi</i>	Whose stubborn underleaves could not
<i>Maki no shitaba o.</i>	withstand
	Even autumn's altered hue.

An allusive variation upon a poem in the *Man'yōshū*, X: 2196,

<i>Shigure no ame</i>	Because the drizzle
<i>Ma naku shi fureba</i>	Falls and falls unceasingly,
<i>Maki no ha mo</i>	Even the stubborn needles
<i>Arasoikanete</i>	Of the black pines have lost the struggle
<i>Irozukinikeri.</i>	And taken on an altered hue.

Like the *honka*, Teika's poem is based on the conventional conceit of the drizzle dyeing the leaves in autumn—except, supposedly, for the evergreens, which were expected to remain steadfastly unchanged through all seasons (see poem No. 12). But already in autumn, and even more now in winter, the needles of the black pines have been changed by the relentless drizzle.

— 58 —

Yaya ji

<i>Uragreshi</i>	The lower leaves of reeds,
<i>Asaji wa kuchinu</i>	Already drooping with the cold,
<i>Hitotose no</i>	Wither in the frost
<i>Sueha no shimo no</i>	That clings to them night after night
<i>Fuyu no yonayona.</i>	In the final season of the year.

Sueha in line 4 means both 'final season' or 'end' and 'lower leaves'.

<i>Fuyu wa mada</i>	Still early winter,
<i>Asaha no nora ni</i>	And yet the fields of Asaha
<i>Oku shimo no</i>	Are blanketed with frost
<i>Yuki yori fukaki</i>	Thicker than a fall of snow
<i>Shinonome no michi.</i>	Upon the road at daybreak.

The 'road at daybreak' (*shinonome no michi*) suggests that the speaker is either a lonely traveler setting forth on his day's journey or a lover on his way home after a secret tryst.

Asaha in line 2 pivots the proper noun (a place in either Ōmi or Musashi province) and *asa-*, 'thin', and also 'morning' (thus associating with *shinonome*, 'daybreak', in line 5).

<i>Yoshi saraba</i>	Well, if it must be,
<i>Yomo no kogarashi</i>	Then let the four winds sweep aside
<i>Fukiharae</i>	Every last bright leaf,
<i>Hito wa kumoranu</i>	That men at least may have the solace
<i>Tsuki o dani min.</i>	Of gazing upon the unobstructed moon.

Since the storms will in any event cruelly tear away the last beauty of the colored foliage, let them do a clean job of it and afford a view of the moon unimpeded by the leaves.

Teika may have had in mind the following poem attributed to the unhappy Second Princess in Book 2 of *Sagoromo monogatari* (*Kokka taikan, Monogatari*: 1604; *NKBT*, 79, p. 154):

<i>Fukiharō</i>	O you four winds,
<i>Yomo no kogarashi</i>	Scouring the heavens and sweeping aside
<i>Kokoro araba</i>	Every last bright leaf,
<i>Ukina o kakusu</i>	Have pity! Let one patch of cloud
<i>Kumo mo arase yo.</i>	Remain to hide my ruined name.

<i>Otozureshi</i>	The scarlet leaves
<i>Masaki no kazura</i>	I admired upon the creeping vines
<i>Chirihatete</i>	All are scattered—
<i>Toyama mo ima wa</i>	Now even in the foothills
<i>Arare o zo kiku.</i>	Can be heard the rattle of hail.

An allusive variation upon a famous old anonymous poem, *Kokinshū*, XX: 1077,

<i>Miyama ni wa</i>	Within the mountains
<i>Arare fururashi</i>	The hail is doubtless falling now,
<i>Toyama naru</i>	For in the foothills
<i>Masaki no kazura</i>	The creeping vines are tinged
<i>Irozukinikeri.</i>	With their scarlet autumn hue.

<i>Yamagatsu no</i>	The smoke of brushwood
<i>Asake no koya ni</i>	From the charcoal burner's hut at dawn
<i>Taku shiba no</i>	Lasts but a little while:
<i>Shibashi to mireba</i>	Such is the winter sky that darkens
<i>Kururu sora kana.</i>	Toward early twilight before my gaze.

The poem is included in the fourteenth imperial anthology, *Gyokuyōshū*,¹⁷⁶ VI: 909, with the headnote, 'When he presented a sequence of one hundred poems to Ex-Emperor Go-Toba in the second year of Shōji.'

The theme is the shortness of a winter day, which seems no sooner to have dawned than it begins to grow dark again.

The first three lines are a preface for *shibashi* (little while) in line 4, with the juncture a play on the sound identity with *shiba* (brushwood) in line 3.

Possibly an allusive variation on a poem in the Suma chapter (Ch. 12) of *The Tale of Genji* (*Kokka taikan, Monogatari*: 968),

¹⁷⁶ 玉葉集, ca. 1314.

<i>Yamagatsu no</i>	Time and again,
<i>Iori ni takeru</i>	Rising from my charcoal burner's hut,
<i>Shibashiba mo</i>	The smoke of brushwood—
<i>Koto toikonan</i>	Thus often let a message come
<i>Kouru satobito.</i>	From the home where my beloved dwells.

— 63 —

Yaya ji

<i>Fuyu no yo no</i>	In the winter night,
<i>Musubanu yume ni</i>	I lie suffering within a dream
<i>Fushiwabite</i>	That will not take shape,
<i>Wataru ogawa wa</i>	While athwart my anguished path to her
<i>Kōri inikeri.</i>	The stream lies frozen in the grip of ice.

Musubanu (will not take shape) in line 2 is an associated word with *kōri* (ice) in line 5. *Wataru ogawa* in line 4 may mean both a stream that the speaker crosses in his dream and the stream of his tears.

The essential coldness of a winter night is symbolized by the uneasy sleep and painful separation of lovers. The combination of elements suggests an older poem by Tsurayuki which also conveys love's anguish and the bleakness of winter (*Shūishū*, IV: 224):

<i>Omoikane</i>	As pressed by love
<i>Imogari yukeba</i>	I go to seek her in my yearning,
<i>Fuyu no yo no</i>	The wind blows cold
<i>Kawakaze samumi</i>	Through the winter darkness from the river,
<i>Chidori naku nari.</i>	Where on the banks the plovers cry.

Teika, however, creates a paradox. Why, his speaker asks, does his dream of love refuse to take form, whereas the stream he envisions, as well as his real tears, have frozen?

<i>Niwa no matsu</i>	A bitter gale
<i>Harō arashi ni</i>	Sweeps across the garden's pines,
<i>Oku shimo o</i>	Coating with frost
<i>Uwage ni waburu</i>	The feathers of the waterfowl
<i>Oshi no hitorine.</i>	Alone in fitful sleep upon the pond.

Symbols of conjugal fidelity, *oshi* (here translated, 'waterfowl'; actually, mandarin ducks) were treated as always in pairs, inseparable, sleeping wing to wing. The lone bird of the poem is therefore doubly wretched without its mate.

Possibly an allusive variation on an anonymous poem, *Shūishū*, IV: 228,

<i>Yo o samumi</i>	The cold is bitter—
<i>Nezamete kikeba</i>	Awaking in the night, I hear
<i>Oshi zo naku</i>	Cries of waterfowl:
<i>Harai mo aezu</i>	Are they unable to shake off the frost
<i>Shimo ya okuran.</i>	That has settled thickly on their wings?

Teika also seems to echo a poem in *Sarashina nikki*,¹⁷⁷ a classic Heian diary and travel account, of which the principal extant manuscript is a copy made by his hand (*Kokka taikan*, *Nikki sōshi*: 629; *NKBT*, 20, p. 516):

<i>Waga goto zo</i>	Like me, the waterfowl
<i>Mizu no ukine ni</i>	Spends its night in wretchedness:
<i>Akashitsutsu</i>	Floating on the pond,
<i>Uwage no shimo o</i>	Shivering in fitful sleep
<i>Haraiwabu naru.</i>	As it shakes the hoarfrost from its wings.

<i>Tare o mata</i>	The wind blows on
<i>Yobukaki kaze ni</i>	Across Matsushima's isle of Ojima
<i>Matsushima ya</i>	Deep in the night—
<i>Ojima no chidori</i>	For whom do the plovers vainly wait again
<i>Koe uramuran.</i>	That they call out reproachfully?

¹⁷⁷ 更級日記, by Sugawara no Takasue's Daughter 菅原孝標女, 1008–after 1059. Translation by Ivan Morris entitled, *As I Crossed a Bridge of Dreams* (Dial Press, New York, 1971).

The cries of the plovers, blown toward the speaker on shore by the midnight wind, sound like the complaining accents of a person kept waiting time after time by a faithless lover.

