Kyōgoku Tamekane

Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan

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TO MY PARENTS

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R.N.H.

Contents

Author's Note

I have preferred the spelling "Tamekane" as the form used in most modern reference works. However, there is evidence that the name may actually have been pronounced "Tamekanu," and it appears this way in some indexes.

In headnotes to poems, I have capitalized words or phrases when I considered them to be set topics rather than simple descriptions of the poem's content. Admittedly, there is an element of subjectivity in such judgments, but poetry contests, where all topics were set, provided one guideline. Another sign of a set topic is a word or phrase written in Chinese characters and read as *kambun*, as in the topic 不逢恋 (*awanu koi*, "Love That Does Not Meet"). If a poem is cited more than once, the full headnote is given only at the first occurrence. Square brackets are used to indicate implied headnotes.

People's official titles are given only where they are relevant. In such cases I have followed the translations given in William and Helen McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (Stanford, Calif., 1980), or, if not there, Robert K. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History* (Princeton, N.J., 1937).

Dates for people mentioned in the text are given in the index. For calendar dates I have adopted the form used in McCullough and

McCullough: iii 15 for third month, fifteenth day, with intercalary months designated by a hyphen (-iii 15).

Readings for names, titles, and so on, differ from age to age and scholar to scholar. I have generally followed Ariyoshi Tamotsu, *Waka Bungaku Jiten* (Tokyo, 1982).

Poems from imperial anthologies are cited by their new (*Shinpen*) *Kokka Taikan* number. The new edition also lists the old numbers and rarely is there much discrepancy. In the case of *Man'yōshū* poems, however, I have also provided the old *Kokka Taikan* number in parentheses, since the most accessible editions of *Man'yōshū* use that numbering system, and it is in some cases substantially different from the new one.

I have used standard abbreviations on these works, plus an abbreviation of my own for the repeatedly cited *Kingyoku Uta-awase*, as follows:

FGS	*Fūgashū*. Collection of Elegance
GSIS	*Goshūishū*. Later Collection of Gleanings
GYS	*Gyokuyōshū*. Collection of Jeweled Leaves
KKS	*Kokinshū*. Collection of Ancient and Modern Times
KU	*Kingyoku Uta-awase*. The Poetry Contest of Gold and Jade
KYS	*Kin'yōshū*. Collection of Golden Leaves
MYS	*Man'yōshū*. Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves
SGSS	*Shingosenshū*. New Later Collection
ShokuSIS	*Shokushūishu*. Collection of Gleanings Continued
ShokuSZS	*Shokusenzaishū*. Collection of a Thousand Years Continued
SIS	*Shūishū*. Collection of Gleanings
SKKS	*Shinkokinshū*. New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times
SKS	*Shikashū*. Collection of Verbal Flowers
SZS	*Senzaishū*. Collection of a Thousand Years

Kyōgoku Tamekane

Introduction

Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254–1332), the man who introduced changes in traditional waka verse form that would alter the course of Japanese poetry, lived in a period of enormous upheaval and political complexity. The military government (or Bakufu; also called Kantō), located in the town of Kamakura, from which the period derives its name, was exhausted by its successful efforts to thwart the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281. Partly because of its inability to reward its loyal soldiers, it was having increasing trouble controlling the agents (*jitō*) it had assigned to many land-holdings throughout the period in order to maintain stability in crop production and income flow. In Kyoto the imperial court was locked in a succession dispute between the descendants of the Emperor Go-Saga that was to culminate in an open schism in 1332. In a period that the new Buddhist sects designated as "the latter days of the Law" (*mappō*), matters were indeed unsettled.

Tamekane was planted firmly in the middle of this unsettled political scene, and his works can hardly be discussed—indeed, would not even exist today—apart from the political and social context in which they were created, for as Tamekane himself noted, in his poetic treatise *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* (Lord Tamekane's Notes on Poetry), an essential condition of poetry is that it be written down.[1] In

the Heian and Kamakura periods (794–1185; 1185–1333), poetry contests (*uta-awase*) and imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū*) were the most important outlets poets had for "publishing" (or, as Tamekane would have it, "writing down") their work, and participation in either required good political and social connections. This is not to say that the content of Tamekane's poetry is political, for with few exceptions it is not. But the fact of it is political, and this will be a very important concern in this study.

Given Tamekane's eventful political life, it may seem surprising to Western, and even other East Asian, readers that little of his poetry overtly reflects his personal struggles. Certainly Europe and China have long traditions of allegorical political poetry.

In Japan, waka was treated a little differently. It is not that there is no such thing as allegorical or even didactic waka. In fact, perhaps 10 to 20 percent of any given collection—be it an imperial anthology, a poetry contest, or a hundred-poem sequence (*hyakushu*)—consists of poems of this nature, in the form of laments, religious poems (both Buddhist and Shinto), poems of congratulations, and so on. Some of these even found their way out of the discrete sections to which they were normally confined and into the main body of collections. This study will give a few examples of such work. But for the most part waka has never been *treated* as allegorical, as standing for something outside itself. In imperial anthologies, for example, if an originally allegorical poem was placed in the main body of the anthology (that is, among the seasonal, love, or miscellaneous poems), it was usually either given a laundered headnote obscuring its allegorical nature or deprived of any identifying explanatory note whatsoever. From the Heian period on, at least on the formal level, there seems to have been something of a resistance on the part of the Japanese to the idea of a direct, traceable connection between an actual event or scene and a poem. Waka was supposed to be "pure," an abstract distillation of some phenomenal moment that is created entirely in the human mind.

Robert Brower and Earl Miner hold this view of waka as virtually pure lyricism—a view that has long been shared by Japanese scholars as well.[2] And indeed, it is hard to argue. In Tamekane's case, for example, there is no "smoking gun," no symbolic poem about a bird ascending to undreamed-of heights written by Tame-

kane on the day he was promoted to the Second Rank, at least *none that has ever been identified as such.*

But there are a few cracks in this edifice. For one, the critic who holds this position is forced to ignore whole sections of anthologies (the Buddhist and Shinto poems, for example, of which there are 126 out of 1,979 in *Shinkokinshū* [New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times], to cite just one imperial anthology), or poetry contests such as the *Iwashimizusha Uta-awase* (1324), sponsored by Retired Emperor Go-Uda and including the major traditionalist poets of the day, in which one-third of the poems were on Shinto themes.[3] Surely waka poets would not have composed such poetry if they thought it was a waste of time. And as we shall later see, one does find poems, such as Tamekane's exile verses or the allegorical verses of Emperors Kameyama and Go-Daigo, that clearly refer to real events. Still, there is no denying that, traditionally, poets turned to Chinese verse when they wished to express this sort of thing. It is not only later scholars who strove to present waka as a "clean" verse form; the waka poets themselves kept their poetry within very strict limits.

For the most part, then, waka's inspiration came not from without but from within. This does not mean that waka was a pure, spontaneous, personal emotional response. On the contrary, by "within" I mean within the waka tradition. Waka was a poetry of convention. The vocabulary was fixed and did not vary for nearly six hundred years. The imagery was fixed in terms of the associations it carried and the seasons appropriate for it. And the topics were fixed; they ranged from the extremely broad (e.g., "Spring") to the specific ("On Hearing a Distant Deer") to the complex ("On Hearing That One's Lover Has Passed One By and Gone Elsewhere"), but they were never without precedent, either in older Japanese verse or in well-known Chinese sources.

Waka composition was the constant attempt to get at the essence of these topics, to explore them in new or better ways. It was the bringing to bear of the human mind and its capacity for art(ifice) not on nature itself, but on some abstraction of nature. It is not unlike the cultivation of bonsai. No one pretends those tiny trees are "real nature." Indeed, the artist would be mortified if the viewer overlooked the little wires that hold the tree together and thereby

overlooked the art, that is, the human intervention. Thus, that waka poets explored, and re-explored, and explored yet again the same themes should not strike us as unimaginative. The classical music buff does not take Mozart to task for "stealing," sometimes even from himself, if the theft is successful.

In an art so dominated by convention, it seems practically impossible to read any poem as a truly personal expression. The poet knew the conventions. The readers knew the conventions. The poet knew that the readers knew. The response to a particular image was virtually assured.

To be sure, all literature is to some degree bound by convention, otherwise reading would be anarchy. But in waka the convention is so overwhelming that most Western (or simply modern) readers are apt to wonder where the pleasure is. The answer is that such a literature puts a large burden on the reader. In this day and age, the reader must attempt to learn as much as possible about the conventions of the past, the things that Tamekane's readers took for granted. With waka, as with any art, the more one knows, the more one can appreciate the subtle variations, the human mind in action. While often enough we may have a personal, emotional reaction to a poem, ultimately the art of waka is in the abstract. It lies in the appreciation of the skill required to wring yet one more new response from a very old topic.

And so it is that merely by reading Tamekane's waka one would get almost no sense at all of how tumultuous his life was. Yet if it were not for his tenacity as a politician we might never have had a chance to read his waka at all—history might have swallowed it.

This book, then, will not be simply an exercise in literary criticism. Certainly Tamekane's poetry will be explored in some detail from that standpoint. But another important line of inquiry will be the extent to which the complicated political and social issues of the time affected Tamekane's ability to write and publish his poetry, and conditioned his influence on his own age as well as the reputation he carried into later times.

Such nonliterary factors account as much as anything for the fact that of the more than ten thousand poems Tamekane claimed to have written by the time he was fifty, only about 720 are known today.[4] His private life was marked by a protracted inheritance dispute among three branch families of the Mikohidari line descended

from the illustrious poet Fujiwara Teika. I shall examine this complex dispute, with the Kyōgoku and Reizei families on one side and the Nijō family on the other, in some detail, since its implications were far-reaching. For now it is enough to say that the conflict among these three families over the tangible property of an estate served to harden their differences in the less tangible field of poetry, for the estate included precious documents from Teika's collection, the possession of which conveyed a certain poetic legitimacy.

Even for the volatile late Kamakura period, Tamekane's public life was known for its ups and downs. His highest court rank surpassed that of his esteemed great-grandfather, and he enjoyed the solid, life-long backing of two Emperors, Fushimi and Hanazono. But he was by all accounts an abrasive man, and when he fell, not even his imperial allies could help him. He suffered two exiles; the second lasted sixteen years, ended only by his death at the age of seventy-nine. His political career was greatly affected by a split between the two lines of the imperial family: the Jimyō-in (the senior line, springing from Emperor Go-Fukakusa) and the Daikaku-ji (the junior line, springing from Emperor Kameyama, Go-Fukakusa's younger brother). The details of this split will be examined closely in the ensuing chapters.

Tamekane's artistic life was also characterized by bitter rivalries. His poetic greatness was not unrecognized in his lifetime. He was poetry teacher to two Emperors (Fushimi and Hanazono), an Empress (Eifukumon-in, Fushimi's principal consort), and numerous high-ranking courtiers. He also compiled an imperial anthology, *Gyokuyōshū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves). On the other hand, his poetry was reviled by the rival Nijō family and the school of poets surrounding it. The Nijō group was responsible for compiling four imperial anthologies in Tamekane's lifetime, an indication of its great influence.

To give a fuller picture of poetry in the late Kamakura period, and to give Tamekane his due, several different areas must be covered in this study.

First, it is important to understand how court politics operated and how they affected poetry. Recent historical work has shown the degree to which the court in Kyoto retained significant power even through the end of the Kamakura period.[5] Much of that power lay in the area of land rights, for people in this and earlier periods did

not own the land itself but rather "owned" the rights to a certain portion of the income a given estate (*shōen*) produced, and the imperial court continued to have an influential voice in how such portions were divided and paid. It was this issue that led to the split among Teika's descendants after the death of his son Tameie in 1275. So important is this dispute to an understanding of the poetry of the era that some Japanese scholars have even gone so far as to suggest that the poetic differences might never have emerged so starkly among the rivals if the land issue had not already divided them.[6]

Patronage was another historical issue with repercussions for poetry. A poet without imperial backing had little hope of making a mark on the literary scene, since the imperial anthologies and many of the major poetry parties and contests were sponsored by members of the imperial family. For Tamekane, this question was further complicated by the rivalry within the imperial family between the Jimyō-in and Daikaku-ji lines. The patronage picture becomes rather clouded here, for although there is a very clear connection between Emperors of the Jimyō-in line and the Kyōgoku poets on the one hand, and Emperors of the Daikaku-ji line and the Nijō poets on the other, the locus of imperial power was not always in the most obvious place. Often, both the Emperor and the Retired Emperor at a given point were descendants of the same line, yet this alone did not guarantee court success for the poets who were allied with them. (In fact, both of Tamekane's exiles occurred when Jimyō-in descendants held the positions of Emperor and Senior Retired Emperor.)

Indeed, Tamekane's fate seems to have been equally tied to his relationship with Saionji Sanekane, a one-time Prime Minister and the official liaison between the imperial court in Kyoto and the Bakufu in Kamakura. Sanekane's daughter, Eifukumon-in, was the favored consort of the Emperor Fushimi. Yet although Sanekane's sympathies clearly lay with the Jimyō-in line, he did not inevitably support that group in political disputes. And although Tamekane's family had long been retainers of the Saionji house, Sanekane and Tamekane did not always get along. These problems greatly affected Tamekane's position at court.

Caught up in the middle of these court politics was Tamekane the man. Although reliable information about him is relatively sparse,

there is enough to give us some idea of the kind of person he must have been. The most striking fact, of course, is that he was twice sent into exile, for reasons about which his contemporaries were conspicuously vague. Even his strong backing by two Emperors was not enough to save him.

Important sources of information about him include the extant portions of his diary, *Tamekanekyōki*. Although the entries cover just a few months of his life and contain only such parts of his original diary as bear directly on waka, they reveal a great deal about his character. We also have the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō* (Suits Between the Two Lords in the Enkyō Era), surviving parts of a series of formal charges and countercharges between Tamekane and his cousin and chief rival, Nijō Tameyo, occasioned by the former's receiving a commission from the Retired Emperor Fushimi to compile the poetic anthology that was to become *Gyokuyōshū*. These documents are quite personal in tone and shed as much light on the character of the men who wrote them as on the poetic issues at hand. Finally, there are some relevant portions of contemporary diaries, mainly Emperor Hanazono's diary, known as *Hanazono Tennō Shinki*, which is perhaps our best single source of information on Tamekane.

While all of this may be of intrinsic interest, the assumption lying behind these excursions into history, politics, and personality is that Tamekane's poetry is worth all the effort. There are two ways to explore this question. One is to look into his poetics, using *Tamekanekyō Wakashō*, his judgments at poetry contests, and passages from Emperor Hanazono's diary to reconstruct his theory of poetry.

Beyond that, I will consider his poetry in some detail, first by discussing the techniques he used, and then by analyzing specific poems at some length. Brower and Miner have laid important groundwork by isolating several characteristics of the Kyōgoku style, such as the heavy use of imagery in nature poetry and the tendency to focus on detail.[7] But this will be expanded upon by looking more carefully at certain aspects of Tamekane's style, for example, his frequent distortion of waka's traditionally mellifluous rhythm through such devices as *ji-amari* (extra syllables beyond the number normally expected in a given line), the marked clustering of vowel sounds, the repetition of words, and the use of prosaic, even conversational diction—all techniques that were attacked with

outrage by his Nijō rivals. While *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* seems to glorify feeling (*kokoro*) above all else in the composition of waka, what most set Tamekane apart from his more conservative contemporaries was not so much that emphasis as the unconventional way in which he put the "feeling" into words.

Waka remained the dominant poetic form in Japan for so long only because certain poets along the line worked to adapt it to suit the needs and tastes of their own age. Tamekane was one such innovator. He broke a number of traditional rules, all the while insisting that he was thereby preserving the spirit (*kokoro*) of poetry. His innovations can best be demonstrated by analyzing some of his poems, then comparing them with similar ones written by his contemporaries and by poets of other ages.[8] Although Brower and Miner have given a sympathetic and solid treatment of Tamekane's poetry, I will pursue it further by looking more carefully at the years between Teika and Tamekane, and by examining the poetry of his Nijō rivals more thoroughly. The process of change in waka was not always as abrupt as Brower and Miner sometimes imply, and a look at some earlier poetry will show that Tamekane's approach was not entirely new.

This study seeks to shed light on the relationship between politics and literature in medieval Japan. Tamekane's successes and failures, not only in his lifetime, but after his death, reveal a great deal about the process of canon formation in waka. It was not until the twentieth century that his work began to receive positive attention, and nonliterary factors clearly figure into this neglect. Isolating these factors will surely bring us to a better understanding of Tamekane's fine poetry.

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Historical Background

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Tamekane's life neatly spans the second half of the Kamakura period, and in many ways he was representative of this transitional age. In fact, with the possible exception of the Mongol invasions, all the major political and institutional issues of the day are represented in microcosm in his life and career, and all had a profound impact on his influence as a poet.

On an institutional level, the Kamakura period is noted for its remarkable legal system, designed by Minamoto Yoritomo, the first Shogun, and perpetuated by the Hōjō family that succeeded him. This system managed to maintain reasonable stability in the distribution of income from the cultivation of the land by reviewing disputes among various claimants. Historians have traditionally characterized the Kamakura period as an age in which the warrior class, as represented by the Kamakura Bakufu, replaced the imperial court in Kyoto as the true center of power in Japan. But Jeffrey Mass and others have shown that the Bakufu was far less revolutionary and ambitious than has generally been supposed.

Throughout the Heian period there was a tendency among landholders to commend their land—more accurately, income and management rights to their land—ever upward to the largest religious institutions, both Buddhist and Shinto, and the highest pos-

sible court nobles, including members of the imperial family. The advantage to the landholder was protection from intrusion onto his estate and relief from excessive or capricious taxation; in return, the upper-level proprietor gained a dependable income.

In the past historians tended to view this practice as a breakdown of the *ritsu-ryō* land system, which had been established by the Nara period (710–84) to bring all lands under the control of the state. Yet as recent scholars have pointed out, the actual result of this commending process was that proprietary control ended up with the great religious institutions, which were already granted exemption under the *ritsu-ryō* system, and the high court nobles, the very ones who would have received and controlled the tax benefits anyway.[1] In other words, though this process may have violated the letter of the *ritsu-ryō* law, in so doing it upheld the spirit.

Imperial relatives were highly valued as proprietors, for they could guarantee the best protection. Since the Emperor himself, sitting at the apex of the *ritsu-ryō* system, could not legally be a proprietor, the responsibility for managing those estates that had been commended to the imperial family fell to the Senior Retired Emperor. G. Cameron Hurst III has described the resulting establishment and growth of the Retired Emperor's Office as a major political force through the Heian period.[2]

Japanese Emperors in this period rarely stayed on the throne until death. Instead, they generally ascended the throne at an early age, reigned for about ten years, then retired. This meant that at any given time there might be several Retired Emperors alive. In any event, by the Kamakura period, the Retired Emperor (or Retired Emperors) had become the dominant force in the imperial court. This continued to be the case until 1331, when Emperor Go-Daigo attempted to reassert direct imperial rule.*

So strong was this system of proprietary rights, from which the courtiers derived the livelihood that allowed them their cultural pursuits, that the advent of the Kamakura Bakufu had less impact

*The Retired Emperor's power extended well beyond estate management. For example, of the ten imperial anthologies compiled during the Kamakura period (from *Senzaishū*, Collection of a Thousand Years, in 1188 to *Shokugoshūishū*, Later Collection of Gleanings, in 1326), all but the last were ordered by Retired Emperors, and the exception, not surprisingly, was ordered by Go-Daigo.

than has generally been thought. Jeffrey Mass has demonstrated how Yoritomo quickly perceived that the only way to ensure national stability was to cooperate with the imperial court in maintaining the land system much as it had existed before the disturbances of the late twelfth century. He did introduce Bakufu agents, called *jitō*, onto many estates to restore order in areas that had been ravaged by warrior bands during the Genpei War,* and to ensure the smooth flow of income through the land system. However, as Mass notes, "countless estates simply experienced no dramatic change between the Heian and Kamakura periods."[3]

Of course, a *jitō* appointment did include income rights to the land, and *jitō* were ultimately responsible to the Bakufu rather than the imperial court, but in a few unusual cases they were actually court nobles (indeed, a dispute over *jitō* rights played a very important role in Tamekane's life), and all in all the Bakufu's approach was to encourage what Mass calls a "dual polity." Mass presents numerous legal documents demonstrating that the Bakufu preferred to limit its jurisdiction whenever possible by leaving traditional lines of authority intact.[4]

To be sure, in the aftermath of the Jōkyū Disturbance in 1221, the Bakufu was compelled to assume the power of dictating imperial succession in order to survive.† And the Mongol invasions gave the Bakufu further opportunity to levy special taxes on estates with temple or courtier backing, a practice begun in 1281. But in many areas of Japan, the proprietary authority of Kyoto court nobles remained more or less unchanged.[5]

The importance of this institutional background to Tamekane will become more evident presently. For now it should be kept in

*The Genpei War (1180–85) was fought between the Minamoto and Taira clans and their partisans. The victorious Minamoto set up a military government in Kamakura that guided, but did not supplant, the imperial court in military and administrative affairs.

†In 1221 (the third year of Jōkyū, or Shōkyū), Retired Emperor Go-Toba (1180–1239, r. 1184–98) and some of his courtiers were involved in an anti-Bakufu plot, the aim of which was to reclaim from the military government certain imperial prerogatives. When the uprising failed, Go-Toba and his son Retired Emperor Juntoku (1197–1242, r. 1210–21) were exiled. Go-Toba's other son, Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado (1195–1231, r. 1198–1210), voluntarily left the capital. As a result of the plot, the Bakufu exerted even stricter control over not only land issues, but cultural matters such as imperial anthologies as well.

mind that the Bakufu's reluctance to intervene in the economic affairs of the land, except when absolutely necessary, extended to political affairs in Kyoto as well. Throughout the Kamakura period, the Bakufu had the power to direct matters in the old capital, but it was very reluctant to exercise that power.

Nowhere was this hands-off attitude more apparent than in the Bakufu's gingerly approach to the factional rivalry that dominated the imperial court during the last half of the period. The trouble began with Emperor Go-Saga (see Table 1). In 1243, during the second year of his reign, his Empress Ōmiya gave birth to a son, Go-Fukakusa, who ascended the throne at the age of three when Go-Saga retired.* In 1249, Ōmiya bore Go-Saga another son, Kameyama. Retired Emperor Go-Saga and Ōmiya came to favor this younger son over Go-Fukakusa, who was forced to yield the throne to him in 1259. Such "early retirement" was not unprecedented—indeed, the round of successions that culminated in Go-Saga's own reign had been bewildering and rapid[6]—and in the normal course of events Go-Fukakusa might have been expected to live a quiet life until Go-Saga himself died, at which point he would have come into his own as Senior Retired Emperor, that is, the Retired Emperor who acted as head of the imperial family.

But events conspired to prevent such a smooth transition. For one thing, Retired Emperor Go-Saga did not die soon. He lived on until 1272, thirteen years after Go-Fukakusa's retirement, and presided over court matters during that time as *jisei no kimi*, the actual "ruler of the country."[7] More problematic for Go-Fukakusa was the matter of Kameyama's successor. Judging from the circumstances surrounding Tamekane's rise and fall (and rise and fall), the real issue in court politics seems to have been the selection of the Crown Prince, which had to be done each time a new Emperor ascended the throne. More often than not in Tamekane's lifetime, the identity of the Crown Prince gave a better indication of which faction wielded the most influence in court politics than the identity of the *jisei no kimi*. Although Go-Fukakusa produced a son (the future Emperor Fushimi) in 1265, Kameyama's first son, Go-Uda, born in

*For the sake of simplicity I have, except where unavoidable, referred to imperial participants by the names they took as Emperors. I have used the titles Crown Prince, Emperor, and Retired Emperor to distinguish the various stages of the imperial existence.

TABLE I

The Two Imperial Lines After the Reign of Go-Saga (1220–72; r. 1242–46)

Senior line (Jimyō-in)	Junior line (Daikaku-ji)
Go-Fukakusa [89] Dates: 1243–1304 Father: Go-Saga Crown Prince: 1243 Emperor: 1246–59 Jisei no kimi: 1287–90 Monk: ii 1290	Kameyama [90] Dates: 1249–1305 Father: Go-Saga Crown Prince: 1258 Emperor: 1259–74 Jisei no kimi: 1272–87 Monk: ix 1289
Fushimi [92] Dates: 1265–1317 Father: Go-Fukakusa Crown Prince: xi 1275 Emperor: 1287–98[a] Jisei no kimi: 1290–1301; 1308–13 Monk: x 1313	Go-Uda [91] Dates: 1267–1324 Father: Kameyama Crown Prince: viii 1268 Emperor: 1274–87 Jisei no kimi: 1301–8; 1318–23 Monk: vii 1307
Go-Fushimi [93] Dates: 1288–1336 Father: Fushimi Crown Prince: iv 1289 Emperor: 1298–1301 Jisei no kimi: 1313–18; 1331–33 Monk: 1333	Go-Nijō [94] Dates: 1285–1308 Father: Go-Uda Crown Prince: viii 1298 Emperor: 1301–8 Jisei no kimi: — Monk: — (*Died as Emperor*)
Hanazono [95] Dates: 1297–1348 Father: Fushimi Crown Prince: viii 1302 Emperor: 1308–18 Jisei no kimi: — Monk: 1336	Go-Daigo [96] Dates: 1288–1339 Father: Go-Uda Crown Prince: ix 1308 Emperor: 1318–31 Jisei no kimi: 1323–31 (*Dynastic split from 1332*)

SOURCE: Iwasa Miyoko, *Eifukumon-in* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976), pp. 281–86.

NOTE: Numbers in brackets indicate the order of succession.

[a]Fushimi acceded to the throne in the tenth month of 1287 but was not formally enthroned until the third month of 1288.

1267, was named Crown Prince at the age of eight months. It appeared that Go-Fukakusa would be left to obscurity, for when Go-Uda became Emperor, his father Kameyama would naturally become the *jisei no kimi.*

This is precisely what happened when Go-Saga died in 1272, though the elapse of two years before Go-Uda's accession indicates that the transition was not smooth. In fact, Lady Nijō, one of

Go-Fukakusa's concubines and author of *Towazugatari* (The Confessions of Lady Nijō), notes that "messengers were sent to Kamakura about the political situation, which by the fifth month [of 1272] had grown very complicated."[8] The Bakufu consulted Go-Saga's widow, Ōmiya, who maintained that the late Retired Emperor had clearly favored Kameyama, though in his will he left the more important (that is to say lucrative) part of his estate to Go-Fukakusa. Obviously, the issue was not to be decided easily.

Traditional historiography has focused on the Emperor and ignored the importance of the selection of the Crown Prince. George Sansom, for example, implies that Go-Uda's accession in 1274 came as a surprise to Go-Fukakusa.[9] But that seems unlikely, for as Iwasa Miyoko notes, Go-Uda had already been named Crown Prince in 1268.[10] Sansom goes on to say that the shock of Kameyama's setting up a Retired Emperor's Office for himself in 1275 was what drove Go-Fukakusa to "resign all his titles, ranks, and privileges."[11] But again he seems to be missing the point. The issue was the Crown Prince. Lady Nijō, who places these events in the autumn of 1274, claims that Kamakura's attempt to reconcile the situation by supporting the selection of Go-Fukakusa's son Fushimi as the next Crown Prince "so revived Go-Fukakusa's spirits that he decided not to enter religious orders."[12]

It seems clear, then, that the two-year gap between Go-Saga's death and Kameyama's retirement was due to intense infighting over the succession, not, as Sansom suggests, because of Kameyama's desire to stay on the throne. In fact, Go-Fukakusa won this particular round, and Fushimi was installed as Crown Prince in 1275. Kameyama's camp, however, was not without devices, for Go-Uda still held the throne, and Kameyama himself was *jisei no kimi*. Assuming that none of the principals died suddenly (and none did), the next turning point would come when Go-Uda retired, Fushimi became Emperor, and a new Crown Prince would have to be named.

Matters came to a head in the tenth month of 1287, when Emperor Go-Uda stepped down and Fushimi was named Emperor (though he was not formally installed until the third month of 1288). In the second month of 1288, one of Fushimi's consorts gave birth to a son, Go-Fushimi, who was then adopted by Empress Eifukumon-in. This move was significant in two ways. First, by

having his Empress adopt the boy, Fushimi was preparing his own claimant for the position of Crown Prince. Second, the Empress's father, Saionji Sanekane, would be able to see a "grandson" installed on the throne. Sanekane's position vis-à-vis the imperial court was analogous to that of Fujiwara Michinaga at the turn of the eleventh century, which is to say that he was the most powerful man in the Kyoto court. And like Michinaga, he had achieved his power through intimate ties with the imperial family. One of his paternal aunts, Ōmiya, was Go-Saga's Empress, the other, Higashi Nijō-in, was Go-Fukakusa's, and his sister was Kameyama's Empress. Another daughter, Go-Kyōgoku-in, later became Go-Daigo's Empress.[13]

Sanekane also had a high enough standing with Kamakura that he was appointed liaison (*mōshitsugi*) between the Bakufu and the court. Though he had close ties with both the Jimyō-in and Daikaku-ji imperial lines, it appears that especially at the time in question, 1287–88, his sympathies were with Go-Fukakusa and his partisans. This was probably because he had been Chamberlain (*tōgū no daibu*) for Crown Prince Fushimi, and his eldest daughter now stood to become Empress when Fushimi took the throne.

The series of events following Go-Uda's retirement all seem to indicate a clear victory for the Jimyō-in line, and it was one that Sanekane shared. Fushimi's installation as Emperor in the third month of 1288 marked the end of Kameyama's tenure as *jisei no kimi*, and he was followed in that position by Go-Fukakusa. Go-Uda's first son, the four-year-old Go-Nijō, was passed over in favor of Fushimi's son Go-Fushimi, who with the Bakufu's blessing became Crown Prince in the fourth month of 1289, at the age of fourteen months. The connection with Sanekane must surely have had a bearing on this in light of his position as liaison between the court and the Bakufu.

In the ninth month of 1289 Kameyama took the tonsure, though he by no means renounced politics. In 1283 a sizable transfer of imperial family estates through an indirect inheritance approved by the Bakufu had given him more economic leverage within the imperial family.[14] He was even implicated in an assassination attempt on Fushimi in 1290, though he denied it in a formal letter to the Bakufu.

However, at this point, the Crown Prince (Go-Fushimi), the

Emperor (Fushimi), and the *jisei no kimi* (Go-Fukakusa) were all of a single line, a situation not duplicated during the remainder of the Kamakura period. Moreover, in the eighth month of 1289 one of Go-Fukakusa's sons, Hisa-akira, was named Shogun and moved to Kamakura. Perhaps confident about the way matters stood, Go-Fukakusa took the tonsure in the second month of 1290, whereupon Fushimi became *jisei no kimi* as well as Emperor.[15]

As for Sanekane, in the twelfth month of 1291 he rose to the office of Prime Minister (as his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had done before him). Other Jimyō-in partisans benefited, too. One who notably did so was Tamekane, whose career had been progressing at a normal rate until the seventh month of 1288 (just after Fushimi took the throne), when he was suddenly promoted in rank. This was the first of a series of advancements for him over the next several years.

But the Daikaku-ji line was hardly out of the picture. Its members continued to press their case backstage, and Tamekane became one of their main targets. He evidently acted as Fushimi's political "hatchet man" and in so doing alienated many people, including, it would seem, Sanekane. In 1296 Tamekane resigned his posts under a cloud of suspicion, rumored to be involved in a plot against the Bakufu. The suspicion never cleared, and he was arrested by Rokuhara (the Bakufu's office in Kyoto) in the first month of 1298, and exiled two months later. In the seventh month of the same year, Fushimi retired, Go-Fushimi became Emperor, and Go-Nijō, son of Go-Uda and part of the Daikaku-ji line, was named Crown Prince on the recommendation of the Bakufu.

It is impossible to know whether Tamekane's political activities turned Kamakura against the Jimyō-in line, or whether he embarked on that course because Kamakura seemed about to favor the Daikaku-ji line. In any case, the naming of Go-Nijō as Crown Prince appeared to establish the principle that the throne should alternate between the two rival lines.

At this point the positions of Emperor (Go-Fushimi) and *jisei no kimi* (Fushimi) were both held by the Jimyō-in line. But their inability to save Tamekane from exile implies that real power now lay with Kameyama's partisans. And since a Daikaku-ji heir was now Crown Prince, that office emerges as a better indicator than the office of Emperor or Retired Emperor of which line was more in-

fluential at any given time. Perhaps this was because the Crown Prince represented potential. But once he became Emperor, or even *jisei no kimi*, much of that power seemingly evaporated unless the new Crown Prince was of the same line. It is of course problematic which came first—the power or the Crown Prince's post—but it is clear that once a Crown Prince was designated by the Bakufu, his line gained dominant, though not absolute, influence in court politics.

Go-Fushimi's reign was short. He retired in the first month of 1301, Go-Nijō took the throne, and Go-Uda replaced Fushimi as *jisei no kimi*. The matter of the next Crown Prince took over a year to settle. In accordance with the informal principle of alternation, Hanazono, younger brother of Go-Fushimi and thus a member of the Jimyō-in line, was named Crown Prince in the eighth month of 1302. Here again, although the Daikaku-ji line held both the position of Emperor (Go-Nijō) and the position of *jisei no kimi* (Go-Uda), the senior line's hold on the Crown Prince's position was apparently what allowed its members to lobby successfully for Tamekane's pardon, and the poet returned to Kyoto in the intercalary fourth month of 1303.

Go-Fukakusa died in 1304, and Kameyama a year later. The passing of these progenitors of the two main lines further complicated matters. Kameyama had continued to sire children almost to the very end and had even tried to get one of his sons named Crown Prince in preference to Go-Uda's son, Go-Daigo. The matter came to a head in 1306, when the late Kameyama's partisans lost the valuable support of Sanekane's son, Kinpira, who had replaced his retired father as the liaison between Kamakura and the court. By then, moreover, the inevitable was beginning to occur: splits were developing within the two main lines, thus multiplying the problems. There were potential claimants to the throne from among the offspring of Kameyama, Go-Fushimi, Hanazono (though he never in fact produced a suitable male heir), and eventually Go-Nijō and Go-Daigo.

Hanazono became Emperor in the eighth month of 1308, and his father Fushimi thus began his second tenure as *jisei no kimi*. To maintain the principle of alternation, Go-Daigo, Go-Uda's son, was named Crown Prince in the ninth month. The next decade saw the situation degenerate into near chaos, with at least four groups

contending for the throne. In 1315 Tamekane was again exiled for alleged anti-Bakufu activities, probably at the intervention of Sanekane, who had returned from retirement upon the death of his son Kinpira.[16] Even Fushimi was under suspicion and had to send Kamakura a formal denial of any wrongdoing.

Following this, the Bakufu stepped in and imposed an agreement known as the Bunpō Wadan (the Compromise of 1317): when Go-Daigo succeeded Hanazono as Emperor (which he did the next year), the Crown Prince would be Go-Nijō's son Kuninaga, who was a member of the same Daikaku-ji line, but the office would then pass to the Jimyō-in heir, Kōgon (one of Go-Fushimi's sons).

The compromise meant that neither Hanazono nor Go-Daigo could hope to see one of his sons on the throne. To Tamekane it meant spending the rest of his life in exile, since Fushimi was dead and Hanazono had become virtually superfluous in imperial politics. Go-Fushimi, of the Jimyō-in line, was *jisei no kimi* during the early years of Tamekane's exile, and then again toward the end, but his relationship with Tamekane had grown cool. Hanazono notes in his diary that he could do nothing to persuade his brother Go-Fushimi to pardon Tamekane.

The long-range consequences of the 1317 compromise were enormous. In 1331 Go-Daigo began a revolt against the Bakufu that has come to be known as the Kenmu Restoration. His desire to see his own son Emperor must surely have been a factor in his rebellion. Although Go-Daigo failed to restore his line to absolute power, the uprising brought about the fall of the Kamakura Bakufu, and triggered a full-blown schism in the imperial family when Go-Daigo and his descendants set up a rival court in Yoshino that lasted for almost sixty years. Since the details of the Kenmu Restoration have little traceable bearing on Tamekane, they will not be taken up here. Suffice it to say that the split, then splintering, of Go-Saga's descendants was the dominant court reality in Tamekane's lifetime, affecting Tamekane the poet as well as Tamekane the politician.

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Tamekane's Life: The First Rise and Fall

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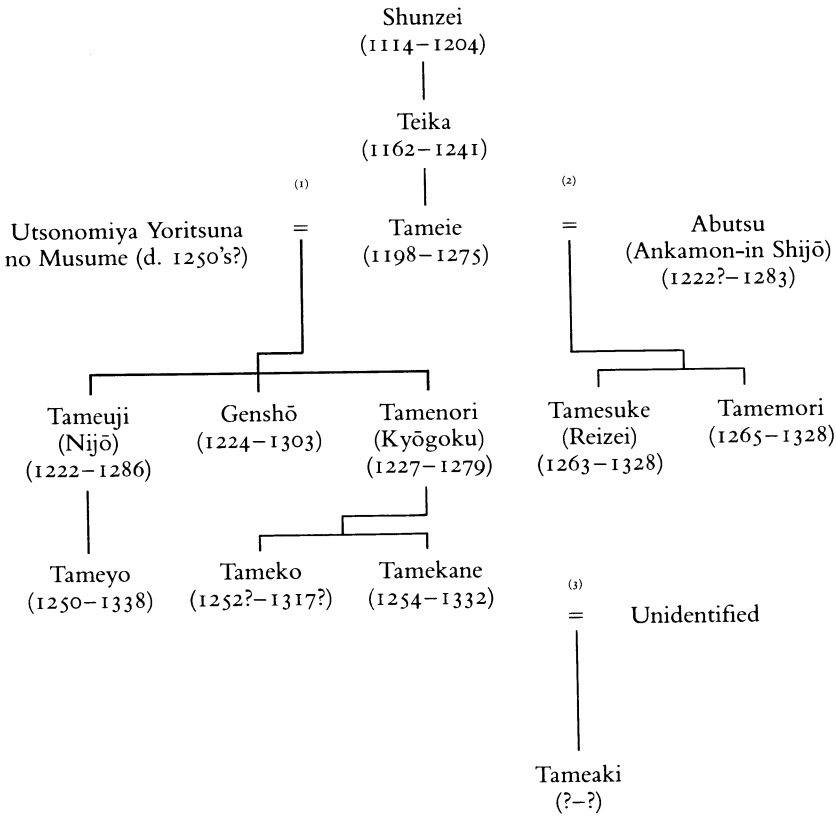
To some degree Tamekane's problems were not of his own creation but repercussions of events that occurred a half-century earlier, in the days of his great-grandfather and grandfather. Tamekane's great-grandfather was the illustrious Fujiwara Teika, recognized as a poetic genius in his lifetime and practically deified by succeeding generations. His grandfather was Teika's only legitimate son, Tameie.[1]

Much as Teika had wished to pass on his poetic knowledge (and his land rights) to his son, Tameie at first showed little inclination for verse; he seemed to prefer *kemari* (a kind of kickball). Indeed, members of the Mikohidari house, Teika's branch of the Fujiwara family, were almost as famous for their *kemari* skills as for their poetry. But gradually Tameie developed into a competent and prolific poet. Though he never attained his father's level of greatness, many of his poems were quite good, even innovative, and as Teika's heir, he was considered the poetic sage of his day.

In 1248 Retired Emperor Go-Saga commissioned him alone to compile an imperial anthology, although often such works were compiled by committees. The result of his efforts was *Shokugosenshū* (Later Collection Continued). In 1259 Go-Saga again requested him to put together a collection, but this time, on the petition of several rival poets, the Bakufu compelled the Retired Emperor to



Principal members of the Mikohidari house of the Fujiwara. Data from Ariyoshi Tamotsu, *Waka Bungaku Jiten* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1982); and Ikeda Tomizō, "Kyōgoku Tamekane no Ningenzō," *Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū*, 17 (Nov. 1981), pp. 83–97.

include them (one was the Shogun's own poetry teacher) in the commission. They completed their anthology, *Shokukokinshū* (Collection of Ancient and Modern Times Continued), in 1265.

The events surrounding the commissioning of these two anthologies foreshadowed the problems that Tamekane would encounter in a later day. Over the centuries imperial commissions had been in some sense a barometer of poetic activity. If an anthology was given to just one poet to compile, it was a good indication that he either was clearly the superior poet of his day, or was a favorite of the Emperor or Retired Emperor. When a committee was chosen,

it usually meant that the various poetic schools were of roughly equal skill and/or political influence.

With the establishment of the Kamakura Bakufu, the situation had become even more complicated. Many in Kamakura took an active interest in poetry, and the military government was not above intervening in imperial anthologies, as they did in the case of *Shokukokinshū*. An even more dramatic case had occurred several decades earlier. When Teika was compiling *Shinchokusenshū* (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times) in the early 1230's, the Bakufu forced him to remove roughly one hundred poems by such political enemies as Retired Emperors Go-Toba and Juntoku, who had been among the anti-Bakufu forces during the Jōkyū Disturbance of 1221 and had subsequently been exiled for life.[2] Although the odds are overwhelming that none of the excised poems had even subtle political content, the Bakufu seemed reluctant to allow their enemies the prestige of a voice.

Tameie sired at least five sons by three wives (see the accompanying chart). Tameuji and Tamenori were born of his first, and principal, wife, as was another son, Genshō, who became a monk at the age of twenty. After this wife died, and after Tameie had taken the tonsure in 1256, his new mistress, whom he had met in 1253, bore him Tamesuke and Tamemori. This woman, Ankamon-in Shijō, is better known now by her clerical name, the Nun Abutsu. A fifth son, Tameaki, was of a different mother.[3]

In a fascinating twist of history, the problems that ensued when Go-Saga came to favor a later son over his first-born were echoed a few decades later in the Mikohidari house. In 1256 Tameie, stricken with what he thought was a terminal illness, took the tonsure and settled his estate, willing the most important part to his eldest son, Tameuji. This included both proprietary and *jitō* rights to Hosokawa-shō (modern-day Hyōgo Prefecture), from which the Mikohidari house derived much of its income.* It also included the library that Shunzei and Teika had accumulated. This consisted of rare early manuscripts, copies that Teika had made of important literary works, and many of Teika's own critical writings, as well as things Tameie, himself considered a poetry master, had collected or

**Jitō* rights were usually reserved for Kamakura vassals. But the Bakufu had awarded them to Teika for, among other things, his service as poetry teacher to the Shogun Sanetomo (1192–1219). Having both proprietary and *jitō* rights to an estate amounted to virtually absolute control over its income.

written. The possessor of these documents could claim to be Teika's true poetic heir—all the more so because many of the writings were secret.[4]

Brower and Miner suggest that "Tameie and Japanese Court poetry might have passed serenely into extinction had he not . . . taken to wife a most remarkable woman, commonly known by the religious name she took after his death, the Nun Abutsu (d. ca. 1283)."[5] And Ishida Yoshisada maintains that if there had been no Abutsu, rivalries would probably never have developed among Tameie's descendants.[6] Both observations are overstated. They ignore, among other things, the abrasive personalities of several of the other participants in the family dispute and the very real literary differences among them. It is fair to say, however, that the union of Abutsu and Tameie was to have far-reaching consequences.

Tamekane was the offspring of Tameie's second son, Tamenori, and his principal wife, who also bore him a daughter, Tameko. Tameko appears to have been the elder of the two, though this is a matter of some dispute, since her dates are not known.[7] Tamekane was born in 1254.

Tamekane's mother is a shadowy figure, but it appears that her family had served the Saionji house and the Jimyō-in line of the imperial family.[8] Tamenori's connection to the Saionji family is clear enough. Teika's principal wife had been one of Saionji Kintsune's daughters. It was she who gave birth to Tameie.[9] Thus Kintsune was one of Tamenori's great-grandfathers.