The many tiny pine-clad islands of Matsushima in northeastern Honshu were one of Japan's vaunted scenic wonders. The name pivots *matsu*, 'wait', while *yobukaki* in line 2 pivots 'deep in the night' and *yobu*, 'call'.

— 66 —

Mon

Nagameyaru
Koromode samuku
Furu yuki ni
Yūyami shiranu
Yama no ha no tsuki.

As I gaze afar,
The sleeve of my robe grows cold—
In the falling snow,
The mountains know no evening
darkness,
For the moon already glimmers at
their edge.

The poem is included in the twelfth imperial anthology, *Shokushūishū*,¹⁷⁸ VI: 461.

Reflected in the snow, the unrisen moon lights up the scene.

An allusive variation upon an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū*, VI: 317,

Yū sareba
Koromode samushi
Miyoshino no
Yoshino no yama ni
Miyuki fururashi.

As evening falls,
The sleeve of my robe grows cold—
In the mountain depths
Of Yoshino, beauteous Yoshino,
Snow must already lie in drifts.

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Mon

Koma tomete
Sode uchiharō
Kage mo nashi
Sano no watari no
Yuki no yūgure.

There is no shelter
Where I can rest my weary horse
And brush my laden sleeves:
The Sano ford and its adjoining fields
Spread over with twilight in the snow.

¹⁷⁸ 続拾遺集, ca. 1278.

One of Teika's finest, the poem is a masterpiece of his evocative skill, and is one of the three from this sequence chosen for the *Shinkokinshū* (VI: 671). It is an allusive variation on an old poem by Naga no Okimaro¹⁷⁹ —*Man'yōshū*, III: 265,

<i>Kurushiku mo</i>	What misery,
<i>Furikuru ame ka</i>	This rain that comes pouring down
<i>Miwagasaki</i>	At Miwagasaki
<i>Sano no watari ni</i>	By the Sano ford and its adjoining fields,
<i>Ie mo aranaku ni.</i>	With not a single house in sight!

The beauty with which Teika invests his moment of winter twilight transcends the misery and discomfort of his traveler and that of the speaker of the older poem (see also JCP, pp. 467–68). The composition has been traditionally regarded as a model of the technique of allusive variation.

— 68 —

Mon

<i>Shirotae ni</i>	Upon the peak,
<i>Tanabiku kumo o</i>	The wind blows through the pines,
<i>Fukimazete</i>	Whirling the snow
<i>Yuki ni amagiru</i>	Into one color with the clouds
<i>Mine no matsukaze.</i>	That trail away in beauteous white.

Shirotae ni (lit., 'like white linen') in line 1 is an old pillow word suggesting whiteness and purity, here used with *kumo* (clouds). See poem No. 52, above, where the expression is used in its root meaning.

— 69 —

Yaya mon

<i>Niwa no omo ni</i>	Covering the ground,
<i>Kiezu wa aranedo</i>	Though it will not remain unmelted,
<i>Hana to miru</i>	The snow will be for me
<i>Yuki wa haru made</i>	As blossoms fallen in my garden—
<i>Tsugite furanan.</i>	May it keep falling till the spring!

¹⁷⁹ 長奥麿, fl. ca. 702.

The poem seems to recall some famous lines by Narihira (*Kokinshū*, I: 63; *Ise monogatari*, episode 17):

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

Teika may also have had in mind the following poem by Kiyohara no Motosuke,¹⁸⁰ *Goshūishū*, VI: 415, 'Composed for a folding screen . . . showing a fall of snow in the twelfth month':

<i>Waga yado ni</i>	Seeing this fall of snow
<i>Furishiku yuki o</i>	That covers the garden by my house
<i>Haru ni mada</i>	At winter's end,
<i>Toshi koenu ma no</i>	I shall think it cherry petals
<i>Hana to koso mire.</i>	Scattered before the year has crossed to spring.

— 70 —

Ji

<i>Ikukaeri</i>	How many times
<i>Haru oba yoso ni</i>	Have I looked forward to the spring
<i>Mukaetsutsu</i>	As one cut off from hope,
<i>Okuru toshi nomi</i>	While the increase only of weary years
<i>Mi ni tsumoruran.</i>	Adds to the burden of my life?

This final winter poem is in the mode of *jukkai*, 'personal grievance'. It should be viewed as a direct appeal to the Ex-Emperor by Teika *in propria persona*.

¹⁸⁰ 清原元輔, 908-90.

Love: Ten Poems

— 71 —

Ji

<i>Hisakata no</i>	How many ages
<i>Ama teru kami no</i>	Must these nights of yearning be
<i>Yūkazura</i>	prolonged?—
<i>Kakete ikuyo o</i>	As long as the tendrils
<i>Koiwataruran.</i>	Of vine garlands worn before the gods
	Who shed their light from the distant sky?

This composition was selected for the tenth imperial anthology, *Shokugosenshū*,¹⁸¹ XII: 768, with the headnote, ‘When he submitted a hundred-poem sequence in the Shōji era.’

The love affair is at the first stage, when the lover complains to the lady of her indifference.

The first three lines are a preface for the last two, with the juncture at *kakete*, ‘prolong’ and ‘wear’. *Hisakata no* (distant) in line 1 is a pillow word used with celestial phenomena (sky, heavens, clouds, etc.). *Yūkazura*: according to one interpretation, artificial vine tendrils decorating the head-dresses of Shinto celebrants; according to another, cotton wigs worn by the priests. In either case, the expression was a pillow word for *nagashi* (long) and other words suggesting length. *Ikuyo* in line 4 pivots ‘ages’ and ‘nights’.

In the use of the preface, the poem resembles another of Teika’s composed on a visit to the great shrine of Ise some five years previously, in the second month of 1195 (*Shinkokinshū*, XIX: 1872):

<i>Chigiri arite</i>	I shall place my trust
<i>Kyō Miyagawa no</i>	Even to eternity in these spirits
<i>Yūkazura</i>	Who have granted my vow
<i>Nagaki yo made mo</i>	To see this day at the Sacred River
<i>Kakete tanoman.</i>	The vine garlands worn before the gods.

¹⁸¹ 続後撰集, completed 1251.

Matsu ga ne o As surely as the waves
Isobe no nami no Beat upon the rocky shore,
Utsutae ni Washing the roots of pines,
Arawarenubeki My secret love will be revealed
Sode no ue kana. In the tears that wash my sleeve.

Teika selected this poem for the *Shinchokusenshū*¹⁸² (XI: 677), the ninth imperial anthology, which he compiled around 1234.

The first two lines are a preface for the last three, with the juncture at *utsutae* (surely, earnestly), of which *utsu-* also means 'beat'. *Nami* (waves) in line 2 associates with *arawarenubeki* (will be revealed) in line 4, suggesting the additional meaning, 'will be washed'.

It is possible the poem may have been influenced by Lady Sagami's¹⁸³ lines in the *Goshūishū*, XIV: 777,

Ayashiku mo These bitter tears
Arawarenubeki Fill me with an agony of fear
Tamoto kana Lest love's anguish,
Shinobine ni nomi That I had thought to hold in secret,
Nurasu to omoeba. May be revealed upon my sleeve.

Aware to mo Since she will not utter
Hito wa Iwata no One word of pity for my wretchedness,
Onore nomi I of all men must borrow
Aki no momiji o The crimson leaves from Iwata's autumn
Namida ni zo karu. fields
 To take the place of tears run dry.

The spurned lover has wept so long and bitterly that first his tears have turned to blood, and now, unable to weep any more, he declares he will represent his tears by the crimson foliage of autumn. The conceit of borrowing tears from nature recalls a poem by Ariwara no Yukihiro,¹⁸⁴ *Kokinshū*, XVII: 922,

¹⁸² 新勅撰集

¹⁸³ 相模, fl. ca. 1050.

¹⁸⁴ 在原行平, 818-93; an elder half-brother of the famous Narihira.

<i>Kokichirasu</i>	I will gather up
<i>Taki no shiratama</i>	The scattered pearls of foam
<i>Hiroiokite</i>	From the waterfall,
<i>Yo no uki toki no</i>	And save them for borrowed tears
<i>Namida ni zo karu.</i>	When the world goes hard with me.

Iwata in line 2 pivots the place name (either in Yamashiro or Mino province) and *iwa*-, 'will not speak'. *Onore* in line 3 pivots the first-person pronoun and *ono*, 'fields', with the two preceding lines serving as a preface. The third line, *onore nomi* (I of all men), implies that the speaker is the most miserable of mortals.

— 74 —

Ji

<i>Shinoburu wa</i>	The struggle lost
<i>Makete ō ni mo</i>	To bear my love in secret, I have pledged
<i>Mi o kaetsu</i>	My life for but one meeting—
<i>Tsurenaki koi no</i>	It seems no lesser payment will afford
<i>Nagusame zo naki.</i>	Hope of solace to this wretched love.

An allusive variation on a poem attributed to Narihira (*Shinkokinshū*, XIII: 1151; *Ise monogatari*, episode 65):

<i>Omou ni wa</i>	Against passion's force
<i>Shinoburu koto zo</i>	The struggle to bear my love in secret
<i>Makenikeru</i>	Has lost the field,
<i>Ō ni shi kaeba</i>	But if defeat pays for but one meeting,
<i>Sa mo araba are.</i>	Then let come afterwards what may.

Teika may also have had in mind an anonymous love poem in the *Kokinshū*, XI: 503, whose first three lines are identical with Narihira's.

— 75 —

Yaya ji

<i>Wakuraba ni</i>	The temple bell,
<i>Tanomuru kure no</i>	Tolling the chance that holds my hope
<i>Iriai wa</i>	He may yet keep faith,
<i>Kawaranu kane no</i>	Sounds still more poignant loneliness
<i>Oto zo sabishiki.</i>	In its unchanged tone at dusk.

Tolling at nightfall, the vesper bell marks the time for lovers' visits. The speaker, a woman, listens, hoping that the bell will sound differently this time, thus proving a glad omen that her lover will come at last.

The focus of the love sequence shifts from the man to the woman in this poem—rather abruptly in terms of the progression, for here the lady is already complaining of the lover's derelictions, whereas the preceding poem shows him still distraught with unrequited love.

— 76 —

Yaya mon

<i>Akatsuki wa</i>	At sign of dawn,
<i>Wakaruru sode o</i>	The wind blows down from the mountain
<i>Toigao ni</i>	top,
<i>Yamashitakaze mo</i>	Freezing the dew,
<i>Tsuyu kōru nari.</i>	Seeming to seek out my sleeve
	To turn its parting tears to ice.

I assume the speaker to be the man parting from the lady at dawn. On this basis, the poem is susceptible to at least two different interpretations. On the one hand, the tears may be caused by the grief of separation after a night of love; on the other, they may be tears of frustration and resentment at the lady's cruelty—perhaps even her determination to make him spend an uncomfortable night outside on the verandah in punishment for previous derelictions, for example the one implicit in poem No. 75. In the latter case, the freezing wind and ice would be symbolic of the lady's hard-heartedness and its effect upon the man. Such ambiguities are possible even within the limits of the strict conventions both of poetic treatment and of courtly love, and in the present instance are allowable owing to the poem's place in the sequence and the nature of the materials.

— 77 —

Yaya ji

<i>Matsu hito no</i>	Waiting for him,
<i>Konu yo no kage ni</i>	I have grown to see in the moon's radiance
<i>Omonarete</i>	Another absent night,
<i>Yama no ha izuru</i>	Till now I am filled with bitterness
<i>Tsuki wa urameshi.</i>	When it begins to rise above the mountain
	rim.

A person of sensibility ought to welcome the moon for its beauty and because it lights the lover's way to his tryst. But for the unhappy lady of Teika's poem—to whom the focus has once again moved—the moon has now become identified with sorrow and disappointment.

— 78 —

Ji

<i>Uki wa uku</i>	I would love him
<i>Tsuraki wa tsurashi</i>	Without the fear of others' eyes,
<i>To bakari mo</i>	For then at least
<i>Hitome oboede</i>	My anguish would be open anguish,
<i>Hito o koiba ya.</i>	My misery, honest misery.

Not only does the lady have to deal with her unhappiness and despair, but she must keep up appearances and conceal her feelings from those about her.

The repetitions in lines 1 and 2 and again in 4 and 5 are somewhat bold and unusual, breaking conservative prohibitions against such redundancies. Though uncommon in Teika's work, similar techniques became prominent in the poetry of the more experimental and innovating of his literary heirs—the Kyōgoku-Reizei¹⁸⁵ poets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

— 79 —

Yaya mon

<i>Tare yue zo</i>	By whose fault
<i>Tsuki o aware to</i>	Do I lie alone deep into the night,
<i>Iikanete</i>	My arm for pillow,
<i>Tori no ne osoki</i>	Too wretched even to praise the moon,
<i>Sayo no tamakura.</i>	Until cockcrow finally tells of dawn?

The association returns to the moon of poem No. 77, now completing its nocturnal journey across the sky while the miserable lady broods on the cruelty of her faithless lover.

An allusive variation upon a poem by Tsurayuki, *Shūishū*, XVIII: 1195,

<i>Konu hito o</i>	Not a night goes by
<i>Shita ni machitsutsu</i>	That I fail to praise the moon,
<i>Hisakata no</i>	Serene in the distance,
<i>Tsuki o aware to</i>	While underneath I am in turmoil
<i>Iwanu yo zo naki.</i>	Waiting for him who does not come.

— 80 —

Ji

<i>Miseba ya na</i>	If I could but show you
<i>Matsu to seshi ma no</i>	The neglect to which my house has fallen
<i>Waga yado o</i>	During this fruitless waiting—
<i>Nao tsurenasa wa</i>	Though your cruelty of silence
<i>Koto towazu tomo.</i>	Sends not the least message of concern.

The lover's visits have become more and more infrequent, until now all is over, and he does not even bother to send an occasional perfunctory note of inquiry. Meanwhile, the lady, dependent upon him for more than love, sinks into poverty and despair.

An allusive variation upon a love poem by Bishop Henjō,¹⁸⁶ *Kokinshū*, XV: 770,

<i>Waga yado wa</i>	Even the pathway
<i>Michi mo naki made</i>	Has vanished beneath grass and leaves
<i>Arenikeri</i>	At my neglected house,
<i>Tsurenaki hito o</i>	Fallen to ruin with fruitless waiting
<i>Matsu to seshi ma ni.</i>	For my cruel lover to return.

¹⁸⁶ 遍照 (or 遍昭) 僧正, 816–90; also known by his lay name, Yoshimine no | Munesada 良岑宗貞.

Travel: Five Poems

— 81 —

Yaya mon

<i>Kusamakura</i>	Brushing away the dew
<i>Yūtsuyu harō</i>	That binds evening to my pillow of grass—
<i>Sasa no ha no</i>	How many nights
<i>Miyama mo soyo ni</i>	Have the bamboo leaves drooped with wet
<i>Ikuyo shiorenu.</i>	In their tangled rustling deep among these hills?

Spending the night in the open air, the traveler makes his pillow from a bundle of grass. The dew suggests tears of loneliness and suffering.

Yū in line 2 pivots ‘evening’ and ‘bind’, and *ikuyo* in line 5 means both ‘how many nights’ and ‘how many bamboo joints’.

The poem alludes to an envoy of a long poem by Hitomaro on parting from his wife, *Man’yōshū*, II: 133,

<i>Sasa no ha wa</i>	The bamboo grass
<i>Miyama mo saya ni</i>	Sighs in its tangled rustling
<i>Sayagedomo</i>	Deep within the mountains,
<i>Ware wa imo omou</i>	But my longing remains untangled
<i>Wakarekinureba.</i>	When I have left the one I love.

As this sub-sequence of five poems demonstrates, ‘travel’ in Japanese classical poetry always implies movement away from the capital, never toward it.

— 82 —

Yaya ji

<i>Nami no ue no</i>	Heading out to sea,
<i>Tsuki o miyako no</i>	The boatman sails through Akashi’s straits
<i>Tomo to shite</i>	And gazes at the moon,
<i>Akashi no seto o</i>	His only companion from the capital,
<i>Izuru funabito.</i>	Following in his wake across the waves.

It is only the moon that accompanies the lonely traveler from the capital to the sea coast, and that now follows him over the water. The poem hints that the 'boatman' may be a courtier traveling into exile.

The straits of Akashi, between the main island of Honshu and the island of Awaji, southeast of modern Osaka, open out to the Inland Sea and western Japan.

Miyako in line 2 pivots 'capital' and *mi-*, 'gazes'.

— 83 —

Yaya ji

<i>Imo to ware to</i>	Only a name—
<i>Irusa no yama wa</i>	Irusa, 'Mountain of Retiring',
<i>Na nomi shite</i>	For my love and me—
<i>Tsuki o zo shitō</i>	Now the moon is what draws my yearning
<i>Ariake no sora.</i>	As it lingers in the sky at dawn.