Tamekane's progress through court ranks and offices in his early years was normal for one of his station. At the age of five he entered the service of Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa, where he stayed until he was twenty-five.[10] He also had close ties with the Saionji house. As Emperor Hanazono noted in his diary: "In Tamekane's youth he was supported by the Lay Priest and Prime Minister Sanekane, and was treated more or less as a retainer."[11]

One other notable event marked Tamekane's early life. In 1270, at the age of seventeen by the Japanese count, he moved in with his grandfather Tameie and began to study poetry under him. Tameko joined them. They continued their studies with their grandfather until his death in 1275, though they did not live with him through all those years.[12] Tameie appears to have entrusted the brother and sister with what at that time would have been considered privileged

teachings, for Tamekane says in his diary that he and Tameko used special texts of *Kokinshū* (one in Teika's own hand), with marginal notes by Tameie, to instruct Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, and Eifukumon-in. Although the texts themselves probably came from Tamekane's uncle Tamesuke (as will be discussed later), Tamekane goes on to say, "The two of us told of traditions that had been passed down to us by Tameie during the Bun'ei era [1264–75]."[13]

Tamekane began to come into his own after Fushimi became Crown Prince in 1275. By the autumn of 1276 he had made sufficient name for himself as a poet to be included at two palace poetry parties. One was the *Kameyama Jōkō Sentō Kangen Wakakai* (Priestly Retired Emperor Kameyama's Music and Poetry Party at the Sentō Palace), held on the nineteenth day of the eighth month. If he submitted any poetry at that party, it is no longer extant. On the thirteenth day of the following month, he attended the *Dairi Goshu Utakai* (Palace Five-Poem Poetry Party), at which Retired Emperor Kameyama called on each of the participants to submit five poems. Ishida cites two poems that appear in later imperial anthologies, and based on their headnotes and attributions, he argues that they are among the five Tamekane submitted at this gathering.[14] As probably Tamekane's earliest known public works, they are worth noting here:

SGSS 345. From among the five poems read on the thirteenth night, ninth month, second year of Kenji [1276]

Suminoboru	Sky clears
Tsuki no atari wa	Around the moon
Sora harete	As it climbs brightly;
Yama no ha tōku	Off on distant mountain's edge
Nokoru ukigumo	Floating clouds linger.

*SSZS 1578. On One Mind, from five poems composed upon request at the palace on the thirteenth night, ninth month, second year of Kenmu.**

Hakanaku zo	How fleeting!
Arishi wakare no	Our parting on that twilight dawn

*Ishida ("Kyōgoku Tamekane," pp. 281–82) notes that some scholars argue that the date here (Kenmu 2, or 1335) means Tamekane must have lived beyond 1332, the year Emperor Hanazono, among others, claims he died. But Ishida maintains that this is a copyist's error, and the reign year should read Kenji. In fact the *Nihon Bungaku Nempyō* gives no indication that there was any poetry gathering in the palace on Kenmu 2 ix 13 (Ichiko, p. 111).

Akatsuki mo	Now past—
Kore o kagiri to	I did not imagine
Omowazarikeru	It would be our final one.

Neither of these poems is particularly distinguished, and one finds little hint of Tamekane's later style. Perhaps this is why the conservatives who compiled the anthologies in which they appear found them acceptable.

In 1278 came further indications that Tamekane was being taken seriously as a poet. At a poetry party on the twenty-first day of the first month, he attended in the role of "poetry adviser."[15] More significantly, later that year he was asked, along with other respected poets of the day, to submit a one-hundred-poem sequence to be used as source material for an imperial anthology commissioned by Kameyama and compiled by his uncle Tameuji.[16] This anthology, *Shokushūishū* (Collection of Gleanings Continued), was formally presented at the end of 1278 and included two poems by Tamekane, as well as three by Tameko. This marked the first time either brother or sister had been published in an imperial collection.

Tamekane's two poems are quoted here, since they are the earliest of his verses included in an imperial anthology:

ShokuSIS 976. Topic unknown

Wasurezu yo	I shall not forget
Kasumi no ma yori	That midnight vision
Moru tsuki no	Faintly seen
Honoka ni miteshi	By moonlight filtered
Yowa no omokage	Through broken mists.

ShokuSIS 1167. From a one-hundred-poem sequence submitted for consideration

Tsukaekoshi	Even as I ponder
Yo yo no nagare o	The flow of generations
Omou ni mo	Through which we served,
Wa ga mi ni tanomu	The burden of Seki's Fuji River
Seki no Fujikawa	Now falls upon myself.

The second poem is an interesting piece of complexity that sheds some light on Tamekane's character. "Seki's Fuji River" refers to Teika's famous work the *Fujikawa Hyakushu* (Fujikawa One-Hundred Poem Sequence).[17] Like so many of Teika's sequences, this one was regarded as a model and was emulated by generations of

later poets, including Tameie and Abutsu. The title of the sequence is derived from its opening poem:

Tanomikoshi	Long-awaited,
Seki no Fujikawa	Spring has come
Haru kite mo	To Seki's Fuji River.
Fukaki kasumi ni	Yet in deep mists the river sobs,
Shita musebitsutsu	Still blocked beneath by ice.

Tamekane has preserved the imagery, much of the vocabulary, and the concessive structure of the earlier poem. But while Teika's poem was a scenic description, Tamekane's is an allegory. On the surface the poem says merely that the poet is moved by the coming of spring to Fuji River to ponder the passing of time—and his illustrious ancestor. But his use of the word *tsukaekoshi* ("to have served") signals a deeper meaning. The reference is to the Mikohidari house's service as "court poets" to a succession of Emperors. The last two lines imply that Tamekane considers himself heir to Teika's poetic legacy, or at least feels a sense of responsibility to his heritage. In light of this it might seem surprising that Tameuji would include such a brash poem in *Shokushūishū*, particularly one by the son of his brother and rival, Tamenori, though Ikeda Tomizō, among others, notes that the dispute between the brothers did not really become serious until after *Shokushūishū*, or indeed, because of it.[18]

Up to this point in Tamekane's literary life, Retired Emperor Kameyama was the center of poetic activity.[19] But fissures were beginning to develop in the world of poetry, and the tensions that led to them had begun some years before. When, in 1263, forty years after the birth of his first son, Tameie had a son by Abutsu, he rewrote his will, leaving the proprietary and *jitō* rights to Hosokawa-shō, and the extensive poetic document collection, to Abutsu's son, Tamesuke. Tameuji and Tamenori were willed, respectively, residences at Nijō Avenue and Kyōgoku Street, from which they and their descendants derived their surnames when the Mikohidari house split. Tamesuke and his descendants took the name Reizei, after the residence that Tamesuke was given on Tameie's death.

Naturally, Tameuji was not happy about this turn of events, and a bitter inheritance dispute ensued when Tameie died in 1275. Literary historians might assume that the heart of the matter was the in-

valuable literary collection Tamesuke stood to inherit. But it was no easier making a living as a poet then than now, and what most concerned the disputants at the time were undoubtedly the rights to Hosokawa-shō. The situation they faced was this: according to imperial court law, one could will one's estate to whomever one wished (it need not be the eldest son), but once the will was made it could not be changed; Bakufu law, on the other hand, recognized one's right to change a will.

Abutsu saw that the best chances for a settlement in favor of her son, Tamesuke, were with the Bakufu. Not only did the Bakufu permit the changing of a will, but it was Kamakura that granted or rescinded *jitō* rights. These were in general more important (which is to say lucrative) in this period than proprietary rights, over which the imperial court had jurisdiction. Thus, in 1279 Abutsu set off to Kamakura to plead her case.

Where did Tamenori stand in this dispute? As second son, he probably never expected any major inheritance for himself. From that standpoint he had no apparent reason to take sides. But in fact by 1279 (the year he died, and the year Abutsu went to Kamakura), he and Tameuji were at bitter odds over poetry. They excluded each other from poetry contests at their homes,[20] and just months before he died, Tamenori wrote an angry letter to the Bureau of Poetry, protesting that his children, Tamekane and Tameko, had been slighted by Tameuji in the *Shokushūishū*. Years later, Tameuji's son, Tameyo, claimed that Tamenori's untimely death in the fifth month of 1279 was divine retribution for this letter of protest, which constituted the breaking of an oath of allegiance Tamenori had sworn to the Nijō house in 1278.[21] In fact, there was much to criticize about *Shokushūishū*, which *Masukagami* (a narrative history, or *rekishi monogatari,* of the Kamakura period, completed by 1376 and often attributed to the *renga* master Nijō Yoshimoto) dismissed as "an imitation of *Shokukokinshū*; one would be hard put to find its rival for mediocrity."[22] There is no denying that the collection favored the poets of the Nijō school.

In 1280 Tamekane was taken into the service of Crown Prince Fushimi as one of the Prince's poetry teachers.[23] From that point on, his life was inextricably tied to the vicissitudes of the Jimyō-in line. And it is here that his career as a poet and politician really began. Through the next decade, his star rose rapidly, both as a poet and as

a courtier. Fushimi's growing affection and respect for him can be seen in an incident related in *Nakatsukasa no Naishi Nikki*, a diary kept by one of Fushimi's ladies-in-waiting.[24] It took place on the nineteenth day of the fourth month, 1283. Tamekane had been away from the palace for some time, possibly in seclusion for some political misdeed. On this spring evening Fushimi missed him and was moved to send him a poem, a rare honor for one as low in rank as Tamekane was at that time.[25] Fushimi clearly had a high opinion of Tamekane's aesthetic sensibilities and believed that he alone would understand the Crown Prince's feelings. Besides sending Fushimi a suitable reply poem, Tamekane also exchanged poems—including his only known *chōka* (literally, "long poem")*—with two other courtiers.

By this time, too, the lines in the family dispute among Tameie's heirs were firmly drawn. Tamekane and Tameko were both in the service of Fushimi and had thus cast their lot with the Jimyō-in line. They had also grown close to Abutsu, who was still in Kamakura pleading her son's case before the Bakufu. In her diary *Izayoi Nikki* (Diary of the Waning Moon), we find some sympathetic poems on the topic of travel that she exchanged with Tamekane and Tameko back in the capital:[26]

Tameko

Harubaru to	Across the distance
Omoi koso yare	My thoughts reach out to you
Tabigoromo	In traveler's robes;
Namida shigururu	I wonder how you fare, sleeves wet
Sode ya ika ni to	With tears and early winter rain.

Abutsu's reply

Omoe tada	Just ponder awhile
Tsuyu mo shigure mo	These drops on my sleeves
Hitotsu nite	As I push through mountain paths,
Yamaji wakekoshi	Tears, or dew, or winter rains—
Sode no shizuku o	They're all as one.

*A *chōka* is a poem of indeterminate length, with alternating lines of five and seven syllables, ending with an extra seven-syllable line and usually followed by one or more envoy-like tanka. In formal collections the form had more or less gone out of style by the Heian period, although it was still sometimes used in correspondence and laments. In discussing this passage, modern Japanese scholars do not deal with the *chōka* at all. One would have expected such a thing to be of at least historical interest, but perhaps this is an indication of just how inconsequential Japanese scholars consider this long form to be except as it is found in *Man'yōshū*.

Tamekane

Furusato wa	You left your home
Shigure ni tachishi	With early winter rains
Tabigoromo	Soaking your traveler's robes.
Yuki ni ya itodo	Now it must be freezing snow
Saemasarurame	That gathers ever deeper on them.

Abutsu's reply

Tabigoromo	Wind off the bay blows cold
Urakaze saete	On the lining of my traveler's robes
Kannazuki	In this the Tenth Month.
Shigururu kumo ni	From early winter rain clouds
Yuki zo furisou	Now snow is falling, too.

This moral support must have been comforting to Abutsu, for she did not seem to have many friends in the capital at the time. When Tameie died in 1275, she had hidden away some of his literary documents, apparently fearing that initial decisions in favor of Nijō Tameuji might deprive her son of this valuable library. It seems this was no secret in Kyoto, for several contemporary or near-contemporary sources make note of it. For example, Tameie's son Genshō claims in his *Genshō Waka Kuden* (Genshō's Oral Teachings on Waka; ca. 1294) that shortly after his father's death, Abutsu hid some important literary documents, including things written in Teika's hand.[27] Some thirty years later Tameyo makes the same charge in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*.[28]

Sometime after Abutsu's arrival in Kamakura, Retired Emperor Kameyama, who was *jisei no kimi* at the time, ordered her to turn over to Nijō Tameuji the documents she was holding back.[29] But she only partially complied, withholding many of the more precious documents and padding the collection with forgeries.[30] The material she withheld evidently became the nucleus of the Reizei family library, which remained secret until 1981, when the descendants of Tamesuke opened their storehouse, called the Shigure-tei, and turned its holdings over to the Heian Museum in Kyoto.[31] The dispute over these documents exacerbated the growing antagonism among Teika's descendants.

Also fueling the antagonism was the fact that a poetry group had begun to form in Crown Prince Fushimi's court, with Fushimi, Eifukumon-in, Tamekane, Tameko, and Saionji Sanekane at its center. Shino Hiroshi marks a poetry contest held in 1285, called

the *Kōan Hachinen Shigatsu Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in the Fourth Month of the Eighth Year of Kōan), as the first exclusively "Kyōgoku" poetry contest. The participants were Tamekane, Minamoto Tomoaki, the sponsor (called by the court title Dayū in the text, but probably Sanekane), and Tameko, here identified only by the title Gon-chūnagon no Tsubone.[32] These poets, however, were still experimenting. As Iwasa Miyoko notes, their early efforts are not at all like the style we now associate with the Kyōgoku school, and indeed "can hardly be thought of as poems."[33]

Still, two of Tamekane's early poems, one informal and one formal, show the direction he was taking. The first example is one of a great number of draft poems by various Kyōgoku poets (including 244 by Tamekane) discovered on the back of the original manuscript of *Kanmon Gyoki*, a fifteenth-century diary by Prince Gosukō-in:[34]

Sate mo nao	Well, now!
Haru wa izuku no	Of this morning's fallen snow
Shirushi zo to	I should like to ask
Kesa furu yuki ni	Where have we a sign
Towan to zo omou	Of spring's arrival?

Two things are immediately apparent about this poem. One is its conversational, prosaic tone, and the other is the *ji-amari*, or extra syllable, albeit a quasi-elision, in the last line. The *ji-amari* is frequently encountered in more mature Kyōgoku poems, as is deliberately prosaic wording, which belies somewhat Iwasa's contention that the discovery of these poems dramatically alters traditional perceptions of the Kyōgoku style.[35]

The second poem is from the poetry contest held in the fourth month of 1285, so by nature it is more formal. Yet this was an "in-house" gathering, so most of the poems from this contest can be considered relatively experimental:[36]

Hitori ite	Alone the night through,
Mono omoi akasu	Exhausted by thoughts of love
Yo mo sugara	Till it grows light;
Tayumanu ame no	Cruel the drumming sound
Oto zo tsurenaki	Of ceaseless rain.

This poem is more conventional than the other, though it, too, features a weak (that is, consisting of consecutive identical vowels) *ji-*

amari, here in the second line. *Hitori ite* (translated as "alone") is also an unusual phrase, particularly as a first line.[37]

The 1280's, then, were the formative years for the Kyōgoku group. Crown Prince Fushimi's court provided a kind of salon in which these like-minded poets could practice their art. Tamekane gradually emerged as the master, and sometime between 1285 and 1287 he wrote the poetic treatise that is the only extant critical work of the Kyōgoku group—*Tamekanekyō Wakashō*.[38]

Scholars differ on what prompted Tamekane to write this treatise. Ishida, among others, suggests that it was meant to commemorate Fushimi's accession to the throne in 1287.[39] If so, it could be thought of as a kind of "declaration of principles" for the new Kyōgoku school. Others, like Tsugita Kasumi and Iwasa Miyoko, maintain that it is primarily an anti-Nijō tract, motivated by the growing antagonism between Tamekane and Tameyo as representatives of their respective schools of poetry.[40]

These explanations are of course not mutually exclusive. In fact, as we shall see later, the treatise does take a theoretical stand toward the writing of poetry and in that sense can be seen as a declaration of principles; but it is also quite polemic in places, understandably so, since the principles it espouses run counter to the prevailing attitudes of the time. The important point for present purposes is that in writing this work, Tamekane emerged as the spokesman for the Kyōgoku school.

With Fushimi's accession to the throne, Tamekane the politician also began to come into his own. His court promotions, which up until then had been orderly if not especially rapid, began to come more quickly. In terms of offices he rose in quick steps from Middle Captain of the Left to Head Chamberlain (1288), Consultant (1289), Commander of the Gate Guards (of the Right and the Left, both 1290), and Provisional Middle Counselor (mid-1291).[41] By contrast Nijō Tameyo, who had progressed somewhat faster than Tamekane in his early years, was not promoted at all during this period.[42] Tamekane also climbed one full court rank in this period, to Senior Third Rank. And in 1292 he was promoted again, to Junior Second Rank.

In the seventh month of 1293 he was sent as an imperial messenger to Ise Shrine to deliver Fushimi's prayers for the protection of the country (there had been earthquakes and fires that seemed to bode ill) and to offer up thirty of the Emperor's poems to the gods.

The importance of the mission can be judged from the fact that every night of Tamekane's absence, Fushimi prayed fervently in the palace shrine.[43]

Two entries from Fushimi's diary shed light on the relationship between him and Tamekane during these years:

1289 i 13—. . . Lord Tamekane's resolve is inexhaustible and unmatched. His greatest virtue is his devoted service to the throne.

1292 i 19—[Fushimi had just related a very auspicious dream and had asked rhetorically whether anyone else had had such a fortuitous vision.] Lord Tamekane then said, "On the first of this month I dreamt that there were three pine trees on a mountainside and that I opened my mouth and swallowed them. I believe they represent the three prayers that I have. One is that I be able to serve my lord forever. One is that lord and retainer remain united and never turn their backs on each other. And one is that I discover the principle of non-birth [i.e., Nirvana]. Were not the three pine trees in my dream an auspicious sign?"[44]

Those of a less-charitable nature might accuse Tamekane of sycophancy, or at least one-upsmanship. Yet Fushimi, who was by no means a fool, accepted his sincerity. The remark about Nirvana gives a hint of Tamekane's religious inclinations. Though he does not appear to have been pious to any boring degree, it is evident from this and from the obituary in Hanazono's diary that he was a serious student of the Buddhist Dharma, particularly its relationship to poetry, and in this he reflected the increasing tendency in medieval Japan to view art as a religious practice.

A further mark of Fushimi's esteem came in the eighth month of 1293, shortly after Tamekane's return from Ise, when he was asked to join Nijō Tameyo, Asukai Masaari, and Kujō Takahiro in drawing up plans for another imperial anthology.* Each of these four men was the leader of a major poetry group.

Although Fushimi did not pack the committee with Kyōgoku

*The Asukai branch of the Fujiwara family produced a series of fine poets and scholars from the time of *Shinkokinshū*. During this period its members maintained close ties with the Bakufu without compromising their standing in Kyoto. Masaari (1241–1301) was especially known for his expertise in *Genji Monogatari*. Although related by marriage to the Nijō house, he appears to have steered a neutral course through the disputes of his day. Kujō Takahiro (d. 1298) was not one of the best poets of his day, though he had been asked to submit poems during the time of the *Kōan Hyakushu*. My account of this committee's deliberations is from Ishida, "Kyōgoku Tamekane," pp. 287–89; and *Fushimi Tennō Shinki*, entry for Einin 1 (1293) viii 27, in *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 34, pp. 326–27.

poets, it is significant that he chose Tamekane to serve at all at so early a stage in his poetry career. There is no questioning Fushimi's loyalty to the Kyōgoku style. But as a group the Kyōgoku school was less than ten years old, whereas the other three schools could claim generations of history. Fushimi could hardly ignore Tameyo, for the Nijō house was, legally at least, the main branch of Teika's descendants. Yet obviously Tamekane and Tameyo could not be expected to work smoothly together, for Tameyo was the eldest son of Tameuji, who had so bitterly feuded with Tamekane's father. The addition of the other two men, then, served at once to balance the committee, to bring the presumably moderating influence of older men to the deliberations (Masaari was fifty-three, and Takahiro seventy-two), and, possibly, to give Fushimi an excuse for including Tamekane.

From the very start the committee's deliberations did not go smoothly. First, Masaari had to withdraw because of illness, though Fushimi left him on the committee so as to maintain the carefully selected balance. Beyond that, at Fushimi's insistence the committee had to resolve four problems before it could formally begin the anthology. One was deciding whether the formal commission should be issued in the eighth month, the ninth month, or the tenth month. Tameyo favored the tenth month because *Gosenshū* (Later Collection; mid-10th century) had been commissioned in that month. Tamekane reviewed in detail all the previous imperial anthologies and noted that there was no pattern in the timing of their commissioning. He and Takahiro maintained that the month and day of the formal commission did not matter.

The second problem was even more arcane, having to do with whether the formal order should be written or presented in person to the compilers. All agreed that precedent dictated that it should be a written order. The third problem concerned the eras to be represented in the collection. This was the most significant theoretical issue the committee faced, and not surprisingly Tameyo and Tamekane disagreed over it. Tameyo argued that since the best of the ancient poems had already appeared in imperial collections, theirs should include poems only from the late Heian period on. Tamekane held that since in recent years all poets had begun to imitate the ancients, it would be better to include poetry from the earliest period on. Takahiro again agreed with him.

The final problem was again rather esoteric. As we saw in the case of the *Kōan Hyakushu*, it had become the practice to call for hundred-poem sequences from all important poets when an imperial anthology was to be compiled. The question was whether this call should be made before or after the anthology had been formally commissioned. On this the committee was agreed that no clear precedent applied.

Fushimi reviewed the committee's deliberations and sided with Tamekane on all the debated points. On the very same day, the twenty-seventh of the eighth month, he formally ordered the anthology, noting that poems from earlier eras were to be considered, provided they had not appeared in other imperial anthologies. He specifically excepted *Man'yōshū* (Collection for Ten Thousand Generations), apparently on the grounds that it was not actually an imperial anthology. There was a move to add Tamesuke to the list of compilers, but it was blocked by Tameyo, who filed a formal protest and countered that his own son, Tamemichi, ought to be included. Fushimi resolved the matter by reconfirming the original four.

Not surprisingly, the project was never completed. Tameyo, chafing at his less-than-dominant role, declined the commission. Tamekane, as noted earlier, was forced to resign his court offices and go into seclusion in 1296, and was exiled to Sado Island two years later. Takahiro died in 1298, and Masaari in 1301. Fushimi lamented the failure of the undertaking in a famous poem in which he puns on the place-name Waka no Ura (literally, Poetry Bay) to suggest that the failure of his plans for a poetry collection resulted in a situation as bleak as a shoreline without birds. The poem is quoted in *Masukagami*:[45]

Wa ga yo ni wa	In ages to come
Atsumenu waka no	Shall my reign always bear
Urachidori	The desolate mark
Munashiki na o ya	Of one in which plovers of verse
Ato ni nokosan	Failed to gather in Poetry Bay?

Although the commission was never fulfilled, the entire process showed that Tamekane was now a poetic force to be reckoned with. Further indication of this came in 1295, with a polemic entitled *Nomori no Kagami* (Reflections in a Field Guard's Mirror). Although

often attributed to Rokujō Arifusa (1251–1319), its authorship has not been definitively established.[46] In any case, it is a bitter attack on Tamekane's approach to poetics and poetry. Interestingly, the work's criticism is couched in anti-Zen, anti-Jōdo, pro-Tendai religious terms. In other words its religious stance is as orthodox as its poetic one.

The section relevant to our concern consists of a six-point analysis of Tamekane's poetry set in paradoxical, prescriptive terms. Under each of the six headings, the author—be it Arifusa (whose name I will use here for the sake of convenience) or some unidentified Tendai priest, as scholars now tend to believe—discusses where Tamekane falls short and gives examples of poetry he considers successful. Briefly, the six points, and a paraphrase of the arguments supporting them, are as follows:[47]

1. "Poetry takes the heart as its seed, and it does not take the heart as its seed." Arifusa argues that the human heart is really two: good and evil. Poetry should express the good heart by being "interesting and gentle, and staying away from the common." Tamekane does not try to make his language beautiful; he just narrates.

2. "Poetry bares the heart, and it does not bare the heart." Arifusa likens poetry to a painted screen. It is not enough merely to paint a scene faithfully; if the screen has no structure, it will not stand by itself. Tamekane's poetry merely "bares the heart," without making it beautiful or giving it good structure.

3. "Poetry moves away from words, and it does not move away from words." By this Arifusa means that poetry should avoid vulgar language and embrace traditional language. Tamekane does just the opposite.

4. "Poetry embraces classical beauty, and it does not embrace beauty." Arifusa likens writing poetry to weaving a brocade. One interweaves classical beauty with a modern consciousness. Tamekane is concerned only with the modern consciousness; thus his poems lack classical beauty.

5. "The poet learns form, and he does not learn form." All good poetry conforms to traditionally acceptable form, even though not all good poetry sounds alike. Tamekane does not even adhere to classical form.

6. "Poetry reflects the old styles, and it does not reflect the old styles." Here Arifusa means that good poetry reflects the spirit of

Kokinshū, but not the spirit of *Man'yōshū*. Tamekane is only enamored of the latter.

Nomori no Kagami is accurate to some degree in its analysis of the Kyōgoku style.[48] It does indeed describe the sharp differences in poetic practice between Tamekane and his more conservative contemporaries. Furthermore, the work is of particular significance as an indication of how great a threat Tamekane's opponents perceived him to be in the field of poetry.

But the Kyōgoku poets were not to be denied. In 1297 they gathered for a poetry contest that was to establish them once and for all as a distinct school. It is known as the *Einin Gonen Hachigatsu Jūgoya Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest on the Fifteenth Night of the Eighth Month of the Fifth Year of Einin). It is uncertain whether Tamekane participated, but Fushimi, Eifukumon-in, Tameko, and other Kyōgoku poets were among the contestants. If Tamekane did take part, it would not have been under his own name or title, since he was then in enforced seclusion.

In politics, too, Tamekane was having, if not making, problems. Time was nearing to look ahead to Go-Fushimi's accession and decide on the next Crown Prince. Tamekane lobbied for the Jimyō-in line. But Sanekane, despite his ties to that line, needed to improve relations with the Daikaku-ji line in his role as liaison between court and Bakufu. Indeed, his intervention eventually led to a compromise by which Go-Nijō was named Crown Prince in 1298. Naturally, this brought him into conflict with Tamekane's "resolve" and "devoted service to the throne." Politically, Tamekane was no match; though the two men remained on the same side when it came to poetry, the relationship between them was seriously damaged.[49]

On the seventh day of the first month of 1298, Tamekane and two others were arrested by the Bakufu authorities stationed at Rokuhara in Kyoto. The reason given in historical records is that the three were involved in a "plot" (*inbō*). *Honchō Tsugan* (An Almanac of Our Court), a history of Japan compiled in 1670, is more specific. It says that Fushimi secretly ordered Tamekane to help him overthrow the Bakufu,[50] but this work was compiled over 350 years after the fact and provides no proof for its claim. The explanation Hanazono gives in his obituary of Tamekane seems quite adequate: that Tamekane, carried away with his influence as a poet, began meddling in politics and made enemies. It is likely that whatever he

had done two years earlier to cause his "house arrest" was enough to lead eventually to his outright arrest. Considering that the tide had turned toward the Daikaku-ji line, as evidenced by Go-Nijō's appointment as Crown Prince just a few months after the arrest, it is hardly surprising that Tamekane should end up in such deep trouble.

The question of whether Tamekane's interference caused the shift in favor of the Daikaku-ji line or whether the growing influence of the Daikaku-ji line caused Tamekane's downfall will probably never be answered, but given that even his strong partisan Hanazono recognized Tamekane's ability to alienate people, Tamekane probably brought much of this trouble on himself.

Whatever the truth of the matter, Tamekane was exiled to Sado Island two months later, in the third month of 1298,[51] and this punishment he endured for five years. The Nō dramatist Zeami, in his *Kintōsho* (Writings from the Isle of Gold), relates a touching story about a poem Tamekane is supposed to have composed when he heard the *hototogisu* (cuckoo) sing at Yahata Shrine on Sado Island. Zeami, himself in exile, asked the shrine attendant why the *hototogisu* did not sing at this particular shrine and was told that long ago Tamekane had composed a poem there asking the birds to leave because their song made him long for Kyoto:[52]

Nakeba kiku	When you call I hear you.
Kikeba miyako no	When I hear you I miss
Koishiki ni	The capital.
Kono sato sugiyo	So please pass by this place,
Yamahototogisu	O mountain cuckoo!

Charming as this story is, the poem is not found among Tamekane's works and is probably a local legend. Even so, the tale does relate a certain truth about the loneliness of exile.

There is also a collection of poems called *Tamekanekyō Kashū* (literally, Tamekane's House Collection) containing a number of poems on the subject of exile to Sado. Despite the title, this is not a collection Tamekane assembled, but a late-fifteenth-century compilation.[53] Tamekane did, however, produce a few works of interest, if not surpassing literary merit, during or shortly after his exile. One was the *Tamekanekyō Shika Hyakushu* (Lord Tamekane's 100-Poem Sequence on Deer). This sequence consists of the standard catego-

ries of the four seasons, love, and miscellaneous poems,[54] but there is an added touch: each and every poem contains the word deer (*shika*) in it, hence the title. As might be expected, the novelty wears off rather quickly, yet the sequence is not without its successful verses. Two are given here, one from among the spring poems, and one from the love poems:[55]

Cuckoo

Hototogisu	As I make my way along,
Koe o tazunete	Hoping for a chance to hear
Wakeyukeba	The cuckoo's voice,
Sakidatsu shika no	There beneath my feet
Ato zo nokoreru	Are tracks from a deer gone ahead.

Mountain Hut

Matsu no kaze	Wind through pines,
Shika no naku ne mo	The sound of a deer's cry—
Kikiwabinu	To hear them is to grieve.
Ukiyo ni onaji	As sad as this floating world
Yamakage no io	My hut in the mountain's shadow.

At least thirteen of the poems mention Kasuga in Nara, a natural enough association between the deer theme and the deer park at Kasuga. Tamekane notes in his diary that on the sixth day of the tenth month of 1303 (after his return to Kyoto), he dedicated the sequence to Kasuga Shrine. According to a marginal note in the *Gunsho Ruijū* text of the sequence, "Lord Tamekane had a dream about the Kasuga Shrine, whereupon he composed these hundred poems in one sitting and dedicated them to the Shrine." Hamaguchi Muneaki and Ogawa Machiko dismiss this as "dramatization." On the basis of the text of the diary, they argue that Tamekane composed the poems in Sado and then decided to dedicate them to the shrine as a result of a dream he had after he came back to Kyoto.[56] In any event 1301 is the most likely date of composition, since several of the poems make reference to three years having passed since the poet last saw the capital.

During his years in Sado Tamekane also produced several elaborate acrostics, of which three have survived. One is a set of thirty-one poems in which the initial syllables of the five lines make a thirty-second poem, and the final syllables make a thirty-third. Both of the poems so produced deal with the theme of exile:[57]

Au koto o	"Sometime
Mata itsu ka wa to	We shall meet again,"
Yūdasuki	I pledged,
Kakeshi chikai o	Donning the sacred mulberry sash.
Kami ni makasete	Now it is up to the gods.
Tanomikoshi	I've always relied
Kamo no kawamizu	On the waters of the Kamo River,
Sate mo kaku	But now . . .
Ta(h)enaba kami o	If they should cease like this
Nao ya kakotamu	Shall I then blame the gods?

"The waters of the Kamo River" in the second poem is presumably an allusion to Kamo no Wakeikazuchi no Mikoto, the main deity of the Upper Kamo Shrine in Kyoto and its branch on Sado Island. The Kamo Shrine had a long association with the capital and the imperial family, whose protection Tamekane had "always relied on."[58]

This set of poems has some other interesting features. To begin with, the poems are arranged like a proper anthology, moving through the four seasons, love, and finally, miscellaneous topics. In addition, Tamekane has linked each poem to the following one by using the first poem's last syllable as the first syllable in line five of the next, and so on through the set. And finally, the first four lines of each poem can be lined up to form a *chōka*.

Another acrostic is a set of twelve poems in which the initial syllables of the five lines spell out Amida Butsu (the Amitabha Buddha). The poems can be laid out with five verses running vertically (top to bottom), five running horizontally (right to left), and the other two running diagonally from right to left and left to right. The syllables at each intersection are shared by the poems that intersect there (see the accompanying diagram). Though the topics are mixed, some take the loneliness of separation as their theme, as in this poem (in which the B of "Butsu" is read in the voiced form F, so that the acrostic appears as "A-Mi-Ta-Fu-Tsu"):[59]

*A*zumaji no	In my traveler's robes
*Mi*chi wa monoushi	I'm weary of this road
*Ta*bigoromo	To the East.
*Fu*rusato shinobu	I long now for my home;
*Tsu*ki ya koishiki	How dear this moon to me!

The last of the known acrostics is, if anything, even more elaborate. Its twenty poems can be arranged in four groups of five poems

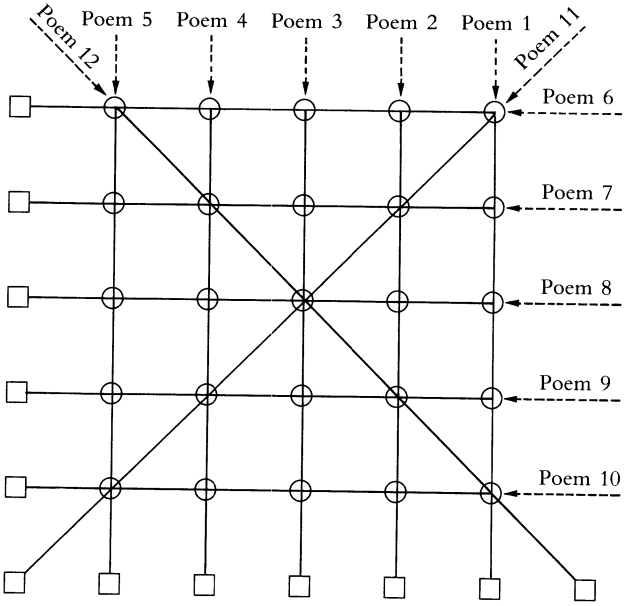


Diagram of Tamekane's "Amida Butsu" acrostic. The poems read top to bottom, left to right, and diagonally (as indicated by the arrows). Each circled intersection represents a shared syllable, and a square shows the sixth (and last) syllable of the poem. Based on *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 432, vol. 16, part 1 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1932), pp. 61–65.

to produce the twenty-five-syllable prayer "Namo Hakusamu Meuri Gomugemu omou koto kanaetamae yo" (Hail the felicitous manifestation of the god of Hakusan; grant me what I long for!). Here Tamekane used a double grid, with sets of five poems running top to bottom, bottom to top, left to right, and right to left, yielding twenty-five pivot syllables, each of which inhabits four intersecting poems. Again, the poems themselves are in no set topical order, though most have to do with loneliness, longing for home, or the search for spiritual comfort or divine intervention. Two examples:

Naresomeshi	Those plum blossoms
Mukashi no yado no	That I had grown so used to
Ume no hana	In my old garden—
Fumiwake nao ya	I'd love to wander through them
Eda o teoramu	Breaking off branches as before.

Saki no yo no	Things from previous lives,
Koto mo mukui zo	These, too, bring consequences,
Moreizuru	So, jeweled drops of tears
Namida no tama o	That now come streaming out,
Yodome tamae yo	I beg you, please hold back!

Naturally, the poems in these acrostics are rather stilted, although some rise above their artificial context. Tamekane was undoubtedly aware of the tradition of exile poetry in China and drew on it for some of his Sado verses. Yet partly because they are in such tortured settings, and partly because the Japanese have generally not considered waka a suitable vehicle for exile poetry (with the possible exception of Sugawara Michizane's work), these verses have not received much attention.

It seems reasonable to surmise, as the disposition of the *Shika Hyakushu* indicates, that the purpose of these efforts, which Tamekane evidently undertook as a kind of religious exercise (call it penance), was to gain the aid of the gods in being allowed to return to the capital. Whether by divine intervention or not, Tamekane was pardoned in the intercalary fourth month of 1303 and came back to Kyoto. He was fifty years old.

3

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Tamekane's Life: The Second Rise and Fall

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Immediately upon his return from exile, Tamekane was caught up in affairs of poetry almost as if he had never been gone. The best source of information about him during this period is his diary, the *Tamekanekyōki*, which begins shortly after his return in the intercalary fourth month.[1] The oldest surviving copy of the diary dates from 1450. It is probably twice-removed from the original and covers only the fifth through the twelfth months of 1303, with at most a handful of entries for each month (none at all for the eleventh month). Furthermore, whereas most diaries of this type would have discussed court events, politics, and so on, the entries concern matters of poetry exclusively, so there is ample reason to believe that we have only a fraction of what Tamekane originally wrote. It is impossible even to guess when and how the deletions might have been made.[2]

Brief as the diary is, it provides valuable insights into Tamekane the poet and Tamekane the man. He quickly resumed activities at the center of his poetry group. The first entry refers to a poetry contest held two days before, at which Tamekane and all the major poets of the Kyōgoku school, including Fushimi, Eifukumon-in, and Tameko, had been present. Even Sanekane, the man who was probably responsible for Tamekane's exile, participated, though

this was the last time he took part in a Kyōgoku poetry contest. The contest, referred to as the *Sentō Gojūban Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in 50 Rounds at the Sentō Palace), is generally seen as a "welcome home" gathering for Tamekane. It was he who posed the topics, and though the judgments were rendered collectively (*shūgihan*), Tamekane was responsible for writing them up and formally presenting them to Fushimi.[3] Another contest, *Kengen Ni'nen Gogatsu Yokka Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in the First Year of Kengen, Fifth Month, Fourth Day), was held the next month, and Tamekane's suggestion that Tamesuke be placed in charge of the topics and the writing up of the judgments was apparently followed.[4]

Early in 1303 a call had been made for hundred-poem sequences to be considered by Tameyo, who was compiling an imperial anthology (*Shingosenshū*, completed in the twelfth month) at the request of Go-Uda. Tamekane was not long back before he became involved. In the next several months he was consulted about the proper procedure for presenting the poems and asked to correct the verses of some of his students.[5] He was also repeatedly summoned to compose poetry with the Retired Emperors Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, and Go-Fukakusa, further indication of his status as a poet.[6]

In the middle of the eighth month, the diary relates an incident that is most revealing of Tamekane's character.[7] Tamekane received a letter from one Fujiwara Mitsunari:

"The Long Life of the Crane"

On the coming seventeenth, poems will be read aloud on the above-mentioned topic. The Minister of the Right Fuyuhira has ordered that you be there.

Eighth Month, Thirteenth Day
From Mitsunari, Civil Affairs Ministry,
Provisional Junior Assistant Minister

To the Former Provisional Middle Counselor Tamekane

Tamekane was outraged by the fact that Fuyuhira had not summoned him directly but had gone through an intermediary instead.*

*Takatsukasa Fuyuhira (1275–1327) was of the *sekkanke*, that is, the branch of the Fujiwara house that supplied the highest-ranking officials. He eventually rose to the position of Kampaku (Regent). Politically, then, he was very powerful. His poetic

For one thing, he notes, precedent showed that when someone, no matter how highly placed, wished to summon Teika or Tameie in their capacity as poetry masters (Tamekane clearly considered himself their rightful heir in this regard), he did so directly, without an intermediary. Furthermore—and one cannot escape the feeling that this was what most concerned Tamekane—the sender of such a summons always signed it "humbly yours" (*kingen*).

At first Tamekane refused to attend, but a friend interceded, persuading Fuyuhira to apologize. A formal apology and invitation from Fuyuhira, suitably signed "humbly yours," was forwarded to Tamekane, who then agreed to take part. But he was not content to let the matter rest there. Along with his poems, he sent a letter to Fuyuhira, citing his precedents and ending with the remark: "From the Shōō and Einin eras [i.e. the 1290s], even the Prime Minister signed his letters to me 'humbly yours.' Should you now do otherwise? Your apology is, of course, in order."[8]

And still Tamekane was not satisfied. Several days after the party, he devoted another entry to a new precedent he had just heard of that supported his argument.[9] His arrogant letter to Fuyuhira could not have endeared him to the Minister of the Right, and we can see in his behavior here the touchy side of Tamekane that must have earned him many enemies. Yet his pride was of one who believed himself to be Teika's true heir, which in temperament he undoubtedly was, since Teika's haughty clashes with Retired Emperor Go-Toba were no less heated. And this pride was not entirely inappropriate, for during this same period, he was allowed to attend Fushimi and Go-Fukakusa in person, an honor not usually accorded a man of his rank, and one of his poems received royal praise.[10]

It is also clear from the diary that Tamekane thought very highly of his sister's poetic abilities. Not only did Tameko join him in giving lessons on the preface of *Kokinshū* to Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, and Eifukumon-in; he even consulted her about some problematical poems that came into his hands: "Lord Tamesuke sent me some

style was considered unique. Though he did not appear to favor any particular school, he had Fushimi's confidence, and sixteen of his poems were selected for the two Kyōgoku anthologies. Mitsunari (1287–1361) was of more limited poetic skill. Given his office, he would probably have been of Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, at the time of this letter.

poems with which there were a few troublesome points. I had a discussion about them with Tameko."[11]

Time and again Tamekane was asked about matters of form and precedent, which underscores the fact that in his day a poetry master was respected for his knowledge of the history of his art as well as for his writing skills. His advice to his students as often as not revolved around the kind of paper a particular set of poems should be submitted on, and how that paper should be folded, for as he himself says, "We must hold fast to the old precedents."[12] So much for the poetic revolutionary.

Several entries in the twelfth month shed still further light on Tamekane's personality and also on some of the poetic issues of the day. They involve the pending completion of the *Shingosenshū*, and the negative reaction both Tamekane and Sanekane had to it. The two men were still evidently on good terms, or at least in agreement on matters of poetry. I quote the entry for the eighteenth in full here:

> I went to the Madenokōji Palace [Go-Uda's residence]. According to rumor, the imperial anthology is to be presented for Retired Emperor Go-Uda's inspection tomorrow. If I did not speak out against it, people would think I approved of it. I summoned Toshisada[13] and gave my opinion: "Is it just a rumor about the imperial anthology that is to be presented tomorrow? It seems that relying on the example of *Senzaishū*, the genius and excellence of which no one now could attain, the compilers have included an inordinate number of father/son poems.* As for my poems, though they should be numerous, they are in fact fewer in number than those of the compiler. Is this not failing to live up to previously established standards? In *Senzaishū*, the Bishop Kenjō, and in *Shokugosenshū*, Shinkan, both had ten of their poems entered. In *Shinchokusenshū*, Karyū, and in *Shokugosenshū*, Ieyoshi, Tomoie, and Nobuzane all had more poems than the compilers.
>
> In the previous reign I was also chosen to compile an anthology, and furthermore, the number of poems I have written reaches ten thousand. Neither within our family nor outside it has such an accomplishment been heard of. I am the only one to look over the poems of the Retired Emperor Fushimi and the newly Retired Emperor Go-Fushimi. No one else does this but me. From such fine poets as the Former Kampaku Mototada† and

*His reference is to Tameuji and his son Tameyo.

†The text gives only the title Zenkampaku, but presumably Tamekane is referring to Takatsukasa Mototada (1247–1313), who is called by that title in *Shingosenshū*. Since Tamekane praises him here, and Tameyo had him submit a 100-poem-sequence for *Shingosenshū*, either his rank or his ability made him acceptable to both sides.

the Former Prime Minister Sanekane on down, all come to me for advice about poetry. Furthermore, I know all about the traditions and precedents of the imperial anthologies.

If Tameyo says he cannot bear what I have to say, let him confront me. Let us compare our artistic abilities. In the Way of Poetry, why should he ignore the principles? This is why I speak up. If we leave this anthology as it is, it would not do either for the Way of Poetry or for our world. I wonder if Tameyo should have been given the commission." After this I left.[14]

Two days later, on the twentieth, Tamekane went to Sanekane's Kitayama residence, hoping to confront Tameyo there so that he could take the compiler to task, but when Tameyo heard of Tamekane's purpose he abruptly left. Tamekane and Sanekane then discussed the flaws of the new anthology, not the least of which was that Sanekane's son Tamesue was not represented by a single poem, even though his father had requested that he be included. They also criticized the scope of the collection. Though Go-Uda had asked that poems from the mid-Heian period on be included, the anthology in fact contained only poetry composed after 1100. Perhaps it is a tribute to Sanekane's diplomatic skills that he and Tamekane seemed to be back on good terms, and Tamekane ended this entry by saying, "Sanekane told a number of stories that were most amusing."[15] This is the charming Sanekane found in Lady Nijō's diary, and he must have been smooth indeed to win back Tamekane's esteem.

A few of Tamekane's poems appear in the diary, along with some intriguing references to poetry contests about which nothing else is known. The entry for the fourth day of the tenth month is particularly noteworthy:[16]

There was a poetry contest pitting the poems of Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, and myself on the left against those of Eifukumon-in, Minamoto no Shinshi, and Tameko on the right.* The topics were "A Garden in the Morning," "Moors in the Evening," and "Mountains at Night."

*The diary does not name Fushimi or Go-Fushimi but says only *gyosei* and *shin-in gyosei* here. *Gyosei* ("honorably produced") refers to poetry written by some imperial personage. Although Go-Fukakusa was still alive at this time, he had taken the tonsure, so Fushimi was the senior active member of the Jimyō-in line. This, coupled with the fact that there is no record of Go-Fukakusa ever participating in a Kyōgoku poetry contest, leads me to conclude that the *gyosei* refers to poems by Fushimi and the *shin-in gyosei* ("honorably produced by the newly Retired Emperor") refers to poems by Go-Fushimi, the "newest" Retired Emperor. Kitabatake Shinshi (or Chikako; dates unknown) was evidently a lady-in-waiting to Fushimi

The poems were submitted anonymously, and the judgments were made as a group. Opponents were not in set order, and the poems were pitted one at a time against each other.[17]

Of Fushimi's poems, one won and two tied. Of Go-Fushimi's, one won, one tied, and one lost. Of my poems, two won and one lost. The Lady's poems all lost.[18]

All the poems were extremely good. We were ordered to preserve them for succeeding generations.[19] My poems were:

On a Garden in the Morning, won

Akatsuki no	Traces are at hand
Shigure no nagori	Of early winter rains
Chikakarashi	At break of day;
Niwa no ochiba mo	The garden's fallen leaves
Mada nurete miyu	Still look dripping wet.

On Moors in the Evening, lost

Miyako omou	Longing for the capital,
Namida mo taezu	My tears fall ceaselessly
Kusamakura	On a pillow of grass,
Yūtsuyu moroki	Fragile as evening dew
Nobe no arashi ni	On storm-swept moors.

On Mountains at Night[20]

Fukishioru	They seem to engulf,
Arashi o komete	To bury the storm
Uzumurashi	And its withering blasts—
Miyuki no yama zo	Deep mountains now lie quiet
Yuki ni shizumaru	Softened in the drifts.

Here are some examples of Tamekane's best work. The first and third poems are also found in another poetry contest, *Kingyoku Uta-awase* (The Poetry Contest of Gold and Jade, which will be discussed presently), so they must have been poems Tamekane himself prized. Although only one of them has *ji-amari*, in other ways they are representative of Tamekane's style, featuring, as do so many of his best poems, some aspect of nature just at or after a moment of change. The echo effect of *miyuki* and *yuki* in the third poem is another technique favored by Tamekane.

This intimate poetry contest must have been a gem. Six of the best Kyōgoku poets gathered and compared their poems in an in-

dating back to his years as Crown Prince (see Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin no Kenkyū*, p. 27). She was an active member of the Kyōgoku group and participated in many of its poetry contests at least through the 1310's. With thirty poems in *Gyokuyōshū* and fifteen in *Fūgashū*, she ranks as one of the most important Kyōgoku poets.

formal way that virtually ensured high quality. Unfortunately, there is no other record of this contest.[21] Some of the Kyōgoku poems found in imperial anthologies were probably composed for this occasion, but we have no way of knowing which ones.

It is perhaps interesting to note what kind of poetry people valued highly in Tamekane's day. Some of it might not pass muster by today's critical standards, since we put little emphasis on occasional poetry and the ability to say the right thing at the right time. Yet in the courtly tradition, such an ability was highly prized. An illustration of this is found in the entry for the sixteenth of the eighth month. Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, Go-Fushimi's consort Yūgimon-in, Tamekane, and several other courtiers had gathered for a night of poetry at which everyone was to compose five poems on the topic "Our Feelings as We Gather Beneath the Moon." One of Tamekane's verses was singled out for special praise by their majesties, and he was even sent a letter of congratulations from one of his friends the next day. It is not the sort of poem that is given much attention today, but as Tamekane himself notes: "There is no earlier example of three majesties together, and in addition to that, gazing at the moon like this. It is truly rare and magnificent." The poem he wrote:[22]

Kumo no ue ni	Here above clouds
Miyo o kasanete	The light of three majesties,
Mishi kimi no	Who themselves gaze
Kage o naraburu	Upon moonlight shining
Yado no tsukikage	Over their garden.

While the sentiments may not be so accessible to us today, we cannot help admiring the elegance with which Tamekane expresses them.

One event that is not mentioned in the diary is the *Kingyoku Utaawase*, an exclusive poetry contest held between Tamekane and Fushimi.[23] The exact date of the contest is uncertain, but it is thought to have been held sometime in late 1303 or in 1304. Since two of Tamekane's poems from the contest of the fourth of the tenth month appear in it, it was probably held after that date.[24]

The contest was an unjudged one in sixty rounds, with Fushimi on the left and Tamekane on the right. The poems are divided into the categories of the four seasons, love, and miscellaneous. Twenty-two of Tamekane's poems and nineteen of Fushimi's appear in some imperial anthology (almost all of them in one or other of the two

Kyōgoku anthologies, *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*), and the overall quality of the poetry is so high that it is assumed to have been compiled as a representative collection of the Kyōgoku style as practiced by its masters. In addition, the didactic verses on the art of poetry that appear in the last three rounds imply that the contest was to serve as a model for aspiring Kyōgoku poets. Two sets of poems, one from round 17 (autumn) and the other from round 41 (love), give a sense of the Kyōgoku style at its best:[25]

Left (Fushimi)

Nabikikaeri	Dew drops fall
Hana no sue yori	From tips of flowers
Tsuyu chirite	Swaying back and forth,
Hagi no ha shiroshi	Then bush clover leaves show white
Niwa no akikaze	In wind through an autumn garden.

Right (Tamekane)

Tsuyu omoru	Heavy with dew
Kohagi ga sue wa	Bush clover branch tips trail
Nabikifushite	Low along the ground,
Fukikaesu kaze ni	Then, blown about by the wind,
Hana zo irosou	Their flowers' color brightens.

Left (Fushimi)

Yo mo sugara	Though all night through
Koinaku sode ni	The moon reflects on sleeves tear-soaked
Tsuki aredo	But denied their love,
Mishi omokage wa	The face of one once seen
Kayoi shimo sezu	Makes no appearance there.

Right (Tamekane)

Kozu mo kozu	He'll not come, he'll not come!
Tanomaji mataji	I'll give him up. I'll wait no more.
Wasuremu to	I shall forget him!—
Omoinagara mo	Or so I think, and yet
Tsuki ni nagamete	I gaze upon the moon with longing.

Both the autumn poems have *ji-amari*. Tamekane's, with an extra syllable in lines three *and* four, is most unusual, not to say radical. The *ji-amari* in line four, combined with three strong "k" sounds, is particularly jarring, a verbal echo of sudden wind shaking delicate branches. Both poems are characteristically Kyōgoku in their tight focus on a small scene in sudden transition.

Of the love poems, Fushimi's is comparatively traditional, though

the strong, colloquial last line saves it from sentimentality. The phrase *koinaku sode* is full of reverberation. When *koinaku* is taken in its usual sense of "to cry with longing," the poem speaks of sleeves wet with tears, therefore able to reflect the moon. But the phrase also implies *koinaki sode* ("sleeves without love"), which is to say, sleeves that no lover now touches.

Tamekane's love poem, one of my personal favorites, is dramatic and unprecedented. There is only the one concrete image, the moon. The rest is strong and declarative. Seven verbs are packed into its thirty-one syllables, and the auxiliary verbs *ji* and *mu* (expressing "will" and "will not," respectively) are colloquial and forceful. It is not surprising that this poem never found its way into an imperial anthology or a formal poetry contest, but it is certainly one of the most interesting of its age.

One other poetry contest is worth noting. It is now known as the *Tamekanekyōke Uta-awase* (Lord Tamekane's House Poetry Contest) and is thought to have been held sometime after Tamekane's return to Kyoto. There were four participants—Tamekane, Tameko, Tamesuke, and Taira Tsunechika.* Only twenty-eight rounds have survived,[26] though the contest probably had thirty-six originally. We do not know how many of the poems in the Kyōgoku imperial anthologies are from this contest.

The next eight years were active ones for the Kyōgoku group, which had become the dominant force in court poetry.[27] Little more is known about Tamekane's activities during the early part of this period than that he took part in two important Kyōgoku poetry contests. One was the *Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase* (Retired Emperor Fushimi's Poetry Contest in 20 Rounds).[28] Again the exact date is uncertain. Based on the title by which Tameko is referred to in the manuscript, it likely occurred sometime before late 1308. Since many of the poems are on winter themes, it was probably held in the winter.

There were eight participants, including Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, Eifukumon-in, Tamekane, and Tameko, and eight of its forty

*Taira Tsunechika (dates unknown) rose to Senior Second Rank. He served Fushimi and entered the priesthood in 1317 upon the Retired Emperor's death. He participated in several Kyōgoku poetry contests. Among the imperial anthologies his poems appear only in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, indicating that he must have been a staunch supporter of the Kyōgoku group.

poems appear in one or the other of the two Kyōgoku imperial anthologies. The poems were judged by the entire group, and the judgments were written up by Fushimi.[29] Thus this contest ranks as a very important gathering of the Kyōgoku group, made all the more interesting by the predominantly dark tone of its poetry.

Tamekane's five poems were set against Fushimi's, and the Retired Emperor won three of the rounds. Tamekane's two winning poems are unusual—metaphorical, philosophical, and quite difficult. Fushimi's verses are more consistent with what we now think of as the Kyōgoku style, capturing nature in a moment of transition. Traditionally, poetry contests, particularly private ones like this, allowed poets a chance to experiment. It is ironic that the classic Kyōgoku style, as practiced with consummate skill, appears almost conservative in relation to Tamekane's work.

Following are rounds 4 and 15 between Fushimi and Tamekane, along with the judgments rendered (Fushimi's poems are GYS 854 and FGS 1740, respectively):

Left [Fushimi], won

Yūgure no	Evening clouds
Kumo tobimidare	Roughly blown about in swirls
Arete fuku	Leaping in confusion;
Arashi no uchi ni	In the midst of this storm
Shigure o zo kiku	I hear early winter rains.

Right [Tamekane]

(Irihi) shizumu	Though early winter rains
Nagori no sora wa	Darken skies where lingers
Shigururedo	The setting sun,
Toyohatagumo no	How indifferent the hue
Iro zo tsurenaki	Of streaming billows of clouds.[30]

Judgment: In the poem of the Right, the phrase "hue of streaming billows of clouds" is particularly effective. We feel that we can see before us the beating of early winter rains in the evening sky. Nevertheless, the win was awarded to the poem of the Left. Perhaps this was a mistake.

Left [Fushimi]

Yamamoto no	From off rice fields
Tanomo yori tatsu	At the mountain's base
Shirasagi no	Springs a white heron.
Yukukata mireba	I watch as it flies off
Mori no hitomura	Toward a single clump of trees.

Right [Tamekane], won

Tori no michi no	I shall be
Ato naki mono o	Like a bird that leaves no traces
Omoitachite	Of its flight;
Hitori shi nakedo	Then, though I cry alone,
Hito shirameya mo	Will any person know?

Judgment: The poem of the Right is no ordinary composition. Its style is just like that of the great poets of the past. Without effort, the poet has naturally achieved form such as is found in poetry from before the Kanpyō era.[31] *He has truly entered the spirit of the situation and has described a heart in deepest pathos and pain. The poem is unforgettably moving in every sense and is worthy of the highest praise. What a wonderful opportunity it provides for those who aspire to a recognition and understanding of Tamekane's poetic essence! As for the poem of the Left, although it adheres firmly to the principles Tamekane teaches, it is quite ordinary and cannot compare with the other one. Therefore, Tamekane's was awarded the win.*

It is difficult to say what is more fascinating here, the poems or the judgments. Both poets were clearly masters in their group, yet there are marked differences in their styles. Though Fushimi uses strong and unusual images of movement characteristic of the Kyōgoku approach—roiling clouds contrasted with the steady sound of rain; a white heron's line of flight from a flat, open rice field toward a grove of trees—he retains an elegance of diction that makes his poems suitable for an imperial anthology. Tamekane's syntax, on the other hand, is choppy; both poems contain extra syllables. His images, too, are strong, and as the judgments note, unforgettable. They are also unusual. *Toyohatagumo* ("billowing clouds") is used in *Man'yōshū*, but not often in later waka. And his comparison of a lonely human cry to the flight of a bird that leaves no traces deserves all the praise accorded to it.

In addition to telling a great deal about Kyōgoku poetics, the judgments also show how preeminent Tamekane was in his group. Here is the Retired Emperor, an acknowledged master poet himself, deferring to Tamekane, even suggesting that one of the judgments might have been in error. It would be hard to imagine Go-Toba treating Teika with such awe.

The other notable poetry contest that probably occurred during this period is the *Einin Gonen Tōza Uta-awase* (Impromptu Poetry Contest in the Fifth Year of Einin). Internal evidence suggests that despite the title by which it is known today (Einin 5 was 1297), it actually took place sometime between 1303 and 1308.[32] All the

major Kyōgoku poets, and Tamesuke as well, took part. Tamekane acted as judge and wrote his decisions in the form of waka.* The eight participants competed through thirty rounds in no fixed left/right order. Following is a representative round (20) and the judgment for it:[33]

Left [Tamesuke]: A Summer Garden

Ikemizu no	Dyeing deeper color
Nigoranu iro o	The unsullied waters
Nao somete	Of a pond,
Niwa naru kigi mo	Tree by garden tree
Shigeru koro kana	At full luxuriance.

Right [Tameko], won: A Winter Garden

Yūkaze ni	In evening wind
Karetatsu susuki	Dry plume grass stalks
Uchinabiki	Bend and sway—
Arare furisusabu	The loneliness of a garden
Niwa no sabishisa	Pelted by driving hail.

Judgment [Tamekane]

Ikemizu o	Better than trees
Midori ni somuru	That dye deeper green
Kigi yori mo	Waters of a pond
Susuki nabikite	Are plume grass stalks swaying
Arare furu niwa	In a garden swept by hail.

These are not the best poems of the contest, but they provide a clear contrast, and Tamekane's judgment poem is typical of the others he wrote here. Tamesuke was never a "true" Kyōgoku poet; in fact he spent much of his time in Kamakura and became the center of his own poetry group there. His poem is in the conventional thirty-one syllables, and its rhythm is almost too regular. The syllable groupings of the last two lines echo one of the most frequently occurring patterns in *Shinkokinshū*. Furthermore, the central image is not especially fresh or interesting. By contrast Tameko's poem conveys a dramatic sense of motion. And like her brother in "(Irihi) shizumu" (p. 50, above), she makes a declaration about the image

*It is not unusual for Tamekane to have written up his judgments this way. Both Jien and Go-Toba wrote their judgments for the *Sengohyakuban Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds; 1202–3) in waka form (each judged 150 rounds), and the practice can be found in other contests as well. This didactic use of waka tends to undermine Brower and Miner's assertion (*Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 435) that "Japanese court poetry is confined to lyric modes."

she has painted. Her rhythm is broken by an extra syllable in the fourth line, and the sense of the poem is onomatopoetically reinforced by repeated "s" sounds, like the rustling of plume grass.

These poetry contests show the Kyōgoku group at its peak of creativity. Yet in spite of its reputation as poetically unorthodox, it was an elitist, aristocratic, and exclusive group compared with the Nijō circle, which embraced lower-ranking courtiers, priests, and warriors.[34] Indeed, Hanazono, in his obituary of Tamekane, implies that Tameyo essentially sold "poetry master" status to anyone who could pay the price. Moreover, there was a high proportion of women in the Kyōgoku group. Indeed, in nine of its eleven poetry contests between 1285 and 1310, more than half the participants were women.[35]

Through all this period Tamekane was busy compiling poems. He felt that the commission from Fushimi in 1293 had never lapsed, so he had been working ever since on what he hoped to submit as an imperial anthology. With his return to the capital and his former status, his work proceeded apace. By late 1309, it appears, he had put together an anthology at least in skeletal form.[36]

When Tameyo got wind of this, he sent his son Tamefuji to find out if it was true. Tamekane told him that since the other two compilers had died and Tameyo had resigned the original commission, he had assumed that it had become his sole responsibility. At the same time he invited Tameyo to petition the court and the Bakufu if he wished to be included as a compiler. For some reason, Tamefuji conveyed only the first half of this message to Tameyo, who was incensed.[37]

The result was a series of charges and countercharges that surely ranks as one of the most interesting sideshows in the history of waka. Tameyo brought suit with the Bakufu and the court, bitterly attacking Tamekane's fitness for the commission, and Tamekane replied in kind. Only fragments of these suits exist today, in the document known as the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*.[38]

The chronology of the exchanges is as follows.[39] I shall refer to Tameyo's letters as "suits" and Tamekane's as "countersuits." Immediately upon hearing Tamefuji's report on his meeting with Tamekane, Tameyo sent a formal suit both to Kamakura (1310 i 23) and to the court in Kyoto (1310 i 24). Although none of this original suit remains, the gist of it can be deduced from the later charges

and from other documents. Tameyo's main complaints in this first suit were (1) that Tamekane was acting as though the commission of 1293 were still in effect, though it was not; (2) that since Tamekane had been exiled, he did not deserve to compile an imperial anthology; (3) that Tamekane was not of the legitimate branch of the family; and (4) that Tamekane did not have the ability to carry out such a project alone.[40]

Neither Tamekane's first countersuit nor Tameyo's second suit exists intact. However, portions of Tamekane's second countersuit appear in our extant text of *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*, quoted by Tameyo in his third suit, and introduced in the text by the phrase *dōjō iwaku* ("and in the same letter it says"). Tamekane's second countersuit must have been written between the middle of the second month and the twenty-fourth day of the third month of 1310.

Thus the text of the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō* consists of Tameyo's point-by-point responses to Tamekane's second countersuit, from which he quotes. This third suit of Tameyo's is thought to have been written on the twenty-seventh of the fifth month. Tamekane evidently submitted a third countersuit (1310 vii 13), but it has not survived.[41]

By all evidence, these suits were very long. Tamekane's second countersuit, for example, must have run to some tens of pages. Even the excerpts we have are substantial, especially considering they were written in the dense language of *kambun*. But the principle at stake was not poetic theory, at least overtly. There is little discussion of that in the documents. Indeed, much of the argument seems petty today. And of course the extant text essentially gives only Tameyo's side of the argument. To the extent that Tamekane's views are given, it is only so that his Nijō rival can rebut them. For all this, the fragments that we have serve as a useful reminder of the important role politics, precedent, and even superstition played in the world of poetry at that time.

In brief, here are some of the main issues over which Tamekane and Tameyo were at odds (see the excerpts in Appendix B for more details).

1. In one of his suits, Tameyo had evidently argued that the premature death of two of the four men involved in the original 1293 commission and Tamekane's exile were bad omens for the project, which should therefore be abandoned. Tamekane countered that

death is, after all, a natural occurrence and also noted that in the case of several earlier anthologies, one of the compilers died before the project was finished without affecting the final product. (*Shinkokinshū* was one of his examples.)

2. The two poets disputed the issue of divine protection for poetry. Both agreed that poetry is a divine manner of expression, and they held to the principles set forth in the preface of *Kokinshū*, namely, that it is through poetry that all under heaven is ordered. Not surprisingly they disagreed over which one of them had the blessing of the gods.

3. In his initial suit, Tameyo had contended that Tamekane was "illegitimate" (*shoshi*, that is, not of the eldest son's line) and therefore ineligible to compile an imperial anthology. Tamekane noted that Teika himself was not the eldest son in his family. Tameyo dismissed this example because Teika's older brother was not much of a poet, whereas he, Tameyo, was a recognized master.

4. The two men debated the question of talent and qualifications. Two main points emerged in this discussion. One involved their studies with their grandfather Tameie. Tameyo claimed to have studied with him for fifteen years, as opposed to Tamekane's five. Tamekane's response was essentially that Tameie entrusted him with more profound teachings in those five years than Tameyo ever received in fifteen. The second point was more "literary," at least in the sense in which we use the term today. Tameyo attacked Tamekane's use of language as an outrage against the great poets of the past. In his words, "That the past poetry masters' original purpose and the language they have used through the ages is touched with the divine—is this miracle not clear? Yet Tamekane makes light of and ridicules this language. He violates the Way of Language."[42] As for his own approach: "My view is to cherish the traditional language while seeking what is new in feeling. In terms of form, I place primary importance on that which is beautiful or deeply mysterious, and I eschew the use of vulgar, inelegant language."[43] Certainly this follows the letter of Teika's teachings. In this case, we do not know what Tamekane's rebuttal was, but it is safe to assume that he emphasized the spirit of Teika's teachings rather than the letter.

This by no means exhausts the list of points at issue. There were accusations on both sides of the misuse of valuable poetic docu-

ments, charges of inadequate learning, and the detailed recitation of precedent to support this or that argument. What is striking through it all is the deep animosity between the two men. However Tameyo may have felt about the use of refined language in poetry, it did not soften the severity of his language when it came to formal lawsuits.

On reading this document, one is impressed by how seriously the two men took poetry, which was, after all, what Tameyo called their "family vocation."[44] Yet neither could win the argument based on the precedents he recited or the erudition he showed. Since each had strong imperial backing, it was ultimately imperial politics that decided the question.

At this stage Hanazono was Emperor and Fushimi was *jisei no kimi*. Although a member of the Daikaku-ji line, Go-Daigo, was Crown Prince, the Daikaku-ji line had itself already begun to split and did not present a united front. Thus, the Jimyō-in line was in comparatively firm control, and Fushimi, perhaps in order to aid Tamekane in the dispute, had him promoted to the post of Provisional Major Counselor in the twelfth month of 1310. This put him on a par with Tameyo. It also gave Tamekane sufficient status to participate in the role of "guarantor" at Hanazono's formal coming-of-age ceremonies, which were held in the first month of 1311.[45]

In the fifth month of 1311, the Bakufu formally approved Tamekane as sole compiler for the pending imperial anthology, and Fushimi issued a written order for the collection on the third day of the month.[46] Seven months later Tamekane resigned his office (xii 21), ostensibly to devote full time to the anthology, which was submitted, bearing the title *Gyokuyōshū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves) in the third month of 1312. Although with its 2,801 poems, it ranks as the longest of the twenty-one imperial anthologies, it was finished remarkably quickly. It seems indisputable that Tamekane had been working on it ever since the commission of 1293.

As it turned out, the collection was completed but not truly finished in 1312. It went through a number of revisions over the next year and a half. On the sixth day of the ninth month of 1313, Hanazono noted in his diary: "Today Lord Toshinobu brought me part of *Gyokuyōshū*. It came in a box and was brought for the purpose of making revisions. I was supposed to keep quiet about it and not let it out of my possession."[47] On the eighth, he added: "Today

Lord Tamekane came. After talking about sections 2, 9, 14, and 20 of *Gyokuyōshū*, he left. It seems that a few revisions still have to be made."[48] Several other entries from around this time also refer to revisions. One entry shows that Tameko participated in the deliberations.[49]

Sometime after the last mention of revisions—just when is not known—*Gyokuyōshū* was officially made public.[50] It is an unusual collection in several respects. First, as noted earlier, it is the longest of all the imperial anthologies. Scholars have generally speculated that it was deliberately so, a reflection of the Kyōgoku poets' fear that this would be their only opportunity to compile an imperial collection.[51] However, there is no documentary evidence to support this. Surely, part of the reason for its length lay in its scope: it included poems from *Man'yōshū* up to Tamekane's time, just as Tamekane had argued it should in 1293.

Second, the name is unusual. Unlike the various Nijō anthologies, this one was not a "new" (*shin*), "later" (*go*), or "continued" (*shoku*) version of any previous imperial collection. The title is not, of course, without allusion, the most obvious being to *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves) and Toshiyori's *Kin'yōshū* (Collection of Golden Leaves). This in itself made a statement about Tamekane's stance toward the early poets and toward the kind of innovation that Toshiyori represented, and Tamekane was roundly criticized for it (just as Toshiyori had been).[52]

Third, *Gyokuyōshū* is organizationally different from previous collections, with fewer sections of love poetry and more of miscellaneous poetry.[53] Toki Zenmaro suggests, not unreasonably, that this is because the miscellaneous category allowed for freer expression.[54] Finally, 113 of the 182 poets represented in the anthology were being published in an imperial collection for the first time. This is a very high number by the standard of the times.[55]

The top fifteen poets represented in *Gyokuyōshū* and the number of poems each had are as follows (an asterisk before the name indicates the poet was in the Kyōgoku group): *Fushimi, 93; Teika, 69; *Sanekane, 62; *Tameko, 60; Shunzei, 59; Saigyō, 57; Tameie, 51; *Eifukumon-in, 49; *Tamekane, 36; Izumi Shikibu, 34; Saneuji (Sanekane's grandfather and an important patron of the Mikohidari line), 31; *Shinshi, 30; Jien, 28; Tsurayuki, 26; Hitomaro, 24.[56] As might be expected, Nijō representation was minimal: Tameuji, 15;

Tameyo, 8; Tamefuji, 5; Genshō, 1.[57] The two roughly contemporary Nijō anthologies—*Shingosenshū* (New Later Collection; 1303) and *Shokusenzaishū* (Collection of a Thousand Years Continued; 1319 or 1320), both compiled by Tameyo—were similarly short in Kyōgoku poetry.[58]

The unconventional nature of *Gyokuyōshū* elicited a brilliantly conceived piece of polemic from the Nijō group. This essay, called *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* (Poetic Garden Particulars Jointly Signed) and written in 1315, attacked Tamekane's collection from nearly every standpoint, and in a very clever way: it was "signed" by a priestly group of deceased poetry masters, including Kisen, Nōin, Saigyō, and Jakuren, who presumed to chastise Tamekane for his deviation from the proper Way of Poetry, and thus from the Dharma itself. The question of who authored the piece has never been settled.[59]

The criticisms in *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* are divided into seven sections, covering such issues as *Gyokuyōshū*'s unusual title, the large number of unknown, lower-class poets represented, the unconventional and idiomatic diction, the size of the collection, and so on.[60] Not all of these objections would be considered substantive today, though as Brower and Miner note, most of them were to the point at the time because they clarified the issues dividing the two schools of poetry.[61]

Whatever one may think of the author's arguments, one has to smile sometimes at the clever way he makes his points. About the title *Gyokuyōshū* (Collection of Jeweled Leaves), which he finds inappropriate and pretentious, he says: "Its jewels are easily shattered; its leaves are fragile and bear no flowers."[62] And he has this to say about its large number of poems:

> When I looked at the collection I found nearly 3,000 poems! Even the greatest of monuments would shrink in importance if so many verses were written about it. Yet when I opened this collection, I found literally two or three hundred poems on insignificant topics. Four, five, even ten poems in a row were presented on such topics as the Day of the Rat, Young Greens, Spring Horses, or Rice-seedling Beds. . . . It seems as though the compiler found this and that too difficult to throw out so he included everything.[63]

The Nijō poets never forgave Tamekane for this anthology and their "defeat" at the time of the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*. In his subsequent anthology, *Shokusenzaishū*, Tameyo refused to include a

single poem by Tamekane or Tameko. Yet *Gyokuyōshū* was a fait accompli, and from our perspective today, it stands (along with *Fūgashū*) as one of the two finest collections of the age.

But it seems that both Tamekane and Fushimi spent much political capital to complete this project. Fushimi had used Sanekane's good offices to gain the Bakufu's approval for the anthology, and the reappearance of the Saionji scion on the political scene apparently rekindled the animosity between him and Tamekane.

As Fushimi began to settle his affairs prior to taking the tonsure, he took steps to ensure that Tamekane would be provided for. In the twelfth month of 1312 he sent Go-Fushimi a document discussing the disposition of the imperial lands that had been under his control as the senior active member of the Jimyō-in line. It stated in part:

> Item: With regard to the stipend lands currently held by Lord Tamekane, no changes should be made. He is guardian to both Go-Fushimi and Hanazono and has warm feelings toward them. Indeed, he has become very much a part of me. [If the throne receives the benefits of service from his descendants,] make sure that these perquisites remain unchanged, for is it not especially important that the descendants of a valuable retainer be rewarded, too?
>
> Item: The newly opened lands at Wada-shō in Echizen Province are to be set aside to support memorial services for Lord Tamekane after he dies. I have recorded the details of this order in a separate letter.[64]

The period just after the completion of *Gyokuyōshū* was in some ways Tamekane's finest hour. In the third month of 1313 he was sent as an imperial messenger to Kamakura, and in the fifth month he was dispatched by Fushimi and Go-Fushimi to Kōya-san, where he delivered sutras the two Retired Emperors had copied and presented six poems of his own.[65]

Fushimi and Tamekane took the tonsure on the same day—the seventeenth of the tenth month, 1313. Tamekane took the priestly name of Renkaku, but very soon thereafter changed it to Jōkaku.

Why did Fushimi withdraw from public life at this point? The general view is that, with two of his long-cherished desires fulfilled (the completion of *Gyokuyōshū* and the birth of an heir for Go-Fushimi in the seventh month of 1313), he felt his life at court could be considered more or less complete.[66] But this view seems rather too romantic given the situation.

For one thing, *Gyokuyōshū* did not come easily. Fushimi's unflinching support of Tamekane as sole compiler for the anthology cost him much good feeling in Kamakura, for many of the higher-ranking warriors were partisans of the Nijō group. In the spring of 1312, before the Bakufu had made a decision on the collection, Fushimi sent Sanekane a letter claiming that he really hoped to be able to commission three separate imperial anthologies—from Tamekane, Tameyo, and Tamesuke. This letter is taken at face value by most scholars, but Inoue Muneo considers Fushimi's proposal so ridiculous as to have been something of an act of desperation on his part, an attempt to appear conciliatory.[67]

Second, we know that the political situation at court was unsettled, and that the Jimyō-in line's position was by no means secure. The Daikaku-ji line had effectively split over its multiplicity of heirs. While this might have weakened the Daikaku-ji line as a unified force, it also meant there was another powerful competing faction. Go-Fushimi's producing an heir was a hopeful sign for the Jimyō-in line, but there was no guarantee that this child would automatically become Crown Prince.

Finally, taking into account the machinations of the next few years, in which Fushimi was implicated to the extent that he was obliged to send a formal protest of his innocence to the Bakufu, it seems doubtful that Fushimi retired from the world with a "feeling of satisfaction," as Iwasa Miyoko would have it.[68] True, he was somewhat past the average age at which the other Emperors of his era took the tonsure, so it could be said that his time had come. But it is hard to believe, under the circumstances, that he retired with a sense of having successfully completed all he had set out to do.

Tamekane's entry into the priesthood did not mark an exit from secular affairs. He continued to take an active interest in poetry, especially in the progress of Hanazono, whose skills he regarded very highly.[69] Hanazono's esteem for Tamekane in turn is evident from remarks like this in his diary: "Lord Tamekane's poetry is far superior to that of others. In this day and age, no one can compare with him in this art."[70]

But it appears that Tamekane went rather too far. In the fourth month of 1315, he led a party consisting of his adopted sons, Tamesuke, and various lower-ranking courtiers in the service of the Kyōgoku group to the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. The purpose of the

visit was unclear, although sutra readings and memorial services were on the agenda. But all was not solemn. Several *kemari* matches were held, along with court dancing and even a *sarugaku* performance.* On the twenty-eighth, Tamekane and sixty-one others (including high-ranking courtiers who joined him there, such as the former Kampaku Fuyuhira) composed poems about the Lotus Sutra at Kasuga Shrine.[71]

Throughout these activities Tamekane conducted himself in regal manner. At one of the gatherings, he had the participants sit in rank order, in imitation of the arrangement used by the Kampaku, with himself seated at the head. At a *kemari* match held on the twenty-fourth, "Three patterned mats were spread out in the garden in front of the main hall to make a splendid seating arrangement. The priest Jōkaku [Tamekane] sat alone in the center of the first mat."[72]

Not surprisingly Tamekane's arrogant behavior outraged many people, and shortly after the event, accusations were made against him. On the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month of 1315, he was arrested by Rokuhara. He was detained in the Bakufu's Kyoto headquarters until the second month of 1316, when he was exiled to Tosa. This time the evidence of Sanekane's role in Tamekane's downfall is clear. Hanazono states outright in his obituary that "owing to Sanekane's accusations, Kantō again exiled Tamekane, this time to Tosa Province."[73]

Again, the specific charges against Tamekane are not known beyond a vague sense that he was involved once more in plotting against the Bakufu. But by this time the rivalries within the imperial court had become so tangled that it would be difficult even to guess what sort of plotting Tamekane might have been doing or on whose behalf. Fushimi had taken the tonsure, Hanazono had produced no heir to support for the Crown Prince's position, and Tamekane and Go-Fushimi had become alienated.

Before being sent away, Tamekane entrusted Hanazono with some of his secret writings on poetry and told the Emperor he could pass them on to Tamekane's adopted sons when they showed enough knowledge of poetry to warrant it.[74] Practically nothing is known of his life in exile. But there is evidence that he was not completely isolated. The headnote to a poem in *Fūgashū* places him

* *Sarugaku*, the forerunner of Nō drama, had developed into a serious dramatic form by Tamekane's time. Kasuga Shrine was the center of one form of *sarugaku*.

in Aki Province (present-day Hiroshima Prefecture), suggesting that at some point he was allowed to move there, closer to the capital.[75] And then Hanazono says in the obituary: "In recent years the attitude against him relaxed a little, so Tamekane moved up to Izumi Province" (in modern-day Osaka), and this is where he was when he died. Hanazono goes on to speak of his correspondence with Tamekane on a few occasions. Furthermore, news of his death reached the capital in just two or three days.[76]

Thus did Tamekane die in exile, on the twenty-first day of the third month, 1332, but not until he had discovered, as he declared to Hanazono, that "there is no difference between the Dharma and the Way of Poetry."[77] It seems altogether fitting, in retrospect, that he should have died in the same month that Go-Daigo was exiled to Oki, marking the end of the Kamakura period.

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Tamekane's Poetics

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Although there is hope that the recently opened Reizei family "Shigure-tei" holdings may yet yield some new materials relevant to Tamekane,[1] at present there are few sources apart from his poems themselves from which to reconstruct his poetics. Under these circumstances, his only known poetic treatise, *Tamekanekyō Wakashō*, takes on great importance in furthering our understanding of the theories that were to reshape Japan's poetic landscape. Yet *Wakashō*'s importance should not be overestimated. Most scholars agree that it must have been written between 1285 and 1287 because of the title Tamekane uses for the poet Sanjō Sanetō.[2] At this time Tamekane would have been only in his early thirties, would not have yet endured exile, and was more than twenty-five years away from producing *Gyokuyōshū*. *Wakashō*, then, could hardly be considered reflective of his full powers as a poet.

Nonetheless, by this time Tamekane had already made a name for himself as a poet and teacher of poetry, and a distinct Kyōgoku style of poetry had begun to emerge. Furthermore, the battle lines had been drawn between the Nijō family and the Kyōgoku and Reizei families. So if *Wakashō* is not a product of Tamekane's ripest maturity, it at least points in the direction the Kyōgoku style would take.

Still, to date *Wakashō* on the basis of a single internal reference

seems risky; strictly speaking, such "proof" tells us only when that one sentence was written. Furthermore, the text as we have it today at the very least seems to be out of proper order. For example, sections 6 and 9 follow a particular line of argument and might be expected to stand together, though they do not.[3]

Toki Zenmaro's suggestion that Tamekane may have written the work in three parts—one between 1285 and 1287, one during his first exile, and one around the time of *Gyokuyōshū*—is worth noting.[4] Most of Toki's evidence comes from Hanazono's diary, specifically his statements (in 1325 and 1332, respectively) that Tamekane's poetics draw from Kūkai's *Bunpitsu Ganshinshō* (Notes on Perception and Feeling in Prose and Poetry)—a point that is clear from *Wakashō*—and that Tamekane entrusted him with some writings on poetry just before his second exile.[5] Unfortunately, the second statement does not prove anything. Given the more than forty-year disparity in age between Tamekane and Hanazono, even if these writings were what we now call *Wakashō*, it could simply mean that Tamekane treated them as a secret text and only doled them out to Hanazono in pieces appropriate to his level of understanding.

In sum, without knowing the date of *Wakashō* or Tamekane's purpose in writing it, we must glean what we can from the work itself. It is important to note at the outset that the treatise operates on three basic levels: the prescriptive (fundamental advice on how to write poetry); the polemic (attacks on the conservative approach to poetry prevalent in Tamekane's day); and the theoretical (a philosophical approach to the essence of poetry). All three levels must be taken into account when evaluating the work as a guide to Tamekane's poetics.

First, to the extent that *Wakashō* is prescriptive, one must wonder about the nature of its audience. As Tamekane admits, he teaches one thing to beginners and another to advanced students of poetry (just as Teika had done).[6] Whether *Wakashō* was originally a secret text, available only to the most promising students, or whether it was widely circulated is an important but unanswerable (as yet, anyway) question, and Tamekane's few prescriptive passages yield no clues. He reveals to us briefly what he tells his beginning students, and even more briefly what he tells his advanced students. To

the former, he gives the most basic advice, such as how to handle different types of topics and what kind of vocabulary to use. His remarks here are hardly revolutionary. They are essentially lifted from Teika's *Kindai Shūka* (Superior Poems of Our Times) and Tameie's *Eiga Ittei* (The Foremost Style of Poetic Composition).[7] To the advanced students he says: "It will be of the greatest advantage if you study the writings of the great masters and the poems written by the men of old, and color them with your own personality."[8] But such advice only serves to underscore in a practical way the theories he advocates throughout the treatise, theories that laid the groundwork for the poetic innovations that would mark the Kyōgoku style.

What of *Wakashō* as polemic? Plainly, Tamekane's polemical intent must be taken into consideration in evaluating the work. In his time, as in our own, taking the words and positions of one's opponents and reworking them to defend one's own stand was a common rhetorical device. Tamekane's Nijō rivals were particularly adept at this technique, but Tamekane himself did not hesitate to use it in *Wakashō*, as when he cites Teika in defense of one of Sanetō's poems.[9]

Nijō poetry represented a kind of institutionalization of Teika's style, or rather that of his son and poetic heir Tameie, who had grown steadily more conservative in his later years. Thus Tamekane's recourse to Teika might well be read less as an adulation of the great artist than as an attempted lynching of the Nijō poets with their own rope. This is not to say that Tamekane did not venerate Teika. But when he says "write as Teika did," he means this less literally than the Nijō poets, who gave the same advice.

The polemic problem runs even deeper. Several times in *Wakashō* Tamekane refers admiringly to *Man'yōshū* poets. For example, he says, "Yet poets from Hitomaro and Akahito on exceled because they trusted their own feelings. They did not study others or take them as models."[10] Later he goes on at greater length:

> At the time of *Man'yōshū*, poets wrote exactly as they felt in their hearts and did not hesitate to say the same thing twice. They made no distinction between informal and formal, and did not differentiate between poetic and ordinary speech. They followed what they felt in their own hearts and expressed themselves just as they wished. Relying on their innate qualities, they skillfully expressed externally the feelings that moved their hearts. In

sentiment and wording, form and character, their poems are superior. And because the strength of their poetry is extraordinary, it is elevated, profound, and impressive.[11]

This sort of thing has led subsequent generations of critics to hold that the Kyōgoku style is a kind of neo-Man'yō approach. Two scholars, Tsugita Kasumi and Iwasa Miyoko, have refuted this view by looking directly at Tamekane's poetry and the selections he made for *Gyokuyōshū*. Tsugita notes that only 3 percent of the poems in *Gyokuyōshū* are from *Man'yōshū*. This percentage is matched by *Shinkokinshū* and by several other Kamakura-period anthologies, although Tameyo's *Shokusenzaishū*, compiled in 1320, contains no Man'yō-period poems.[12] Thus in practice Tamekane was apparently no blind worshipper of the ancients. Iwasa, for her part, notes that Man'yō diction as such is rare in Tamekane's poetry.[13] In fact Tamekane showed much the same attitude toward the early poets as Teika had. His "write as the old masters did" is, again, to be taken figuratively, or as referring more to mental attitude than to poetic style.

Both Tsugita and Iwasa view *Wakashō* as primarily polemical, and in reading the work one should keep in mind their observations that Tamekane was using the great poets of the past to defend his position that the writing of poetry is essentially subjective and nonrational. But to read the whole work only on the level of polemic is to run the risk of missing the theoretical points Tamekane is trying to make.

Of the three major concepts in traditional Japanese waka criticism—*kokoro* (feeling), *kotoba* (diction, materials), and *sugata* (the poem's overall effect, or gestalt)[14]—*Wakashō* is primarily concerned, on the theoretical level, with the issue of feeling, or "heart," in poetry. Tamekane maintains very early in the treatise that poetry is the act of giving voice to what lies in the heart,[15] and passage after passage elaborates on this theme. Yet this is not to suggest that Tamekane was six hundred years ahead of his time, advocating a subjective Romanticism. His point was that poetry should be more than the simple reorganizing of a set vocabulary to construct architecturally pleasing verses. He believed that the greatness of the "old masters" stemmed from the fact that their poetry was generated from within, from their interaction with the world around them and the feelings thus engendered.

Tamekane would never have questioned that the expression of such feelings should still take the form of a thirty-one-syllable tanka. And the vocabulary and diction he advocated, and used, were, if occasionally unusual, never without precedent. (Indeed, in *Tamekanekyōki* we see a man extraordinarily concerned with precedent and proud of his knowledge of it.)

For all this, Tamekane believed strongly enough in the importance of feeling that he takes two positions in *Wakashō* that could not have endeared him to his Nijō rivals. First, he defends poetic "illnesses" (*yamai*)—the repetition of words, unorthodox vocabulary, and so on—if they flow naturally from the poet's spontaneous expression of feeling:

> When people who wish to imitate *Man'yōshū* style place prime emphasis on the mood of their poetry and are free with words according to their own taste, they do not hesitate to repeat things or even to employ words their predecessors never used. This is quite common in the writings of Shunzei, Teika, Saigyō, and the priest Jichin. . . . Though a poem may use a term twice, depending on the poet this might escape criticism even at a court poetry contest.[16]

Tamekane's acceptance of poetic "illnesses" is not without bounds, however, as he goes on to indicate: "It also happens that some without any understanding of the essence of poetry learn only superficial matters and then intentionally use words never used by their predecessors, or deliberately repeat things. But this is to absolutely no effect."[17]

The Nijō poets would also have been offended by his denunciation of the contemporary obsession with scholarship. It is true that Emperor Hanazono once described Tamekane as "without learning" (*saigaku nashi*).[18] But the word *saigaku* implies Chinese learning. As far as the history of waka goes, despite several misquotes, *Wakashō* shows that he had at least an adequate grounding in that area. In fact his passage on the famous poem about Asakayama is an interesting scholarly performance.[19] And an entry in his diary shows him in the company of Retired Emperor Fushimi, Retired Emperor Go-Fushimi, and Eifukumon-in going over precious texts of the *Kokinshū* preface with marginal notes by his grandfather Tameie.[20] It could hardly be said he considered learning itself a waste of time.