Mount Irusa was in the province of Tajima. *Iru-* (written in *kana* in the text) also means 'enter', 'retire within', or 'set' (of the moon). The name suggests to the lonely traveler the act of retiring to sleep with his love, but since this is mere fancy, he can only yearn after the moon that all through the night has been shining down upon them both across the great distance that separates them.

— 84 —

Ji

<i>Koma nazumu</i>	Making my way
<i>Iwaki no yama o</i>	Over Mount Iwaki, strewn with rocks
<i>Koewabite</i>	Hard for my steed,
<i>Hito mo Konumi no</i>	Must I lie tonight at Konumi,
<i>Hama ni ka mo nen.</i>	The beach to which no man comes?

Iwaki in line 2 pivots *iwa*, 'rocks', and *Konumi* in line 4 pivots *konu*, 'does not come'.

An example of the 'archaic style', the poem is an allusive variation on an old anonymous verse, *Man'yōshū*, XII: 3195,

<i>Iwakiyama</i>	Come, I beg,
<i>Tada koekimase</i>	Straight over Mount Iwaki,
<i>Isosaki no</i>	And at the beach
<i>Konumi no hama ni</i>	Of Konumi in Isosaki,
<i>Ware tachimatan.</i>	I will stay and watch for you.

Teika makes use of the latent word play in the place names of the older poem, changing the situation and tone ironically: unlike the happier man of old, his lonely traveler has no one waiting for him.

— 85 —

Yaya ji

<i>Miyako omou</i>	At Narumi Beach,
<i>Namida no tsuma to</i>	The autumn wind comes with the
<i>Narumigata</i>	moonlight
<i>Tsuki ni ware tou</i>	From off the sea—
<i>Aki no shiokaze.</i>	Bringing not solace, but tears of longing
	For wife and home in the far-off capital.

Ironically, the sea wind and moonlight come to ‘visit’ (*tou*) the speaker, consoling him, but also moving him to tears of longing. Like all travel poems, this one treats the speaker as moving away from the capital, home, family, and all things dear. Teika makes the convention explicit by mentioning the capital, as also in poem No. 82, above.

Narumigata in line 3 contains the verb *naru*, which pivots with the last two words in line 2 to make the phrase *tsuma to naru*, literally, ‘be the cause of’ (rendered ‘bring’ in the translation); whereas *tsuma* also means ‘wife’ or ‘spouse’.

A Mountain Dwelling: Five Poems

— 86 —

Ji

<i>Tsuyushimo no</i>	Making my abode
<i>Ogura no yama ni</i>	Upon Mount Ogura, where dew and frost
<i>Iei shite</i>	Gather ceaselessly—
<i>Hosademo sode no</i>	Unless this wetness is allowed to dry,
<i>Kuchinubeki kana.</i>	My sleeves will surely rot away.

The poem is included in the *Shokukokinshū*, XVIII: 1705.

Tsuyushimo no (dew and frost) in line 1 is a pillow word used in conjunction with the place name Ogura in line 2, which by virtue of the old syllabic script contains the element *oku* (*ogu-*), 'settle', 'gather'. But the imagery also functions in the poem's structure, providing details of setting and suggesting by conventional association the speaker's tears of loneliness. Such use of formulaic material for its full imagistic potential is characteristic of Teika's technique of 'old words, new treatment'. The fantastic hyperbole of sleeves rotting away in the wetness of unremitting dew and tears had become stereotyped, its effect blunted, by Teika's time. In any event, the expression was both serious and poetic.

The topic *sanka*,¹⁸⁷ 'mountain dwelling', which heads this sub-group of five poems, was quite broadly treated. It might signify simply a rural dwelling or country retreat, not necessarily in the mountains.

— 87 —

Yaya ji

<i>Aki no hi ni</i>	The peasant girl
<i>Miyako o isogu</i>	Hastens from the capital
<i>Shizu no me no</i>	To her village home,
<i>Kaeru hodo naki</i>	But Ōhara is still too distant
<i>Ōhara no sato.</i>	To reach in autumn's waning light.

The village of Ōhara lay in the hilly area northeast of the Heian capital, on the Takano river. It was known for its charcoal kilns, which produced much of the fuel consumed in the city. The peasant girls trudged back and forth, carrying on their heads loads of brush and charcoal to sell in the Kyoto marketplace. It was a fairly long trek, especially when bearing a heavy burden, and in the short autumn days, darkness could close in before the peasants reached the village. Thus Teika's 'point' is the brevity of an autumn day—a conventional theme which he combines with the specific substantive topic of a country dwelling assigned this sub-sequence of five poems.

<i>Nami no oto ni</i>	Rising from the river,
<i>Uji no satobito</i>	Does the roar of waves break in upon the
<i>Yoru sae ya</i>	sleep
<i>Netemo ayauki</i>	Of the Uji villagers,
<i>Yume no ukihashi.</i>	So that even at night their way is perilous Across the floating bridge of dreams?

Uji lay southeast of Kyoto, on the road to Nara. The roar of the rapids of the Uji river dominates the later chapters of *The Tale of Genji*, of which 'The Floating Bridge of Dreams' (*Yume no ukihashi*) is the last. Teika raises the image of this chapter in his last line, evoking also in a more general way the gloomy, even threatening atmosphere (*omokage*) of the *Genji*'s Uji section. The Uji villagers toil by day fishing and carrying cargos in their frail boats upon the river. Even at night they are not safe, for the roar of the rapids threatens to break in upon their dream journeys.

A 'floating bridge' (*ukihashi*) was actually a kind of pontoon bridge made by lashing small boats together and laying boards across the top.

<i>Shiba no to no</i>	O mark a path
<i>Ato miyu bakari</i>	That will reveal my rustic door:
<i>Shiori seyo</i>	Then the one I cannot forget
<i>Wasurenu hito no</i>	Perhaps may come to cut some brushwood
<i>Kari ni mo zo tou.</i>	And pass a brief hour by my side.

Although the speaker has come to this remote place ostensibly to escape the world, clearly all ties have not been severed.

Shiba no to (rustic door, brushwood door) in line 1 associates with *shiori* (path, blazed trail) in line 3 and *kari* in line 5, which means both 'cut' or 'reap' and 'brief hour'.

— 90 —

Yaya ji

<i>Niwa no omo wa</i>	So desolate the garden
<i>Shika no fushido to</i>	That the timid deer now make their lair
<i>Arehatete</i>	Upon its ground,
<i>Yoyo furinikeri</i>	And the woven bamboo fence is old
<i>Take ameru kaki.</i>	With years as many as its countless joints.

Fushido (bed, lair) in line 2 also contains the element *fushi*, 'joint', associating with *take* (bamboo) in line 5. *Yoyo* (years as many) in line 4 is also an *engo* for *take* in the meaning 'joints' or 'nodes'.

Birds: Five Poems

— 91 —

Yaya ji

<i>Yado ni naku</i>	Outside my house,
<i>Yakoe no tori wa</i>	Chanticleer crows lustily—
<i>Shiraji kashi</i>	It cannot know
<i>Okite kai naki</i>	The grief of rising up at daybreak
<i>Akatsuki no tsuyu.</i>	To wait in vain amid the dew.

In a postscript to this poem in the holograph fragment (see the Appendix), Teika indicates an allusion to a Chinese couplet by Ōe no Asatsuna:¹⁸⁸

At my house, not caring that my rank stays ever low,
As of old the boastful cock calls forth the dawn.

Yakoe no tori, ‘chanticleer’ (lit., eight-voiced bird), in line 2 was an elegant name for the cock. The dew is a metaphor for Teika’s tears. *Okite* in line 4 means both ‘rising up’ and ‘gathering’ of dew.

As has been pointed out in the Introduction, Teika has used this subsequence of five poems on Birds as a vehicle for *jukkai*, the ‘personal grievance’, thus ignoring specific instructions from the ex-sovereign. At the same time, the congratulatory theme of the last poem in the group prefigures the final set of five; such an emphasis was particularly appropriate to the auspicious public context for which the sequence was composed.

— 92 —

Yaya ji

<i>Tenaretsutsu</i>	I hoped for favor
<i>Sueno o tanomu</i>	On seeing our Sovereign’s reign as glorious
<i>Hashitaka no</i>	As a hunting falcon
<i>Kimi ga miyo ni zo</i>	That soars freely over distant fields,
<i>Awan to omoishi.</i>	Trusted by his lord’s familiar hand.

¹⁸⁸ 大江朝綱, 886–957, an outstanding scholar, calligrapher, and poet of Chinese verse of the mid-Heian period.