Indeed, like most poets of his day, Tamekane was familiar with

the major critical works of the past and did not hesitate to quote (or even borrow without attribution) from them. His major sources included the ninth-century works of Kūkai, *Bunpitsu Ganshinshō* and *Bunkyō Hifuron* (Secret Treasury of Poetic Mirrors), as well as Fujiwara Shunzei's *Korai Fūteishō* (Notes on Poetic Style Through the Ages) and Teika's *Kindai Shūka*. His attack on scholarship, it seems, was motivated by his conviction that it often stands in the way of true expression of feeling, rather than by any insecurity on his part. Although Tamekane advocates expressing feeling, that "feeling" is not merely an eruption of one's personal emotions. In one sense "feeling" is a profound, even religious, concept, owing much to the Tendai principle of *shikan* (concentration and insight) as discussed by Shunzei in *Korai Fūteishō*.[21] Tamekane writes: "Be it blossoms or moonlight, daybreak or the scene at dusk, whatever your subject may be, try to make yourself one with it and express its true essence; if you absorb its appearance and let the reactions that it evokes in your heart penetrate deeply, only then entrusting these feelings to words, these words will be captivating and attractive."[22]

Feeling, then, is not a matter of the poet's will; it is the reaction provoked by his interaction with the natural environment. What separates the poet from others is the attempt, through careful contemplation, to enter into his surroundings, to understand their essence and their underlying connection with the poet's own heart. In other words topic, subject, theme, and tone should merge as the distinction between the poet and his materials disappears. The poet thus does not construct a poem, but "entrusts it to words," which is to say, that the words appropriate to the scene and its "feeling" suggest themselves.

Tamekane makes much of the idea of "suitability" (*sōō*). Near the beginning of the treatise he states flatly: "In all matters, suitability is the most important means to fulfillment."[23] At first reading his discussion of this term seems rather unrelated to the rest of the treatise, but in fact he uses the concept to make several points. On a relatively superficial level he advocates the concept of *sōō* to assure his readers that he respects the long waka tradition and can imagine no more "suitable" vehicle for expressing the feeling he values so highly. He tells the story of how the holy man Baramon composed a waka when he arrived in Japan from India for the dedication cere-

monies at Tōdaiji temple. Tamekane notes that, "having come to Japan, he composed his poem in Japanese, considering it the most suitable language."[24] Tamekane presumably hopes this sort of example will protect him from his critics, since no one is likely to quarrel with this sense of the term "suitability." In the remainder of *Wakashō*, however, he proceeds to expand the notion of "suitability" beyond what most of his contemporaries would have accepted.

On another level "suitability" is tied closely with "feeling" and the idea of entering into and becoming one with that of which we write, for clearly, if we identify totally with the scene we seek to describe, the only possible expression of it will be "suitable." Quoting Kūkai (whose comments referred to prose), Tamekane puts forth three arguments: first, things move us and make us want to write words that accord with our feelings; second, if our feelings, and therefore what we want to express, are related to natural scenery, for example, we must psychologically enter that scenery in order to understand it fully; and third, it is most "suitable" to use that scenery, through words, to express our feeling, since the scenery is the origin of our feeling.[25]

This is simple, even circular logic, but it is a profound statement about the sources of art, and obviously consistent with Tamekane's emphasis on the importance of "feeling" and "entering into the scene." At the end of the treatise, he ties his ideas together in a concrete illustration:

> Teika said that if you write a group of poems in Chinese and Japanese about the ladies in the Jōyō Palace [C. Shang Yang Ren] simply by drawing on your scholarly learning about the subject, there will be both good and bad poems in the group, but you will never pass beyond a certain level of accomplishment.[26] But if you throw yourself more deeply into your writing and compose thinking to yourself "this is how they must have felt," the outcome will be more moving and resemble the mood of ancient poems. And if you go one step further and compose your poems after identifying yourself completely with those ladies' feelings—as bathed in tears they longed for their homes, or as they passed the nights listening to the rain, feeling day in and day out as if they could endure no more—then your poetry will be deeply affecting. At a glance one can see what the ladies endured, and they become all the more touching.[27]

Tamekane's attitude toward "feeling" and "suitability" is closely related to the concept of *hon-i*,[28] which was central to Shunzei's and

Teika's poetics. Tamekane and Shunzei would certainly have agreed that to write a superior poem, one had to enter into the essential nature (*hon-i*) of the topic through intense meditation in an attempt to identify with it in a Buddhist sense. But they would have differed on the appropriate manner of expression to be used for the topic (another meaning of *hon-i*). For Shunzei the language and images of *Genji Monogatari* were the pinnacle of beauty and therefore the most suitable vehicle for expression.[29] On the other hand, though Tamekane never says so outright in *Wakashō*, he takes a stand for a freer use of language. This is clear from the examples he gives in section 5,[30] all of which he defends even though each exhibits some sort of poetic fault. It is still clearer from his own poetry.

This stand is why the pre-Kampyō-era poets, and particularly the Man'yō poets, attracted Tamekane. They wrote in an age that was free from restrictive conventions on vocabulary and diction. It is not so much that Tamekane found Man'yō vocabulary itself superior to the poetic idiom of his own day; indeed, he did not use such vocabulary very often in his own work. He simply thought that what made poets like Akahito and Hitomaro great was that no artificial verbal strictures stood between them and what lay in their hearts.

This is the kind of poetry Tamekane advocates in *Wakashō*. He is as conservative as any of his contemporaries when it comes to evaluating what makes a beautiful or appropriate topic. Where he departs from them is in his insistence that centuries of verbal convention have come to block the poet's successful poetic exit from the topic, once he has identified with it completely. If the poet achieves this mystical identification with the topic, the suitable vocabulary will suggest itself. Traditional forms of expression may or may not be the result. But they cannot, in any case, be a requirement.

All in all *Wakashō* is not nearly as radical as Tamekane's reputation would lead one to expect. Piece by piece, very little of it is without some kind of antecedent in the writings of Kūkai, Shunzei, Teika, or even Tameie. Yet the overall thrust of Tamekane's argument is toward a freer use of language and a new sense of what makes a poem successful, and it is not surprising that his work was much maligned by the conservatives of his day.

Besides *Wakashō*, the only other known critical writings by Tamekane are the judgments he rendered at the *Einin Gonen Tōza*

Uta-awase. This was the contest held sometime between 1303 and 1308 in which he rendered his judgments as waka. Interesting as this form of judgment might be, it is not particularly useful as a means of understanding Tamekane's poetics. The judgment for round 20 (translated in the previous chapter) is typical of all but two of the contest's thirty rounds: Tamekane essentially takes the central image of each of the two contesting poems and compares them, concluding that one is better than the other (in the cases where a win was awarded), or that the two images are equally successful or unsuccessful (in cases where a draw was declared).

However, in rounds 17 and 18, given below in order, he takes a somewhat different tack:[31]

Left [Tameko], won: Inlet in Summer

Natsu zo shiranu	Untouched by summer
Minazoko sumite	The water's depths run clear;
Tsukikage no	Night waves roll and roll
Migaku Tamae no	Over Tama's glittering inlet
Nami no yoru yoru	Polished by the moonlight.

Right [Shinsaishō]: Inlet in Winter

Naniwae ya	The Naniwa Inlet—
Nami ni tamarazu	Unable to stand up to waves,
Kiyuru yuki ni	Receding snow
Ashi no kareha no	Has left dried reed stalks
Kakurezarikeri	No place to hide.

Judgment [Tamekane]

Tsuki migaku	The heart draws near
Tamae no nami ni	Tama Inlet's glittering waves
Kokoro yosete	Polished by the moon—
Kareha no ashi wa	But no one wants to see
Miru hito ya naki	Reeds with dried stalks.

Left [Noriyoshikyō no Musume]: Summer Village

Yamazato no	Enjoying evening cool
Matsu no kokage no	Under the shade of pine trees
Yūsuzumi	In a mountain village—
Natsu wa kakute mo	Surely this is the way
Kurashinubeki o	To bring a summer day to close.

Right [Fushimi], won: Winter Village

Kinō kyō	Yesterday, today,
Toyama no yukige	Through encircling mountains, boding snow,

Kaze arete	Winds whip fiercely;
Samuku shigururu	Early winter rains fall
Shigaraki no sato	Cold on Shigaraki Village.

Judgment [Tamekane]

Kaze aruru	Fierce winds whip,
Toyama no yukige	Boding snow, through encircling
Shigururamu	mountains,
Keshiki zo koto ni	While winter rains fall—
Miru kokochi suru	This scene in particular
	Comes alive before our eyes.

In the judgment for round 17, Tamekane is clear in praising the winning poem as one that moves the heart, an important consideration for the author of *Wakashō*. Given the multitude of meanings the term *kokoro* bears, his phrase *kokoro yosete* (translated as "The heart draws near") might also mean that Tameko's poem reflects the spirit (gotten to the heart of) the topic. He is also uncharacteristically specific in his criticism of Shinsaishō's choice of vocabulary, stating bluntly that no one would want to see the image she writes about.[32] Nowhere else in this contest does he remark on the choice of words. Indeed, the judgments at other Kyōgoku poetry contests rarely comment negatively on a poem's diction. This is in sharp contrast to the Nijō practice, where Shunzei's much-used *mimi tōshi* ("odd-sounding") is a favorite criticism.

The judgment in round 18—"this scene in particular comes alive before our eyes"—is noteworthy because it seems to reflect an important Kyōgoku concern. As we saw in the previous chapter, a similar judgment appears in connection with Tamekane's poem in round 4 of the *Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase*. Another poem in the same contest is praised in like manner. Such poems are successful because the poet has entered into the scene so thoroughly that the most suitable words for expressing the essence of the scene have naturally come forth, and the audience is able to picture in the mind's eye what is being described.

One other hint of Tamekane's theoretical stance can be found in his last three poems of the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*, providing further indication that this "contest" was intended to be a model of the Kyōgoku style. Two of the three poems (nos. 58 and 60) are openly didactic, discussing the essence of good poetry. The other (59) is a straightforward tribute to Fushimi, who was Tamekane's "opponent" in this contest:

KU 58

Omoimiru	When one can express
Kokoro no mama ni	In resonant and fitting words
Koto no ha no	Just what one feels
Yutaka ni kanau	Deep within the heart,
Toki zo ureshiki	Truly this is happiness!

KU 59

Yo ni koyuru	Though the jewels
Kimi ga koto no ha	Of my lord's words
Tama wa aredo	Spread throughout the world,
Hikari no soko o	There is no one who sees
Miru hito ya naki	The brilliance in their depths.

KU 60

Tane to naru	If we wish forever
Hito no kokoro no	To preserve the seeds
Itsumo araba	That are the human heart,
Mukashi ni oyobe	We must reach back to the past
Yamato koto no ha	And leaves of the Japanese language.

KU 58 reiterates one of the main themes of *Wakashō*, that the essence of poetry is to express in words what lies in the heart. KU 60 is an obvious reference to the first line of the Japanese preface to *Kokinshū*, which states: "Japanese poetry is countless leaves of words arising from the seeds of the human heart."[33] Again, Tamekane is suggesting that the poets of old knew how to express the human heart using "the Japanese language" (*Yamato koto no ha*). Of course Tamekane is not arguing for a traditional language the same way Nijō Tameyo did when he used the term in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō* to describe his own respect for the language of the past. Tamekane's remark is more nationalistic; that is, he is praising the Japanese language itself, rather than any particular diction.

It is interesting to note that the words *kokoro* and *kotoba*, the cornerstones of Japanese poetic criticism, appear in both of the didactic poems. In each case the point is that the *kotoba*, or "words," of a poem are only effective artistically if they are the product of *kokoro*, or "feeling."

Of course the question is, what constitutes such "feeling"? Scholars agree that one of the consistent characteristics of Kyōgoku poetry in general, and Tamekane's work in particular, is that nature, or human behavior, is captured therein at its moment of transformation from one state to another. It is somewhat misleading to call

this sort of thing a "technique." It is an artistic stance, and more than that, a way of looking at the world. To attempt through art to capture nature or the human consciousness at that single moment when it is changing from one state to another is to imply that there is significance in that moment, and that there is significance in the movement from one moment to the next. This is basic Buddhist doctrine.

There is a tendency among some scholars to resist discussing religion in relation to Japanese poetry. Partly this reluctance is a critical stance; after all no one nowadays would suggest that a person must have some knowledge of Buddhism to understand or appreciate Tamekane's poetry (although Tamekane himself might have held such a view).

Partly, too, the reluctance stems from a misguided definition of religion, combined with an inadequate understanding of its importance in medieval Japanese court life. Often the role of Buddhism is dismissed by people who equate the frequently frivolous practices described by such writers as Sei Shōnagon with religion. Or there is a tendency to accept that because the nationalist scholar Motoori Norinaga denied Buddhist influence in classical Japanese literature, or because some modern scholars claim the Japanese are not religious in the Western sense of the word, this must be so.[34] Even when a serious attempt is made to grapple with the problem, it is often too narrow in focus. The attitude seems to be, if it is Buddhist, it must be Zen. While Zen partisans might be happy at this, it does not, in fact, accord with the situation that existed in Tamekane's day.

The religious attitudes of courtiers like Tamekane tended to be much more eclectic. The Buddhist poems in *Gyokuyōshū*,* for example, make references to the Lotus Sutra, the Perfection of Wisdom Sutra, the Western Paradise, and the importance of the *nembutsu* (the chanting of Amida Buddha's name). None of these is the exclusive property of any one sect, least of all Zen, although several of the poems on the *nembutsu* do refer specifically to the practices of the Jōdō sect (as opposed to the mantric role the *nem-*

*The *shakkyōka* or *shakkyō no uta* are poems about impermanence, passages in the Lotus Sutra, or other Buddhist themes. Shunzei was the first to give them their own section in an imperial anthology, in his *Senzaishū* (1188). Before that, they had been lumped in with the miscellaneous poems or the laments.

butsu played in other sects, such as Tendai). Furthermore, few of the priests whose poems appear in *Fūgashū* were of the Zen sect; the majority belonged to the more traditional Tendai or Shingon sects, or one of the Pure Land groups.[35]

As for Tamekane, we do not know if he belonged to any particular sect, yet he was unquestionably religious. His overt expressions of his belief tended to be catholic, as would be expected from one of his background. They ranged from his acrostic poem to Amida Buddha to this poem from the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*, which borrows directly from the Lotus Sutra:

KU 54; (and with alternate line 2) FGS 1687

Ōzora wa	The great sky
Amaneku ōu	Completely covered by clouds;
Kumo no kokoro	From their depths
Kuni tsuchi uruu	A rain is sent down,
Ame kudasu nari	To nurture the land, the earth.

More important than these outward expressions of religious belief—in which Tamekane differed little from his contemporaries—is the worldview that underlies Tamekane's work. By emphasizing the significance of moments of change, Tamekane reveals his spiritual debt to the Lotus Sutra. If the main message of that subtle scripture can be briefly summarized, it would be that Buddhahood is in all things, that Samsara is Nirvana. This apparently simple observation nonetheless imbues each phenomenal event with cosmic importance.

Thus for Tamekane to concentrate his poetic attention on a moment of transformation is, on one level, to affirm the flux inherent in the phenomenal world (Samsara), and on another, to capture that moment where the changing intersects with the Unchanging (Nirvana). This is why in the best of Tamekane's poems there is a sense of time suspended, even though his superficial materials focus on the flux wrought by time. Here is the "feeling" that Tamekane valued so highly, and it can only be generated, he insists, when the poet identifies completely with the scene and conveys it as directly as possible through the words that it suggests.

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Tamekane's Poetic Practice

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While most modern scholars view the Kyōgoku style as "revolutionary" (*kakushinteki*), when Japanese poetry is looked at as a whole, the changes the Kyōgoku school brought to waka were in a way mere tinkering with a six-hundred-year tradition. Tamekane and his associates never questioned that the thirty-one-syllable waka form was the only suitable poetic vehicle. In that sense the true "revolutionaries" of the age were those experimenting with *renga*—and, ironically, these were Nijō and Reizei poets. Although there is evidence that some Kyōgoku poets (Fushimi and Hanazono, for example) did practice *renga*, it was not the focus of their most serious literary efforts. Indeed the first sentence of *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* is an attack on the *renga* form: "There is more to poetry than is generally supposed by those seekers after the unusual who gather these days under the cherry blossoms."[1]

In fact, taking into account Tamekane's apparent veneration for a Golden Age when poets wrote honestly, expressing what they felt, one might even go so far as to see the Kyōgoku group's experimentation with waka as an almost desperate attempt to keep tradition alive. On that view, if the Nijō poets were conservatives, content to hold to the status quo as defined by Tameie, the Kyōgoku poets

were reactionaries, trying to breathe new life into old forms that they regarded as the essence of art.

Nor were the Kyōgoku poets political revolutionaries. Consider the core of the group: an Emperor, an Empress, and a handful of high- or middle-ranking courtiers and ladies-in-waiting. It was a group that, in contrast to its Nijō rivals, never admitted low-ranking people into its poetry contests.[2] To be sure, Tamekane himself was active in politics. But his goal was the protection of an old order, not the establishment of a new one. Again, if the Bakufu could be described at this time as the conservative status quo, Tamekane and his group were positively reactionary.

All this being said, it is nonetheless difficult to dispute that the Kyōgoku poets were innovative in their own way. However, a context must be established by considering the meaning of innovation in the centuries-old waka tradition. To begin with, there has long been a tendency in both Japanese and Western scholarship to look at the history of waka in terms of the twenty-one imperial anthologies and *Man'yōshū*, the assumption being that they represent the work the poets considered their best. Take, for example, Toki Zenmaro's chapter, entitled "An Appreciation of Tamekane's Finest Poems," in which every example is from *Gyokuyōshū* or *Fūgashū*. Discussing the standards by which he made this selection, Toki argues: "Tamekane's strength and value as a poet was only acknowledged by people of his day in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*. The poems selected for these two collections are those that he himself had confidence in and those that met the standards set by Fushimi and Hanazono, who had a deep understanding of his work. Thus it is safe to recognize those eighty-eight poems as the best of his poetry."[3] Of course, there is some truth to this. Imperial anthologies were one way to publicly recognize good poetry. Tamekane would surely not have deliberately put his own worst poems in *Gyokuyōshū*, though compilers of imperial anthologies, at least from *Shinkokinshū* onward, often put mediocre poems in their collections as a kind of background to set off the good ones.[4]

Nevertheless, this reliance on imperial anthologies as exemplars of the best available poetry poses three problems. First, it supposes that what compilers thought was *appropriate* for an imperial anthology, that most formal of publications, was also what they con-

sidered the *best* poetry. Second, it fails to take into account the changing role of the poetry contest. And third, it tends to produce a rather choppy view of literary history, as in Robert Brower and Earl Miner's approach to the late classical period, in which the Kyōgoku style seems to rise up practically out of nowhere, as if Tameie had never written a verse of consequence and the period between Teika's *Shinchokusenshū* (1234) and Tamekane's *Gyokuyōshū* (1313 or 1314) was a poetic wasteland.

Let us examine each of these points. To begin with, it is by no means a foregone conclusion that in putting together imperial anthologies, compilers always tried to choose the "best" works. "Appropriate" was the key word. From the Heian period on, poet/critics carefully defined what kind of poetry was appropriate for which occasions. The basic distinction—the one Brower and Miner discuss in relation to their terms formal/informal, public/private—was between poetry appropriate for everyday situations, such as letters and casual exchanges (*ke no uta*), and poetry appropriate for formal, public occasions, such as poetry contests at the palace (*hare no uta*).* It was not a question of which type of poetry was "better," but simply a question of which was suitable in a given situation. Just as a *ke no uta* would never be acceptable in a poetry contest, but taken out of its private context and given a proper headnote (or no headnote at all) it might easily appear in an imperial anthology, so poetry that was acceptable at a contest might not be deemed suitable for an imperial anthology. This is illustrated, at least as far as the Kyōgoku poets are concerned, by the *Fushimi-in-Nijūban Uta-awase*. In that contest two losing poems, by Tameko and Fushimi, were included in *Fūgashū*, whereas the winning ones of their oppo-

*Kamo no Chōmei, in his poetic treatise *Mumyōshō* (Unnamed Notes; c. 1211), says: "*Hare no uta* are poems that one would certainly be able to show to others. It would be a mistake to write them as if only one's own feelings mattered." To illustrate the seriousness of this point, he relates a story of how once, in his ignorant youth, he was going to submit a poem containing the word *kuzuru* ("to crumble") in a poetry contest to be held at the Empress's Palace. An older friend explained to him that the word was related to the word *kuzu*, a verb used to refer to the death of an Emperor or Empress, and scolded, "Why on earth should you use a word like that in a poem read at the palace?" So Chōmei did not use the poem. The Empress died not long afterward, and Chōmei remarks, "If I had submitted that poem, there undoubtedly would have been rumors that it was a bad omen." (Hisamatsu et al., *Karonshū*, pp. 40–41.)

nents (Eifukumon-in and Tamekane, respectively) were not.[5] In fact, the judgment in Tamekane's favor, which was quoted in Chapter Three, is so enthusiastic as to indicate that his poem was considered to be of the highest possible quality. Yet it was never chosen for inclusion in an imperial anthology.

This leads to the second point: the changing nature of poetry contests in the late Kamakura period. Because of the split in the imperial line and the intense rivalry between the Kyōgoku and Nijō factions, gone were the days when the Retired Emperor, as undisputed head of the imperial family, could gather all the major poets of the day for a highly public and formal poetry contest, as Go-Toba had done in 1201–2 with the *Sengohyakuban Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds). The failure of Fushimi's 1293 commission showed how unbridgeable the gap between the two major poetic factions had become.

By the turn of the century, poetry contests held by these two groups had become intimate and exclusive gatherings. Though these contests still had imperial sponsors (generally Fushimi and Eifukumon-in for the Kyōgoku group and Go-Uda or Go-Nijō for the Nijō group), they were small affairs, and the judgments were as often as not rendered by the group (*shūgihan*).[6] In short they became studios of a sort, where like-minded poets could gather to develop their art. As such they foreshadowed *renga* composition practices in the Muromachi period (1338–1573).

These small, closed gatherings allowed the participants to learn and practice the poetry of their school without fear of invoking the attack of a hostile judge. The tendency was to relax, though not discard altogether, some of the traditional rules of the *uta-awase*. Again, the *Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase* serves as an example. Several of the winning verses do not conform to the standards set forth by Tameie for poetry contest verse: "A poem in a poetry contest ought not to contain any errors, and special care should be taken to avoid writing anything likely to draw criticism. It should possess a grand and sublime beauty, and its form should not be over-descriptive."[7] Go-Fushimi's winning entry in round 9, for example, would probably have been criticized in a formal palace contest in earlier times for the repeated "o" sounds at the end of four of the five lines:[8]

Right [Go-Fushimi], won: Trees

Kogarashi ni	Scarlet leaves
Tomaranu yomo no	Blown ceaselessly in all directions
Momijiba o	By winter winds,
Yoso ni miyama no	While far-off mountainsides
Matsusugi no iro	Are colored by pine and cedar.

The poem is praised in the judgment for being easy to understand ("*iishireru sama kikoeru*"), an important standard for poetry contest verse. But no mention is made of the "rhymes," although traditionally rhyming was considered a fault. Tamekane's poem on the bird that leaves no traces of its flight (see Chap. 3), from round 15 of the same contest, also has this "fault," and furthermore, its central image is quite unusual for any poetic context, let alone a poetry contest. Yet it, too, was awarded a win.

That these things were discounted was due in part, at least, to the fact that poets had been redefining what constituted poetic faults throughout the Kamakura period. Waka poet/critics from Fujiwara Hamanari (724–90) in his treatise *Kakyō Hyōshiki* (Guidelines to the Poetic Canon; 772) to Shunzei in his treatise *Korai Fūteishō* discussed the issue of *kabyō* (or *kahei*), "poetic illnesses" that were to be avoided in the writing of formal poetry. Most of these had to do with identical moras, called *in*, at the beginning or end (in which case, it becomes a kind of rhyme) of certain lines of a poem.* Until Shunzei, these "illnesses" were considered sufficient cause to eliminate a poem in a poetry contest, and even in the early Kamakura period, we find conservative judges disqualifying this or that poem for displaying one of the traditional "illnesses." Shunzei, however, had maintained that since the "illnesses" were originally adapted from Chinese rules of prosody, they did not apply to Japanese, and thereafter *in*, often in the form of "rhyme," began to appear more and more often in poetry contests. By Tamekane's day even Nijō poets used it in their contests.[9]

This relaxing of older strictures combined with the new, more

*In Japanese usage a mora is a unit of relative meter that never contains more than one vowel. There are five types of moras, which all take the same length of time to pronounce: a single vowel (e.g. *a*); a consonant-vowel combination (*ka*); a consonant-*y*-vowel combination (*kyo*); the first consonant in a doubled consonant (first *k* in *gakkō*); and the final consonant *n*.

private nature of the contests to foster a more creative atmosphere than had existed theretofore. A clear example of the tendency to use the poetry contest as an opportunity to display exemplars of a group's work is the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*. Its sixty rounds were almost certainly carefully constructed to showcase the abilities of two of the Kyōgoku school's masters: Fushimi and Tamekane. Twenty-two of Tamekane's poems and nineteen of Fushimi's later appeared in one or other of the Kyōgoku imperial anthologies, another indication that they were highly regarded. And several of its poems appeared in other contests, which implies that at least some of the poems in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* were selected rather than composed for the occasion.[10] Furthermore, the contest was unjudged, the poems in each round fit together nicely, and the whole sequence progresses temporally and tonally, so that the overall effect is more like one of Teika's model one-hundred-poem sequences than a poetry contest.

The Kyōgoku poets came to perceive these intimate poetry contests as an important forum for their best work. And they looked to similar contests in earlier ages, as much as to imperial anthologies or famous formal contests, for inspiration and justification for their own poetry. Indeed, little of their "innovation" was entirely without precedent. And this leads to the third point: that reliance on imperial anthologies to define the poetic trends of an age tends to obscure the evolutionary nature of waka.

The matter of vocabulary is a case in point. Nijō critics frequently attacked the Kyōgoku poets for using inappropriate, inelegant language in their poetry. Tameyo put it bluntly in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*: "Tamekane makes light of and ridicules the language of the great poets of the past. He violates the Way of Language."[11] To be sure, the Kyōgoku poets did experiment with vocabulary, and we may be thankful that they did, for this is one reason their poetry holds interest today. But much of their "experimentation" had in fact already been carried out by poets of earlier ages.

One of their sources of inspiration was the *Shinsen Rokujōdai Waka* (Newly Selected Poems on the Topics of the "Six Notebooks").[12] This was a *ruidaishū*, that is, a collection of poems classified by topic for use as a reference when composing poetry. The 2,600-some poems in it were written by Tameie and four of his

contemporaries, then gathered together by Tameie between 1243 and 1244.* Over time Tameie became increasingly conservative in his approach to poetry, and many have suggested this was because he felt insecure about his own abilities.[13] But at this point he was still experimenting quite freely with his verses. The other four poets were even more innovative, and it is something of an irony that these non-Mikohidari poets may have had as much impact on the development of the Kyōgoku style as Tameie had.

In addition, in separate studies Tani Akiko and Watanabe Yasuaki have noted interesting connections between certain figures of speech appearing in the two Kyōgoku anthologies and in the *Roppyakuban Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds; 1192).[14] They have tentatively found that although some of the poems in the *Roppyakuban Uta-awase* containing new and unusual verbal expressions were criticized when they were first written, the Kyōgoku poets did not hesitate to use them in their own poems, even the poems they included in their anthologies. On the other hand these unconventional phrases scarcely appear in Nijō anthologies. Tani has further demonstrated that a number of unusual expressions used by Teika in his *Shūi Guso* (Gleanings from My Humble Scribbles; 1216, with later revisions) are also found in *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, but in no other imperial anthology.[15]

A discussion of the sources of the Kyōgoku style is beyond the scope of this study. Indeed, it is a question that is only just beginning to attract the attention of scholars in Japan. The three pairs of poems cited below will serve to show that the Kyōgoku style was by no means without precedent. Each pair contains a *Gyokuyōshū* poem that features an unusual expression and an earlier poem that probably served as its justification. (SRW is *Shinsen Rokujōdai Waka*, RU is *Roppyakuban Uta-awase*, and SG is *Shūi Guso*; the phrases at issue are in small capital letters):[16]

*The four other contributors were Kujō Ieyoshi (1192–1264), Rokujō Tomoie (Renshō; 1182–1258), Fujiwara Nobuzane (1177–1265), and Shinkan (Hamuro Mitsutoshi; 1203–76). Each of these men represented a poetic group, and in time all became allies in their opposition to Tameie and the Mikohidari house. But relations among these poets were never as hostile as those between the Kyōgoku and Nijō groups, and at the time of the *Shinsen Rokujōdai Waka* they were even cordial. Kujō Ieyoshi in fact sponsored the collection, but Tameie did the planning and carried the project out.

GYS 628. Fushimi. On Lightning

Yoi no ma no	Light seen
Murakumozutai	Along banks of clouds drifting
Kage miete	Through the night—
Yama no ha MEGURU	AUTUMN LIGHTNING DANCES
AKI NO INAZUMA	ROUND the mountain ridges.

SRW. Tameie. On Lightning

Tōyama no	From between clouds
Mine tachinoboru	That climb the peaks
Kumoma yori	Of distant mountains
Honoka ni MEGURU	AUTUMN LIGHTNING
AKI NO INAZUMA	DANCES faintly ROUND.

GYS 542. Eifukumon-in no Naishi. Called a poem on Autumn

Fukishioru	Blown about
Yomo no kusaki no	Trees and grasses all around
Uraba miete	Show undersides of leaves;
Kaze ni shirameru	Whitening in the wind
AKI NO AKEBONO	NOW THAT AUTUMN DAWN HAS COME.

RU. Jien (won). On Morning Love

Iza inochi	O Life!
Omoi wa yowa ni	My longing has run its course
Tsukihatenu	Through this past night.
Yū mo mataji	I'll wait no more for nightfall
AKI NO AKEBONO	NOW THAT AUTUMN DAWN HAS COME.

GYS 2154. Fushimi. [Topic unknown]

Sayo fukete	Deepening night
YADO MORU INU NO	High-pitched THE BARK
KOE takashi	OF A WATCHDOG;
Mura shizukanaru	Now the village falls silent,
Tsuki no ochikata	And the moon seems far away.

SG. Teika. [One of] Ten on Beasts

Yamazato wa	A mountain village—
Hito no kayoeru	No path beaten here
Ato mo nashi	By visitors;
YADO MORU INU NO	The only sound heard
KOE bakari shite	Is A WATCHDOG'S BARK.

Fushimi's poem on lightning is close enough to Tameie's to be an allusive variation. Although a reference to lightning is not unheard-

of in waka, Tameie's innovation is to say that it dances. As for Jien's poem, the judgment in the *Roppyakuban Uta-awase* points out that whereas *haru no akebono* ("spring dawn") is a familiar and moving phrase (first made famous by Sei Shōnagon in the opening passage of her *Pillow Book*), *aki no akebono* ("autumn dawn") is unusual (though not so unusual as to prevent Jien from winning the round). Tani notes that variations using *akebono* were widely explored by poets of the Kenkyū era (1190–99), and many of the phrases they pioneered (*fuyu no akebono*, "winter dawn"; *Suma no akebono*, "Suma dawn"; and so on) found their way into the two Kyōgoku anthologies. Finally, Teika's poem on the barking dog itself has precedent in the work of Toshiyori.*

As further research is done into poetry from the time of Teika to Tamekane's era, the antecedents of the Kyōgoku style will become clearer. Even now there is enough evidence to show that Tamekane and his partisans did not create new poetry out of a vacuum. Of course this should not be surprising. Throughout the history of waka the exceptions of the past often became the norms of the present. This is seen in the work of Toshiyori and Teika, as well as the Kyōgoku poets. It is a pattern that was to be repeated with the development of *renga*, for in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the linked-verse poets turned to the Kyōgoku style, finding it more appropriate for the new medium.[17]

But if carried too far, this search for precedent can be just as misleading as an uncritical reliance on imperial anthologies, for it can obscure the fact that the poetry of each age does indeed have identifiable distinguishing characteristics. In the end there is no need to deny that the Kyōgoku poets were innovative. To be sure, they found justification for their work in the poetry of earlier ages, but that earlier poetry had been outside the mainstream in its time. The Kyōgoku poets adopted this idiom as their norm, and unhesitatingly displayed it to an often hostile audience by making it an essential part of their imperial anthologies.

*Toshiyori in turn borrowed the "barking dog" image from Chinese poetry, though Chinese precedent alone was not sufficient to ensure an image being accepted as suitable for waka.

Defining the Kyōgoku Style

Each Kyōgoku poet had his or her own approach to poetry, and the individual styles of the major Kyōgoku poets—that is, the top echelon, Fushimi, Eifukumon-in, Tameko, and Tamekane—are fairly easily distinguished one from the other. But there are still enough common characteristics in their poetry to justify speaking of a "Kyōgoku style." In attempting to identify those characteristics, we begin, naturally enough, with the style of the man who gave the Kyōgoku group its name.

Still, defining Tamekane's style is easier said than done. He claimed to have written over ten thousand poems by the time he was sixty years old, and even among the seven hundred or so that are known today there is significant variation. Moreover, tracing his development as a poet is difficult, if not impossible, since many of his works cannot be dated. Even if we know when a poem first appeared in public print, there is no way of knowing when it was actually written. Headnotes in imperial anthologies linking a poem to a particular poetry contest or a one-hundred-poem sequence submitted in such-and-such a year cannot be taken as proof of the date of composition. We might assume that poems from a *tōza uta-awase* (an extemporaneous contest) were written at the time of the contest, for by definition poems were composed on the spot at such gatherings. But even then, poets often had a rough idea of the topics, and nothing prevented them from preparing poems in advance or selecting ones that they had written earlier.

This dating problem has not discouraged some scholars from speculating on Tamekane's early style. Ishida Yoshisada, for example, argues:

> If we examine the poems by Tamekane that were chosen by Nijō compilers for inclusion in their imperial anthologies, most of them were written by Tamekane when he was in his twenties or early thirties. Thus it is believed that the majority of poems he wrote up to that time did not differ much from the verses of the Nijō group. It is thought that Tamekane's revolutionary poetry did not publicly emerge until he was in his late thirties.[18]

Ishida hedges somewhat here ("it is believed . . .," "it is thought . . ."), and for good reason. He is basing his statement on the slim evidence of fewer than forty poems distributed through

several Nijō anthologies. The first problem, then, is a matter of sheer numbers: there is not enough evidence for a solid argument.

A second problem is that the poems in question were chosen by Nijō compilers and would naturally reflect their tastes rather than Tamekane's. Suppose that on his twenty-fifth birthday, Tamekane wrote 1,000 poems, of which 995 were too "revolutionary" to ever see the light of day, and 5 were inoffensively traditional, acceptable to the Nijō group, and included in their anthologies? This is not to say Ishida is wrong, only that at present there is little evidence to show with any certainty what kind of poet the young Tamekane was.

We are on firmer ground when it comes to Tamekane's poetic activities during Fushimi's tenure as Crown Prince, with the hard evidence of the 244 draft poems found on the back of the manuscript of the *Kanmon Gyoki*.[19] Iwasa Miyoko feels that these should revolutionize our view of Tamekane's early poetry.[20] She holds that though the criticism leveled against Tamekane in *Nomori no Kagami*, namely, that his verses were colloquial and prosaic, has generally been dismissed by scholars as picayune, it now seems very accurate in light of these draft poems, many of which are indeed unconventional:[21]

Kaze no oto wa	There's no way in which
Kinō ni kawaru	The sound of the wind
Koto mo naki o	Has changed since yesterday;
Haru chō kara ni	Perhaps I find it gentler
Nodokeku ya omou	Because they say it's spring now.
Hana no kokoro	The flower's inner essence—
Ikani iro fukaku	How deep do we believe
Omoite ka	Its color to be?
Kakaru iro sae mo	Even that color
Isogi chiruran	Will all too quickly fade.

Granted these are unusual, rather prosy poems, at least in terms of technique (their conception derives directly from *Kokinshū*). Their tone is colloquial, and Tamekane's penchant for *ji-amari* is most evident.[22] But should they revolutionize our view of the development of Tamekane's poetry? I do not think so.

The important consideration is that they are clearly *draft* poems, not verses that Tamekane probably ever dreamed would endure. Some of the poems are even more extreme than the two above:[23]

Aware aware	Sad, o sad!
Hodo no naku suguru	There's no limit to the number
Hikazu kana	Of days that pass,
Shibashi kotoshi no	Till I think, of this year,
Tomare to omou ni	"You must halt for a while!"

This sort of poem cannot be taken as a discrete poetic unit worthy of serious appreciation. Nor should one hundred draft poems on the single theme of Year's End, for example, be considered a unified work of art. Not even the *Tamekanekyō Shika Hyakushu* was this extreme, for though every poem contained the word "deer," the sequence itself was modeled after the *Horikawa Hyakushu* (100-Poem Sequences of the Horikawa Era; 1105–6), so that one hundred different topics were covered, and the overall effect was not quite so monotonous.

Such draft sequences as these were probably not so much experiments as attempts to find a good turn of phrase that might be used at some future time in a more formal, public poem. They might have been composed as a joke or a game, for all we know. If these draft poems could be linked to polished final versions in imperial anthologies or important poetry contests, then they might prove useful in examining the creative process. Such connections, however, have yet to be demonstrated, so to overemphasize their importance is to put the cart before the horse. It is as if some literary scholar were to uncover a draft manuscript by Shakespeare containing the line "It's a real problem whether I am or not." If we did not know of the finished product, *Hamlet*, these words would look rather ridiculous to us—somewhat intriguing in conception, perhaps, but not worthy of great admiration. And knowing *Hamlet* as we do, they appear even less interesting.

Tamekane's early draft poems should be viewed the same way and approached with the same caution due any fragmentary documentary evidence. And until they have been analyzed more thoroughly, it would be difficult to build a discussion of Tamekane's development as a poet around them.

Besides, Tamekane's reputation as a poet does not rest on these poems. History has undoubtedly been a severe editor of his poetry, but it is safe to say that what we find of his not only in *Gyokuyōshū*, but also in the poetry contests held in the first decade of the fourteenth century (particularly the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*), represent the

poetry Tamekane himself considered his best work. It is to those works, then, that we should look for the "Tamekane style." (He also has many superb poems in *Fūgashū*, to be sure, but since that collection was made some years after his death,[24] it more accurately reflects the tastes of a later generation of Kyōgoku poets, and so is one step removed from Tamekane himself.)

As we have seen, the Kyōgoku poets were in some ways conservative, even reactionary, in their approach to waka. They remained faithful, for example, to the topics that had defined Japanese court poetry for centuries. Their nature poems covered the four seasons using all the traditional images—the warbler and plum blossoms in the spring, the autumn moon, early winter rains, and so on—and their love poems followed the classic course of a Heian love affair, from unspoken early love through unbearable partings at dawn, insecurity spawned by fewer and fewer visits, abandonment, and finally, resignation.

The uniqueness of the Kyōgoku style lay in its treatment of these traditional topics. In *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* Tamekane does not argue for exploring new topics; rather he argues that the essence of the old topics needs to be rediscovered, a process that he admits will entail a "new" use of language. He is quick to point out, however, that this treatment is not really new at all. It is a return to the straightforward, heartfelt treatment perfected by the great poets of the past.

A number of verbal techniques or devices can be isolated and identified as characteristic of the Kyōgoku treatment. Naturally, no single poem contains all or even most of them. In fact, as Iwasa points out, some Kyōgoku poems display none of them, yet are still unmistakably Kyōgoku in more subtle ways.[25] Be that as it may, in the remainder of this chapter, we will concentrate on the technical aspects of the Kyōgoku style.[26] Specifically, we will examine the way in which the Kyōgoku poets, particularly Tamekane, frequently used *ji-amari*, not just in one line of a poem, but sometimes in two or more; employed syllable clustering to alter rhythm; manipulated pauses; manipulated vowels and/or consonants; and repeated sounds or words.

Of course, waka poets throughout the ages used these techniques at one time or another. The difference lies in why writers used them. Among the Kyōgoku poets these devices were usually employed to underscore parallelism, both verbal and thematic. As

noted earlier, the attention Kyōgoku poets paid to the moment of nature in transition implied a worldview that saw Nirvana in Samsara. As will be seen in many of the examples that follow, parallel structure is often used to emphasize that view by playing one part of the verse against the other. This is unusual in the history of waka, and often resulted in phrasing that bent or broke traditional waka rules.

Ji-amari

Though all *ji-amari* involve the use of at least one extra syllable in one or more lines of a poem, some types sound weaker, less conspicuous than others. For example, lines with back-to-back "o" sounds, like *zo omou* (the verb "to think" following emphatic particle *zo*) frequently, though not inevitably, have an extra syllable, probably because the two "o" sounds tend to run together and become one when spoken. Similarly, lines with *ue* ("over; above") often run long. However, for the purposes of this discussion, such cases will be considered examples of *ji-amari* like any other, for two reasons. One, Japanese literary scholars usually count them that way (though linguists may not).[27] Second, there are at least as many examples of combinations like those mentioned above appearing in lines that do *not* have an extra syllable. This indicates that the poets themselves may have counted each vowel sound as a separate syllable.

Ji-amari is no means limited to the Kyōgoku poets, but its patterns of use vary from age to age and school to school. Table 2, which gives the percentage of poems with *ji-amari* from selected sources dating back to *Kokinshū*, reveals some points of particular note.[28] First, the proportion of poems with *ji-amari* is strikingly low in Nijō poetry. Second, although the proportion in *Gyokuyōshū* is relatively high, it is more or less on par with that in *Shinkokinshū* and is substantially lower than the proportion in *Kokinshū*. And third, the proportion of *ji-amari* poems in Kyōgoku "in-house" poetry is even higher, particularly for Tamekane.[29]

These statistics, even as incomplete as they are, highlight the conservative nature of Nijō poetic practice. It would seem that, as Brower and Miner suggest, the Nijō poets sincerely believed that the Golden Age of poetry was irrevocably lost, leaving Tameyo and

TABLE 2

Use of Ji-amari *in Selected Sources*

Source	Selection/ book	Poems: Number	Poems: Percent with *ji-amari*	Notes
Imperial anthologies				
Kokinshū (ca. 904)	Spring	50	34%	1st 50 poems of each book; comp. Ki no Tsuryaki et al.
	Love	50	32	
Shinkokinshū (1206)	Spring	50	24	1st 50 poems of each book; comp. Teika et al.
	Love	50	18	
Shingosenshū (1303)	Spring	50	8	Nijō. 1st 50 poems of each book; comp. Tameyo
	Love	50	4	
Gyokuyōshū (1313 or 1314)	Spring	50	24	Kyōgoku. 1st 50 poems of each book; comp. Tamekane
	Love	50	28	
	Tamekane's poems	36	42	
Shokusenzaishū (1319)	Spring	50	14	Nijō. 1st 50 poems of each book; comp. Tameyo
	Love	50	8	
Poetry contests				
Sumiyoshisha (1263)	All poems	66	5	Nijō
Go-Nijō-in (1303)	All poems	60	2	Nijō
Kingyoku (1303 or 1304)	Tamekane's poems	60	45	Kyōgoku
	Fushimi's poems	60	38	Kyōgoku
Fushimi-in Nijūban (before 1307?)	All poems	40	40	Kyōgoku

his followers with no recourse but to imitate its easiest styles as best they could.[30] One is reminded of Tameyo's rhetorical question in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*: "Is it not natural that we do not live up to our ancestors?"[31] Yet given the high incidence of *ji-amari* in such classics as *Shinkokinshū* and *Kokinshū*, one cannot help wondering just what tradition the Nijō poets were trying to uphold. If any-

thing, it is the Kyōgoku poets who could claim to be following the traditional practices.

Not only is the incidence of *ji-amari* high in Kyōgoku poetry, but the pattern, particularly in the "in-house" compositions, is distinctive as well. For example, twenty-three of Fushimi's poems in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* have *ji-amari* (of which three have *ji-amari* in more than one line), and of these, the extra syllable occurs thirteen times in the first line, seven times in the third line, four times in the fifth line, and three times in the second line. Similarly, of Tamekane's twenty-seven *ji-amari* poems (of which three have *ji-amari* in more than one line) in the same contest, the extra syllable appears seventeen times in the first line, ten times in the third line, two times in the fifth line, and once in the fourth line. The poems in the *Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase* show the same kind of *ji-amari* distribution, favoring the first, third, and fifth lines.

The distribution in the non-Kyōgoku sources tends to be more scattered, without such a marked pattern (the exception being the first fifty spring poems in *Shinkokinshū*, which show a distribution very much like that found among the Kyōgoku poets). This distinctive Kyōgoku pattern reflects, indeed aids in, the tendency of the Kyōgoku poets to put strong pauses at the end of the first and third lines of their poems, a point that we shall return to shortly.

Such statistics are not particularly useful, let alone interesting, in themselves. It is more important to see how *ji-amari* functions in specific poems, for its effect can be quite different depending on the line in which it is used, the words in that line (that is, whether it is "soft" *ji-amari*, made of quasi-diphthongs, or a "hard" one), the inflexion at the end of the line, and so on. Inevitably, however, *ji-amari* has at least two functions. First, it draws attention to the line in which it appears, and second, it alters the traditional rhythm of waka much the same way that altering stress patterns does in metered verse. Reading through Nijō anthologies such as *Shingosenshū*, in which the lines with few exceptions adhere to the traditional 5-7-5-7-7 arrangement, one soon realizes how important *ji-amari* is for relieving monotony.

The first line was clearly the favored position for *ji-amari* among the Kyōgoku poets. As Suzuki Jun'ichi has noted, "Merely by disregarding traditional form from the very beginning, the poet is ex-

pressing his innermost being."[32] "Innermost being" aside, the poet is at least announcing at the start that content is to take precedent over form in such a poem. An excellent example is the following poem by Tamekane.

KU, round 7; (and with an alternate line 4), GYS 174: From among poems on Spring

Omoisomeki	I've come to realize
Yotsu no toki ni wa	That among the four seasons
Hana no haru	It is flowering spring;
Haru no uchi ni wa	And of spring, most of all
Akebono no sora	The sky at dawn . . .

The *ji-amari* unquestionably makes the line stand out. And Tamekane strengthens it by putting the verb in the conclusive form. In addition the first line contains the only verb in the whole poem. The effect is to set the line apart quite dramatically: "I have realized something, an act that in itself is significant. Now I am going to tell you what it is that I have come to realize." The irony of the poem is that Tamekane has "come to realize" something that any reader of Sei Shōnagon's *Pillow Book* (and this would include any court poet in Tamekane's day) already knows, that "in spring, it is the dawn." But the poet is not being disingenuous here, for by putting such strong emphasis on the verb in the first line—and *ji-amari* is clearly one of the factors that contributes to that emphasis—he is saying that his realization is "existential," not merely conventional.

This effect was entirely lost on the writer of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki*, who dismissed the poem as merely stating the obvious.[33]

Tamekane was not the first to use *ji-amari* this way. Shun'e (1113–91) takes a similar tack in this poem:

SKKS 6. Priest Shun'e. [Topic unknown]

Haru to ieba	Now that they say it's spring
Kasuminikeri na	How misty it's become!
Kinō made	Until yesterday
Namima ni mieshi	One could see between the waves
Awajishima yama	The mountains of Awaji Island.

By setting off the first line with an extra syllable, Shun'e invests it with power, the power of suggestion. The implication is that just by hearing the word "spring," one begins to see the world differently. Like Tamekane, Shun'e is exploring a convention, in this case

the association between spring and mists. With *ji-amari*, he emphasizes the authority of that association by demonstrating how even just uttering one-half of the equation can affect the poet's perceptions.

Tamekane also employs *ji-amari* in the first line to establish a parallel with the second, an effect that distinguishes Kyōgoku poetry from the work of earlier periods:

KU, round 32; (and with an alternate line 4), GYS 1367

Hito mo tsutsumi	My loved one waits in secret
Ware mo kasanete	And I find it ever harder
Toigatami	To visit her;
Tanobeshi yowa wa	Later and later grows the night
Tada fuke zo yuku	On which we'd pinned our hopes.

The parallelism here, made closer by the addition of an extra syllable to help even out the length of the first and second lines, allows Tamekane to show the viewpoint of both lover and loved one. Because of this virtually equal treatment, the last two lines reflect the frustrations of both partners.

Fushimi uses the same technique:

KU, round 8

Hana o nagame	I spend my time
Uguisu no ne o	Gazing vaguely at flowers, listening
Kikinashite	For the warbler's song;
Koto omoi naki	With nothing on my mind
Haru no higurashi	Throughout this day in spring.

He could just as easily have said *hana nagame*, but adding the "*o*" sets up an exact grammatical parallel (object–direct object marker–verb) that balances the two actions in the first three lines. As with Tamekane's poem in round 32, the close parallel also emphasizes the 1-2-3 movement to ever-larger word groups (line 1 for the first group, lines 2 and 3 the second, lines 4 and 5 the third), a device that is frequently employed in Kyōgoku poetry.

Using first-line *ji-amari* to establish a verbal parallelism was not a technique invented by the Kyōgoku poets, though the following example by Ariwara no Narihira employs the technique to rather different effect:

KKS 476. Ariwara no Narihira no Ason. On the day of the archery contest at the riding ground of the Imperial Guards of the Left, the poet, catching a fleeting

glimpse of a woman's face through the blinds of a carriage that had pulled up on the other side of the grounds, composed and sent her this poem:

Mizu mo arazu	It's not that I did not see her
Mi mo senu hito no	Nor did I really see her,
Koishiku wa	Yet she fills me with longing;
Ayanaku kyō ya	Today I'll surely spend lost in
Nagamekurasamu	thoughts
	Of things I do not understand.

Actually, Narihira is emphasizing here not so much parallel as paradox. The double negative in the first line is clever, and the *ji-amari* ensures that we will not miss it. This cleverness is very much in keeping with Narihira's poetic style, and its purpose is far less serious than Tamekane's. Whereas Tamekane's poem is an attempt to portray unfulfilled love from two standpoints—in other words, verbal parallelism attempts to echo phenomenal parallelism—Narihira is trying to impress a woman with his witty use of language. But the aim of both poets is well served by their use of *ji-amari*.

Tamekane sometimes employs first-line *ji-amari* to another end. He often uses a *rentaikei* modifier (that is, a verb in its attributive form, immediately preceding and modifying a noun or noun phrase, as in *matsu hito*—"the one who waits" or "the one I wait for") in the first line, with or without an extra syllable. This technique can be found fairly frequently in *Shinkokinshū* poetry, though hardly ever with the extra syllable. And it is rarely used at all in *Kokinshū*. Saigyō shows how effective the device can be:

SKKS 27. Saigyō

Furitsumishi	Fallen snow once mantling
Takane no miyuki	The towering peaks
Tokenikeri	Seems to have melted away,
Kiyotakigawa no	For whitecaps form around cascades
Mizu no shiranami	In the Kiyotaki River's waters!

Putting the verbal modifier in the first line lends greater emphasis. It gives the reader a sense of how much snow actually fell and makes the swollen river seem a natural outcome. As the use of a *rentaikei* modifier in the first line grew more acceptable, it apparently became a natural target for *ji-amari*, since the extra syllable provided a much wider range of possibilities. In fact Tamekane uses *rentaikei* modifiers in the first lines of sixteen of his *Kingyoku Utaawase* poems, and six of those are six-syllable lines. Without the

flexibility this technique afforded, it is hard to imagine how Tamekane might have managed the following:

KU, round 15

Aomiwataru	Spreading green around me
Shibafu no iro mo	The color of grasses—
Suzushiki wa	In this coolness,
Tsubana sa yuragu	Miscanthus blades tremble
Natsu no yūgure	On this summer evening.

The extra syllable allows Tamekane to construct the compound verb *aomiwataru* ("spreading green around me"), both components of which contribute so much to the visual impact of the first two lines. It also adds emphasis to the second line, for the more conspicuous the preceding modifier, the greater the curiosity about the modified.

As noted above, the Kyōgoku poets often use strong pauses at the end of the third line. It is not surprising, then, that the next-most-frequent use of *ji-amari* comes in this line. The Kyōgoku poets often mark their third-line pauses by ending the line with a continuative, either the verb in its *renyōkei* (conjunctive base) form, or the *renyōkei* form plus the conjunctive particle *te*. The former conveys the sense that A happened and B happened; the latter implies that A happened, *then* B happened, or that A was an existing state when B occurred. The second construction is well suited to portraying a moment in transition, concluding in the present—a favorite theme of the Kyōgoku poets. Here, as in the first-line usage, *ji-amari* allows a wider range of verbs, and by drawing attention to the third line, it makes the pause sound stronger. The technique is clearly illustrated in this poem by Tamekane:

KU, round 17; GYS 501

Tsuyu omoru	Heavy with dew
Kohagi ga sue wa	Bush clover branch tips trail
Nabikifushite	Low along the ground;
Fukikaesu kaze ni	Then, blown about by the wind,
Hana zo irosou	Their flowers' color brightens.

The extra syllable in the third line functions to reinforce the break there while calling attention to the state of the bush clover branches at that moment. Furthermore, combined with the extra syllable in line 4 (and this is the only poem in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* that has

ji-amari in the fourth line), the broken rhythm, that is, the interruption in the normal flow of waka, provides a verbal echo of the sudden rising of the wind and the resulting movement.

Tamekane also uses third-line *ji-amari* for simple emphasis of vocabulary, as in this praise of Fushimi's literary talents:

KU, round 59

Yo ni koyuru	Though the jewels
Kimi ga koto no ha	Of my lord's words
Tama wa aredo	Spread throughout the world,
Hikari no soko o	There is no one able to see
Miru hito ya naki	The brilliance in their depths.

The central image here is the jewel, which Tamekane uses metaphorically to describe Fushimi's poetry. In addition to placing it in the middle line of the poem—thereby making it quite literally the axis—he gives it even more impact by adding the extra syllable. In this way both the metaphorical image and the concessive verb that sets up the irony are given prominence.

As we know from *Wakashō*, Tamekane admired the work of poets from the Kampyō era.[34] The following poem by Sosei, with its extra syllable in the third line, certainly provides precedent for a practice the Kyōgoku poets came to use with some frequency, though in Sosei's time it was an unusual technique:

KKS 470. Monk Sosei. [Topic unknown]

Oto ni nomi	I've only heard about you,
Kiku no shiratsuyu	Yet when dew falls on chrysanthemums,
Yoru wa okite	At night I lie awake,
Hiru wa omoi ni	By day I'm overwhelmed with longing,
Aezu kenubeshi	And like that dew, would fade away.

At first glance, nothing could be more antithetical than the verbal pyrotechnics of the Kanpyō-era style and Tamekane's often-grave, declarative poetry. Yet structurally there is a close affinity, for Sosei uses *ji-amari* exactly as the Kyōgoku poets do. His extra syllable in the third line emphasizes the pun on *okite* ("[dew] falls"; "to lie awake"), draws attention to the break in the third line, and sets up the exact parallel (*yoru wa okite/hiru wa omoi*) that gives the poem dramatic impact.

The one other place Kyōgoku poets (Tamekane less so than the

others) are apt to employ an extra syllable is in the fifth and final line of a poem. This position was even more favored by *Kokinshū* poets, for whom it had an emphatic function, drawing more attention to the last line and the surprise it often had in store, as in this piece:

KKS 48. Anonymous. [Topic unknown]

Chirinu tomo	Though you will end up scattered,
Ka o dani nokose	Let at least your scent remain,
Ume no hana	Flowers of the plum,
Koishiki toki no	For I would make of it a memory
Omoiide ni semu	Of that time of love now gone.

One of the more important Kyōgoku poets, Minamoto no Shinshi, uses fifth-line *ji-amari* in the same way in the following poem:[35]

Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase, round 14. Shinshi. Birds

Sora shirami	Sky whitens,
Akuru o tsugeru	And a bird song announces
Tori no ne ni	The coming of dawn;
Mata kyō ni naru	Depressed, I realize
Aware o zo omou	That yet another day is here.

Yet we should not read too much into these examples. Hamaguchi Muneaki has shown that most of the fifth-line *ji-amari*, in *Gyokuyōshū* at least, follow a few set patterns similar to those found in *Kokinshū*, viz., *zo arikeru*, *mo aru kana*, *to omou*, and so on.[36] As such, their function is not particularly significant, though by nature they cannot help drawing some attention to the last line of the poem.

The Kyōgoku poets often show an apparent disregard for the traditional, mellifluous rhythms of waka. In Tamekane's poem about dew on wind-blown bush clover branches (KU, round 17, above), *ji-amari* is used to break up the rhythm of a verse. The effect in that poem might be described as almost onomatopoeic. Tameko uses the same technique to similar ends in this poem from *Gyokuyōshū*:[37]

GYS 1005. Tameko. From among poems on Winter

Kaze no nochi ni	After winds die down
Arare hitoshikiri	Hail pounds fiercely,
Furisugite	Then passes,
Mata mura kumo ni	And once again the moon
Tsuki zo morikuru	Seeps out through banks of clouds.

Following the ferocious activity of the first two lines, which is manifested verbally by two lines of *ji-amari*, the scene calms, and the last two lines return to a "proper" length, and a much more conventional rhythm.

Syllable Clustering

Like *ji-amari*, syllable clustering—the arrangement of words of differing length—can be used to alter waka rhythm patterns and enhance poetic effect by speeding up or slowing down the reader or listener. Shakespeare was a genius at this, as any number of examples would demonstrate. The following passage from *Othello* is spoken by Iago, who is intent on slandering Desdemona while all the time appearing not to be:

> Foh! One may smell in such a will most rank,
> Foul disproportion, thoughts unnatural.
> But pardon me, I do not in position
> Distinctly speak of her . . . (III.iii.232–35)

The second line, coming after a long string of monosyllabic words, stands out in sharp contrast, just as Iago (or Shakespeare) intended it to, for he is, in fact, "distinctly speaking of her." Waka poets had much more limited space and vocabulary to work with than had Shakespeare, but despite this, a surprising number of syllable configurations can be found in their verse. Since waka lacks stress and meter as we know it, manipulation of these configurations, or clusters, was an important tool for altering rhythm.

Certain cluster patterns predominate in waka the way certain meters in English poetry do. Waka poets vary these patterns just as English poets vary meter; failure to do so would result in the Japanese equivalent of the "Hiawatha syndrome" ("On the shores of Gitche Gumee . . .")—unbearable monotony. Indeed, this is precisely the impression one gets from Nijō anthologies like *Shingosenshū*.

One problem, however, is that many Japanese nouns are compounds, made up of two words that could each stand alone. An example is *akikaze*, a single word made up of the components *aki* ("autumn") and *kaze* ("wind"). (The English word "teapot" provides an analogy.) When examining arrangements of syllable groups, should such a word be counted as one four-syllable cluster

or two two-syllable ones? The argument for treating it as a single word is strong, for in most such compounds, the poet has the option of separating the components (*aki no kaze*—"wind of autumn") without violating the rules of grammar or common usage. However, the longer alternative produces a different effect.

Yet the question is not so easily disposed of. Treating compounds merely as single words implies that they are no different from noncompound single words such as *uguisu* ("bush warbler"). Although when reading waka the rhythmic effect of the two types of words is more or less the same, the listener is apt to make a mental separation of the components in a compound noun, thereby momentarily altering the flow of the verse, though less so than if the parts appeared distinct from each other. Thus, in the discussion below, words like *akikaze* are treated as two clusters of two syllables each, enclosed in brackets to indicate that they form a single word, like this: [2-2].

Place-names are treated differently, since the components usually seem less conspicuous. Just as in English, the word "Oxford" is usually processed mentally as a place-name with certain connotations, rather than a spot in the river where cattle crossed, so the Japanese name "Ōhara" is more likely to conjure up the image of country maidens or the lonely last years of Kenreimon-in than a "large plain." As for the fact that poets through the ages punned on compound-noun place-names, the device was all the more effective because it was "unexpected" when it was first used. That is, the poet's pun is an effort to rediscover the words in the place-name. So a name like Ōhara is counted as a 4 in the following discussion.

Similarly with compound verbs. Though the compound verb *mishiru* (literally, "to know by seeing"), for example, is rhythmically the same as the noncompound *wakaru* ("to understand"), the reader/listener probably distinguishes its components, and it is therefore best to treat each component as a cluster. *Mishiru* would thus be counted [1-2], and *wakaru* would be 3. Likewise, Tachiwakaru (*tachi* + *wakaru*, loosely, "to get up and leave") has a somewhat different rhythm from *omoitatsu* (*omoi* + *tatsu*, "to come to mind"). Though both can be seen as single clusters of five syllables each, their rhythmic effect is more accurately described by rendering them as 2-3 and 3-2, respectively.

Auxiliary verbs pose a similar problem, though I have chosen to

treat them as integral parts of the verb to which they are connected. Thus, for example, *mataji* would be considered a single cluster of three syllables.

Particles also present some difficulty. I have used index 2 of Ikeda Tadashi's *Classical Grammar Illustrated with Texts* as a guide. If a particular pair of particles, for example *nimo*, appears as a compound in that index, it is treated as a single cluster, although in transcribing I have followed the traditional practice of separating them.

To illustrate these clusters, I have assigned to them numerical values equal to the number of syllables therein. For example, *mado*, a single cluster of two syllables, is represented by the number 2. Likewise, the particle *no* would be 1, and the noun *shinonome* 4. Thus the line *mado no shinonome* is resolved into 2-1-4. To be sure, there is a high degree of subjectivity in this type of system. It might be argued, for instance, that *shinonome* is in fact a compound noun that should be given the value 2-2. In the end, however, this system is merely a means to elucidate certain rhythm patterns, not a foolproof method for arriving at a mathematical formula for each and every poem.

These criteria have been applied to eighty-three poems of Teika's *Kindai Shūka*.[38] This sequence was chosen because it is fairly close to the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* in length and structure, thus is useful for purposes of comparison, and because it probably represents what was considered the classical norm in Tamekane's day. The details of the analysis would make for tedious reading (for example, sixteen different configurations were found for the first lines alone, though most appeared only once or twice), but a few distinct patterns emerged that are worth noting. The second and fourth lines tended to be fixed, but markedly dominant configurations could be found for the first, third, and fifth.

Three-quarters of the first lines had one of the following patterns in descending order of frequency: 4-1 or [2-2]-1 (e.g., *Ashibiki no* or *Kimi kozu wa*; this pattern accounted for 40 percent of all the first lines), 2-1-2 (*Ama no hara*), 2-3 or [2-3] (*Yamazakura*), or 3-2 (*Sakura saku*). The third lines were even more regular, with more than three-quarters of them falling into just three patterns: 4-1 (or its variation [2-2]-1), 3-2, or 2-3. And 55 percent of the fifth lines appeared in one of two patterns: 2-1-4 (variant 2-1-[2-2]; e.g., *Aki wa*

kanashiki) or 3-2-2 (*Nokoru toshi kana*). The rest were scattered in some twenty different configurations.

Several of the poems in the collection actually use the dominant patterns in all five lines. Perhaps the clearest example is this poem by Saigyō:[39]

Kindai Shūka 23; SKKS 585. [Topic unknown]

Akishino ya	(4-1)
Toyama no sato ya	(3-1-2-1)
Shiguru ran	(3-2)
Ikoma no take ni	(3-1-2-1)
Kumo no kakareru	(2-1-4)

Does winter drizzle
Fall in Akishino on hamlets clustered
In the outer mountains?
For upon the peak of Mount Ikoma
Clouds hang heavy with a storm.

Though few poems conform precisely to this form, it can be taken as a kind of model—like a verse that scans perfectly—from which to recognize variations.

Overall, syllable-cluster distribution in Tamekane's poems from the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* does not vary much from that outlined above. There are, however, a few differences. For example, his first lines are less likely to have 4-1 configuration than those in *Kindai Shūka*. On the other hand, eight of his poems begin with a 3-3 arrangement (e.g., *Kasumi fukami*), which does not appear at all in *Kindai Shūka*. Furthermore, his third lines contain a greater proportion of 5 (e.g., *arawarete*) or 3-3 (*nabikifushite*) patterns, neither of which can be found in Teika's collection. And one is more apt to find a 2-3-2 form (as in *Sagi asobu nari*) in the fifth line of Tamekane's poems. This is part of the reason that many of his poems "sound" different from earlier waka.

Still, the mathematical mean form of a "typical" Tamekane poem from the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* would not differ significantly from the Saigyō model. Of course, "mathematical mean" in and of itself is not terribly relevant to poetry. It becomes useful, however, when it allows the isolation and appreciation of deviations from that mean, which are generally most apparent in the more interesting poems. By resolving the lines into syllable clusters, verbal parallels

become readily apparent. Some would probably be obvious anyway (as in "Omoisomeki," p. 92, above):

Omoisomeki	(3-3)
Yotsu no toki ni wa	(2-1-2-2)
Hana no haru	(2-1-2)
Haru no uchi ni wa	(2-1-2-2)
Akebono no sora	(4-1-2)

Others are less noticeable, yet their existence tightens the structure of the poem and complements its meaning:

KU, round 54

Ōzora wa	(4-1)
Amaneku ōu	(4-3)
Kumo no kokoro	(2-1-3)
Kunitsuchi uruu	([2-2]-3)
Ame kudasu nari	(2-3-2)

The great sky
Completely covered by a cloud;
From its depths
A rain is sent down,
To nurture the land, the earth.

In this poem Tamekane has taken his images from the fifth chapter ("Medicinal Herbs") of the Lotus Sutra, where the Dharma is compared to rain, which falling from a great cloud "universally covering everything," brings moisture and nourishment to the whole world.[40] His knowledge of the Lotus Sutra would presumably have been from Chinese sources. Extant Chinese texts of the Lotus Sutra do not exhibit parallelism in the verse passages of the fifth chapter, from which Tamekane is quoting, but he may have been inspired by another version, or by Chinese *jie* (Sanskrit *gatha*) poems, which reworked passages of the Lotus and other sutras into four-line verse forms that made use of traditional techniques such as antithetical couplets and other types of parallelism. Whatever the source, Tamekane seems to be echoing a Chinese structure, and reinforcing the allegorical nature of the poem, by employing parallelism in this poem, in lines 2 and 4 of the Japanese (roughly lines 2 and 5 of the translation, "covers all/nurtures land, earth").

Other parallels, rhythmic rather than grammatical, serve to highlight particular lines for contrast:

KU, round 16		
	Aware shiru	(3-2)
	Yūgure goto ni	([2-2]-2-1)
	Iro zo sou	(2-1-2)
	Aki koshi yori no	(2-2-2-1)
	Sode no shiratsuyu	(2-1-[2-2])

I know suffering well—
Each day as evening falls
Its colors deepen
In white, shining dew of autumn,
Dropped as tears on my sleeves.

Lines 2 and 4 in the Japanese text are time images, while lines 3 and 5 relate to color. The rhythmic parallels help bring out the alternation and contrast.

Likewise, sharp contrast in vowel clustering can lead certain lines to stand out, as in the example from Shakespeare above. Tamekane uses this device in the following:

KU, round 35		
	Fuke mo seba	(2-1-2)
	Mataji to iishi	(3-1-3)
	Koto no ha wa	(2-1-1-1)
	Ono ga mono kara	(2-1-2-2)
	Ima zo kuyashiki	(2-1-4)

"If it grows much later
I shall not wait!"—
Since these spoken words
Were my very own,
How mortified I feel now.

Following two and a half lines of short words, the polysyllabic *kuyashiki* ("mortified") calls attention to itself as the overall mood of the poem and reinforces the irony. The balanced syllable distribution in line 2 also makes it more noticeable, and justifies the use of quotation marks and an exclamation point in the translation.

Pauses

In a discussion of rhythm in English verse, Harold Stewart enumerates the means by which a poet can counter perfect, though monotonous, meter.[41] Two of his points are worth examining in re-

lation to Japanese poetry. First, he notes that quantity, essential to Latin verse, functions in English poetry as well. He gives as an example the lines "The sedge is withered from the lake/And no birds sing," where though meter would demand that "birds" be unaccented, it is in fact stressed when read because it contains a quantitatively long vowel (i.e., it is followed by two consonants). This can be taken as a kind of reverse analogy to the situation described above with regard to certain vowel combinations in lines with *ji-amari*. Without intervening consonants, combinations like *zo omou* or *no ue* tend to be treated like single vowels, and as *ji-amari*, they are less obtrusive.

Second, Stewart discusses the use of caesura in midline. Although pauses in English verse are conditioned by factors like punctuation and line length that are not relevant to Japanese poetry, the point that these pauses can run counter to the accents demanded by meter is applicable by analogy to waka. The Kyōgoku poets frequently placed strong pauses in midline by using the gerund (*te* or *de*) form of a verb or such particles as the quotative *to* or the emphatic *zo*. The effect, even if the verse "scans" as regular in terms of syllable clusters, is to force a break in the flow of the line. This poem by Tamekane illustrates the point:

KU, round 52; GYS 1204

Tabi no sora	(2-1-2)
Ame no furu hi wa	(2-1-2-1-1)
Kurenu ka to	(3-1-1)
Omoite nochi mo	(4-2-1)
Yuku zo hisashiki	(2-1-4)

This rainy day of travel,
The sky so dark I wonder
If already the sun has set,
But then I continue on,
For I still have far to go.

The third line has a very unusual syllable-cluster pattern (found only in this poem from the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* and another from *Kindai Shūka*), which draws attention to it and its wistful quality. The transposing of the word "already" in the translation is an attempt to reproduce this stilted rhythmic effect. More important to the present discussion, however, are the last two lines. Schemati-

cally at least, they represent the most common configurations in Kamakura-period waka. But they do not flow as easily as we might expect. The *te* in line 4 cuts the line, forcing the reader to focus on what the speaker of the poem does after wondering about the time of day. A Nijō poet might have used a concessive here (such as *omoedo*, "although I wonder"), which by its familiarity and its appearance in such a commonly occurring pattern would have considerably weakened the effect. But Tamekane's use of the *te* to create a pause underscores the vagueness and futility of the thought. It is of no consequence to the traveler whether or not the sun has actually set, for he must, in any case, continue his dreary journey. And the length of the journey is further emphasized by using *zo* in the last line to create another pause, thereby stressing the word that follows it. Grammatically speaking, the emotive particle *zo* is held to intensify the preceding word, but poetically speaking, it also points to what follows, since it breaks the flow of the phrase.

The author of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* dismissed this poem with the remark: "We would have to say this sounds like a poem a child would write."[42] One suspects that few children could manipulate the traditional patterns of waka as skillfully as Tamekane has done here.

In fact, while waka poets have always recognized the five-line structure, there was also a sense, especially among Kamakura poets, in which a single poem was conceived of as two lines (*kami no ku* and *shimo no ku*, literally, the upper and lower verses). This was the case, for instance, when waka were recited at contests. And when they were written down at contests or for other occasions, they were usually transcribed in two lines that bore no relation to either the five-line or the *kami/shimo* structure, except by accident. In this sense, then, most of the breaks that appear at the ends of what we now call lines can just as easily be considered internal, or midline, breaks and contribute as much to the poem as the breaks described in the verse above.

In any case, even in the context of the five-line structure, Tamekane's poetry is full of "endline" breaks, too. It has long been considered one of the hallmarks of the Kyōgoku style. The technique has already appeared in several previous examples, but one more illustration will be given here:

KU, round 49; (and with alternate line 2), GYS 1706 [On Resentful Love, when a 30-poem sequence was ordered]

Koto no ha ni	Once expressed
Idete urami wa	In words, my resentment
Tsukihatete	Has now run its course,
Kokoro ni komuru	Replaced by melancholy now,
Usa ni narinuru	Buried deep within my heart.

The most notable break is the one at the end of line 3, which marks the turning point in the speaker's feelings. But the midline break in line 2 is also of interest. Combined with the enjambment, the *te* at the end of *koto no ha ni idete* causes the whole phrase to stand out. Thus "expressing in words" becomes a kind of catharsis, after which and because of which (both are implied by *te*) the resentment dies down.

It is interesting to note that when Tamekane put this poem in *Gyokuyōshū*, he changed the second line to *ideshi urami wa* ("the resentment I once expressed in words"), or at least so the text we have now has it.[43] Perhaps he felt that two "and then's" was too much for one poem. Whatever the motive for the change, it shows how much difference a single syllable can make.

The Manipulation of Vowels and Consonants

Japanese has only five vowel sounds, which might seem a limitation. Yet what is lost in variety is gained in rhythmic possibilities, since every Japanese syllable (save *n*, and even that is actually a *mu* or a *nu* with a silent vowel) is either a single vowel or a single vowel preceded by a consonant. In neither prose nor poetry are these vowels distributed equally. Certain vowels tend to predominate, though the distribution varies between poetry and prose and from age to age. Table 3 compares several random paragraphs of *Tamekanekyō Wakashō*, to represent prose, with the entire *Kindai Shūka* and Tamekane's sixty poems from the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*. Again, the statistical material is interesting not for what little it may tell us about individual poems, but for what it reveals about Kyogōku patterns.

In some poems a dominant vowel is immediately apparent; no distribution chart is necessary (this poem and the next are Tamekane's):

KU, round 12; FGS 325: On Hearing the Cuckoo, when the poet offered a 30-poem sequence to Retired Emperor Fushimi

Hototogisu	O cuckoo—
Hito no madoromu	Perhaps you think that
Hodo tote ya	People have dozed off
Shinoburu koro wa	And so you sing out just now
Fukete koso nake	When my longings deepen with the night.

The use of so many "o" sounds—fifteen of the thirty-one syllables, the highest proportion of any of Tamekane's poems from the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*—produces a calm, quiet atmosphere, onomatopoeically shattered as the cuckoo's song, represented by the broken rhythm caused by the *te koso* and the sudden intrusion of three "e" and three "k" sounds, is "heard" in the fifth line.

Other unusual vowel counts might not be so easily perceived, especially by us, far removed in time and place from the language of Kamakura courtiers:

KU, round 55

Ame fureba	Since it's begun to rain
Kumo orikakaru	Clouds droop down, mantling
Yamamatsu no	Pines upon the slopes,
Fumoto ni nokoru	So that now but a few remain
Kazu zo sukunaki	In sight around the mountain's base.

There are only three "i's" and two "e's" in this poem, fewer than would normally occur, and there are nine "u's," much more than usual. This vowel distribution contributes a great deal to the soft, weighty feeling of low clouds gradually blotting out the scenery.

TABLE 3

Distribution of Vowels in Selected Samples of Prose and Poetry

Vowel	*Tamekanekyō Wakashō* (random paragraphs)	*Kindai Shūka* (complete)	Tamekane's poems, *Kingyoku Uta-awase* (60 poems)
A	23.4%	30.6%	26.5%
I	20.1	21.7	20.9
U	17.7	14.4	17.7
E	6.4	8.6	10.2
O	32.4	24.7	25.2

But vowels do not only work by sheer numbers. Where they occur is often equally telling. There are several cases in which the way vowels are arranged can affect the overall sound, and often sense, of the poem. The first, and perhaps most obvious, is the concentration of the same vowel in a single line. Like *ji-amari* or broken rhythm, this causes the line to stand out, as in the following poem by Shinshi:[44]

Jūgoban Uta-awase, round 3: On Winter Night

Nerarezu yo	I cannot sleep
Arashi wa take o	On this night where storm winds
Harau yo ni	Whip through bamboo leaves,
Yuki yori saki ni	And a sudden fall of hail
Arare furu nari	Anticipates the snow to follow.

Relevant to the discussion here are the alternating "i" sounds in line 4, suggesting the regular beating of hail. They also provide auditory counterpoint to the concentration of "a" sounds in line 2, which not coincidentally is the location of the opposing image, "storm winds." Tamekane uses vowels in the same way in this poem:

GYS 244. From among poems on Flowers

Omoiyaru	Deep is my concern
Nabete no hana no	For every cherry blossom blown
Haru no kaze	By these spring winds;
Kono hitomoto no	Should this one tree alone become
Urami nomi kawa	A special cause for my regret?

The concentration of "o" sounds in the fourth line verbally underscores the point that the one tree is, somehow, standing out in the poet's mind.

A technique similar to packing a line with one dominant vowel is that of repeating the same vowel three, four, or even five times in succession, as Tamekane does here:

KU, round 47

Narete mishi	I must forget as best I can
Omokage semete	The image of that one
Wasurare yo	I'd grown used to seeing,
Tachisoeba koso	For whenever I conjure it up
Koishisa mo soe	My longing always rises with it.

Because of the second line's four "e" sounds (a very high propor-

tion) and conjunctive *te*, it stands out boldly, like the "image" that refuses to leave the speaker. The verbal strength of the line leaves the impression that despite the speaker's intense desire (as expressed in the word *semete*) to dispel the memories of an unfaithful lover, that image will not easily be dislodged.

Often vowels are clustered for purely aesthetic reasons: not to help the sense of the poem, but to give it movement or rhythm. This is similar to the technique in English poetry known as "progression," where vowels and/or consonants build in such a way as to lead the reader through a line. Stewart gives as an example the line, "The sky is ironclad, and cold, and overhead." The progression is from the "i" in "sky" and "ironclad," to the "c" in "clad" and "cold," to the "o" in "cold" and "overhead."[45] In waka doubled vowels often have this same effect, as in the fourth line of this poem from *Kindai Shūka*:[46]

Sakuragari	Hunting for blossoms,
Ame wa furikinu	I have been caught in a sudden
Onajiku wa	shower—
Nuru to mo hana no	Well, then, let it pour:
Kage ni kakuren	Though I be drenched I shall hide
	Beneath these flowering cherry
	boughs.

But perhaps Tamekane can claim the record for the following poem, with eight doubled vowels (one is actually a quadruple, which counts as two doubles) and two triples:

KU, round 21; GYS 689: When the Retired Emperor [Fushimi] and his courtiers had a poetry contest on set topics, this was on the topic Longing for the Past Beneath the Moon

Ika narishi	What were they like,
Hito no nasake ka	The feelings of that one now gone?
Omoiizuru	I sit and wonder.
Koshikata katare	Tell of the past you remember,
Aki no yo no tsuki	Moon on this autumn night!

In another poem Tamekane achieves a more subtle sense of movement without using so many doubled vowels:

GYS 9. Written about Spring Scenery in the Mountains

Tori no ne mo	With a bird's gentle song
Nodokeki yama no	And dawn's softly breaking light

Asaake ni	Over tranquil mountains
Kasumi no iro wa	The color of morning mist
Harumekinikeri	Has taken on the look of spring.

There is a movement here from "o" to "a" to "i" that echoes the gradually spreading dawn.

Vowel groupings can also be used for balance or contrast, as in Shinshi's poem above. Another striking example occurs in the Tamekane poem discussed earlier in this chapter:

KU, round 7; (and with an alternate line 4), GYS 174

Omoisomeki	I've come to realize
Yotsu no toki ni wa	That among the four seasons
Hana no haru	It is flowering spring;
Haru no uchi ni wa	And of spring, most of all,
Akebono no sora	The sky at dawn . . .

Here the balance struck by the parallel structure is preserved in the configuration of vowels. The early part of the poem is dominated by "o," the middle section is dominated by "a," and "o" then reappears as the main vowel in the last line. It is interesting to note, in light of this poem's sophisticated construction, that the author of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* dismissed it out of hand: "This poem shows even more conceit than usual. It really says nothing more than 'dawn in spring.' It sounds like a parlor game poem. An awful verse!"[47]

In another work Tamekane uses vowel groups to underscore the contrast in the two major images of the poem. As is so often the case in his poems, this one breaks in the middle with a continuative verb form, contrasting one natural state with another that immediately succeeds it:

KU, round 29: GYS 1010: From among the poems on Winter

Neya no ue wa	It makes no sound
Tsumoreru yuki ni	On deep snowdrifts upon
Oto mo sede	My bedroom roof,
Yokogiru arare	But there it is, slanting hail,
Mado tataku nari	Tapping sharply at my window.

Although there is no apparent relationship between the vowel sounds themselves and the images, "o" and "e" prevail in the first half of the poem, where snow is the central image, and "a" in the second half, in which hail is described.

Consonants, too, are often manipulated in waka, usually for onomatopoeic or rhythmic effect. This device is by no means limited to the Kyōgoku poets, as this poem from *Kindai Shūka* shows:[48]

KS 20; KKS 215: A poem from the contest at Prince Koresada's house

Okuyama ni	When I hear the stag
Momiji fumiwake	Cry out deep within the mountains
Naku shika no	Where he picks his way
Koe kiku toki zo	Treading upon the fallen colored leaves,
Aki wa kanashiki	Then I feel the autumn truly sad.

The repeated "k" sounds, like a kind of sobbing, contribute immeasurably to the poem's rhythm, movement, and overall effect.

Shinshi uses the sound "r" in a similar way in the poem quoted earlier:

Jūgoban Uta-awase, round 3

Nerarezu yo	I cannot sleep
Arashi wa take o	On this night where storm winds
Harau yo ni	Whip through bamboo leaves,
Yuki yori saki ni	And a sudden fall of hail
Arare furu nari	Anticipates the snow to follow.

The Japanese "r" is almost as effective as "t" in reproducing a tapping sound. Here, Shinshi scatters the "r's" throughout the first four lines like early, random hailstones, culminating in the fifth line (line 4 in the translation), where four of them are packed together like a downpour. Tamekane's poem on hail (KU, round 29, above) uses "r" and both voiced and unvoiced "t" sounds to the same end.

The Repetition of Sound Sequences

One of waka's oldest techniques, with a history going back to the *Man'yōshū*, is the use of a noun, usually a proper noun, for punning purposes. This can take several forms. Sometimes the proper noun is used as a pivot word (*kakekotoba*) in order to create a "poetic preface" (*jo*), as in the following poem by Tsurayuki, who used this technique as much as anyone:

KKS 260. Tsurayuki. Composed when in the vicinity of Moru Mountain

Shiratsuyu mo	On Mt. Moru, drenched
Shigure mo itaku	With glistening dew, with drizzle,
Moruyama wa	That fall unceasingly,

Shitaba nokorazu	Every last underleaf has been
Irozukinikeri	Dyed in some bright autumn hue.

Since *moru* is both the proper name of the mountain and a verb that means "drenched," a more literal rendering of the first three lines in the Japanese original would be "unceasing dew and drizzle-Drench(ed) Mountain."

At other times the word itself, or at least part of it, is repeated to form the poetic preface. Frequently the connection is purely verbal and does not translate easily, if at all. Tsurayuki was also quite fond of this approach:

KKS 697. Tsurayuki. [Topic unknown]

Shikishima no	In our land of Yamato,
Yamato ni wa aranu	With its ancient capital at Shikishima,
Karakoromo	There are no Chinese robes.
Koromo hezu shite	Would that I could meet my loved one
Au yoshi mo gana	Before too many days have passed.

The only connection between the upper and lower sections of this poem is the word *koromo*, which in line 3 refers to robes, but means "a number of days" in line 4. At its best this device can be quite effective, revealing subtle connections that the reader has not considered before. But the artifice itself is so obvious that it usually seems more clever than profound. When we find this technique in a poem, we are likely to put the burden of proof on the poet to convince us that the connection he is revealing is a genuine one. To appreciate the above poem, for example, the modern reader has to believe that the poet was set to longing for his love when he found a Chinese robe, perhaps one that she once wore. It must be remembered, however, that the Heian reader placed no such demands on the poet and was evidently content to delight in the verbal dexterity of such poetry.

Another way to pun on proper nouns was to repeat the word for the sake of its meaning, not because its sound made the poet think of a homophone. Tsurayuki, again, wrote a poem that combines this technique with the one discussed in the previous paragraph:

KKS 980. Tsurayuki. Sent to a friend who lived in Koshi:[49]

Omoiyaru	I can imagine, over there,
Koshi no Shirayama	Mt. Shirayama in Koshi,
Shiranedomo	And though I've never seen it,

Hitoyo mo yume ni	Not a single night goes by
Koenu yo zo naki	That I don't go there in my dreams.

The connection between Shirayama (the name of the mountain) and *shiranedomo* (literally, "although one does not know") is primarily one of sound, although the recipient of the poem lived near the mountain that Tsurayuki says he has never seen, so the connection runs deeper than in the Shikishima poem cited earlier. Still, the *shira* ("white") in Shirayama and the *shira* (imperfective base of the verb "to know") in *shiranedomo* are completely different words. However, the connection between Koshi and *koenu* is more "logical." They are both written with the same character, which means "to cross over." Although the origins of many Japanese place-names are lost to history, it seems not altogether impossible that Koshi got its name because to get there from the Yamato Plain one had to "cross over" the Japan Alps.[50] Even if that is not the true etymology, by Tsurayuki's day it was probably the accepted one. Here Tsurayuki has repeated the word for both its meaning and its sound, not just its sound alone.

Puns about the meaning of a place-name are rife in Heian and Kamakura literature. But when the key word is repeated as a proper noun and then as an "ordinary" word, it takes on added significance. The process is overtly investigative. The poet is trying to ascertain what effect one word has in two different contexts: "That place where my friend lives is called Koshi because one has to *cross* mountains to get there. I have never crossed those mountains in my waking life, but in my dreams I do it all the time." This verbal balance not only is aesthetically satisfying, as symmetry usually is, but must be comforting to the poet as well. He has found a connection between Koshi and his own nocturnal "crossings" that brings his friend a little closer.

This kind of investigation of words was, as Brower and Miner have clearly demonstrated, an essential component of Kyōgoku poetry.[51] It should not be surprising, then, that Tamekane and the other poets in his group often repeated words in ways sometimes similar to, sometimes different from, those described above.

That Tamekane admired the technique is clear from his *Wakashō*, in which a long section is given over to the discussion of a poem that he clearly thinks is a masterpiece:[52]

Asakayama	Shallow the mountain well-pool
Kage sae miyuru	Where even the image of Mt. Asaka
Yama no i no	Can be seen reflected—
Asaku wa hito o	But my feelings for my lord
Omou mono ka wa	Could never be so shallow.

The pun, between the place-name Asakayama and the adverbial *asaku* ("shallow"), is very serious here, for the story behind the poem is that a woman composed it to save the life of her husband, who had incurred his lord's displeasure by making inadequate banquet preparations. The essence of the wordplay is that things are not what they seem, that "shallow" looked at in a different way is not really shallow at all.

In short, there were numerous precedents for the technique, and Tamekane readily adopted it. Sometimes he gives it an almost classical treatment, as in this poem from *Fūgashū*:

FGS 122. On Spring Moon Over a River; written when various topics were presented for poetry composition

Uchiwatasu	Deep into night
Uji no watari no	As I gaze across the river
Yo fukaki ni	At Uji Crossing
Kawa oto sumite	The current's sound comes clear
Tsuki zo kasumeru	While the moon is misted over.

Uchiwatasu can mean either to bridge the river or to look across it. Tsugita and Iwasa accept the latter reading, which makes the poem more interesting.[53] Otherwise, *uchiwatasu* would be nothing more than a repetitive modifier for Uji Crossing, on the order of "the Uji Crossing, which crosses." But in Tamekane's poem the speaker crosses the river with his gaze, rather than taking the more conventional route, the Uji Bridge. The connection between the two phrases is thus less strident and more internalized, more suited to the ethereal scene described.

Tamekane generally tended to use repetition much more freely than this, by applying it to ordinary words rather than proper nouns. Yet the purpose and effect were the same as in the Asakayama poem: to redefine a word, to show that things are not always what they seem. In Tamekane's hands the device took on a more serious tone than that of Tsurayuki's *koromo* poem. And the reverberation is aesthetically successful, too, adding a great deal to the sound qualities

of the poems in which it appears. Of the several examples in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*, the following is sufficient to illustrate these points:

KU, round 1

Sora wa nao	Across the sky
Yukige nagara no	The morning clouds look more
Asagumori	Like clouds of snow;
Kumoru to miru mo	Yet as I watch them roll in,
Kasumi narikeri	I realize they are mists.

Tamekane's investigation into the nature of clouds is verbal as well as actual; just as he has discovered that the clouds he is looking at are actually mist, so he has been forced to reexamine the old expression *asagumori* ("morning clouds"), which goes back to *Man'yōshū*. Neither the thing nor the name is what it seems. This leads to the sort of verbal expression that would flow naturally from the intense "entering into the scene" that Tamekane advocates in *Wakashō*.

One particularly effective variation of the technique of repetition appears in the poem cited earlier for its doubled vowels:

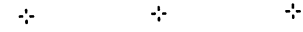
KU, round 21; GKS 689

Ika narishi	What were they like,
Hito no nasake ka	The feelings of that one now gone?
Omoiizuru	I sit and wonder.
Koshikata katare	Tell of the past you remember,
Aki no yo no tsuki	Moon on this autumn night!

The connection between the two *kata*s in the line *koshikata katare* is based solely on sound rather than meaning, yet it is one of Tamekane's most memorable lines, one in which repetition causes sense and rhythm to work in perfect harmony.