Not an easy poem: the first three lines are a preface for the last two, but the connection is rather distant—far more of tone than of sense. I interpret the falcon permitted by its master to fly at liberty as a metaphor for the happiness of the realm under an enlightened ruler. It may also suggest that the sovereign, while exercising all due authority over his ministers, allows them freedom, as the falconer trusts his bird. Teika provides some clarification in a postscript in the holograph fragment (see the Appendix). During the Bunji era (1185–89), he writes, he and other favorite courtiers were commanded by the then reigning Emperor Go-Toba to officiate at some cockfighting matches at the palace, and the recollection of this mark of favor inspired these lines. The point of the poem, of course, is Teika's disappointment at the ex-sovereign's present coldness.

Poem No. 93 precedes this one in the holograph fragment. Teika presumably changed the sequence in the final version.

— 93 —

Yaya mon

<i>Kimi ga yo ni</i>	In our Lord's gracious reign,
<i>Kasumi o wakeshi</i>	Will I still have cause to cry aloud
<i>Ashitazu no</i>	As cries the crane
<i>Sara ni sawabe no</i>	That now stalks desolate in reedy marshes
<i>Ne o ya nakubeki.</i>	Far from its former cloudland of spring haze?

Ashitazu no (as the crane) in line 3 is a pillow word used with *ne o ya nakubeki* (will I still have cause to cry aloud) in line 5. The crane's crying is laid to its sorrow on having to leave the cloudland in which it habitually dwells. These celestial regions are metaphorically the Ex-Emperor's court, from which the speaker (Teika) is excluded. The spring haze (*kasumi*) in line 2 is an auspicious image, suggesting the glorious spring of Go-Toba's new life as retired sovereign. It was this particular poem that gained him admission to Go-Toba's court, according to the diary of the latter's private secretary, Minamoto no Ienaga.¹⁸⁹

By Ienaga's account, Teika alludes to a poem addressed by his father Shunzei to Ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa in 1186, when Teika had been temporarily excluded from court for quarreling with a superior officer (*Senzai-shū*, XVIII: 1155),

¹⁸⁹ See the Introduction, p. 32, and 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', p. 15; for Ienaga's diary, see n. 8, above.

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

Teika's allusion to Shunzei's poem implies the hope that just as Go-Shirakawa forgave him of old, now Go-Toba will show a similar benevolence by admitting him to his court.

Although Ienaga's account is doubtless correct, it must be admitted that an allusion to a poem by Teika's father, and one, moreover, composed not very many years previously, would have been rather private—an allusion to be caught by Ienaga, Go-Toba, and perhaps a handful of others—but not really suitable for formal *hyakushuuta* such as the *Shōji* sequence. To be sure, at this period, as has been emphasized, Teika had not wholly formulated his theories of *honkadōri*, and the *Shōji hyakushu* contains examples of apparent allusion at variance with his later prescriptive ideals. But in his treatise *Maigetushō* of 1219 and elsewhere, he proscribes allusions to or borrowings from poems of the recent past.¹⁹⁰

Another possible *honka* for the poem—not nearly so satisfying as his father's composition, and again uncomfortably close to Teika in point of time—is the following by Fujiwara no Kinshige,¹⁹¹ *Shikashū*,¹⁹² X: 349, 'Composed on "Cranes Crying in the Marshes", when though promoted to the Fourth Rank he had not yet been re-admitted to the imperial palace':

<i>Mukashi mishi</i>	Is it my fate to be
<i>Kumoi o koite</i>	Like the crane that stalks in reedy marshes
<i>Ashitazu no</i>	With desolate cries,
<i>Sawabe ni naku ya</i>	Longing for the glorious cloudland
<i>Waga mi naruran.</i>	It used to know in better days?

¹⁹⁰ See *Teika's Superior Poems*, pp. 44–46; 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', n. 102.

¹⁹¹ 藤原公重, d. 1178.

¹⁹² 詞花集, the sixth imperial anthology, completed ca. 1151–54.

— 94 —

Ji

<i>Ikaga sen</i>	What can I do
<i>Tsura midarenishi</i>	For my troubled spirit, sad as autumn?—
<i>Karigane no</i>	Nowhere to turn,
<i>Tachido mo shiranu</i>	Like a wedge of geese, their order broken,
<i>Aki no kokoro o.</i>	Whirling helplessly, not knowing where to go.

Another direct appeal to Go-Toba in the mode of *jukkai*: Teika bewails the insecurity of his position without the Ex-Emperor's recognition and support.

Lines 2 and 3, *tsura midarenishi karigane* (like a wedge . . . broken), are a preface for line 4, *tachido mo shiranu* (not knowing where to go).

— 95 —

Yaya mon

<i>Waga kimi ni</i>	Leaving their prints
<i>Abukumagawa no</i>	At night beside the Abukuma river,
<i>Sayo chidori</i>	The plovers spell their joy
<i>Kakitodometsuru</i>	At living in this happy age,
<i>Ato zo ureshiki.</i>	Our Sovereign's glorious reign.

The footprints of the plovers in the sand were often likened to written characters. *Abukumagawa* in line 2 plays on the place name (a river in the northern province of Mutsu) and the element *Abu-*, written *a-fu* and thus suggesting the verb *ō* (likewise written *a-fu*), 'meet', 'live' (in a given period or age).

The poem alludes to one addressed to Emperor Ichijō¹⁹³ by Teika's illustrious ancestor Michinaga,¹⁹⁴ *Shikashū*, V: 159,

<i>Kimi ga yo ni</i>	Pure are its depths—
<i>Abukumagawa no</i>	The Abukuma river, blessed like us
<i>Soko kiyomi</i>	To see this happy age—
<i>Chitose o hetsutsu</i>	So may it flow for a thousand years
<i>Suman to zo omou.</i>	Of our Sovereign's glorious reign.

¹⁹³ 一条天皇, 980–1011; r. 986–1011.

¹⁹⁴ 道長, 966–1027, the most powerful

of the Fujiwara, during whose time Heian culture was at its height.

Celebrations: Five Poems

— 96 —

Yaya mon

<i>Yorozuyo to</i>	May our Lord's majesty,
<i>Tokiwa kakiwa ni</i>	Shining forth from his retreat on Hakoya,
<i>Tanomu kana</i>	Mount of the Immortals,
<i>Hakoya no yama no</i>	Last ten thousand ages—as long
<i>Kimi no mikage o.</i>	As a steadfast rock, an eternal rock.

In this final sub-sequence of five poems, Teika offers homage to the Ex-Emperor and members of the imperial family, beginning, appropriately, with Go-Toba himself.

Tokiwa kakiwa in line 2 was popularly interpreted as a contraction of *tokoiwa* (eternal rock) and *kataki iwa* (solid rock). *Hakoya no yama*¹⁹⁵ (Mount of the Immortals) was an elegant term for the court of a retired emperor.

— 97 —

Yaya ji

<i>Amatsusora</i>	The heavens show
<i>Keshiki mo shirushi</i>	By their clear serenity
<i>Aki no tsuki</i>	That the autumn moon
<i>Nodoka narubeki</i>	Will cast a peaceful radiance
<i>Kumo no ue to wa.</i>	From the land above the clouds.

Aki no tsuki (autumn moon) in line 3 probably represents Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's chief consort, Fujiwara no Ninshi, daughter of Kujō Kanezane, although the former sovereign may have construed it to apply to his newer favorite, Zaishi. Like *kumoi* and *kumoji* (see poem No. 93, above), *kumo no ue* (land above the clouds) was a stock metaphor for the court.

<i>Waga kimi no</i>	May our Lord's splendor
<i>Hikari zo sowan</i>	Add its brilliance to the light
<i>Haru no miya</i>	Of the morning sun
<i>Terasu asahi no</i>	As it shines throughout a thousand ages
<i>Chiyo no yukusue.</i>	Upon the Palace of the Spring.

The 'Palace of the Spring' (*haru no miya*, *tōgū*¹⁹⁶) was the residence of the crown prince, and by metonymy the person himself. In this case, the reference is to the future Emperor Juntoku,¹⁹⁷ son of Go-Toba, upon whom the poem invokes the Ex-Emperor's blessing.

<i>Otokoyama</i>	Upon Otokoyama
<i>Sashisou matsu no</i>	With each offering of fresh pine boughs
<i>Edagoto ni</i>	At the sacred shrine,
<i>Kami mo chitose o</i>	The god will join in celebrating
<i>Iwaisomuran.</i>	Another thousand years of joy.

Otokoyama¹⁹⁸ (Mount of Manhood), on the road between Kyoto and Nara, was the site of the Iwashimizu Shrine to Hachiman, God of War. The offering of pine boughs suggests a New Year's celebration. The phallic connotations of the place name are reinforced by the implicit maleness of pine branches, their green the color of virility to the Japanese.