6

An Analysis of Seven Poems



For a sense of the overall impact of Tamekane's work, we need to see how theory compared with practice. To that end, this chapter analyzes seven of Tamekane's poems: "Shizumi hatsuru," "Uguisu no," "Ume no hana," "Haru no nagori," "Ika narishi," "Fuke mo seba," and "Tabi no sora."

The seven poems were chosen for several reasons, one of which was simple personal preference. Beyond that, however, they treat conventional topics in unconventional ways—ways characteristic of Tamekane and the Kyōgoku school—thus allowing for ready comparison with poems from earlier ages and from Tamekane's contemporaries. Furthermore, several were singled out for criticism by the author of the *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki*. Exploring those criticisms helps clarify the issues over which the Nijō and Kyōgoku schools were at odds.

"Shizumi hatsuru"

KU 2; (and with an alternate line 3), FGS 27: [Topic unknown]

Shizumi hatsuru	At the very moment
Irihi no kiwa ni	The setting sun sinks
Arawarete	It shows itself,

Kasumeru yama no	Emerging from misted mountains—
Nao oku no mine	That innermost peak.

This poem demonstrates several of Tamekane's favorite techniques.[1] The first line has a *ji-amari*, which lends added weight to a strong image that is quite unusual for a spring poem.* As with so many of Tamekane's poems, this one describes nature at the moment of transition from one state to another, and this is emphasized by placing the poem's only predicative verb in the pivotal third line (also line 3 of the translation) and by using that verb's gerund form. The movement from "old image" (the setting sun) to "new image" (the solitary peak) is underscored by the syntactical inversion that allows the new image to stand out, sudden and dramatic, in the last line. The juxtaposing of two images is echoed verbally in the vowel distribution: the first two lines, which describe the setting sun, have an unusually high concentration of "i" sounds; the last two lines have only one.

The association of misted mountains with spring goes back to *Man'yōshū*:[2]

MYS 1816 (old 1812). Anonymous

Hisakata no	Mt. Kagu,
Ama no Kaguyama	Reaching toward sunny heavens—
Kono yūbe	This evening
Kasumi tanabiku	Mists are trailing there;
Haru tatsurashi mo	It seems that spring has come.

The original meaning of *hisakata no*, a pillow word frequently used with *ama* ("heaven," which in turn often appears in the form *ama no* to modify Kaguyama), is unclear. The most common explanation is that it was derived from *hi sasu kata*, that is, "the direction where the sun shines."[3] In this sense it might even be said that there is some affinity between this poem and Tamekane's, since it too describes the evening rays of the sun striking a mountain. Tamekane may or may not have known the literal meaning of the pillow word (we cannot even say if the original poet did), but he must have known the poem itself, since Go-Toba makes an allusive variation on it in *Shinkokinshū* (on which more below).[4]

*Both the image of misted mountains and the physical position of the poem in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* and *Fūgashū* indicate that it is an early-spring poem, though the *Fūgashū* headnote reads "Topic unknown."

Whether *hisakata* and the decorative prefix *ama no* are taken literally or not, the poem is fairly typical of many *Man'yōshū* poems. It is clear and declarative, lacking the complicated verbal devices Tamekane uses in his poem, though its rhythmic and disproportionate distribution of "a" sounds is pleasing to the ear, and it stands as a worthy model upon which the *hon-i* ("essential nature") of the topic Spring and Misted Mountains came to be built.

Although this topic also appears in *Kokinshū*, none of the poems in which it appears makes reference to the setting sun or even sunlight in general. The following two poems are closest in topic to Tamekane's, though the difference between their treatment and his is striking:

KKS 3. Anonymous. Topic unknown

Harugasumi	Is there any place
Tateru ya izuko	Where spring mists now rise?
Miyoshino no	Here in Yoshino,
Yoshino no yama ni	The lovely mountains of Yoshino,
Yuki wa furitsutsu	Snow continues to fall.

KKS 23. Ariwara no Yukihira. Topic unknown

Haru no kiru	So weak the woof threads
Kasumi no koromo	In robes of mist
Nuki o usumi	Worn by Spring
Yama kaze ni koso	That in mountain breezes
Midaruberanare	They seem to blow asunder.

These two poems are a step more sophisticated and clever than the *Man'yōshū* poem. In the first one the poet is now conscious of the fact that misted mountains are part of the *hon-i* of spring. What was a descriptive statement in the *Man'yōshū* becomes an assumed convention here. Furthermore, the poem embodies that tension between what is and what ought to be that is a common feature of *Kokinshū* poetry. The second poem is an elaborate metaphor in which spring is given the form of the goddess Saohime, whose robes are woven of spring mist.[5] In both poems the speaker's thought processes are very much in evidence and are essential to the overall effect. This is in contrast to Tamekane's poem, where the speaker is scarcely noticeable.

Three centuries later we find descriptive poetry coming back in fine form in *Shinkokinshū*. Yet even here there is no spring poetry that treats the misted-mountains topic as Tamekane did. As men-

tioned, there is a poem by Go-Toba that does allude to the *Man'yōshū* poem, but Go-Toba dispenses with the one element that makes the earlier poem at least somewhat similar to Tamekane's, that is, the pillow word *hisakata*, which would seem to convey a sense of sunlight:

SKKS 2. Go-Toba. A poem on the Beginning of Spring

Honobono to	Faintly spring
Haru koso sora ni	Seems to have spread
Kinikerashi	Across the sky;
Ama no Kaguyama	Mists are trailing now
Kasumi tanabiku	Over heavenly Mt. Kagu.

Among the Shinkokin poets the use of allusive variation (*honkadori*)—in this case lines 2 and 4 of the *Man'yōshū* poem (lines 1 and 4 of the translation) are borrowed to make lines 4 and 5 of Go-Toba's—was an important part of the search for the *hon-i* of the topic. Like the *Kokinshū* poets quoted above, Go-Toba accepts misted mountains as one of spring's defining characteristics, and by using allusive variation, he can justify his choice of topic, then set about to explore it more deeply than did the Man'yō poet he drew from.

Although Go-Toba does not explore the topic in as much detail as Tamekane, there are interesting similarities between their poems. The first two lines of Go-Toba's are strong on "o" sounds, the last two favor the vowel "a," and the third line, with its dominant "i" sounds, acts as an auditory pivot. This pattern is not unlike the one found in Tamekane's poem. But for Go-Toba the main purpose seems to be musical, whereas for Tamekane the switch in vowels also served to contrast the two parts of the poem.

Tamekane's poem on sunlit misted mountains in spring is equally striking when compared with the work found in the imperial anthologies compiled by his more conservative contemporaries. The following series of poems from the two Nijō anthologies, *Shingosenshū* and *Shokusenzaishū*, are skillful enough, but they do not break any new ground in exploring the topic in question:

SGSS 6. Ben no Naishi. On Mountain Mists; composed when 100-poem sequences were submitted to Retired Emperor Go-Saga in the second year of Hōji [1248][6]

Iso no kami	Spring seems to have come
Furu no yamabe mo	Even to the slopes of Mt. Furu

Haru kinu to	In Iso no Kami—
Kasumi ya sora ni	For why else would mists
Tachikaeruramu	Return, arising there?

SGSS 30. Retired Emperor Kameyama. On Mist; when the poet composed a 100-poem sequence

Yamakaze wa	The mountain wind
Nao samukarashi	Seems still cold,
Miyoshino no	Though Yoshino,
Yoshino no sato wa	The village of lovely Yoshino,
Kasumisomuredo	Is tinted now with mists.

Neither of these *Shingosenshū* poems would win a prize for originality, though there is nothing really offensive about them, unless mediocrity itself be considered an offense. At least Retired Emperor Kameyama's turn of phrase "tints of mist" is of some interest, but the conception of his poem—the use of a concessive structure to point out that things are not as they should be—is as old as *Kokinshū* itself. Similarly, Ben no Naishi's use of "return" (*tachikaeru*) in connection with mists is unusual, but again, her pose of conjecturing about the reason for some natural phenomenon is hardly an exciting new approach to waka poetry.

Though *Shokusenzaishū* has no noteworthy poems on the topic of misted mountains, there are several interesting verses that, because of some similarities in topic, are suitable for comparison with Tamekane's poem, including these two:

ShokuSZS 6. Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado. Topic unknown

Mikasayama	Morning sunlight
Sasu ya asahi no	Strikes needles of the pine
Matsu no ha ni	On Mt. Mikasa,
Kawaranu haru no	And therein can be seen
Iro wa miekeri	Spring's never-changing color.

ShokuSZS 27. Retired Emperor Go-Saga. On Spring Snow; composed in conjunction with the 100-poem sequences His Majesty [Go-Saga] ordered in the second year of Hōji [1248]

Haru no tatsu	Looking like proof
Ato koso miyure	That spring has now arrived—
Asahi kage	Traces of cold snow
Sasu ya okabe ni	Covering the hillside
Sayuru shirayuki	Struck by morning sunlight.

Tsuchimikado died more than twenty years before Tamekane was

born,[7] and Go-Saga was slightly older than Tamekane's father, Tamenori. Yet these imperial poets show more imagination than many of Tamekane's conservative Nijō contemporaries do. Both poems here concentrate—literally shine bright light—on a small aspect of nature (pine needles or patches of snow) and therein find evidence of larger natural movement. This is an approach that the Kyōgoku poets later refined. Go-Saga's poem is as visually striking as Tamekane's. The reader can easily picture the effect of sunlight striking patches of white, melting snow. Tsuchimikado's poem has a curious vowel distribution: the first four lines are dominated by "a" sounds, the last line by "i" sounds. The change draws attention to the last line, but one wonders why, since it is not particularly important. The *no-ni-no-ri* rhyme in this poem is also unusual, but since it does not serve to underscore a parallel, it too seems to be unconscious.

Having looked at these other examples, we can clearly see the unique characteristics of Tamekane's poem. Most noteworthy is the unusual combination of images he chooses for his examination of an age-old topic. He is not content merely to reorder the same materials, as Go-Toba, Ben no Naishi, and Kameyama do. Rather, he embodies the essence of the topic in a solitary peak standing out at sunset. His choice of evening is unusual, for as Sei Shōnagon noted centuries earlier, dawn is the time of day most appropriate for spring. And the lonely peak seems more autumnal than vernal in its mood. Yet the spring mist is essential to the dramatic scene Tamekane wishes to describe, and in that sense it may be said that he has captured the essential nature of the topic. In terms of technique, his speaker does not intrude like the speaker in the anonymous *Kokinshū* poem. And the structure of his poem, its two roughly parallel images being set apart by the continuative verb in the third line acting as a pivot, is not found in any of the other poems.

"Uguisu no"

FGS 51. *[From among poems on Spring]*

Uguisu no	A bush warbler
Koe mo nodoka ni	Lifts its voice in tranquil song;
Nakinashite	The hazy evening sun

Kasumu hikage wa	Shines on as though
Kuremu to mo sezu	It will never set.

Here is another poem about nature caught in a moment of transition. The key word is indeed "caught," for Tamekane has succeeded in stretching that moment into an eternity. Technically, the poem is not as complex as some of Tamekane's other efforts, though it does contain the pivotal continuative verb in the third line (corresponding to line 2 of the translation).

The conception of the poem—that of time slowing to a crawl—is not unique to Tamekane. Indeed, just a few poems earlier in the same anthology, there is this verse by the Heian poet/priest Dōmyō Hōshi:[8]

FGS 47. Dōmyō Hōshi. Composed about a Bush Warbler's Late Song

Tsurezure to	In idleness,
Kurashiwazurō	And ill at ease,
Haru no hi ni	I spend spring days—
Nado uguisu no	Why does not the bush warbler
Otozure mo senu	Visit with its song?

Though the pun on *oto/otozure* ("song"; "visit"), and the implication that nature is not behaving the way it is supposed to, mark this poem as characteristic of the Heian period, the sense of languor it conveys may well have been an inspiration for Tamekane's verse. There is no way of being certain, but Tamekane probably was familiar with this poem, since its source, Dōmyō's personal poetry collection,[9] was known in his time. Even so, Tamekane's poem could not be called an allusive variation on Dōmyō's, though they certainly share a mood.

One difference between Tamekane's effort and Dōmyō's is that Dōmyō's speaker is much evident in his poem, posing a question about the scene, whereas Tamekane's speaker is unobtrusive—he is there, noting that the spring day seems as though it will never end, but there are no overt verbal cues, such as a *ramu* (auxiliary verb speculating about cause or reason) or a *rashi* (auxiliary ending meaning "appears"), that would clearly mark the presence of a human observer.

Although *Fūgashū* has several poems about lengthening spring days and the bush warbler's song, the topic is not to be found in earlier imperial anthologies. Let us examine the traditional treat-

ment of the bush warbler. One of the earliest poems on this topic is found in *Man'yōshū*, in the same sequence of spring poems in which the poem on mist and Mt. Kagu appears:

MYS 1825 (old 1821). Anonymous.

Harugasumi	Along with flowing
Nagaruru nae ni	Mists of spring
Aoyagi no	The bush warbler sings,
Eda kuimochite	A twig of green willow
Uguisu naku mo	Clutched in its beak.

This is a bright, pastoral poem, with little evidence of technique. The final particle *mo* in the last line, which gives a sense of exclamation, is common in Man'yō poetry. A Kyōgoku editor would probably have reworded this line to read *uguisu zo naku*, a locution favored by Tamekane's group. Although the verb *kuimotsu* ("to clutch in the mouth") appears in the fourth line rather than the third, and does not act as a fulcrum, its gerundial use is similar in function to the *arawarete* in Tamekane's "Shizumi hatsuru," as discussed above.

This *Man'yōshū* poem is the only one in a thirteen-poem sequence on birds that links the bush warbler to the spring mist, as Tamekane was to do later. In this sequence and in another sequence of *Man'yōshū* spring poems to be discussed later in the chapter, the bird tends to be associated with plum blossoms.

The simple descriptive treatment of the bush warbler gives way to extreme subjectivity in *Kokinshū*. Typical of this approach are these two poems:

KKS 11. Mibu no Tadamine. A poem on the Beginning of Spring

Haru kinu to	Spring has come—
Hito wa iedomo	Or so people say—
Uguisu no	Yet so long
Nakanu kagiri wa	As the bush warbler does not sing
Araji to zo omou	I just will not believe it.

KKS 14. Ōe no Chisato. [A poem from the Empress's Contest during the reign of the Kanpyō Emperor (Uda)]

Uguisu no	If no bush warbler's song
Tani yori izuru	Were to ring out
Koe naku wa	From the valley,
Haru kuru koto o	Who would know
Tare ka shiramashi	If spring had come?

The quality of the bush warbler's song as such is hardly an issue here. It has by now been established in literary circles that the bush warbler announces the arrival of spring, and these poets are partly concerned with demonstrating their mastery of that convention. So self-conscious are these verses that one is tempted to dismiss them as precious. Yet in the context of waka's history, this very subjectivity established the relationship between certain natural phenomena and human activity, which in turn formed the foundation of Japanese poetry for hundreds of years. By bringing the human consciousness so conspicuously to bear on natural events, the Kokin poets made them "acceptable" topics for the human activity of poetry.

Still, there is no denying that there is a gap between these poems and Tamekane's treatment of the bush warbler theme. Tamekane's subjectivity is of a different sort. Though his speaker does not ask questions, he does interpret a natural event (a bush warbler's song on a misty spring evening) through the rather strained conceit of a day that itself seems disinclined to end. Yet the result of his subjectivity is to recreate in the reader's mind the actual scene, particularly the trailing notes of the bird.

The compilers of *Shinkokinshū* apparently did not find the bush warbler an interesting topic. There are only five poems on that bird among the spring poems. Two are from *Man'yōshū*, and the other three, by poets of the Shinkokin period, are allusive variations on *Kokinshū* poems.[10] None of them need be quoted here.

Most of the bush warbler poems in *Shingosenshū* are also derivative, although one, by the late Heian poet Minamoto Toshiyori, somewhat approaches Tamekane's poem in spirit:*

SGSS 15. Minamoto Toshiyori. On the topic of a Bush Warbler at a Mountain Dwelling

Uguisu no	If the bush warbler
Kinakazariseba	Did not come to sing
Yamazato ni	In this mountain village,
Tare to ka haru no	With whom would I spend
Hi o kurasamashi	These spring days?

*Also known as Shunrai, the Chinese reading of his name, Toshiyori (1055–1129) was, like Tamekane, a poetic innovator in his generation. The imperial anthology he compiled, *Kin'yōshū* (presented in its final form in 1126), broke from precedent in many ways, both in its arrangement and in its selections, and was undoubtedly an inspiration in more than just title for Tamekane's *Gyokuyōshū*.

The speculative *eba . . . mashi* ("if . . . then") form was popular in the Heian period. In terms of technique, then, this is not one of Toshiyori's more revolutionary works, although the compound verb *kinaku* ("to come and sing") is unusual. Nonetheless, the mood is not unlike that of Tamekane's poem; the emphasis is on the bird's song and how well suited it is to languid spring days.

Bush warbler poems in *Shokusenzaishū* again tend to rely heavily on allusive variation or the reworking of old treatments. However, this one stands out as unusual:

*ShokuSZS 14. Emperor Go-Daigo. On the same feelings**

Oshinabete	As if to say,
Sora ni shiraruru	"Only my voice matters,"
Haru no iro o	A bush warbler's song
Ono ga ne nomi to	Calls forth the hues of spring
Uguisu zo naku	Beneath an overarching sky.

Go-Daigo was often as unorthodox in poetry as he was in politics. This is an interesting example of an allegorical poem using the bush warbler as a metaphor. If the headnote is accurate, then Go-Daigo would seem to be comparing himself to the bush warbler. Read this way the poem appears to be an announcement of his intention to break free of the constraints placed on the Emperor by the Bakufu. Still, on the surface it can be read as simply a descriptive poem that, like Tamekane's, emphasizes the insistent power of the bush warbler's voice. Here it is the power to call forth spring, where for Tamekane it is the power to stop the sun from setting.

Technically Go-Daigo displays some ingenuity. The *ji-amari* in the third line, which ends with the particle *o*, draws attention to the fourth line, wherein lies Go-Daigo's allegorical declaration of independence. Dominant "r" sounds in lines 2 and 3 give way to strong "n" sounds in line 4, producing a pleasing rhythm that again leads the reader to the fourth line.

Among the Kyōgoku poets, Tamekane's sister composed a poem that bears comparison with her brother's work:

*The reference is to the headnote of the previous poem, by Retired Emperor Kameyama: "Composed by the Emperor in response to poems on the Bush Warbler submitted to him when he ascended the throne." Kameyama's rather bland poem is metaphorical, likening his subjects' verses to the song of the bush warbler announcing spring (and the beginning of his reign).

GYS 24. Tameko. On the spirit of a Spring Evening

Momochidori	Coming through gently,
Koe nodoka nite	Songs of countless birds,
Ochikochi no	And far and near,
Yama wa kasumeru	Mountains are misted over
Haru no higurashi	Throughout this day in spring.

This poem is in three parts: lines 1 and 2 are auditory, lines 3 and 4 are visual, and line 5 gives the topic. Yet the last line does not just dangle (as it so often does in poems with this shape) because Tameko ties it to line 4 with a quasi-parallel structure. This is a fairly common technique among the Kyōgoku poets, and it gives Tameko's poem a pleasing rhythm. In a sense she and Tamekane take opposite tacks to the same end. Tamekane freezes time by focusing intently on one moment of a bird's song. Tameko spins out a long, languid day by describing the number of little, random auditory and visual moments that punctuate it and mark its passage. Both have captured the spirit of lengthening days of spring.

"Ume no hana"

GYS 83. On Spring Rain, when there was a poetry contest at the poet's house

Ume no hana	As evening falls
Kurenai niou	In its glow now scarlet
Yūgure ni	Plum tree blossoms;
Yanagi nabikite	Willow branches bend and sway,
Harusame zo furu	Then a spring rain falls.

This is one of Tamekane's best-known poems.[11] The color images are striking, and Tamekane depicts the moment of change that is the hallmark of the Kyōgoku style by using a gerundive in the fourth line to set the stage for the transformation about to occur.

Tamekane has applied a great deal of artistry in this poem. The most striking thing is his use of five strong visual images, one in each line. It is almost like a list. Yet the interweaving of contrast and echo produces a highly finished and effective result. First, there is the dramatic color contrast between the bright red of the plum blossoms—one presumes these are the so-called *kōbai*, or red plum blossoms—and the fresh, vivid green of young willow leaves. In addition, the second line serves double duty. Since *niou* is a *yodan* verb (i.e., its conjugation bases cover four of the five vowels),

its final form (*shūshikei*) and its modifying, or attributive, form (*rentaikei*) are identical. Thus in Tamekane's poem both the plum blossoms and the evening glow red. The fact that *niou* also means to emit a pleasing scent gives the poem further depth, especially since the *kōbai* is one of the most strongly scented of the plum (or strictly speaking, the Japanese flowering apricot) species.

The poem further stimulates visual images by having the long, sinuous lines of the willow branches repeated in the lines of slanting spring rain. But the master stroke is Tamekane's introduction of the rain in the last line. Since spring rain is by definition silent,[12] it effectively pulls a soft curtain over a scene that might otherwise be considered too dazzling.

The writer of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki*, however, was not at all charmed by this poem. It is the first *Gyokuyōshū* poem that he singles out for criticism, and he minces no words:

> This poem is quite full of conceits. We can find no other verses that link the plum and the willow. Furthermore, even if one were to write about such an evening scene, would one want it to come out sounding like this poem? To be sure, there is the poem about the garden of peach blossoms, which could be considered precedent for the line "glowing scarlet" [*kurenai niou*], but surely this is not something one would want to borrow.[13]

The peach-blossom poem he refers to is this famous verse by Ōtomo Yakamochi:

MYS 4163 (old 4139). Ōtomo Yakamochi. [One of] two poems composed on the evening of the first day, third month, second year of Tempyō [730] while gazing at peach and damson trees in a spring garden

Haru no sono	In a spring garden
Kurenai niou	Blossoms of a peach tree
Momo no hana	Glow now scarlet,
Shitaderu michi ni	Shining on the road below
Idetatsu otome	Where a young maid sets forth.

It is difficult to say why the author of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* should find Ōtomo's delightful poem inappropriate as a basis for allusive variation. Perhaps it is because the verse is from *Man'yōshū*, not an imperial anthology. But Go-Toba's poem on misted mountains, cited in the previous section, is also an allusive variation on a *Man'yōshū* verse, and there are many other such allusions. It could be that the critic found the images, particularly the young maiden, not dignified enough.

More to the point, his remark that there was no precedent for linking plum and willow is simply unfounded. There are at least two examples in *Man'yōshū*, including this one:[14]

MYS 830 (old 826). Ōhara of the Fuitobe clan

Uchinabiku	How shall I choose
Haru no yanagi to	Between spring willow's
Wa ga yado no	Trailing branches
Ume no hana to o	And the plum blossoms
Ika ni ka wakamu	Blooming in my garden?

It is true that *Kokinshū*, for example, has no poem in which these two trees are joined, although the following one comes close:

KKS 26. Ki no Tsurayuki. [Composed by command]

Aoyagi no	It is a spring
Ito yori kakuru	Stitched together by threadlike
Haru shimo zo	Branches of green willows,
Midarite hana no	Yet now flowers in profusion
Hokorobinikeru	Bloom as if to burst these seams.

An example of Tsurayuki at his most mannered, as far as possible in tone from Tamekane's verse, this poem nonetheless does speak of both flowers and willows. The poem's position in the anthology—after the first mention of plum trees and before the main body of poems on plum blossoms (which begin in earnest with KKS 32)—suggests that the flowers mentioned are plum blossoms. However, Ozawa Masao argues that they are probably cherry blossoms, since the poem comes in the middle of a series of verses emphasizing the color green and thus has the willow as its main topic.[15] Because of this ambiguity, it seems safe to say that this verse could not be cited by Tamekane as a precedent, and by its very nature it was probably not a source of inspiration for him either.[16]

Turning to another criticism raised in *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki*, we find the writer objecting to the treatment Tamekane accords the topic. Possibly he dislikes the listlike nature of the presentation. Yet that in itself is not so unusual. The following poem from *Shinkokinshū*, for example, also has five strong images, one per line:[17]

SKKS 26. Fujiwara no Hideyoshi. [On Spring Scenery at River's Side, composed when the Retired Emperor had Chinese poems composed, then matched them with waka]

Yūzukuyo	A moonlit night,
Shio michikurashi	The tide seems to have filled

Naniwae no	Naniwa Bay,
Ashi no wakaba ni	White waves come flooding in
Koyuru shiranami	Over young shoots of reeds.

The difference between this poem and Tamekane's is that Tamekane predicates something about each of his main images: the plum blossoms (and the evening) glow, the willow branches sway, and the spring rain falls. These actions are more or less independent of each other, their connection being that they occur successively within a brief span of time. In Hideyoshi's poem, by contrast, only the tide and the white waves have predicates, and the movement that is attributed to each of them is clearly interrelated—a larger natural occurrence produces a smaller, more intimate echo. This view of nature underlies much of waka until Tamekane's time. What makes the writer of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* uncomfortable is that Tamekane depicts a nature whose interconnections are not so neat. He shows nature moving, apparently without internal motivation, from bright scarlet, to cool yet still lively green, to rain-washed neutral tones. It is a flux dictated by the march of time, rather than the simple "I hear a bush warbler so it must be spring" sort of logic that by Tamekane's day had worn rather thin.

Indeed, it is hard to find a poem quite like Tamekane's in any of the earlier imperial anthologies. Of course, there is no reason to expect anything like it in *Kokinshū*. *Shinkokinshū* contains two poems that may have given Tamekane some inspiration, though surprisingly they are both by earlier poets:[18]

SKKS 41. Fujiwara Yorimichi. Topic unknown

Orarekeri	I broke it off,
Kurenai niou	This branch of plum blossoms
Ume no hana	Glowing red,
Kesa shirotae no	Even though this morning
Yuki wa fureredo	Pure white snow had fallen on it!

SKKS 68. Ōshikōchi no Mitsune. In the Engi era [901–23], on an imperial screen

Harusame no	A spring rain's
Furisomeshi yori	Penetrating shower
Aoyagi no	Tints green willows'
Ito no midori zo	Verdant, threadlike tendrils
Iro masarikeru	An ever deeper hue.

Tamekane's poem comes close to being an allusive variation on

both of these poems, and considering their source, *Shinkokinshū*, that could hardly be coincidental.

Yorimichi too uses the comparatively unusual phrase *kurenai niou*, a phrase that invited criticism in Tamekane's verse. And he too presents the reader with a striking color contrast, with the color images balanced in the second and fourth lines. But the differences between the two poems are as obvious as their similarities. Yorimichi's speaker is no silent observer of natural change. Rather, he goes right in and breaks off the branch. Tamekane's speaker, on the other hand, is all but a nonentity, the only evidence for his existence being the exclamatory particle *zo* in the last line. As for Mitsune's poem, its tissue of associations (*engo*)—tinting/green/verdant/thread/hue—marks it as typical of its period. Furthermore, Mitsune's willow grows richer in color, while Tamekane's dissolves in the evening rain. Yet as different as both poems are from Tamekane's, it is not unlikely that he was inspired by their colorful images, although he reworked the elements into a new and unique verse.

The two Nijō anthologies have little to compare with Tamekane's poem except for a verse by Teika that might have been a source for his work:

ShokuSZS 44. Teika. [On Willow]

Asamidori	Like pale green jewels
Tama nukimidaru	Once strung, now scattered
Aoyagi no	From branch on branch
Eda moto o o ni	Of the willow tree,
Harusame zo furu	Spring rain falls.*

For Teika, this verse is rather on the precious side, more something one might expect from Tsurayuki. Yet the image is vivid, and the fourth line has an interesting, quirky rhythm. The poem's source has not been identified, so it is impossible to say whether Tamekane knew it. The fact that his last line is identical to Teika's is not particularly significant: it was not all that unusual in waka.[19] However, its use in combination with the topic of willow trees is rare enough to suggest that Tamekane's poem might well be an allusive variation.

*Strictly speaking, the *o o* in this poem means "string upon string (of jewels)," but I have transferred the image to the word "branches" as the strings upon which the raindrops are strung.

"Haru no nagori"

FGS 292. On a Beach at the End of Spring

Haru no nagori	Spring remembrances remain
Nagamuru ura no	On the beach from which I gaze
Yūnagi ni	At evening, as the wind subsides;
Kogiwakareyuku	The boat rowed off in parting
Fune mo urameshi	Fills me with sad longing.

This is easily Tamekane's richest, most complex poem. Its complexity is evident at every level. In terms of auditory effect the poem is dominated by the vowel "u," which appears fully nine times, far more than the normal distribution of that sound, giving it a plaintive tone. What is more the "u" sounds are distributed so as to create an echo between the first half of the poem (*nagamuru ura*) and the second half (*kogiwakareyuku fune*). In addition, Tamekane makes use of the technique of progression to lead the reader through the first three lines, thus anticipating the movement of the boat. He does this by means of a sequence of "na" sounds combined with syllables beginning with "g": *nagori/nagamuru/yūnagi*. The whole poem is further held together by a progression of "r" sounds (*ru/ru/ra/re/ra*).

Beyond these verbal pyrotechnics, the vocabulary is extremely complex. It is no accident that the first line contains *ji-amari*, for in this line lies *nagori*, the heart of the poem and one of the richest words in the waka vocabulary. The term *haru no nagori* is a poetic topic, referring to the last days of spring. Beyond that, in Tamekane's day *nagori* had multiple meanings, including remnants, traces, vestiges; (the sorrow of) parting, regrettable parting; pools left behind when the tide recedes; afterwaves that continue to advance even when the wind has died down; and reverberations, figurative or literal.[20] Each of these meanings is operating in the poem.

The scene and the poet's feelings are inextricably tied. The remembrances (*nagori*) of spring—perhaps they are memories of a lover who is now in the boat, or at least of someone from whom parting is difficult (*nagori*)—are triggered by the sight of the tide pools (*nagori*, which, with this meaning, functions as *engo* for *ura/yūnagi/fune*, "beach"/"subsiding evening wind"/"boat") left behind as the tide recedes along with the boat. Or perhaps it is the

afterwaves (*nagori*) hitting the beach (*ura*) that stimulate the poet's feelings of regret (*urameshi*). (We cannot know whether it is the sight of these waves hitting the beach that triggers the emotion or whether it is the poet's awareness of the homonym.) *Yūnagi* refers to that quiet moment after the day's onshore winds have stopped but before the evening offshore winds have picked up, and this underscores the sense of moving away. The boat rowing away indicates parting; in fact the word "parting" (*wakare*) is used. And with the subjective *urameshi*, which nonetheless echoes the objective and descriptive *ura*, the scene and the mood are completely tied.

Finally, in this poem we find echoes, if not outright allusions, to several earlier poems. One that comes to mind is this one by Mansei:

SIS 1327. Mansei. Topic unknown

Yo no naka o	To what shall we compare
Nani ni tatoemu	This world of ours?
Asaborake	To white waves in the wake
Kogiyuku fune no	Of a boat that rows away,
Ato no shiranami	At dawn, to parts unknown.[21]

The season and time of day are not as clearly identifiable here as in Tamekane's poem. But Mansei's poem was widely known in Tamekane's day, and the wistful sense of life's fleeting nature that it conveys by means of the boat image could well have inspired Tamekane.

Toki Zenmaro cites another possible source:[22]

MYS 255 (old 254). Kakinomoto Hitomaro

Tomoshibi no	The day I pass
Akashi Ōto ni	Through the broad straits
Iramu hi ya	Of torch-bright Akashi,
Kogiwakarenamu	Perhaps thus parting, rowing off,
Ie no atari mizu	I shall never see my home again.

Though the season is unspecified, this verse is quite close to Tamekane's in theme. Again parting is represented by the act of rowing away, and the fourth line is quite similar to Tamekane's. It is worth noting that line 2 of Tamekane's poem—*nagamuru ura no*—can mean "the beach from which I gaze," which is the interpretation I have followed,[23] or "the beach upon which I gaze," as though the poet were in the boat. The second reading would accord even better with the spirit of Hitomaro's poem.

Tsugita Kasumi and Iwasa Miyoko suggest that another poem may have been a source for Tamekane:[24]

KKS 409. Anonymous. [Topic unknown]

Honobono to	Through morning fog
Akashi no ura no	That dims the shores
Asagiri ni	Of Akashi Bay
Shimagakureyuku	My longing follows after the boat
Fune o shi zo omou	That disappears, hidden by an island.

Here again, parting is embodied in a boat, and although the exact wording is somewhat different, the rhythm of the fourth line is very much like Tamekane's.

While any or all of these poems may have served as inspiration or source for Tamekane's poem, none of them has its complexity. Indeed few poems on the topic do. Verses about the end of spring from the Heian anthologies tend to be nonimagistic statements on the poet's feelings of regret at the passing of spring. If images are used at all, they are of unspecified faded flowers and the like. As might be expected, the Shinkokin poets dealt with the topic by way of imagery. The following poem has something in common with Tamekane's:[25]

SKKS 169. Jakuren. When the poet submitted a 50-poem sequence

Kurete yuku	Though no one knows
Haru no minato wa	Where departing spring
Shiranedomo	Will end up moored,
Kasumi ni otsuru	The brushwood-bearing boat
Uji no shibabune	Slips into Uji River mists.

Although not as complex as Tamekane's verse, this fine poem has a great deal of depth. Here, too, the boat symbolizes parting, but it is a less specific parting—the passing of spring. Jakuren portrays a forlorn and rather mysterious scene. No one knows spring's destination, but the boat, by slipping into the mist, surrenders itself to the journey. Though it cannot strictly be called yoking, the word *minato*, used metaphorically here for spring's destination, is an *engo* for boat, and thus also refers to the boat's ultimate mooring place, another unknown once the boat disappears into the mists. Like Tamekane's poem, this one has nine "u" vowels, which, balanced between the upper and lower halves of the poem, contribute to its mood.

By contrast, this poem by Tameyo is sadly superficial:

SGSS 151. Tameyo. Submitted when the Retired Emperor acceded to that position and courtiers composed poetry on the topic of the Moon at Dawn as Spring Departs[26]

Tsurenakute	O moon at dawn,
Nokoru narai o	Teach to the departing spring
Kurete yuku	Your custom
Haru ni oshie yo	Of remaining behind
Ariake no tsuki	With practiced ease.

At least this poem has metaphorical depth, lamenting the retirement of an Emperor. As an occasional poem that demanded conventional treatment, it should perhaps not be criticized too harshly; Tamekane was capable of this sort of thing, too. But as a treatment of the topic of departing spring, it cannot match Tamekane's poem.

As further evidence of Tamekane's sophisticated handling of the topic, compare how Fujiwara Iesada, a minor poet of the Nijō school, uses the term *nagori*:[27]

ShokuSZS 204. Iesada. Topic unknown

Hitokata no	Would that I,
Wakare o semete	At any cost, could prevent
Todomebaya	Their one-sided parting,
Hana to haru to no	That I might keep as mementos
Onaji nagori ni	These flowers and this spring alike.

Although the rhythm produced in the last two lines by the "a," "o," then "i" sounds is nice, the rest of the poem goes little beyond those laments for the passing of spring that one finds in *Kokinshū*. *Nagori* is used here quite without overtones.

"Ika narishi"

KU, round 21; GYS 689: When the Retired Emperor [Fushimi] and his courtiers had a poetry contest on set topics, this was on the topic Longing for the Past Beneath the Moon

Ika narishi	What were they like,
Hito no nasake ka	The feelings of that one now gone?
Omoiizuru	I sit and wonder.
Koshikata katare	Tell of the past you remember,
Aki no yo no tsuki	Moon of this autumn night!

The reading of the third line of this poem is problematic. At least it can be said that the verb *omoiizuru* acts as a yoke—on the one hand, a predicate for the first half of the poem, and on the other, a modi-

fier for the second half. But since it is a compound verb, one cannot be sure where it breaks in performing those two functions. I read the verb as *omoii*, a truncated form of *omoiiru* ("to think deeply about something; to wonder") when taken with the first two lines, and as *omoiizuru* ("to recall") in its *rentaikei*, used to modify *koshikata* ("the past"). I also believe it is the moon that remembers the past. This differs from the interpretation of Robert Brower and Earl Miner:[28]

> What was he like,
> The man whose feelings were so fine
> As to summon you to rise?
> Tell me of the past from which you come,
> O moon of the clear autumn night.

On either reading, this is a fine poem, unusual for Tamekane in its concern with time rather than a brief moment of change. In mood it reminds one of Ariwara no Narihira's famous verse, even though the two treat different seasons:[29]

Ise monogatari 4; KKS 747. Ariwara no Narihira

Tsuki ya aranu	Is it not the same moon?
Haru ya mukashi no	Is this spring not the same
Haru naranu	Spring of old?
Wa ga mi hitotsu wa	Myself alone remains,
Moto no mi ni shite	A self unchanged as ever.

Ozawa Masao maintains that the poet is addressing the moon and the spring directly, which would make the first line something like "Are you not the same moon?"[30] This interpretation would accord even better with Tamekane's poem than my version does, although the tone already shows so much similarity. In *Korai Fūteishō*, which was an important influence on Tamekane, Shunzei singled out Narihira's poem for particular praise, and this would not have escaped Tamekane's notice. What Shunzei liked were the first two lines, which he described as "absolutely marvelous" (*kagirinaku medetaki nari*).[31] With his last two lines Tamekane seems to have been striving for that same kind of effect, and I think he was successful. In any case, both poems beautifully express the essence of the topic "Longing for the Past Beneath the Moon."

One need not look too far for other sources for Tamekane's poem. As editor of *Gyokuyōshū*, he himself indicates one by placing the following poem immediately before his in the anthology:

GYS 688. Teika. [Composed on the Moon]

Koshikata wa	All the past
Mina omokage ni	Comes floating up
Ukabikinu	Into your face—
Yukusue terase	Shine light upon the road ahead,
Aki no yo no tsuki	Moon of this autumn night.

Tamekane's poem is clearly an allusive variation on Teika's. The most obvious difference is that Tamekane asks the moon about the past, whereas Teika wonders about the future. But the conceit is the same, and the structure almost identical. Still, as nice as *yukusue terase* sounds, Tamekane's *koshikata katare* rings better.*

The poem matched with Tamekane's in the same round of the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* fits in well here:

KU, round 21. Fushimi

Mukashi ima	Thoughts of the past,
Yukusue kakete	And now, and into the future—
Omoiidenu	All are called up
Koyoi hitoyo no	By the moonlit pathos
Tsuki no aware ni	Of this one night alone.

An interesting poem in *Shikashū* (Collection of Verbal Flowers; first submitted 1151) seems to tie these three verses together:[32]

SKS 98. Myōkai. Topic unknown

Arishi nimo	In this world,
Arazu nariyuku	Where what once was
Yo no naka ni	Will no longer be,
Kawaranu mono wa	One thing remains unchanged—
Aki no yo no tsuki	The moon of an autumn night.

In this verse the moon is clearly a symbol of the unchanging Dharma, a point that Tamekane would certainly not have missed. Indeed, applying the same metaphysical interpretation to Teika's, Tamekane's, and Fushimi's poems—that is, reading the moon as the Buddhist Dharma steadfast amid the relentless flux of time—gives them an even more interesting flavor.

The autumn night moon has inspired countless waka. Some are simply descriptive, but many speak of longing for, or curiosity about, the past. This poem from *Kokinshū* sets the tone:

* Both men clearly owe a debt to Izumi Shikibu's famous *Shūishū* 1342: Kuraki yori / Kuraki michi ni zo / Irinubeki / Haruka ni terase / Yama no ha no tsuki ("Out of darkness / Into a darkened path / I must now enter / Shine out over the distance / Moon over mountain's ridge").

KKS 193. Ōe no Chisato. Composed for a poetry contest at the residence of the Imperial Prince Koresada[33]

Tsuki mireba	When I see the moon
Chiji ni mono koso	It brings up a thousand
Kanashikere	Sad memories,
Wa ga mi hitotsu no	Even though autumn is not
Aki niwa aranedo	For this one man alone.

The ironic stance here is typical of *Kokinshū* poetry, and the contrast of the Chinese term *chiji* ("thousands") with *hitotsu* ("one") reflects Chisato's familiarity with Chinese sources. Perhaps Tamekane was thinking of just such a speaker when he wondered about "the feelings of that one now gone."

Often the sadness engendered by the moon caused tears to fall on sleeves—a perfect medium for reflecting the lunar light. This convention persisted, and as might be expected, was more often found in the Nijō anthologies than in the Kyōgoku ones:

SGSS 392. Asukai Masaari. From a 100-poem sequence submitted in the first year of Kōan [1278]

Omou koto	Is it from memories
Arishi mukashi no	Of autumns that once were,
Aki yori ya	But now are past,
Sode oba tsuki no	That the moon should have taken
Yado to nashikemu	Lodging in my sleeves?

As final evidence for just how compelling Tamekane's treatment of the topic is, this poem from *Shokusenzaishū* should suffice:

ShokuSZS 466. Sukenobu's daughter. Topic unknown

Inishie ni	How many autumns
Sumikoshi mama no	Could this moon have known,
Kage naraba	If it shines
Tsuki wa ikuyo no	With a light as clear
Aki o shiruramu	As ever in ages past?

Although Sukenobu's daughter was possibly contemporary with Tamekane,[34] her poem, with its hypothetical conjecture, could as easily have been written in the Heian period. The poet does not dare address the moon directly. She is content just to speculate, as did generations of poets before her, and the result, not surprisingly, is eminently forgettable.

"Fuke mo seba"

KU, round 35

Fuke mo seba	"If it grows much later
Mataji to iishi	I shall not wait"—
Koto no ha wa	Since these spoken words
Ono ga mono kara	Were my very own,
Ima zo kuyashiki	How mortified I feel now!

Of Tamekane's love poetry, Ishida Yosisada remarks: "Tamekane's descriptive poetry is superb, but it seems that love poetry was not his strong suit." He then cites a few examples and suggests, without giving any supporting argument, that Tamekane put his true human emotions into his day-to-day and political existence, not into his love poetry.[35]

Toki comes to essentially the same conclusion, although he at least attempts to argue his case. He contends—taking a rather too modern stand—that love poetry from *Man'yōshū* through Izumi Shikibu was good because it was sincere and was based on the poets' own experiences; whereas by Tamekane's day writing love poetry had become nothing more than an exercise in the skillful construction of verse. As he puts it, "[Tamekane] wrote love poetry merely because he was born in medieval times. . . . Nature poetry was his domain, and if we concentrate our evaluation on that, we will get a better picture of his true value."[36]

It hardly seems necessary to point out the holes in Toki's argument. The most obvious is that if direct experience and sincerity are essential criteria, much of the world's literature would fail to pass muster. Does Toki really believe that Tamekane did not experience any of the pangs of love, but did observe and record faithfully the images he wrote about in his nature poetry? It is equally naïve to maintain that the earlier poets wrote only spontaneous love poetry, indeed, that there was no convention surrounding love poetry.

Yet there is some truth in what Toki says. It does seem that over time the conventions surrounding love poetry were more inhibiting than those surrounding nature poetry. However, this was not just Tamekane's problem. The entire body of Teika's love poetry probably would not stand up to intense scrutiny either. A carefully chosen selection could also make him look incompetent in this area.

In fact the Kyōgoku poets did make an effort to stretch the limits

of love-poetry convention. Brower and Miner have demonstrated this quite well, showing how the Kyōgoku poets, by focusing on a moment of change just as they do in their nature poetry, succeed in creating an intense love poetry that makes fine distinctions among various similar human emotions.[37] A number of Tamekane's poems are like this. For example:

KU, round 49; (and with an alternate line 2) GYS 1706[38]

Koto no ha ni	Once expressed
Idete urami wa	In words, my resentment
Tsukihatete	Has now run its course,
Kokoro ni komuru	Replaced by melancholy now,
Usa ni narinuru	Buried deep within my heart.

Typically Tamekane uses a gerund (actually two in this version of the poem) to indicate verbally that one thing is changing into another. Furthermore the parallelism and "rhyme" in the last two lines give the poem a rather unusual rhythm for waka.