The poem's placement in the sequence suggests it to be a prayer for the fertility and prosperity of the imperial family in general.

196 春宮, 東宮

197 順德, 1197-1242; r. 1210-21.

198 男山

<p><i>Akitsushima</i> <i>Yomo no tami no to</i> <i>Osamarite</i> <i>Ikuyorozuyo mo</i> <i>Kimi zo tamotan.</i></p>	<p>Rich in autumn harvests Are these happy islands, where peace dwells Beside every door, And the people will trust in our great Lord, That his reign may be a myriad ages long.</p>
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This final poem in the sequence should probably be understood as referring to the reigning Emperor Tsuchimikado, Go-Toba's eldest son.

Akitsushima in line 1, a poetic word for Japan, is explained differently by the commentators, some following the older tradition that it meant 'dragonfly', from a fancied similarity in the islands' shape to the wings of the insect. I follow the later interpretation, 'rich in autumn harvests'.

Appendix: The Holograph Fragment

A SMALL manuscript fragment of Teika's *Shōji hyakushu* in the poet's own handwriting was revealed to the public in the summer of 1977. Evidently a semi-final draft intended to be sent or shown to Shunzei for criticism, the fragment consists of the short five-poem sub-sequence on Birds (Nos. 91 through 95), with explanatory notes by Teika in *kambun* and a few very brief queries and comments in the hand of Shunzei (also in *kambun*). Needless to say, any scrap of paper in Shunzei's or Teika's handwriting is precious to Japanese calligraphers, scholars, and collectors—a manuscript bearing the writing of father and son together is both priceless and unique.

The manuscript was displayed at the Takashimaya department store at Nihonbashi in Tokyo in an exhibition of rare tea utensils and paraphernalia from the Eisei Bunko,¹⁹⁹ the official repository of art works, manuscripts, and miscellaneous treasures in the private possession of the Hosokawa²⁰⁰ family. An important line of daimyo that came into prominence in the Muromachi period, the Hosokawa had close links with the later Ashikaga shoguns and were important allies in turn of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu. The present family recognizes as its immediate founder Hosokawa Fujitaka,²⁰¹ said to be the fourth son of the tenth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiharu.²⁰² Fujitaka was adopted into the Hosokawa house at the age of six and was ultimately appointed to the headship of the family. He was a man of many talents, distinguishing himself not only as an astute and able general and politician, but also as a scholar of Japanese classical prose, poetry, and linked verse, as a devotee of the tea ceremony, a performer of noh plays, and a skilled archer, horseman, and athlete. Best known to modern students of Japanese literature by his later priestly name of Yūsai,²⁰³ which he took in 1582, Fujitaka was acknowledged in his day as a *waka* poet of the first rank, and he wrote a number of treatises on Japanese classical poetry and literature. His son and successor Tadaoki, or Sansai,²⁰⁴ was also a

¹⁹⁹ 永青文庫

²⁰⁰ 細川

²⁰¹ 藤孝, 1534–1610.

²⁰² 義晴, 1511–50.

²⁰³ 幽齋

²⁰⁴ 忠興, 三齋, 1563–1645.

connoisseur and devotee of the tea ceremony, which he studied with the famous master Sen no Rikyū.²⁰⁵ Yūsai and Sansai consolidated the Hosokawa family as an important daimyo house in a very unsettled age, and gathered many of the treasures which form the nucleus of the present Eisei Bunko collection. New acquisitions were made over the years by later members of the family, and in 1950 the Eisei Bunko was established in order to make an extremely valuable but hitherto virtually secret collection more accessible to scholars and the public. The exhibition at the Takashimaya was, however, the first public display of Eisei Bunko materials.

According to the official catalogue, 'Exhibition of Important Tea Utensils Associated with Rikyū, Yūsai, and Sansai, Handed Down in the Hosokawa Family',²⁰⁶ the holograph fragment of Teika's Shōji sequence was given to Hosokawa Sansai by the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu,²⁰⁷ in 1639, in recognition of his long and devoted service. The fragment was already mounted as a scroll, and was evidently esteemed as one of the choice samples of calligraphy, paintings, and the like which tea devotees hung in the *tokonoma* for the delectation of themselves and their guests at important tea ceremonies. Although a *waka* poet and scholar like Sansai's father Yūsai might very well have recognized the holograph fragment for what it originally was, it is likely that Sansai and his heirs valued it more as a curiosity, as the only known example of a document bearing the writing of both Shunzei and Teika together.

In the exhibition catalogue, the holograph fragment is called 'Poetry Scroll With the Handwriting of Shunzei and Teika on the Same Paper',²⁰⁸ although it has been pointed out by the *waka* scholar Hashimoto Fumio that instead of *kaishi*, or 'poetry scroll', it should be termed *kambenjō*, a document or letter sent to someone for comment and then returned to the sender with the recipient's notations on the same paper.²⁰⁹ A color reproduction of the fragment is printed as the frontispiece to the exhibition catalogue, with the measurements given as 29.5 by 49.7 centimeters.

A look at the photograph which the Eisei Bunko graciously permitted *Monumenta Nipponica* to reproduce here will show that Teika's scribbled notes are difficult to decipher at best, whereas Shunzei's comments and queries are written in a minuscule hand above and slightly to the right of

²⁰⁵ 千利休, 1521-91.

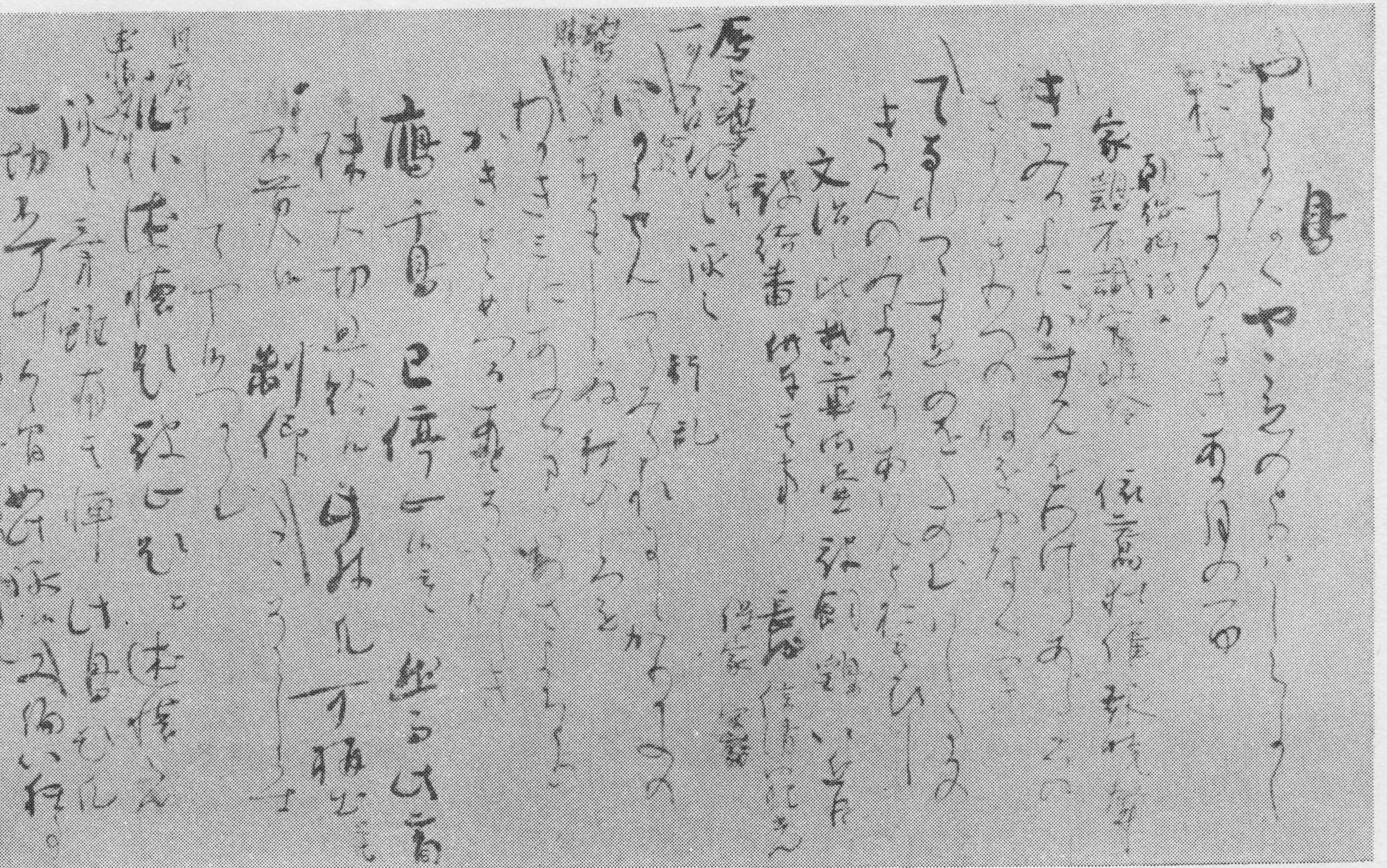
²⁰⁶ *Hosokawake denrai Rikyū, Yūsai, Sansai no chadōgu meihinten* 細川家伝来利休, 幽齋, 三齋の茶道具名品展, Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1977.

²⁰⁷ 家光, 1604-51.

²⁰⁸ *Shunzei, Teika isshi ryōhitsu kaishi*

俊成, 定家一紙兩筆懷紙

²⁰⁹ Hashimoto Fumio 橋本不美男, 'Shōji hyakushu ni tsuite no Teika, Shunzei kambenjō' 正治百首についての定家, 俊成勘返状, in *Wakashi Kenkyūkai kaihō* 和歌史研究会会報, 65 (December 1977), pp. 1-4.



Eisei Bunko

鳥

やとになくやこゑのとりハしらしかし
 おきてかひなきあか月のつゆ

朝綱卿詩云

家鶏不識官班冷 依旧猶催報曉声

きみかよにかすみをわけしあしたつの

さらにさわへのねをやなくへき

てなれつゝすゑのをたのむハしたかの

きみのみよにそあハんとおもひし

文治之比禁裏御壺被飼鶏以近臣

被結番供奉其事 長房 信清 範光
 保家 定家

鴈与鷺之間

依之詠之

一ヲ可得心歟 行乱

いかにせんつらみたれにしかりかねの

鷺哥

たちともしらぬ秋のこゝろを

勝歟

わかきみにあふくまかハのさよちとり

かきとゝめつるあとそうれしき

鴈千鳥 已停止候 云々 然而此二首

殊大切思給候 此外凡可構出 とも

不覚候 制仰たゝそこしらす

してや候へからむ

内府哥

凡ハ述懐題被止題ニ述懐之心

述懐シタリキ

詠之旁雖有其憚 此鳥題凡

一切不可叶候之間如此詠候又偏以狭事

為先者為道遺恨候之故也

The Holograph Fragment

The five poems on Birds (Nos. 91 through 95), together with explanatory notes, are written in Teika's hand, together with brief queries and comments in the hand of his father, Shunzei (reproduced in bold type in the printed text).

Teika's lines. Of perhaps even greater significance than his comments are the slanting marks of approval that Shunzei has bestowed upon all of Teika's poems (at the top right side of each poem), and, in two crucial places, upon his explanatory notes as well. The transcription in the exhibition catalogue has three or four misreadings and typographical errors, but even with the careful transcriptions conveyed to me privately by Professor Fukuda Hideichi and provided by Professor Hashimoto, problems of interpretation remain.

In the absence of absolute proof, one can only make as informed a guess as possible, but Professor Hashimoto is probably correct in surmising that the holograph fragment is a part of what was originally a draft of the last twenty poems in the sequence, namely, the poems on miscellaneous topics, and that it was sent to Shunzei between the night of the twenty-third of the eighth month of Shōji 2 and midday of the twenty-fourth. It will be recalled that Teika wrote in his diary of having visited Shunzei on the twenty-third, when his father looked at his still unfinished sequence, approved it, and urged him to hurry and compose the twenty poems which Teika had still been unable to produce. And on the morning of the twenty-fourth, Teika carried what may be supposed to have been a semi-final draft of the completed sequence to Kanezane for his inspection.²¹⁰ It would thus appear that prior to his frenzied activities of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, when Teika showed his poems first to Kanezane and then to Yoshitsune, he had sent off this draft of the last twenty poems to Shunzei, who had returned it with a few suggestions for changes and his general approval of the whole.

There is, or perhaps was, other evidence that the existing holograph fragment was originally part of a longer draft or letter probably containing the last twenty poems. Kubota Jun reports that the catalogue of an auction issued by the Tokyo Fine Arts Club in February 1941 contained the description of 'a holograph fragment of ten poems by Teika'.²¹¹ The catalogue also fortunately printed a photograph of the document, although not clear enough to be completely legible. At any rate, the ten poems in question are identified in a postscript written on the original manuscript and dated 1657 as the two sub-sequences on Travel and a Mountain Dwelling from Teika's Shōji sequence. The fragment has one explanatory note by Teika giving the *honka* for poem No. 84, the familiar slanting marks of approval for each poem, and tiny queries and suggestions for revision in what the postscript says is 'perhaps the hand of Lord Shunzei'. The fragment also has one different poem from the final version, Teika evidently having decided to substitute the present poem No. 83 for the one in this draft.

²¹⁰ See above, p. 16.

²¹¹ Kubota, pp. 795-97.

Professor Kubota states that the photograph is not good enough to ascertain whether the small notations are actually in Shunzei's hand, although now that this second holograph fragment from the Eisei Bunko has been revealed, it seems entirely probable that they actually were, and that the Eisei Bunko fragment and the document described in the 1941 catalogue are pieces of the same manuscript. Unfortunately for our purposes, the auction of 1941 was conducted by sealed bids, the identity of the purchaser evidently kept secret. Whether or not the document survived World War II, and if so, its present whereabouts, are questions that may or may not be answered in the course of time. One can only hope that if it has remained safe its present owner may prove to be as public spirited as the Hosokawa family and make it available to scholars and students for study.

The Eisei Bunko holograph fragment is but one more proof of the enormous importance which Teika attached to his performance in the Shōji sequences, and with its companion piece described in the 1941 catalogue, provides a fascinating example of the kind of communication that took place between Teika and Shunzei on questions of poetic taste. The most interesting feature of the Eisei Bunko fragment is Teika's note following the last poem (No. 95). Here, Teika reveals that there had been a specific command from the Ex-Emperor forbidding poems on the topics of geese and plovers (perhaps because he thought these topics too hackneyed to promise interesting results), but he says that he has gone ahead anyway because these two poems were particularly important to him and he felt that he could compose in no other way.

There is a textual problem at this particular point, ironically the most crucial passage in the document. The question is whether a key phrase in the following sentence should be read *soko shirazu* or *sora shirazu*, that is, whether the Ex-Emperor's command should be regarded as unqualified (*soko shirazu*), or whether Teika should feign ignorance of it (*sora shirazu*). The difficulty is discussed by Professor Hashimoto, who opts for *soko shirazu*, while also reporting that Professors Kubota and Fujihira Haruo²¹² prefer *sora shirazu* and adding that this second reading is more interesting. Whichever interpretation is followed, this very phrase is singled out by Shunzei for one of his marks of approval. Thus the father is either approving his son's little scheme to have his own way in spite of Go-Toba's command, or else agreeing with Teika's lip service to the Ex-Emperor's authority—and, perhaps, with his insistence on his inability to comply. I prefer *sora shirazu* because it seems to me consistent with both human nature and the peculiar Japanese concern for appearances, and because it also applies better

to Teika's following statement, where he reveals that Go-Toba has not only forbidden geese and plovers, but has ruled out *jukkai* poems as well. As this statement by Teika is our only source of knowledge concerning such 'guidelines' that were apparently issued to the *Shōji hyakushu* participants, the holograph fragment, with this evidence of deliberate flouting of the former sovereign's command, offers a brand new instance of Teika's almost unbelievable stubbornness, or, as Professor Hashimoto would have it, arrogance.

At all events, it is impossible to conceive of Teika's sequence without its *jukkai* poems, for these, as I have tried to show, give it its special character. It should also be stressed that Shunzei offers Teika some moral support by noting that the Inner Minister (i.e., Michichika) has included *jukkai* poems in his own sequence.²¹³ Teika goes on, to be sure, to admit that his behavior is 'absolute madness', but adds that he has acted out of anxiety for the future (that is, presumably, his own future) and 'distress' (*ikon*) about the Art of Poetry. As for this last point, Teika had a habit of identifying his own personal fortunes with the state of the Art of Poetry. In the implication that failure of his efforts in the *Shōji* sequence might cause the Art itself to founder, we have, in my view, a prime example of Teika's peculiar solipsism, or arrogance if one prefers. Again, at this particular juncture there is yet another of Shunzei's enigmatic marks of approval, a sign which might equally well indicate his agreement that Teika has indeed gone mad, or his approbation of his son's determination to risk all for his principles. In view of Shunzei's bland note that Michichika's sequence, too, contains *jukkai* poems, it seems likely that his approval is rather for Teika's decision to forge ahead. Why else would he have approved of the poems themselves?