Other Kyōgoku poets used a similar approach, though their language was not generally as dense as Tamekane's. Two examples:

GYS 1710. Shinshi. [Topic unknown]

Higoro yori	In recent days
Uki o mo ushi to	I cannot even say of my sadness
E zo iwanu	That it is sad,
Ge ni omowazu mo	As I wonder if in truth
Naru ka to omoeba	The unthinkable has come to pass.

GYS 1715. Eifukumon-in. [From among poems on Love]

Yowarihatsuru	My longing,
Ima wa no kiwa no	Weakening now that our love
Omoi ni wa	Is at its end—
Usa mo aware ni	Even suffering, it seems,
Naru ni zo arikeru	Takes on a poignancy.

Though the approach is similar to Tamekane's poem "Koto no ha ni," the technique is quite different. Both Eifukumon-in and Shinshi have put nine particles in their poems. Tamekane's has only four. While it cannot be said that these particles are mere padding—indeed they help produce a fluid rhythm in both poems and perform valid grammatical functions—it is clear by their sheer numbers alone that they are deliberate.

I have digressed from the central poem of this section to show the

"orthodox" unorthodoxy of Kyōgoku love poetry. And one may agree that Tamekane was not always as successful with this approach as his colleagues were. But this is not to say that he could not write good love poetry. "Fuke mo seba" is a fine poem. From its position in the love-poetry sequence, we know from convention that the speaker is a woman who has grown tired of waiting for her lover. Like many a Heian poem, it revolves around an irony, though here the speaker herself is to blame, for she has made promises to herself that she cannot keep. This sentiment is not entirely new to Tamekane, as the following poem shows:

KKS 614. Ōshikōchi no Mitsune. [Topic unknown]

Tanometsutsu	He made me hope,
Awade toshi heru	Yet years pass
Itsuwari ni	Without our meeting!
Korinu kokoro o	My heart never learns these lies—
Hito wa shiranamu	Would that he realized that.

Like the speaker in Tamekane's poem, Mitsune's speaker is aware of the irony of her situation. Yet she does not take full responsibility for it. She admits that her heart has not learned the lessons of love, but she is more concerned with her would-be lover's lies and wants him to know her feelings. In modern terms, she wants to make him feel guilty. Both poets have provided accurate psychological descriptions of the early, insecure stages of love; Toki's and Ishida's charge of insincerity seems hollow indeed.

In the imperial anthologies between *Kokinshū* and *Gyokuyōshū*, many poems were written on the topic of a woman who ends up alone despite her prospective lover's promise to visit her. Yet in the intervening centuries, the speaker of such poems became more and more resigned, and less and less likely to take any responsibility. Two poems are typical:[39]

KYS (2) 402. Shirakawa no Nyōgo Etchū. Sent as an expression of her resentment to a man who had made promises of love but had not fulfilled them

Machishi yo no	What reason to lament
Fukeshi o nani ni	The deepening of this night
Nagekiken	Through which I've waited?
Omoitaete mo	Even after giving up my hopes
Sugushikeru mi o	I have survived.

SKS 236. Akihiro [Shunzei]. Composed for a poetry contest at the home of Akisuke

Kokoro oba	His interest,
Todomete koso wa	Which was once attached to me,
Kaeritsure	Has since withdrawn.
Ayashi ya nani no	Strange that I should still
Kure o matsuran	Await nightfall—and why?

The speakers of these poems have a glimmering of self-awareness. They realize—perhaps because they have read the imperial anthologies?—that the love they hoped for is not going to come. Yet their understanding of their situation is vague: "Why should life be like this?" In contrast Tamekane's speaker has learned the lessons of literary history. She states flatly, "How mortified I feel now" (*ima zo kuyashiki*), for she realizes precisely why she feels that way. This perception is what distinguishes Tamekane's poem from the two earlier verses, not its technique or treatment as such.

Turning from topic to technique, we immediately notice that these two poems, like Mitsune's above, are essentially without concrete images. Brower and Miner maintain that this lack of imagery is a characteristic of the Kyōgoku poets, and found in earlier poetry only as an exception to the rule.[40] A close scrutiny of various imperial anthologies, however, shows this not to be the case. Depending on which aspect of the love affair is being described, one often encounters a whole string of poems without any significant imagery. The topic under examination here is one example. Of the ten poems surrounding Mitsune's in *Kokinshū*, numbers 611, 613, and 620 are also without images. A similar proportion is to be found in *Kinyōshū* and *Shikashū*. On the other hand the Kyōgoku anthologies contain their share of imagistic love poetry, not all of it from previous ages.[41] Placement in the progression of love poems seems to determine more than anything else whether a particular poem will or will not have images, since many love topics (for example, "Longing at the Seashore") demand imagistic treatment.

In a sense, then, the view that Kyōgoku love poetry was mostly nonimagistic is founded on historical coincidence, as an examination of Kyōgoku poetry contests will show. For the most part Brower and Miner were forced to rely on the two Kyōgoku imperial anthologies for their view of Kyōgoku poets. Since then,

texts—albeit imperfect ones—have emerged for such poetry contests as the *Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase*, which contain many love poems with imagery.

Still, it is a question of degree. Even though the Kyōgoku poets wrote many imagistic love poems, they did not often choose to put them in their imperial anthologies and seemed to favor nonimagistic ones in general. Indeed none of Tamekane's love poems in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* has strong images. Brower and Miner are only "wrong" in implying that the avoidance of imagery in love poetry was all but unprecedented. The Kyōgoku poets merely expanded the scope of something that was already well established.

It is interesting to note, however, that *Shinkokinshū* has very few nonimagistic poems, even in sections where one would expect, from reading earlier anthologies, to find them. Among the poems on the same topic, we find:

SKKS 1134. The Imperial Prince Koreakira. On the Spirit of Love, from a 100-poem sequence[42]

Au koto no	In skies as empty
Munashiki sora no	As his promises of meeting
Ukigumo wa	Float clouds—
Mi o shiru ame no	Their rain knows the tears
Tayori narikeri	Of my unsettled self.

The verbal complexity of this poem is such as might be expected in *Kokinshū*. It is followed by Teika's number 1137, which is such a web of *engo* that it is practically impossible to translate completely.[43] If these were the standard in Tamekane's day, it would not be surprising if Kyōgoku love poetry looked unusual.

Yet the Nijō anthologies contain a great many nonimagistic love poems on the same topic, and the *Shinkokinshū* approach seems almost an anomaly. One example each from *Shingosenshū* and *Shokusenzaishū*:[44]

SGSS 971. Saneyasu. [Topic unknown]

Saritomo to	Although I think,
Omoinagara mo	"Anyway, that's how it is,"
Matsu hodo wa	My melancholy
Nao mi no usa ni	Casts doubt upon whether
Utagawaretsutsu	My wait will really end here.

ShokuSZS 1285. Tameyo. On Waiting Love; composed as part of a 30-poem sequence in the first year of Kagen [1303]

Tanomikeru	That man thinks
Kokoro to hito no	Only that my heart
Shirubakari	Relies on him;
Itsuwari o dani	Better he should hear
Matsu to kikaremu	That I wait only for his lies.

On the evidence of poems like these, it becomes difficult to maintain that Tamekane's love poems are unique or even unusual. Yet as noted earlier, there is one important distinction: his speakers show a certain self-awareness that is missing in the work of others. Tameyo's speaker is sarcastic. One can sympathize with her resentment and admire Tameyo's technical skill (something that even Hanazono granted him) in playing off the *bakari* and *dani* (which I have translated as "only" in both cases) while maintaining a smooth verbal expression. For all that, the poem approaches love the way Sei Shōnagon approaches it—as a skirmish.

Saneyasu's speaker is closer to Tamekane's. She is aware that her efforts to convince herself are somehow not going to work. But again, only Tamekane's speaker knows that she is actually causing her own misery. One is tempted to suggest that Tamekane is conveying a Buddhist truth here about the origin of suffering. In any case, his psychological insights are much deeper than those found in the poems of his more conservative contemporaries, and in this he is the true heir to Narihira, Komachi, and the other poets of the pre-Kanpyō era whom he so admired.[45]

"Tabi no sora"

KU, round 52; GYS 1204: [On the topic of Travel in the Rain]

Tabi no sora	This rainy day of travel
Ame no furu hi wa	The sky so dark I wonder
Kurenu ka to	If already the sun has set,
Omoite nochi mo	But then I continue on,
Yuku zo hisashiki	For I still have far to go.

This work elicited sharp criticism from the author of the *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki*: "Surely a child could have written this poem. The expression 'already the sun has set' [*kurenu*] is like baby talk."[46] To be sure, Tamekane has a tendency toward colloquial or prosy

expression, which shows especially clearly in his Miscellaneous poems.[47] But in order to evaluate this particular work, and its clear-eyed, unromantic view, we need to examine the genre of travel poems more closely.

Perhaps more than any other type of poetry in imperial anthologies, the travel poem changed over the centuries. So numerous are the poems on the subject in *Man'yōshū* that it is all but impossible to isolate a "typical" Man'yō approach to travel. For the most part the Man'yō poets speak of their longing for loved ones left behind; and since it was both an age of overseas journeys and an age that relied heavily on boats for internal transportation, travel poems often have to do with sailing (recall Hitomaro's MYS 255, cited earlier in this chapter). One anonymous poem presages the sort of treatment travel would receive in later times, a traveler feeling the loneliness of the journey all the more keenly on an autumn night, expressing it in elegant terms:[48]

MYS 1165 (old 1161). Anonymous

Ie sakari	As this journey
Tabi ni shi areba	Has taken me far from home,
Akikaze no	On this night
Samuki yūbe ni	In the cold autumn wind
Kari nakiwataru	Calling geese cross the sky.

Kokinshū, as the first imperial anthology, set the standard for those to follow. Though like most later anthologies, it has a separate travel section, the section contains only sixteen poems, and there is no consistency to them: they range from pun-filled efforts by Narihira and Tsurayuki to expressions of longing for the capital. Only one of the sixteen bears any relationship to the sort of travel poems Tamekane and later poets wrote:

KKS 416. Mitsune. Composed on the way to Kai Province

Yo o samumi	Nights are cold;
Oku hatsushimo o	Again and again I brush
Haraitsutsu	The early frosts
Kusa no makura ni	From my pillow of grass—
Amata tabinenu	Yet another night of traveler's sleep.

This is elegant travel. There is nothing colloquial about Mitsune's wording. But he does to some extent address the actual experience

of traveling, and this is something later poets would treat more and more frequently.

It is difficult to say when the travel poem as practiced by poets of the Kamakura period began to evolve. Although *Kin'yōshū* does not have a separate section for travel verses, there are a number of such poems scattered through the collection. Some, like the following, are along the lines of Mitsune's poem:[49]

KYS (2) 176. Chūmei. Composed on the topic of the Moon as a Traveler's Friend

Kusa makura	On this journey,
Kono tabine ni zo	Pillowed by grass,
Omoishiru	I have come to know
Tsuki yori hoka no	That aside from the moon
Tomo nakarikeri	I have no other friends.

Shikashū, too, lacks a separate section on travel, though there is a book of poems on the topic of Parting. None of them, however, is appropriate for the discussion at hand.

By Teika's time, however, the full force of the Shinkokin descriptive style was being applied to travel poetry. This poem bears some resemblance to Tamekane's:[50]

SKKS 956. Minamoto no Ienaga. [Composed as a poem on Travel]

Kyō wa mata	I have crossed
Shiranu nohara ni	Unknown fields and plains
Yukikurenu	Again today—
Izure no yama ka	From beyond which mountaintop
Tsuki wa izuramu	Will the moon rise tonight?

Here at last is a substantial description of travel. To be sure, there is elegance in this traveler's loneliness. Yet we can also imagine the genuine fatigue he must feel after a long day's journey. And his conceit in wondering from which mountain the moon will appear barely conceals his bewilderment at strange surroundings. The repetition of *izu/izu* seems to echo his confusion.

The descriptive approach allows Tamekane's contemporaries (even the conservatives) to treat travel ever more realistically, as in this verse from *Shingosenshū*:

SGSS 576. Hōin Shuzen. From among poems on Travel

Kiri fukaki	Fog lies thick
Yama no shitamichi	On the road at mountain's base.

Wakewabite	I struggle along
Kurenu to tomaru	Till night has fallen and I rest,
Aki no tabibito	A traveler in autumn.

There is hardly any romance left in this kind of travel, though the poet does retain an elevated diction. The last two lines possess a fine rhythm, and the fact that it is autumn makes the whole scene more orthodox from a literary standpoint, for autumn goes so naturally with loneliness.

Considering the criticism Tamekane received for his diction, it is somewhat surprising that *Shokusenzaishū* yields a poem that is hardly less colloquial than Tamekane's effort. Perhaps the poet was forgiven his "faults" because of his high rank and office:[51]

ShokuSZS 814. Takatsukasa Mototada. On the Spirit of Travel

Kurezu tote	I push onward
Sato no tsuzuki wa	Through a succession of villages,
Uchisuginu	Telling myself it's not yet dark.
Kore yori sue ni	From here until journey's end
Yado ya nakaramu	There won't be any lodgings.

One might have expected the Nijō compilers to howl at the word *tsuzuki* ("succession"), let alone the phrase *kurezu tote* ("telling myself it's not yet dark"), of which there are no other examples in the twenty-one imperial anthologies. Furthermore, not only is the diction prosaic, but the poem itself is, if anything, even more realistic than Tamekane's. One might even say it tells us more than we would want to know. Again, perhaps only rank can explain how such a poem would find its way into a Nijō anthology.

Tamekane's sister, Tameko, also wrote a graphic description of travel and was criticized for it, just as her brother was:[52]

GYS 1202. Tameko. On the topic of Evening Rain in the Fields

Ame no ashi mo	In evening wind,
Yokosama ni naru	That blows aslant
Yūkaze ni	Running legs of rain,
Mino fukaseyuku	A traveler crosses the moor,
Nobe no tabibito	Straw cape buffeted about.

The author of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* dismisses this effort curtly: "These poets really seem to have a fondness for expressions based on the word 'slant,' even though people do not use such words.[53] And who would ever want to hear a line like 'straw cape blown

about'?"[54] In fact the scene is quite interesting, and travel is shown as something difficult, if picturesque. As Brower and Miner note, the "legs of rain" expression, borrowed from Chinese, was not new to Japanese literature (it can be found in *Genji Monogatari*, for example), but was unusual for waka.[55]

Having compared Tamekane's poem to the works of other poets, let us conclude by comparing it to another one of his own. The following verse, which immediately precedes "Tabi no sora" in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*, provides a fascinating contrast:

KU, round 51; GYS 1142: On Travel at Night; from a 100-poem sequence formally submitted

Tomarubeki	Ignoring the inn
Yado oba tsuki ni	Where I had planned to stay,
Akugarete	I'm lured on by the moon
Asu no michi yuku	To journey along tomorrow's road,
Yowa no tabibito	Traveler in the deepening night.

This poem is closer to the "orthodox" Kyōgoku style, with a gerund in the third line and parallelism in the last two lines (Tameko's poem has the latter feature, too).

"Tomarubeki" and "Tabi no sora" taken together are like the Yin and Yang of travel poetry—the one bright even though it is night; the other dark even though it is day. The one verse recaptures the romance and often ethereal beauty of travel; the other graphically depicts its misery and loneliness. They are a fitting pair with which to end this examination of some of Tamekane's best works.

Conclusion

One overriding concern of this study has been the relationship between Tamekane the poet and the political conditions in which he became so embroiled. The problem can be broken down into two questions. First, was the split among Tameie's descendants genuinely literary, or was it merely a manifestation of the sort of rivalry that time and again throughout human history has ensued upon the death of a family head? And second, to what extent did Tamekane's political activity affect his career as a poet?

Now, there is no doubt that deep literary differences divided Tamekane and Tameyo. Chapter Six has demonstrated the differences by looking at specific cases, but a general perusal of the imperial anthologies of the period would reveal them as well. At the same time it is also true that certain factors conspired to make the rivalry between the two men more intense than other rivalries in the history of waka. One, of course, was the inheritance dispute. The matter of property rights was vitally important, as was the prestige that the head of the Mikohidari house could command. From Tameyo's standpoint, Tamesuke was trying to cheat him in hard economic terms, and Tamekane was trying to cheat him in terms of prestige. It is no wonder, then, that he reacted with great bitterness.

This leads to a second factor: personality. If a large ego and a quarrelsome nature are inherited characteristics, then perhaps we can blame Teika for the behavior of these two of his great-grandsons, for Teika's proud clashes with Go-Toba are well known. *Tamekanekyōki* and the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō* provide ample evidence that both Tameyo and Tamekane were touchy, proud, and aggressive men. Seemingly no disagreement between them could remain small. As prickly as Tamekane could be, however, Tameyo appears to have been the pettier of the two, as evidenced, among other things, by his refusal to include any poems by Tamekane, or indeed Tameko, in *Shokusenzaishū*. Indeed the fact that Tamekane and Tameko alone among the major Kyōgoku poets were slighted in this way implies that, from Tameyo's standpoint at least, the differences between him and Tamekane were as much personal as poetic.

A third and final factor was the split in the imperial family. The two poetic schools lined up neatly behind one or the other of the imperial lines. Indeed so complete was the factionalism that it is hard to believe poetic differences could account for it entirely. Those few major poets of the day, like Asukai Masaari or Saionji Sanekane, who did not fully belong to one poetry group or the other also had no binding ties (or, as with Sanekane, equally binding ties) to either imperial faction. They had nothing to gain by aligning themselves either politically or poetically. For Tamekane and Tameyo, however, their very existence at court depended on their relationship to their respective imperial lines, and this further widened the rift between them.

In Tamekane's case, his relationship with the Jimyō-in line might in some sense even be considered accidental. His introduction into Crown Prince Fushimi's service was probably due to his connections with Sanekane, whose daughter, Eifukumon-in, was Fushimi's wife. The Kyōgoku group evolved naturally from the literary activities of the Crown Prince's court. It is not as if the young Tamekane went into the situation determined at all costs to forge a poetic school to spite his rival, Tameyo.

As to the second question, one can only say that the relationship between politics and poetry in Tamekane's case was extraordinarily complex. On the one hand, we see a Minister of the Left, Fuyuhira, who was not particularly close to the Kyōgoku group, humbly begging Tamekane's pardon for a breach of etiquette. We see Fu-

shimi making exhaustive efforts to have Tamekane compile an imperial anthology. And we see Hanazono demonstrating something approaching veneration for Tamekane, his guardian and poetry teacher. Surely these heady successes were due, for the most part, to Tamekane's skill as a poet, though his absolute political loyalty no doubt also contributed to the imperial favor he received from Fushimi and Hanazono.

On the other hand, Tamekane was exiled twice, the instigator apparently being not his arch-rival Tameyo, but his sometime ally Sanekane. In fact so thorough was his second disgrace that, apart from a few quotes in Hanazono's diary, nothing written by Tamekane in the last twelve years of his life has survived.* Something more than Tamekane's reputation as a poetic innovator lies behind these disasters.

In short if Tamekane had merely been a skillful poet who refused to get involved in politics (virtually unimaginable in his age), he would surely not have been exiled and disgraced. But he would probably not have been commissioned to do an imperial anthology either.

We can never know whether Tamekane exhausted his political capital in devoted service to his imperial patrons, or whether he did so realizing it was the only way his poetry would survive the ages. In any case, in contrast to Tameyo, who was an adequate, if uninspired, poet, and a fairly successful politician, Tamekane is memorable because he took risks, in both poetry and politics. From our standpoint, his successes in the literary field provide more than adequate justification for his political failures.

* Too late for this book, Professor Andrew Goble informed me that two letters by Tamekane, dated 1320, appear in *Kamakura Ibun*, 35:27492, and 35:27459.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Tamekane's Political Career

The following chronology is based on Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 253–64. The court ranks and titles are those given in McCullough and McCullough; for more information, including the Japanese terms, consult Appendix A and the Index in volume 2 of that work. Dates are given by Western year, month, and day (e.g. 1256 i 7 is the seventh day of the first month of 1256).

1256 i 7	Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade
1258 ii 27	Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade
1259 i 21	Gentleman-in-waiting
1267 i 5	Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade
1268 xii 2	Lesser Captain of the Right
1270 i 6	Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade
1275 i 6	Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade
1275 x 8	Lesser Captain of the Left
1278 i 6	Senior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade
1278 ii 8	Assistant Governor of Tosa
1278 iv 11	Middle Captain of the Right
by 1280 xii 15	Middle Captain of the Left
1288 vii 11	Head Chamberlain
1289 i 13	Consultant
1289 iv 29	Junior Third Rank
1290 i 13	Provisional Governor of Sanuki
1290 vi 8	Commander of the Military Guards of the Right
1290 xi 27	Commander of the Gate Guards of the Right
1290 xii 8	Senior Third Rank
1291 vii 29	Provisional Middle Counselor

1292 vii 28	Junior Second Rank
1294 i 6	Senior Second Rank
1296 v 15	Resigned as Provisional Middle Counselor
1298 iii 16	Exiled to Sadō
1303 -iv	Returned to Kyoto
1310 xii 28	Provisional Major Counselor
1311 xii 21	Resigned as Provisional Major Counselor (To work on the *Gyokuyōshū*)
1313 x 17	Entered priesthood
1315 xii 28	Arrested by Rokuhara
1316 ii	Exiled to Tosa

Appendix B

Excerpts from Contemporary Documents

'HANAZONO TENNŌ SHINKI'

Hanazono (1297–1348), Fushimi's son and Go-Fushimi's younger brother, reigned from 1308 to 1318, a decade that marked the highest and lowest points in Tamekane's life. A partisan of the Kyōgoku school, he was one of Tamekane's best poetry students and most loyal supporters. He oversaw the compilation of *Fūgashū*, which was presented in 1346. The diary that he kept, called *Hanazono Tennō Shinki*, covers the years from 1310 to 1332 and tells much about the poetry scene in his time. The two entries below are of particular relevance to Tamekane.[1]

The first, from 1324, includes some lively criticism of Nijō Tameyo, as well as Hanazono's defense of Tamekane—that poetry and politics are separate spheres, that whatever political mistakes Tamekane may have made, they should not affect how we see him as a poet. The second is an obituary for Tamekane, written a few days after his death in the third month of 1332. It contains the backbone of our extant biographical information on Tamekane, including a clear-eyed look at some of his personal weaknesses. It also explores such critical issues as the relationship between politics and art, religion and poetry.

Genkō 4 (1324) vii 26. My illness did not show any symptoms all day. Today I summoned the medium Jōsen Hōnin. There is precedent for a high-ranking person to combine sutra-chanting and prayers to the Shinto gods, and to use a medium. I rewarded Jōsen with an ox, a horse, and a set of robes, and he left. At nightfall the fever started again, but it was not very high. My mind and spirit have been no different than usual. Since this began I have been running a fever every other day, but it has not been very high.

On the [illegible] of this month, the Minister of Popular Affairs Tamefuji died. It was either from ague or typhus they say. I have recorded more about him on the back of this page.

(The following was written on the back of the above page.[2])

Tamefuji was the second son of the former Major Counselor Tameyo. At first he became the adopted son of Lord Tameo, but after Tamemichi's early death he became the head of the Nijō family.[3] He moved up through the office of Head Chamberlain to Consultant. After that he became a Middle Captain, the first in his family to do so.[4] People considered his fortunes to be prospering.

In 1312, when Lord Tamekane, under imperial commission, presented *Gyokuyō Wakashū*, Lord Tameyo repeatedly filed formal complaints, saying it ran against principle. Some years later, after Tamekane was involved in that affair and exiled, Tameyo returned to his duties.[5] For some reason he was awarded the Third Rank, so complaining that he was being neglected, he retired. Thereupon he was formally promoted on the same day. People felt he was being shown excessive imperial favor.

The present Emperor [Go-Daigo] made Tamefuji a Provisional Middle Counselor and this year promoted him to permanent Middle Counselor. Last year he received an imperial commission to compile a poetic anthology. There is no precedent for giving a son such a commission while his father is still alive. Why should he work alone?[6] Though some people admire his artistic talent, it really is not that remarkable. What with his untimely and unforeseen death, we should show more respect for the Way of Poetry. Hereafter, should we not be more careful about matters of poetry?

It goes without saying that Lords Tamesuke, Masataka, and Takanori were very upset by Tamefuji's death.[7] They told me, "Tameyo has said, 'Tamefuji's poetry was rather unlike that of his ancestors. This is the reason for his unfortunate early death.' In fact, as for the anthology, using Tamefuji as a front,[8] Tameyo actually chose the poems." They also said, "How can such a thing be allowed to happen? After all, there is a difference between father and son. The time was supposed to be right for *Tamefuji*, not his father."

Tameyo's poetry does not show even the slightest understanding of the old style. He is completely in the dark about the essence [*hon-i*] of it. At least Tamefuji made some effort to find out about the essential nature [*hon-i*] of poetry, and in this he was different from his father. How sad! Tamefuji had little talent, while his father Tameyo has no understanding of poetry's essential nature.

As for the various arts, no one today understands their origins [*hon-i*]. People are interested in discussing just the most recent poetry. Only the late Fushimi and Lord Tamekane lamented the decline of the Way of Poetry, and they gradually turned back to the old style.

Through poetry Tamekane became a close attendant of then Crown Prince Fushimi. But by and by he abused his favor, and because of this he

was forced to resign.[9] People said that he used poetry to rebel against the Emperor and because of this, disaster befell him. But this is a foolish thing to say. His crime was the abuse of power. How can that be blamed on poetry? Poetry was, from the beginning, for the purpose of enlightening the lord. Yi Yin carried his kettle and cutting board, but after he entered the government he was no longer prized for his cooking. Ning Qi beat on his cattle horns, but no one debated the right and wrong of his songs.[10] To be exiled because of a political disturbance—what relation does this have with the right and wrong of poetry?

Some foolish people say that Tameyo follows his own path of poetry. But one's beliefs toward poetry are an indication of whether one is in accord with the will of Heaven. One should fear this will, for in the next life judgment will surely be made on one. The Emperor Go-Daigo came to understand the true essence of poetry through Confucianism. Since Tameyo's attitudes toward poetry are shallow, however, they are not of much use. Tamefuji, at least, tried to discover the essence [*hon-i*] of poetry. Is it not time these things were said?

Now, I am not very good with words and am not fit for the Way of Poetry, but some of the things the late Retired Emperor Fushimi and Lord Tamekane taught me have sunk in. As I recall, their teachings were in accord with Buddhism and Confucianism, for the two masters put faith in those beliefs. As for Tameyo's understanding of such things, it is like a drop of water compared with the great sea. One cannot call them the same thing. People still do not comprehend the truth of this. What a pity!

Genkō 2 (1332) iii 24. The day is the Younger Brother of Water. It is the Hour of the Snake [9:00 A.M.–11:00 A.M.]. Clear.

Today I heard from Lord Tamemoto that the Major Counselor and Retired Priest Tamekane died this past twenty-first.[11]

Tamekane was the son of Tamenori, Captain of the Right Military Guards. In his youth he was close to his grandfather Tameie. Having received from Tameie careful instruction in poetry, he possessed a natural-born verse style [*fūkotsu*], and his talent stood out. When Fushimi was the Crown Prince, he showed a fondness for poetry. Therefore he would summon Tamekane to do night duty at the palace, and after he became Emperor, he promoted Tamekane to Head Chamberlain and then Middle Counselor.

Tamekane served his lord through poetry. He also acted as Fushimi's agent in political matters, and people maligned him for it. Kantō [the Kamakura Bakufu] ordered him to withdraw from public life, and he resigned his offices. But even after he went into confinement, there were more accusations that he was taking part in a plot at a remove, so the military government exiled him to Sadō.

After several years he returned to Kyoto and became intimate with Fushimi, as before. He surpassed his peers in his determination to honor his lord. Because of this he was favored.

In the Shōwa era [1312–17] Tamekane acted as *jōju* [a sort of elder guarantor] at my coming-of-age ceremony. Thereafter he was appointed Provisional Major Counselor. Shortly after Fushimi took the tonsure, Tamekane followed suit, accomplishing a long-cherished desire. He had been the godfather[12] of both Go-Fushimi and myself.

His elder sister, Major Counselor of the Second Rank Tameko, was also a very talented poet.[13] She served Eifukumon-in and was her closest lady-in-waiting in the Enkyō era [1308–11]. Both brother and sister had a great deal of prestige.

In Tamekane's youth he was supported by the Lay Priest and Prime Minister Sanekane, and was treated more or less as a retainer. But in later years, because Tamekane enjoyed the favor of Fushimi, he and Sanekane had a falling out, became angry with each other, and in the winter of 1317,[14] owing to Sanekane's accusations, Kantō again exiled Tamekane, this time to Tosa Province.

In recent years the attitude against him relaxed a little, so Tamekane moved up to Izumi Province and asked Retired Emperor Go-Fushimi for a pardon. But my brother's advisers made accusations against Tamekane and blocked the move. As a result, there was no pardon. Tamekane, proud of the favor Fushimi had shown him, showed defiance toward Go-Fushimi. Toward me he has been very loyal. But because he turned his back on the Retired Emperor Go-Fushimi, he has been in trouble since the Shōwa era.[15]

At the time of his exile he entrusted to me some ninety lines about poetry, to which he attached this note: "You may let Nobukane, Norikane, Tamemoto, and the others have a look at this when their level of ability warrants it.[16] I am leaving it to your care. It is for that reason I have written it."

At that time I was still young and didn't know much about the Way of Poetry. But from that time on, those ideas have had a far-reaching influence on me. I have also pondered deeply on the Buddhist scriptures, and here too the opinions of the late Retired Emperor Fushimi and Lord Tamekane were truly profound.

Ordinary people don't understand these religious truths. Tameyo, who claims the main descent from Shunzei and Teika, has no idea of such things. They just made no impression on him. He jealously holds to the Six Genres of poetry and cannot see the true meaning of the art.[17] Yet most of the world follows him, and the true Way of Poetry is gradually being abandoned. Only the Lay Priest and Prime Minister Sanekane understood the importance of these truths, and he could not abide Tameyo. He did not abandon the Way. But these other people—aristocrats, warriors, and commoners—follow Tameyo, getting official poetry names from him as his disciples. But none of them can distinguish right from wrong. Alas, how lamentable!

In recent years I have met with the holy man of Sōko and learned the tenets of religion. I have also met with Shinsō Hōnin and heard the doctrines of Tendai.[18] I have perused the Five Classics[19] and have come to understand the doctrine of Confucianism. With this knowledge I have

thought anew about the Way of Poetry. Truly the distinction between right and wrong in poetry is like that between heaven and earth.

With this understanding I composed a roll of poems last year and sent them to Izumi, through Tamemoto, for Tamekane to look over. Ten days or so later Tamemoto returned to the capital and relayed Tamekane's remarks to me: "Your interest in poetry is truly marvelous. You've achieved a deep understanding of its principles. Your grasp of them is not in the slightest inferior to that of the late Retired Emperor Fushimi. There are no points on which it differs. You sent me just a few poems, and while there may be a little work to be done on the diction, there is nothing inadequate about the basic feeling expressed. Since you have reached this point, there is no more need for you to ask my advice on your poems in the future." With this he certified me a poetry master.

My joy was unparalleled. I myself had feared that these poems I had written had little merit. I wondered whether or not they lived up to the Buddhist scriptures. On this point I had doubts. But now, in fact, I had Tamekane's blessing. My work indeed contained the true essence of poetry! And with this I shall learn more and more about the true Buddhist teachings. As for the right and wrong of poetry, when I write two or three hundred verses, no more than ten receive negative marks. Such is the joy to be found in the Way of Poetry. Upon reflecting on what he meant by his corrections, I was able to see even more about the essence of poetry, for I trusted his judgment.

Eifukumon-in is also extremely talented. When Fushimi was alive she was his favorite, and she studied poetry with him. No one can match her poems for elegance and grace. Yet at times her verses are somewhat shallow in feeling, however graceful on the surface. This is one of her weak points.[20] I sent Tamekane one or two rolls from a poetry contest that she had judged and added some of my own comments. I saw from his reply that he and I were of the same opinion, and I felt I really had reached his level of understanding.

Lord Tamemoto went on to say: "Lord Tamekane told me, 'Although I knew that His Majesty [Hanazono] had ability in poetry, it is remarkable that he has progressed so far in the inner meanings of the art, even though the secret teachings I entrusted with him at the time of my departure were not all that deep.' I replied, 'Although there is no such thing as a Buddhist sermon on poetry, His Majesty's spirit has deepened with the study of the Dharma, so perhaps this is the reason for his progress.' To this Tamekane said, 'If this is so then he can never go wrong in his poetry, for there is no difference between the Dharma and the Way of Poetry.'"

When I heard this, my faith was strengthened all the more. But there is nothing to be gained by writing further about this.

In any case the Way of Poetry is headed for extinction. Hereafter, if anyone still tries to practice it, it will be difficult for him to learn right from wrong. This is because the way to know poetry is through an understanding of the religious writings. Let me explain this briefly. The Confucian and Buddhist ways are difficult to grasp. Poets today do not realize the care

with which the ancients approached poetry and cannot know therefore the true Way of Poetry. Kōbō Daishi's *Bunpitsu Ganshinshō* and *Shijin Gyokusetsu* expound on the inner meaning of poetry and religion fully, and the selections in Lord Shunzei's *Korai Fūteishō* show the essence of the poetic art.[21] If one reads such works, things will become clear by themselves. This is also true of Lord Teika's *Hekianshō*.[22] *Korai Fūteishō*, in particular, conveys the true essence of things. The wisdom is there for people to learn if they can.

I shall go back to the beginning. Tamekane was accomplished in the fields of poetry and kickball [*kemari*]. These two arts, in which his family had specialized for generations, became the means by which he served the Emperor [Fushimi] as an intimate for many years.[23] His love for his lord was unsurpassed and as a result he received unusual favor from the Emperor. Yet his was basically a jealous nature. He accused those who disagreed with him of disloyalty and showed no fear of even the most powerful of families. His sincere love for his Emperor drove him to near-fanatic loyalty. He pushed secrecy to a vice. However, because of his virtues, people forgave him this.

Tameyo was also outstandingly talented in kickball, and because of this he and Tamekane were quite friendly. There never used to be any conflict between them. But in the field of poetry Tamekane began to resent Tameyo, who represented the legitimate line of Teika's descendants, because Tamekane felt he himself was in no way inferior as a poet.

When Tamekane was commissioned to compile *Gyokuyōshū*, Tameyo filed a formal complaint,[24] and from that time the two were sworn enemies.

Tameyo's followers pointed to Tamekane's crime and demotion and said it was proof that his approach to poetry was wrong and not favored by the gods. I think that is mistaken. The cause of his disgrace was his political activity. There can be no doubt about that, judging from the orders Kantō issued.

Poetry is what moves heaven and earth, and excites the emotions of gods and demons.[25] No matter what crimes one commits elsewhere, how can it affect the relationship between the divine and poetry? People seem to doubt this. Now I am not very knowledgeable about the Way of Poetry, but I cannot believe that poetry is affected at all by whether it is written by a saintly and virtuous person or by someone who slanders others with malicious intent; nor is it affected by an inauspicious death. Even if a man is favored by the gods in the one art of poetry, doesn't it stand to reason that he will nonetheless be punished like anyone else if his ordinary behavior is wrong? So long as the gods are not treated disrespectfully by the poet, why should they deny him their protection in poetry? Only the stupidest of people would think they should. Moreover, the late Retired Emperor Fushimi deeply revered Tamekane's approach to poetry. Yet would anyone dare say he suffered misfortune because of it? People simply do not understand the workings of the Way of Poetry. Now Tamekane is dead. Will true poetry disappear completely? How sad it is! How sad.

'NAKATSUKASA NO NAISHI NIKKI'

The author of this entry, Fujiwara Noriko (or Keishi; fl. 1252?–92?), served as a Handmaid (Naishi) in Fushimi's court. Her diary covers the years 1280–92, spanning Fushimi's later years as Crown Prince and early years as Emperor. The entry describes events of Kōan 6 (1283) iv 19–20.[26]

As life passes by, there are often events that one can somehow never forget. A few of them are enough to move one to tears, so precious that one will always remember them. One such occurred on the nineteenth night, fourth month, of 1283.

Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa had returned from his usual visit to the Saga Palace. After he had withdrawn to his chamber, Crown Prince Fushimi, in a reflective mood, went off to the southern part of the residence, taking only the Tsuchimikado Captain with him to appreciate the night scenery.[27] The orange blossoms were in full bloom there, scenting the air with memories, and the two men decided to wait for the cuckoo's song. As hard as they listened, though, they heard only one brief trill and were left unsatisfied.

At that point the Crown Prince wondered whether Middle Captain of the Left Tamekane, who had for some reason not been to the palace for quite a long time, had also heard that single note as he lay awake looking at the moon in the dawning sky; perhaps, at least, it had come to him in a dream. The Crown Prince recited a poem for Tamekane:

Omoiyaru	I think of you
Nezameya ika ni	Lying awake, perhaps,
Hototogisu	As the cuckoo
Nakite suginuru	Sings out, then flies on
Ariake no sora	Across the dawning sky.

[The lady-in-waiting] Naishi Dono wrote the words down by the faint light of the dawn moon and attached them to a branch of orange blossoms. There was no proper messenger to be found, so since it would soon be light, the Tsuchimikado Captain set out on horseback alone to deliver the poem to Tamekane. Upon arriving, he dismounted and, holding the reins of the horse himself, knocked on the gate. It did not open for quite some time. The fact that day was gradually breaking must have made the scene all the more charming.

Naturally Tamekane was surprised when he opened the gate. Since even an ordinary message of concern is delightful, how overwhelmed he must have been by the sign of profound imperial favor and the implication that he was "one who knows"![28] How thrilled he must have felt to receive an imperial messenger! As one who also serves the Crown Prince, could I not but feel a touch of envy at the honor that would surely remain in his heart for the rest of his life? Yet even I could imagine his joy. As it slowly grew light, the messenger returned with Tamekane's reply:

Miya no uchi
Nakite sugikeru
Hototogisu
Matsuyadogara wa
Ima mo tsurenashi

A cuckoo
Sang at the palace
Then flew on;
Yet my humble dwelling
Remains untouched by its song.[29]

That day Tamekane sent the Tsuchimikado Captain the following *chōka*:

Ashibiki no
Yama hototogisu
Shiite nao
Matsu wa
tsurenaku
Fukuru yo ni
To bakari tataku
Maki no to wa
Aranu kuina to
Tazunureba
Shigeki kusaba no
Tsuyu harai
Wakeiru hito no
Sugata sae
Omoi mo yoranu
Ori ni shi mo
Ito mo kashikoki
Nasake tote
Tsutae nobetsuru
Koto no ha o
Wa ga mi ni amaru
Kokochi shite
Ge ni yo ni shiranu
Ariake no
Tsuki ni todomuru
Nagori made koso
Omokage no
Wasurekanenure
Koto no ha ni
Ika ni iite mo
Kai zo naki
Arawarenubeki
Kokoro naraneba

Cuckoo
From foot-dragging mountains—
I've made myself
Await its song, in vain.
In the deepening night,
Only a faint tapping at my gate,
My wooden gate—
"Nothing, just a *kuina* bird," I
thought,
Yet when I went to see,
There was a man,
Parting the thick grasses,
Brushing away the dew,
His appearance,
So unexpected,
But his timing so right!
How awe-inspiring
The news he brought
Of imperial favor!
His words
Were overwhelming
To one like myself.
Surely the world has never known
A daybreak such as this!
Even now, as reminder,
The shadow of this messenger
Lingers in dawn's moonlight.
I cannot forget!
However I try
To put it into words . . .
In vain!
For it is a feeling
That may not be expressed.

The Captain Tomoaki sent this in reply:[30]

Hisakata no
Tsuki no katsura no

As though from shadows
Of the laurel tree

Kage ni shi mo	On the sharp, bright moon
Toki shi mo are to	A cuckoo,
Hototogisu	In season, sings out
Hitokoe nanoru	Its name but once.
Ariake no	In moonlit dawn
Tsukige no koma ni	I come on a horse
Makasetsutsu	Colored faintly peach.
Ito mo kashikoki	Awe-inspiring
Tamazusa o	The message I bear;
Hitori aru niwa no	It leads me
Shirube nite	To a lonely dwelling.
Tazuneshi yado no	Deep the grasses
Kusa fukami	At this place;
Fukaki nasake o	Deep His Majesty's love.
Tsutaeteshi ni	Your delight
Tamoto ni amaru	At the message brought—
Ureshisa wa	Tears on sleeves;
Yoso made mo ge ni	I, too, was moved.
Shirakumo no	Through gaps in white clouds
Taema ni hikage	Sunlight falls,
Honomekite	Faintly glimmering
Asa oku tsuyu no	Upon dew settled
Tamaboko no	Over the spear-straight road.
Michiyuku hito no	Along this road my speed
Kurehatori	Was rare as figured cloth
Ayashiki made ni	From the looms of Kure.
Isogitsuru	I hurried,
Sono kai arite	And not in vain,
Chihayaburu	For you were awake
Kamishimo tomo ni	Awaiting His Awesome Majesty's
Okiitsutsu	Poetic message to his subject.
Matsu ni tsukete mo	He pines for you
Sumiyoshi no	Like the pines of Sumiyoshi's coast
Kishi ni ounaru	Where grow grasses
Kusa no na o	Of forgetfulness;
Wasuregatami no	Yet hard to forget,
Omoiide ya	This memory!
Kore arawareba	Should this story be known
[missing line][31]	
Nakanaka ika ni	How envious
Uramimashi	Some would be.
Kokoro ni komuru	It shall remain
Wasuregatami o	A secret keepsake in my heart.

Naishi Dono then sent this poem to Tamekane using the Captain as her messenger:

Toki shi mo are — In season's blossom now
Mikaki ni niou — Orange tree at the palace wall
Tachibana no — Sends out its scent.
Kaze ni tsukete mo — Go, by wind if need be,
Hito no toekashi — Seek out the one we miss!

To which Tamekane replied:

Mezurashiki — Delightful
Sono koto no ha mo — These rare words from you.
Mi ni shimu wa — They move me deeply
Ariake no sora ni — Like the memory-laden scent
Niou tachibana — Of orange blossoms in dawn air.

On the twentieth Tamekane then sent this to Naishi Dono:

Ika naran — In what life
Yo ni ka wasuren — Could I ever forget
Tachibana no — The concern you told of at dawn?
Nioi mo fukaki — Deep it was, like the scent
Kesa no nasake o — Of orange blossoms.

The following was her reply:

Tachibana no — You compared my concern
Nioi ni taguu — To the scent
Nasake ni mo — Of orange blossoms.
Koto tou ima zo — By this now I know
Omoi shiraruru — The depth of your feelings.

EXCERPTS FROM THE 'ENKYŌ RYŌKYŌ SOCHINJŌ'

When, in 1310, Tameyo learned that Tamekane, claiming that Fushimi's commission of 1293 had never lapsed, planned to submit as an imperial anthology a collection he had been working on alone for some years, the Nijō poet angrily filed formal suit to stop the project. The two men debated the issue in an exchange of three sets of suits and countersuits over the next seven months.

Only portions of these suits remain today, gathered into a document known as the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*.[32] To give a sense of what and how the two men debated, I shall enumerate a few of the issues over which they were at odds, and quote excerpts from their arguments as recorded in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*. The points are given below in roughly the same order they appear in the text, except for one case, where I have cited a passage out of sequence in order to keep the issues distinct from one another. It should be kept in mind that Tamekane's remarks were extracted by Tameyo from Tamekane's second countersuit, while Tameyo's comments are from his third suit.

1. In one of his earlier suits, Tameyo had evidently argued that two facts—the

premature deaths of two of the four men involved in the original 1293 commission, and the exile of Tamekane—were bad omens for the project, which should therefore be abandoned:

[*Tamekane's position*] Masaari and Takahiro have died. If you include occasions since *Kokinshū*, there are other cases of compilers being unable to finish their work because of death, so although these deaths have occurred, they cannot be considered unlucky for this collection. There are the cases of Ki no Tomonori and *Kokinshū*, Jakuren and *Shinkokinshū*, and Ieyoshi and *Shokukokinshū*. After the collection under consideration here was ordered in 1293, several years passed and two of the compilers died, which is in the natural course of things. As for my exile and the fact that it should not have happened, I have discussed this in my earlier petition. Tameyo is just splitting hairs.