In any case, it is just this rock-like intransigence which soon led to Go-Toba's disenchantment, and to say of Teika in his treatise written many years after the *Shōji* sequences, 'The way Teika 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. He was utterly oblivious of others and would exceed all reason, refusing to listen to anything other people had to say.'²¹⁴

To be sure, it was one thing for a man of Michichika's high standing to ignore the Ex-Emperor's instructions and quite another for a mere underling like Teika. But in how serious a light should such a violation of Go-Toba's guidelines be regarded? Presumably the former sovereign could have taken

²¹³ Three (possibly four) of the five poems on Birds in Michichika's sequence seem to have *jukkai* elements. See ZGR,

Book 382 (xiv B), p. 584.

²¹⁴ 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', p. 38.

personal offense had he chosen to do so, and the consequences for Teika could have been unpleasant if not absolutely dire. At worst, probably, his sequence could have been disqualified and he himself denied the access to Go-Toba's palace that he so much coveted. In that case, although the Art of Japanese Poetry would not necessarily have come to a grinding halt, the effects might well have amounted to more than a mere tempest in a teapot. The facts of the matter are, however, that Go-Toba was delighted with Teika's performance, and especially moved by at least one of the *jukkai* poems that had been included against his express command. Yet one more illustration, perhaps, of how in Japan a determined show of 'sincerity' can almost always be counted upon to win out in the end.

Assuming the holograph fragment described in the Fine Arts Club catalogue of 1941 to be genuine, Shunzei's suggestions for revisions in this part of the document are particularly apt and interesting. Thus, line 3 of Teika's fourth poem in the sub-sequence on Travel (No. 84) has *koetsukare*, a word which Shunzei has scored as 'very bad' (*sukoburu yoroshikarazu*), suggesting the more elegant *koewabite* instead. And for the third poem on A Mountain Dwelling (No. 88), Shunzei has suggested that the first line be changed from *Kawanami ni* to *Nami no oto ni*, and that *yamabito* in the second line be altered to *satobito*.²¹⁵ The final version shows that Teika followed his father's advice in each of these instances, and one cannot help agreeing that the results are a distinct improvement.

As for the Eisei Bunko fragment, by contrast, Teika has ignored Shunzei's strong advice that a poem on an eagle should preferably follow the one on a hunting falcon (No. 92). This would make good sense from the point of view of a smooth progression, as falcons and eagles are closely associated. However, as we have seen, Teika defends his choice of geese and plovers for very special reasons, and at least by giving the poems marks of approval, Shunzei makes clear that his objections are not of vital importance. In general, this glimpse into the personal relationship between the famous father and son and their views on poetic matters not only casts new light on Teika's character; it also shows that the years had done nothing to dull the sensibilities of the old master Shunzei.

In the transliteration and translation of the Eisei Bunko fragment that follow, Shunzei's comments are underlined. The slanting lines beside each poem and at the two places in Teika's notes represent Shunzei's marks of approval.

²¹⁵ Kubota, p. 795.

TRANSLITERATION

Tori

*/Yado ni naku yakoe no tori wa shiraji kashi
okite kai naki akatsuki no tsuyu.*

Asatsuna-kyō no shi ni iwaku:

*Takei wa shirazu kamban no tsumetaki o
kyū ni yotte nao moyōshihōzu akatsuki no koe.*

*/Kimi ga yo ni kasumi o wakeshi ashitazu no
sara ni sawabe no ne o ya nakubeki.*

*/Tenaretsutsu sueno o tanomu hashitaka no
kimi no miyo ni zo awan to omoishi.*

*Bunji no koro kinri no onsubo nite niwatori o kawaru.
Kinshin o motte kechiban serare sono koto ni gubu su
(Nagafusa, Nobukiyo, Norimitsu, Yasuie, Sadaie). Kore
ni yotte kore o eizu.*

*Kari to washi no aida
hitotsu o ubeki kokoro ka.*

TRANSLATION

Birds

/Outside my house,
Chanticleer crows lustily—
It cannot know
The grief of rising up at daybreak
To wait in vain amid the dew.

A Chinese poem by Lord Asatsuna²¹⁶ says:

At my house, not caring that my rank stays ever low,
As of old the boastful cock calls forth the dawn.

/In our Lord's gracious reign,
Will I still have cause to cry aloud
As cries the crane
That now stalks desolate in reedy marshes,
Far from its former cloudland of spring haze?

/I hoped for favor
On seeing our Sovereign's reign as glorious
As a hunting falcon
That soars freely over distant fields,
Trusted by his lord's familiar hand.

During the Bunji era, cocks were kept at the Imperial Palace, and His Majesty commanded his favorite courtiers to conduct some cockfighting matches. I was one of the participants (Nagafusa, Nobukiyo, Nobumitsu, Yasuie, Sadaie). Consequently, I have composed in this way.²¹⁷

You had better choose between
either geese or eagles here.

²¹⁶ See n. 188.

²¹⁷ This statement probably refers to the preceding two poems, which are, it will be noted, in reverse order in the holograph fragment. Teika apparently mentions the cockfighting matches as an example of the special favor he used

to enjoy in former days as one of the reigning Emperor Go-Toba's intimate retainers. The topic, Birds, may have particularly reminded him of that occasion. The list of names presumably identifies the courtiers in attendance, including himself, Sadaie.

*/Ika ni sen²¹⁸ tsura midarenishi karigane no
tachido mo shiranu aki no kokoro o.*

Washi no uta
masaru ka.

*/Waga kimi ni Abukumagawa no sayochidori
kakitodometsuru ato zo ureshiki.*

*Kari chidori sude ni chōji shisōrō to unnun. Shikaredomo
kono nishu koto ni taisetsu ni omoitamaesōrō. Kono hoka
oyoso kamaeidasubeshi tomo oboezusōrō. Sei no ōse /tada
sora shirazu shite ya sōrōbekaran.*

Daifu no uta
jukkai shitariki.

*Oyoso wa jukkai no dai todomeraruru dai ni jukkai no
kokoro kore o eizu. Katagata sono habakari ari to
iedomo kono tori no dai oyoso issai kanōbekarazu
sōrō no aida kaku no gotoshi. /Mata hitoe ni motte
kyōji saki no tame ni wa michi no tame ikon ni sōrō
no yue nari.*

²¹⁸ The final version seems to have | kana symbols *ka (ga)* and *ni* are extremely
ikaga instead of *ika ni*, although the two | difficult to distinguish in the cursive script.

/What can I do
 For my troubled spirit, sad as autumn?—
 Nowhere to turn,
 Like a wedge of geese, their order broken,
 Whirling helplessly, not knowing where to go.

A poem on eagles
 might be better.

/Leaving their prints
 At night beside the Abukuma river,
 The plovers spell their joy
 At living in this happy age,
 Our Sovereign's glorious reign.

I had heard that both geese and plovers were prohibited topics. However, these two poems are particularly important to me, and I cannot conceive of them in any other terms. Therefore, would it not seem best /simply to feign ignorance of the Ex-Emperor's command?

The Inner Minister's sequence
 also has the Personal Grievance.²¹⁹

In general, although the topic of the Personal Grievance was forbidden, I have composed poems on this topic. I am ashamed of my behavior, but as I am quite incapable of dealing with this topic in any other way, here is the result. /No doubt this is absolute madness, but it is because I am anxious for the future and distressed for the Art of Poetry.

²¹⁹ The Inner Minister (*Daifu* 内府) is Go-Toba's father-in-law, Michichika. Shunzei had evidently seen Michichika's poems for this occasion, presumably because they too had been sent to him for criticism. As I have indicated, assuming Michichika's sequence printed in ZGR to be the same as the draft shown to Shunzei, the last three, or possibly four, of his poems on Birds can be seen to have *jukkai* characteristics. Of these, the third and fifth poems of the sub-sequence of five are the strongest candidates: the first of these asks the god of Otokoyama (see Teika's poem No.

99, above) to vouchsafe a sign to the aged speaker, who ascends the sacred mountain leaning upon his 'pigeon staff', that his fortunes will rise once again; the fifth poem is a plea for pity on the sparrows that must leave their young unprotected in the nest. This latter poem should probably be understood as a request for Go-Toba's favor to Michichika's children. A similar *jukkai* poem addressed by Michichika to the Ex-Emperor was composed for the 'Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds' and is preserved in the *Shinkokinshū* (xviii: 1814).

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