[*Tameyo's response*] In the cases of *Shinkokinshū* and *Shokukokinshū*, only one out of the many compilers chosen for each anthology died. But of the four compilers commissioned in 1293, three became unable to do the work. So the other cases are not appropriate examples, are they? As for *Kokinshū*, Tomonori did not die while they were actually compiling the poems but before. We know this because Tsurayuki, Tadamine, and others wrote poems of lament for Tomonori which appear in the collection. . . .

Furthermore, there is the issue of Tamekane's exile. This is certainly not a matter of splitting hairs. If he really was sent off without any grounds for punishment, why was he formally charged by Kantō? I have never heard of such a thing.[33] I submit that even just on the basis of Tamekane's having been exiled he should not compile the anthology.[34]

2. The two poets disputed the issue of divine protection for poetry.

[*Tamekane's position*] Our land is the land of the gods. Waka is the manner of expression in this land of the gods. When this manner of expression is in disorder, all under heaven is in disorder. If this manner of expression is well ordered, all under heaven is well ordered. It is through the gods . . . that the right and wrong of waka, the truth or falsehood of oneself or others, is revealed as it really is.[35]

[*Tameyo's response*] Let us look at the particulars of Tamekane's statement. He says that whether the world is ordered or disordered depends on waka, the manner of expression in this land of the gods. His words are right in principle, but his heart is a thousand miles away from the essential truth of this statement. What is the reason for this? What I have learned is right; what that lord maintains is wrong. Those who hold to what is right in waka receive the gods' favor. Those who hold to what is wrong do not. How do I know this? Tamekane was unable to complete his previous commission, but was severely punished, and a stain was put on his name. . . .

As for someone previously exiled becoming a compiler, there is no precedent to follow from ancient times down to today. Tamekane himself says it is wrong to invite disaster and right to act safely. When Tamekane re-

ceived the earlier commission, the gods . . . did not accept this injustice.[36] This is clear proof. . . .

I received a commission to compile an anthology [*Shingosenshū*], and from the time of the commission to the time I submitted the collection, the whole nation was at peace. This was due to the blessings of our ancestors, the blessings of the gods and Buddhas, and the high standing of my family. . . .

That the poetry masters' original purpose and the language they have used through the ages is touched with the divine—is this miracle not clear? Tamekane makes light of and ridicules the language of the great poets of the past. He violates the Way of Language. Others look askance at him. Since his evil past cannot be changed, will not retribution certainly follow if he is allowed to compile the collection?[37]

3. In one of his earlier suits, Tameyo labeled Tamekane "illegitimate" (*shoshi*, that is, not of the line of the eldest son), and therefore ineligible to compile an imperial anthology.

[*Tamekane's position*] Tameyo's suggestion that an "illegitimate" son has never compiled an imperial anthology is scurrilous. I do not think he has any particular example to give as proof. What precedent does he have for saying an illegitimate son should not be named? He is running out of arguments; he will try anything. To violate the principles of right and wrong like that will be ineffective. . . . The Way of Poetry does not depend on whether one is "legitimate" or "illegitimate"; it does not have any connection with official status. In *Senzaishū*, Lord Nariie, though he was the eldest son and head of his house, had only two poems included.[38] Lord Teika, who was "illegitimate" and of low rank, had eight poems included. Palace Minister Yoshimichi, although he too was the eldest son and head of his house, had only four poems included, while the Go-Kyōgoku Regent Yoshitsune (Middle Captain of the Right Bodyguards at the time), who was an "illegitimate" son, had eight poems entered.[39] From these examples it is clear that court rank is not relevant, nor is being a "legitimate" or "illegitimate" offspring. . . .

[*Tameyo's response*] My charge is that there is no precedent for commissioning an illegitimate son whose work was interrupted and overlooking a legitimate son who has always completed his commissions. If we stop to consider Tamekane's examples, we see that they miss the point. As for Lord Nariie, it is true that though he was the eldest son, his works barely pollute *Senzaishū*. But he never participated in palace poetry parties, nor was his work included in later anthologies. If he had had all that much learning would he not have been used by his lord? Would he not have been recognized by his father? . . . As for Teika and Nariie, regardless of the question of legitimacy or illegitimacy, it is obvious that the real issue is having talent or no talent. Just think of the number of poems Teika composed. . . . As for Yoshimichi, the reason for his only having four poems

included is that his talents lay elsewhere, not in poetry. Are these any standards to base an argument on?[40]

4. The two men debate the question of talent and qualifications.

[*Tamekane's position*] I have been singled out and honored with this commission not because of rank or position but because of talent. It would be hard to find objections to this. How can anyone continue to cast aspersions merely out of spite? Does Tameyo really believe that a commission should be granted solely on the basis of high office and family headship? His lack of learning about the Way of Poetry is shameful and regrettable. It would be wrong to honor such a person. . . .[41]

Furthermore, according to Teika's writings, which are clear on this point, talent does not rely on one's writing a thousand or ten thousand poems. With just ten or twenty verses, one can tell if the poet has learned the teachings and can separate good from bad.[42]

[*Tameyo's response*] As for Tamekane's charge that I am of inadequate learning, is it not natural that we do not live up to our ancestors? Nevertheless, I began studying the Way of Poetry at the age of fifteen; my grandfather Tameie taught me the history of poetry. During that time he instructed me in the *Sandaishū* [i.e. *Kokinshū*, *Gosenshū*, and *Shūishū*] and in the traditional practices regarding compilation. Whenever he was giving instructions to visitors he would summon me, too, and have me listen. And at his deathbed, I received further instructions concerning the *Sandaishū*. . . . For more than fifty years, my late father was in daily attendance on my late grandfather, and for more than thirty years I was in daily attendance on my late father. We could not help having discussed our family vocation [poetry] during all that time. Everyone knows this. . . . The most Tamekane can claim is having studied with Tameie from 1270 to 1275, which is as different as night and day.[43]

Appendix C

A Count of Tamekane's Extant Poems

Until the discovery of a number of draft poems on the back of the manuscript of Prince Go-Sukō-in's diary in the 1960's, it was generally thought that only about 530 of Tamekane's poems had survived. By piecing together various sources, I have been able to account for 720 poems that are generally agreed to be by him.[1] Future research may well add to the total.* For example, more than 200 poems in the over 1,000 poems in the *Tamekanekyō Kashū* have yet to be positively attributed to anyone. Furthermore, 57 of the poems in the *Fubokushō* have been attributed to Tamekane, though without much certainty. Likewise, some of the poems in the *Nigonshō* are thought to be Tamekane's, but so far no proof exists.[2]

* Too late to be included in this book, I obtained a copy of a new work by Iwasa Miyoko that contains an extremely detailed catalogue of Tamakane's known waka. Iwasa has found 827, not counting duplicates with slightly altered wording. See Iwasa Miyoko, *Kyōgokuha Waka no Kenkyū* (Kasama Shoin, 1987), pp. 515–601.

Category	Number		Category	Number	
Imperial anthologies[a]			The Sado exile		
Shokushūishū	2		Sado exile acrostic	33	
Shingosenshū	9		"Namo hakusan" acrostic	25	
Gyokuyōshū	36		"Amida Butsu" acrostic	12	
Fūgashū	52		*Shika Hyakushu*	98	
Shinsenzaishū	16		SUBTOTAL		168
Shinshūishū	8				
Shingoshūishū	6		*Kanmon Gyoki Shihai Bunsho*[g]		244
Shinshokukokinshū	3				
SUBTOTAL		132	Miscellaneous		
			Poems dedicated at Kōyasan	6	
Poetry contests			*Tamekanekyōki*[h]	5	
Kōan Hachinen Uta-awase[b]	8		*Izayoi Nikki*	1	
Sentō Gojūban Uta-awase[c]	5		*Nakatsukasa no Naishi Nikki*[i]	5	
Kengen Ninen Gogatsu Yokka Uta-awase	3		*Tamekanekyō Kashū*	58	
Tamekanekyōke Uta-awase	12		SUBTOTAL		75
Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase[d]	5		TOTAL		720
Einin Gonen Tōza Uta-awase (judgments)[e]	30				
Kingyoku Uta-awase[f]	38				
SUBTOTAL		101			

SOURCE: Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 215, 219–20, 227–60, except as noted.

[a] Counts verified by Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, p. 447.

[b] Taniyama et al., pp. 153–67. Excludes 1 poem (of Taniyama et al.'s 9) counted in the *Kingyoku Uta-awase*.

[c] Contest listed in Ariyoshi, p. 180, as *Kengen Ninen Urūshigatsu Nijūkunichi Sentō Gojūban Uta-awase*.

[d] Count and text from Fukuda and Inoue, pp. 69–82.

[e] This contest probably took place in 1303 or 1304, not in 1297 (Einin 5). In fact, Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, p. 440, calls it *Fushimi-in Shinpitsu Sanjūban Uta-awase*, rather than the traditional name listed here and in Ariyoshi, p. 61.

[f] Excludes 22 poems counted in one or other of the Kyōgoku anthologies.

[g] Total from Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, p. 70, in preference to the 230 in Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 68. On pp. 70–94 of Iwasa's chapter on Tamekane, she records well over half of these poems. The original text is not in good condition, and most of the poems are missing at least one or two characters.

[h] Text of these poems can be found in Hamaguchi and Ogawa, pp. 58, 62, 63, as well as in Toki, *Shinshū*.

[i] Text can be found in Tamai, pp. 14–16.

Appendix D

Tamekane's Sixty Poems from the 'Kingyoku Uta-awase'

This appendix presents Tamekane's sixty poems from the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* as a representative sample of his work. In this contest, in which Fushimi was Tamekane's "opponent," the rounds were divided into the six standard categories of spring, summer, autumn, winter, love, and miscellaneous, and both unity and progression were observed within each category, so the effect is quite close to that of a one-hundred-poem sequence. Furthermore, the poems are of a high standard, which makes them a more suitable example of Tamekane's work than, say, the *Shika Hyakushu*, the only other known sequence by Tamekane.[1]

SPRING

[1]	Sora wa nao	Across the sky
	Yukige nagara no	Morning clouds look more
	Asagumori	Like clouds of snow;
	Kumoru to miru mo	Yet as I watch them roll in,
	Kasumi narikeri	I realize they are mists.
[2]	Shizumi hatsuru	At the very moment
	Irihi no kiwa ni	The setting sun sinks
	Arawarete	It shows itself
	Kasumeru yama no	Emerging from misted mountains—
	Nao oku no mine	That innermost peak.[2]

[3] Ume ga ka wa
Makura ni michite
Uguisu no
Koe yori akuru
Mado no shinonome

Scent of plum blossoms
Suffuses my pillow;
Then with bush warbler's song
Day breaks, brightening
My open window.[3]

[4] Kasumi kururu
Yūhi no sora ni
Furisomete
Shizuka ni nareru
Yoi no harusame

Through tinted mists drawn
Across an evening sunlit sky
It begins to fall,
And everything grows still
In spring rain at night.

[5] Ume ga e wa
Mutsuki no koro no
Hana ni shite
Sakura wa sue no
Yayoi kisaragi

Plum tree branches
Put forth their blossoms
Around the first month,
Then cherries bloom in the third
Or toward second month's end.

[6] Kasumi fukami
Shirarenu kumo mo
Tachi ya sou
Nodokeki sora wa
Ame ni narinuru

So thick the mist
That clouds must have built up
Unseen beyond it,
For now the placid sky
Is filled with sudden rain.

[7] Omoisomeki
Yotsu no toki ni wa
Hana no haru
Haru no uchi ni wa
Akebono no sora

I've come to realize
That among the four seasons
It is flowering spring;
And of spring, most of all,
The sky at dawn . . .[4]

[8] Haru goto ni
Hana no tokoro o
Tazunete mo
Minu oku nokoru
Miyoshino no yama

Though each spring
We may come to visit
This place of flowers,
Some ever remain unseen
Deep in the Yoshino mountains.

[9] Hoka made wa
Sasowanu hana no
Nasake soete
Ko no moto meguru
Niwa no harukaze

As yet untouched,
Those outermost flowers
Excite concern,
For now spring winds in the garden
Are whirling about the tree trunks.

[10] Meguriyukaba
Haru ni wa mata mo
Au tote mo
Kyō no koyoi wa
Nochi ni shimo araji

If we live one more year
We'll see another spring—
So they say, and yet
Surely there will never be
Another night like this one.[5]

SUMMER

[11] Yūzukuyo
U no hanagaki ni
Kageroite
Nokiba ni chikaku
Kuina naku nari

Under evening moonlight
A spray of deutzia blossoms
Shimmers on the fence,
Then close to the eaves
A *kuina* bird taps out its call.[6]

[12] Hototogisu
Hito no madoromu
Hodo tote ya
Shinoburu koro wa
Fukete koso nake

O cuckoo—
Perhaps you think that
People have dozed off
And so you sing out just now
When my longings deepen with the night.[7]

[13] Samidare wa
Tokorodokoro ni
Takiochite
Minu yamagawa no
Kazu zo soeyuku

Early summer rains
Fall in cascades
Here and there,
Swelling the flow
Of unseen mountain streams.

[14] Kawa mukai
Yanagi no atari
Mizu miete
Suzushiki kage ni
Sagi asobu nari

Water seen
Around willow trees
That line the river,
And herons sport
In the cooling shade.

[15] Aomiwataru
Shibafu no iro mo
Suzushiki wa
Tsubana sa yurugu
Natsu no yūgure

Spreading green around me
The color of grasses—
In its coolness
Miscanthus blades tremble
On this summer evening.[8]

AUTUMN

[16] Aware shiru
Yūgure goto ni
Iro zo sou
Aki koshi yori no
Sode no shiratsuyu

I know suffering well—
Each day as evening falls
Its colors deepen
In white, shining dew of autumn
Dropped as tears on my sleeves.

[17] Tsuyu omoru
Kohagi ga sue wa
Nabiki fushite
Fukikaesu kaze ni
Hana zo iro sou

Heavy with dew
Bush clover branch tips trail
Low along the ground,
Then, blown about by the wind,
Their flowers' color brightens.[9]

[18] Kure hatete
Chigusa wakarenu
Aki no niwa ni
Obana bakari zo
Kaze ni honomeku

Day draws to a close,
The many grasses now grow indistinct
In an autumn garden;
Only great plumed stalks
Glimmer faintly in the breeze.

[19] Tsuyu no iro
Mashiba no kaze no
Yūgeshiki
Asu mo ya koko ni
Taete nagamen

Glistening of dew,
Wind through a stand of trees—
This evening scene.
Will I be here, still gazing
When next morning comes?[10]

[20] Tsuki noboru
Mine no akikaze
Fukinurashi
Fumoto no kiri zo
Iro kudari yuku

As the moon climbs
Over peaks, autumn winds
Seem to have risen,
For fog around the mountain's base
Grows ever fainter in color.

[21] Ika narishi
Hito no nasake ka
Omoiizuru
Koshikata katare
Aki no yo no tsuki

What were they like,
The feelings of that one now gone?
I sit and wonder.
Tell of the past you remember,
Moon of this autumn night![11]

[22] Fukeyukeba
Chisato no hoka mo
Shizumarite
Tsuki ni suminuru
Yo no keshiki kana

As night grows deeper
Around the mountain villages
Quiet falls;
And nocturnal scenery
Shows bright beneath the moon.[12]

[23] Yūhi utsuru
Yanagi ga sue no
Akikaze ni
Sonata no kari no
Koe mo sabishiki

Evening sun reflects
On willow treetops
In the autumn wind,
While beyond, the cries of geese
Sound no less lonely.[13]

[24] Urami tsukushi
Shinonome made no
Mushi no ne mo
Akuru hikari ni
Nakitomaru nari

Bitterness exhausted;
Insect cries
That last till dawn
Now fade away
At breaking light.

[25] Kokoro tomete
Kusaki no iro mo
Nagame okan
Omokage ni dani
Aki ya nokoru to

I shall gaze long and hard
At the beauty of these trees and grasses
That have caught my eye
So that at least a faint image
Of autumn will remain with me.[14]

WINTER

[26] Akatsuki no
Shigure no nagori
Chikakarashi
Niwa no ochiba mo
Mada nurete miyu

Traces are at hand
Of early winter rains
At break of day;
The garden's fallen leaves
Still look dripping wet.[15]

[27] Sayuru hi mo
Ame wa kudaru o
Ika nareba
Kōreru kawa no
Mizu tomaruran

No matter how much
Rain keeps falling
On this chill day,
Waters of the frozen river
Seem ever blocked by ice.

[28] Kururu made
Shibashi wa harau
Take no ha ni
Kaze wa yowarite
Yuki zo furiyuku

Until nightfall
Wind in gusts repeatedly
Swept through bamboo leaves;
Now it has died down
While snow continues falling.[16]

[29] Neya no ue wa
Tsumoreru yuki ni
Oto mo sede
Yokogiru arare
Mado tataku nari

It makes no sound
On deep snowdrifts upon
My bedroom roof,
But there it is, slanting hail,
Tapping sharply at my window.[17]

[30] Fukishioru
Arashi o komete
Uzumurashi
Fukeyuku yama zo
Yuki ni shizumaru

They seem to engulf,
To bury the storm
And its withering blasts—
Mountains in the deepening night
Lie softened, silent, in the snow.[18]

LOVE

[31] Omou kiwa mo
Michi naki kata ni
Shirasenu o
Shiranu ni tsugen
Hito ya tsurenaki

Though I have not shown
To one whom there is no chance to meet
The depth of my feelings,
How cruel the person who would speak of them
To that one who did not know!

[32] Hito mo tsutsumi
Ware mo kasanete
Toigatami
Tanobeshi yowa wa
Tada fuke zo yuku

My loved one waits in secret
And I find it ever harder
To visit her;
Later and later grows the night
On which we'd pinned our hopes.[19]

[33] Shinobu hodo no
Kotowari to nomi
Omoishi o
Utsuru kata ni mo
Kikihajimenuru

Although I thought
It stood to reason that I try
To hide my feelings,
Now I've begun to hear
That his love goes elsewhere.

[34] Matsu koto no
Kokoro ni susumu
Kyō no hi wa
Kureji to sure ya
Amari hisashiki

As the day advances
My waiting heart hurries with it
And I wonder,
"Will today's sun never set?"
So long, too long, it seems.[20]

[35] Fuke mo seba
Mataji to iishi
Koto no ha wa
Ono ga mono kara
Ima zo kuyashiki

"If it grows much later
I shall not wait"—
Since these spoken words
Were my very own
How mortified I feel now!

[36] Towaren mo
Ima wa yoshi ya no
Akegata mo
Matarezu wa naki
Tsuki no yosugara

Though he was to visit
Now I see how things are
As dawn has come—
Yet I could not help waiting
Throughout the moonlit night.[21]

[37] Magiresugite
Sate onozukara
Araruru o
Omowaretachite
Nochi no yūgure

Though I was diverted
For a while by other things,
Suddenly, of its own accord
Longing for her came to me
Later in the night.

[38] Mi ni kaete
Sareba yosa made
Omoikeri to
Iu to bakari mo
Semete kikaba ya

How I wish at least
That we could change places
And I might hear you say,
In longing and frustration,
"Oh, what is the use . . ?"[22]

[39] Uramuru o
Omoishiranu ni
Motenasu mo
Sore shi mo tsuraki
Kata wa miekeri

Though his neglect
Is not such as to fill me
With deep resentment,
That in itself makes him seem
All the more cruel to me.

[40] Mi o shireba
Uramuru koto mo
Nakeredomo
Koishiki hoka ni
Sode mo nurekeri

Since I know my situation,
There really is no reason
To feel resentful;
So something other than love
Must have caused these tear-soaked sleeves.

[41] Kozu mo kozu
Tanomaji mataji
Wasuremu to
Omoinagara mo
Tsuki ni nagamete

He'll not come, he'll not come!
I'll give him up. I'll wait no more.
I shall forget him!—
Or so I think, and yet
I gaze upon the moon with longing.

[42] Onaji yo ni
Wa ga sakidachite
Koishinaba
Kimi ga kokoro no
Nochi zo yukashiki

If I should die of love
And leave this world
Before you,
How much I'd want to see
Where then your heart would go!

[43] Saraji mata
Shinobimasaru to
Kiku kara ni
Usa mo tsurasa mo
Iwazu naru koro

Hearing my lover say,
"I will not visit for a while;
We'll keep things hidden,"
I cannot bring myself to speak
Of his coldness, or my pain.[23]

[44] Omoitorishi
Kinō no usa wa
Makureba ya
Kyō wa matsu zo to
Mata iware nuru

Have I been defeated
By his coldness, which I realized
Just yesterday?
For once again, I find myself
Vowing to wait patiently today.[24]

[45] Hito no toga ni
Omoitogamenu
Fushibushi mo
Ukunarihate wa
Usa ni koso nare

At those times
When I cannot bring myself to blame
The one whose blame it is,
My indecision's consequence
Is misery itself.

[46] Oriori no
Kore ya kagiri no
Iku omoi
Sono awaresa wa
Shiru hito mo nashi

Time and time again
I wonder whether we have reached
The end of our love.
There is no one who understands
The pathos of my thoughts.[25]

[47] Narete mishi
Omokage semete
Wasurare yo
Tachisoeba koso
Koishisa mo soe

I must forget as best I can
The image of that one
I'd grown used to seeing,
For whenever I conjure it up
My longing always rises with it.

[48] Ori ni furete
Uki awaresa wa
Kawaredomo
Kimi yue naranu
Omoi shi mo nashi

Although with time
The suffering, the pain,
Have subsided,
Still no moment passes
Without thoughts of the one I love.

[49] Koto no ha ni
Idete urami wa
Tsukihatete
Kokoro ni komuru
Usa ni narinuru

Once expressed
In words, my resentment
Has run its course,
Replaced by melancholy now,
Buried deep within my heart.[26]

[50] Inochi koso
Itoinagara mo
Aware nare
Uki o mo kakute
Mikiku to omoeba

However much
I may shun life itself
Still, it is moving,
Now that I know what it means
To see and hear its misery like this.

MISCELLANEOUS

[51] Tomaru beki
Yado oba tsuki ni
Akugarete
Asu no michi yuku
Yowa no tabibito

Ignoring the inn
Where I had planned to stay,
I'm lured on by the moon
To journey along tomorrow's road,
Traveler in the deepening night.[27]

[52] Tabi no sora
Ame no furu hi wa
Kurenu ka to
Omoite nochi mo
Yuku zo hisashiki

This rainy day of travel,
The sky so dark I wonder
If already the sun has set,
But then I continue on
For I still have far to go.[28]

[53] Fumoto naru
Kusa ni wa shigeki
Yama arashi no
Mine no matsu ni wa
Fuku ka to mo nashi

Storm winds off the mountain
Ceaselessly whip deep grasses
That lie around its base,
No need to wonder if they also blow
The pines that cling to its peak.[29]

[54] Ōzora wa
Amaneku ōu
Kumo no kokoro
Kuni tsuchi uruu
Ame kudasu nari

The great sky
Completely covered by a cloud;
From its depths
A rain is sent down
To nurture the land, the earth.[30]

[55] Ame fureba
Kumo orikakaru
Yamamatsu no
Fumoto ni nokoru
Kazu zo sukunaki

Since it's begun to rain
Clouds droop down, mantling
Pines upon the slopes,
So that now but a few remain
In sight around the mountain's base.

[56] Furiyowari
Mata furimasari
Yo mo sugara
Tayumanu ame no
Oto ni akenuru

All night through,
Now slackening,
Now falling in torrents,
The ceaseless rain—
Dawn brightens to its sound.

[57] Mi wa kakute
Shibashi to omou
Yamazato ni
Kokoro o kaesu
Mine no matsukaze

I ponder for a while
How very short this life is,
They make my heart return
To that longed-for mountain village
These winds through pines on the peak.

[58] Omoimiru
Kokoro no mama ni
Koto no ha no
Yutaka ni kanau
Toki zo ureshiki

When one can express
In resonant and fitting words
Just what one feels
Deep within the heart,
Truly this is happiness!

[59] Yo ni koyuru
Kimi ga koto no ha
Tama wa aredo
Hikari no soko o
Miru hito ya naki

Though the jewels
Of my lord's words
Spread throughout the world,
There is no one who sees
The brilliance in their depths.[31]

[60] Tane to naru
Hito no kokoro no
Itsumo araba
Mukashi ni oyobe
Yamato koto no ha

If we wish forever
To preserve the seeds
That are the human heart,
We must reach back to the past
And leaves of the Japanese language.[32]

Notes

Notes

For full authors' names, titles, and publication data on works cited in short form in these Notes, see the Bibliography, pp. 211–14. For the abbreviations used on the collections, see the Author's Note, p. xii.

INTRODUCTION

1. Huey and Matisoff, p. 133: "The poet expresses externally what moves his heart *and writes this down on paper*" (emphasis mine). Tamekane's use of the phrase "writes down on paper" (*kami ni kaku*) rather than the term "composes/recites" (*yomu*), which is more generally found in treatises of this sort, has several implications. In one sense, it simply refers to the importance of publishing one's works. The word *kaku* appears with this meaning in the kana prefaces of, for example, *Goshūishū*, *Senzaishū*, and *Shinchokusenshū*. Beyond that, Tamekane is also hinting that "hearing" poetry may no longer be the most important way of receiving it, and is opening up the possibility that written characters themselves may be used for wordplay (something that in fact was exploited in renga composition).

2. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 435–36.

3. Fukuda and Inoue, pp. 123–37, 242–50.

4. Tamekane makes this claim in his diary. See Hamaguchi and Ogawa, p. 65. Though in Asia the number 10,000 is often used to indicate an indefinite large quantity, some scholars take Tamekane's claim literally. See, for example, Toki, *Shinshū Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 67–68. In Appendix C I give a count of Tamekane's extant poems.

5. Three notable modern studies are Mass, *Kamakura Bakufu*; Hurst, *Insei*; and Mass, *Court and Bakufu*.

6. See, for example, Ishida, p. 295.

7. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 338–421.

8. Toki Zenmaro, in his 2 books *Shinshū Kyōgoku Tamekane* and *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, uses this methodology to some extent, although he simply lists similar poems without comment.

CHAPTER 1

1. See, for example, Mass's works *Warrior Government*; *Kamakura Bakufu*; and *Court and Bakufu*.

2. Hurst, *Insei*.

3. Mass, *Kamakura Bakufu*, pp. 9–10.

4. Ibid., docs. 48, 52, 58–61, among others. For further discussion of these issues, see Mass, *Court and Bakufu*, particularly the essays in part 1 and the Epilogue by John W. Hall.

5. Hurst, "Kōbu Polity."

6. As a result of Retired Emperor Go-Toba's (r. 1183–98) role in the anti-Bakufu Jōkyū Disturbance of 1221, his descendants were passed over for imperial succession in favor of Go-Horikawa (r. 1221–32) and Shijō (r. 1232–42), son and grandson, respectively, of one of Go-Toba's brothers. However, this line died out with Shijō and through some complicated maneuvering, Go-Saga, one of Go-Toba's sons, assumed the throne at the relatively advanced age of 22.

7. Sansom, in his *History of Japan to 1334*, is somewhat vague in his use of this term. Sometimes it seems to be what he calls Senior Retired Emperor. But *jisei no kimi* was not always the Senior Retired Emperor, and not necessarily even retired. Hurst, "Kōbu Polity," p. 24, uses the alternate term *chiten no kimi*, and says "it appears to have been the current designation for imperial household head." Generally speaking, the *jisei no kimi* (or *chiten no kimi*) was the eldest active member of whichever imperial line occupied the throne. There is some dispute among historians about who was *jisei no kimi* at any given time. I have followed Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, pp. 281–88, in this matter.

8. Brazell, p. 19.

9. Sansom, p. 483.

10. Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, p. 282.

11. Sansom, p. 464. According to Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, p. 282, however, Kameyama had been *jisei no kimi* since Go-Saga's death in 1272.

12. Brazell, p. 53.

13. See Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, p. 279, for the Saionji family tree.

14. Hurst, "Kōbu Polity," p. 24.

15. Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, pp. 284–85. Sansom, p. 478, says that Go-Fukakusa was the "chief retired emperor" until 1301, implying that this is synonymous with *jisei no kimi*, though that is technically not the case.

16. *Hanazono Tennō Shinki*, Genkō 2 (1332) iii 24, in *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 34, pp. 198–201. See Appendix B for a complete translation of this entry. The Hanazono text says the date of the exile was 1317, possibly a copyist's error.

CHAPTER 2

1. "Legitimate" here is a translation of the Japanese term *chakushi*, which refers to the oldest son by the principal wife. The distinction was important and was often an issue in inheritance disputes, though in the polygamous society that was medieval Japan, it was not a question of morality.

2. See Ariyoshi, pp. 356–57.

3. Recognized in his youth as a potential poetic genius by Teika and Tameie, Genshō never participated in any public poetry gatherings, though in his middle years he did take part in a few poetry contests. Nonetheless, his *Genshō Waka Kuden*, written sometime in the late 1290's, stands as a noteworthy poetic treatise defending the orthodox Nijō approach to poetry. Tamemori was known as much for his *renga* (linked verse) and *kyōka* (a kind of comic waka) as for his waka. He seems to have been on good terms with his brother Tamesuke, and a few of his poems appear in the two Kyōgoku anthologies. Tameaki's dates are unknown. By 1278 he had taken the tonsure and was living in Kantō, where a poetry group had formed around him. He apparently had a good relationship with his two half-brothers, Tamesuke and Tamemori, though he seems to have spent much of his life in the Kantō area. He last appears in official records in 1295.

4. In a passage in *Tamekanekyō Wakashō*, Tamekane taunts his Nijō rivals by alluding to one such secret document, which appears to be a version of Teika's *Kindai Shūka*.

5. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 344.

6. Ishida, "Kyōgoku Tamekane," p. 295.

7. See Ariyoshi, p. 418, and Ishida, p. 206, for the major recent arguments of the case.

8. See Ishida, p. 266.

9. Ikeda, "Kyōgoku Tamekane," p. 89.

10. Tokieda, p. 410.

11. *Hanazono Tennō Shinki*, Genkō 2 (1332) iii 24. See also Ikeda, "Kyōgoku Tamekane," p. 88, and Ishida, pp. 270–71, for a discussion of Tamekane's relationship to the Saionji house.

12. Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 254–55.

13. *Tamekanekyōki*, Kangen 2 (1303) viii 28, in Hamaguchi and Ogawa, p. 60.

14. Ishida, p. 283.

15. The word is *kasen*, or "poetic sage," but it refers here to one who acts as an adviser on poetic matters at a poetry party. Tamekane's attendance at this party and his role are noted by Ishida, p. 284.

16. Kameyama called for 100-poem-sequences from all the major poets

of the day, including all branches of the Mikohidari house. The event is now known as the *Kōan Hyakushu* (100-Poem Sequences of the Kōan Era). Inoue Muneo, pp. 6–7, notes that there exists a manuscript believed to be Sanekane's draft for this sequence, with marginal comments apparently by Tamekane. He also notes that 15th-century collections like the *Meidai Waka Zenshū* (Complete Collection of Poems That Clarify Topics) contain poems from these sequences not found elsewhere, including 8 poems by Tamekane.

17. See Ishida, p. 285; and Ariyoshi, pp. 551–52. For the text of the sequence, see *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 14, pp. 814–19.

18. Ikeda Tomizō, p. 84.

19. Inoue Muneo, p. 10.

20. Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, p. 228. Inoue Muneo, p. 6, notes that Tameuji started this as early as 1276.

21. See the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*, in Sasaki, vol. 4, pp. 134–35. Some scholars (see, for example, Ishida, p. 266) suggest that Tamenori died of anger, frustration, and disappointment over Kameyama's refusal to revise *Shokushūishū* despite his protests. One suspects the truth in this case is somewhat less dramatic than either claim.

22. Tokieda et al., p. 365.

23. Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, p. 22; Ishida, p. 285.

24. Nakatsukasa no Naishi's diary covers the years of Fushimi's reign as Crown Prince. The entry mentioned here is translated in full in Appendix B.

25. He was a Middle Captain of the Left and of the Senior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade.

26. Tamai and Ishida, pp. 284–85. In this text the first line of Abutsu's reply is given as *Omoiyare*. I have used the version found in Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, p. 121.

27. Quoted in Ishida, p. 295. See also Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 351.

28. Quoted in Ishida, p. 295.

29. Inoue Muneo, p. 856.

30. Ibid., p. 9. The passage from Kitabatake Chikafusa on this issue is quoted at length in Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 351. However, by the time he wrote about it (*Kokinshūjōchū*; Annotated Kokinshū Preface; ca. 1350), it was old history.

31. Tsunoda. See also Brower, "Reizei Family Documents."

32. Shino, p. 226. Shino maintains, however, that the Kyōgoku style did not emerge in their poetry contests until their third contest, held 1297 viii 15. He further notes that no Kyōgoku poems from contests earlier than their fourth, the *Shōan Gannen Goshu Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in Five Categories in the First Year of Shōan [1299]), held in the third month of 1299, were selected for *Gyokuyōshū*. The text of the contest and explanatory notes can be found in Taniyama, pp. 42–44, 153–67.

33. Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, p. 70.

34. Quoted in ibid., p. 83.

35. Ibid., pp. 70ff. This issue will be examined more thoroughly in Chap. 4.

36. Quoted in ibid., p. 96. This poem won its round.

37. The *Kokka Taikan* (The Great Canon of Japanese Poetry) reveals no similar first line in any of the 21 imperial anthologies.

38. Most scholars agree on the probable composition date of this treatise, based on the title given therein for the poet Sanjō Sanetō (see Ishida, p. 301, for the standard arguments). Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 184–85, suggests that it may have been written in parts and did not reach the form in which we know it today until up to 30 years later, but his evidence is slim.

39. Ishida, p. 301.

40. See Tsugita, "Tamekane"; and Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 98–100.

41. See Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, p. 257.

42. Ariyoshi, p. 429. Tameyo's promotions halted as soon as Fushimi became Emperor, further demonstration of the impact the split in the imperial line had on people's lives.

43. Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, pp. 19–20. This information comes from *Fushimi Tennō Shinki*, entries for Einin 1 (1293) vii, in *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 34, pp. 321–25.

44. *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 34, pp. 283, 307.

45. Tokieda Motoki et al., p. 410.

46. Ariyoshi, p. 520.

47. The text used for the points is Sasaki, vol. 4, pp. 68–81.

48. See Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 70–71.

49. See Appendix B for Hanazono's comments on the matter; and Ikeda Tomizō, p. 94.

50. See Ishida, p. 275.

51. Ishida, p. 276, mentions the possibility that he may have gone to Sado by way of Kamakura or been called there sometime during his exile based on evidence from the *Honchō Tsugan* and the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*, respectively.

52. See Matisoff, pp. 449–50. The Japanese text of the poem is from Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 262, and the translation is my own.

53. See Ariyoshi, p. 417, for information on the collection, which was evidently named by accident because it happened to appear next to some of Tamekane's draft poems in an 1818 compendium. But some of the exile poems may have been written by him (see Ishida, p. 276; and Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 179–81).

54. The work follows the 100 topics set by the *Horikawa Hyakushū* (1105–6), which became one standard for the sequential arrangement of poems. In fact Tamekane's sequence has only 98 poems, the summer and winter sections each being short a poem. See Ariyoshi, pp. 577–78, for a discussion of the *Horikawa Hyakushū*.

55. Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 247, 252.

56. Hamaguchi and Ogawa, p. 64.

57. Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 241–43, reproduces the poems and discusses their interrelationships. Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 167–69, discusses them without reproducing the full set.

58. *Shintō Daijiten*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1937), pp. 363, 372.

59. Toki diagrams this poem and the second of the pair below in *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 172–73, and 169–72, respectively.

CHAPTER 3

1. I have used 2 annotated texts of the diary: Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 203–24; and especially Hamaguchi and Ogawa, which is more recent and contains more extensive annotation than the Toki work. As with most natural diaries in pre-modern Japan, Tamekane's is in *kambun*, a kind of Japanized classical Chinese idiom.

2. The 1450 copy was made by Ōgimachi Mochisue and was based on a copy made by his great-great-grandfather Ōgimachi Kinkage (1297–1360). Kinkage (also known as Nobukane) was close to Tamekane (he was in fact one of the poet's adopted sons) and remained faithful to the Kyōgoku group and the Jimyō-in line after Tamekane's death, so he almost certainly had access to the original diary when he made his copy. Whether he copied the entire diary or just part of it is not known. Mochisue indicates in his marginal notes that before he made his copy, he had to reconstruct Nobukane/Kinkage's copy from bits and pieces that had become dispersed over the years, but he does not say whether he managed to reconstruct the entire diary. For background on Nobukane/Kinkage, see Ariyoshi, pp. 153–54. For a discussion of the diary's textual history, see Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 205–6; and Fukuda, *Chūsei Wakashi*, pp. 669–72.

3. Ogawa and Hamaguchi, p. 50.

4. Ibid., p. 52.

5. Ibid., pp. 52–53, 55, entries for v 22, v 29, viii 4, viii 5.

6. See, for example, ibid., pp. 54, 57–58, entries for vi 30, viii 15–16.

7. Ibid., p. 55, entry for viii 6. This and later entries seem to be misdated, possibly because Mochisue erred in copying or extrapolating them. The dates given in the letters that go back and forth through this incident are probably accurate, which would make the dates of several of the entries in this section off by two or three days.

8. Ibid., p. 59. The entry date viii 17 is likely an error (see preceding note).

9. Ibid., p. 60, entry for viii 20.

10. Ibid., pp. 57–58, entries for viii 15–16.

11. Ibid., pp. 53, 60, entries for v 28, viii 28.

12. Ibid., p. 63, entry for ix 24.

13. Fujiwara Toshisada died in 1310 at the age of 60 after reaching the office of Provisional Major Counselor (also the highest rank Tamekane achieved). The fact that a few of his poems appeared in both Kyōgoku anthologies and most of the Nijō ones suggests that he was more or less neutral in the poetic dispute between the two groups. However, in terms of court service at least, he must have been allied to the Daikaku-ji line. See ibid., p. 65.

14. Ibid., p. 65, entry for xii 18.

15. Ibid., p. 67, entry for xii 20.

16. Ibid., p. 63, entry for x 4.

17. Traditionally, in a poetry contest the poems were read in a set order so that, for example, Fushimi's poems would compete with those of Eifukumon-in. Here it appears that the poems were chosen at random, a practice that became more and more frequent through the Kamakura period.

18. The "Lady" here must be Eifukumon-in, although it is odd that the results of the other two women are not listed individually.

19. Unfortunately Tamekane's poems are the only ones we know of from this contest. If the others appear anywhere else, they have not been identified as products of this gathering.

20. The manuscript does not record this poem as a win, but Tamekane claims 2 of his poems won, and the fate of the other 2 *is* recorded, so this is presumably the other winner.

21. Inoue Muneo, pp. 110, 112.

22. Hamaguchi and Ogawa, pp. 58–59.

23. Translations of Tamekane's entries in this contest appear in Appendix D. For a translation of and commentary on the entire contest, see Huey, "Kingyoku Poetry Contest."

24. Inoue Muneo, pp. 110–11, summarizes the arguments. Because 2 of Fushimi's poems in the contest appear in the *Sentō Gojūban Uta-awase* of 1303 -iv 29, the *Kingyoku Uta-awase* could conceivably have preceded the *Sentō Gojūban* contest, but it probably came after it.

25. Tamekane's autumn poem is GYS 501. See Appendix D, note 9, for further information on it. Fushimi's poems also appear in that anthology, as GYS 499 (with line 1 changed to *nabikikaeru*) and GYS 1486, respectively.

26. *Gunsho Ruijū* 213, pp. 80–84.

27. Inoue Muneo, p. 125.

28. The text of this contest, along with such information as there is on it, can be found in Fukuda and Inoue, pp. 69–82, 221–27. My remarks and the poems cited owe much to this volume, as well as to Inoue's comments in *Chūsei Kadanshi*, pp. 127–28.

29. Fukuda and Inoue, p. 225, maintain that certain remarks in the judgments indicate Fushimi was the one who wrote them up. They cite rounds 4, 5, 10, and 15 as particularly clear evidence of this. Note especially the last sentence in the judgment for round 4, cited below.

30. This poem poses a textual problem, and my translation is only tentative. The first two characters in the extant text are 下日. This could be a miscopy for 入日, meaning "setting sun," or it could be, as Konishi Jin'ichi suggested to me in a personal communication, Man'yōgana for the verb *shitahi* ("to yearn"), in which case line 1 would mean "sunk in yearning." Following Konishi's interpretation, the first 3 lines would read something like, "Though the memory-filled sky/Which I watch while lost in yearning/Is darkened now by early winter rains . . ."

Since *shigure* ("early winter rain") is often associated with weeping,

Konishi's suggestion is tonally consistent, but I have followed the other interpretation in my translation for several reasons. First, the judgment places this poem at evening time, which accords with *irihi* ("entering sun"). Second, the topic is Clouds, not Yearning. And third, Tamekane's source for the unusual word *toyohatagumo* ("billowing clouds") was probably MYS 15. The *Man'yōshū* poem also presents numerous textual difficulties, but at least this much is certain: it is about billowing clouds at sunset, which would match Tamekane's poem if the first line of his were taken as a miscopy for *irihi*. For a discussion of the *Man'yōshū* poem, see Takagi et al., pp. 16–17, 328.

31. Both Teika, in his *Kindai Shūka*, and Tamekane, in his *Tamekanekyō Wakashō*, enjoined poets to emulate the style of the pre-Kanpyō era poets, by which was meant the Six Poetic Geniuses (Rokkasen), i.e., Ariwara no Narihira, Sōjō Henjō, Kisen Hōshi, Ōtomo no Kuronushi, Fun'ya no Yasuhide, and Ono no Komachi, all of whom flourished around the mid-9th century (Hisamatsu Sen'ichi et al., pp. 102, 157).

32. Ariyoshi, pp. 61–62.

33. Text from Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 257. See also Ariyoshi, p. 61, and Inoue Muneo, p. 125, for a general discussion of this contest.

34. Inoue Muneo, p. 128.

35. See Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, p. 440. In charts on pp. 447–54 Iwasa also demonstrates that these women were amply represented in imperial anthologies, too. Both Eifukumon-in and Tameko had more poems in the Kyōgoku anthologies than Tamekane.

36. Inoue Muneo, p. 150.

37. Ibid., p. 150. For an extremely detailed and well-documented account of this series of events, see the 2 1957 articles by Fukuda Hideichi in the Bibliography. These articles remain the definitive exploration of the subject; Ishida, Iwasa, and Inoue all rely on them for their accounts of the event.

38. The text followed here is Sasaki, vol. 4, pp. 127–37.

39. Both Ishida, pp. 290–93, and Inoue Muneo, pp. 150–54, give abbreviated accounts of the dispute. Their main source, however, is Fukuda Hideichi (see note 37, above). I have relied on all 3 scholars in this discussion.

40. Inoue Muneo, p. 150.

41. Ishida, p. 292.

42. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 128.

43. Ibid., p. 130.

44. Ibid. The term Tameyo uses is *kagyō* 家業.

45. Inoue Muneo, p. 153.

46. Fukuda, "*Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*" (July 1957), p. 40.

47. *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 33, p. 63, entry for ix 6.

48. Ibid., p. 63, entry for ix 8.

49. Ibid., p. 66, entry for x 15.

50. Ishida, p. 300.

51. See, for example, Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 355; and Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 100–101.

52. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 355.

53. Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 239–40. Toki notes that Tamekane was the first to call the section on travel poems *tabi no uta* (or *ryoka*), although this is simply a question of nomenclature, since other anthologies used the heading *kiryoka*, which means essentially the same thing. Still the Nijō partisans, sticklers for precedent that they were, did criticize this. And though the Nijō anthologies continued to use the traditional section heading, the other Kyōgoku anthology, *Fūgashū*, follows Tamekane's example.

54. Ibid., pp. 239–40.

55. Ibid., p. 241.

56. Count from Ariyoshi, p. 148. As far as Kyōgoku poets are concerned, it is consistent with the count given in Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 447–49.

57. Ishida, p. 300.

58. In *Shingosenshū* (1,612 poems) Sanekane had 27 poems, Fushimi 20, and Tamekane 9, compared with Tameuji's 28, Kameyama's 25, Go-Uda's 20, and Tameyo's 11. In *Shokusenzaishū* (2,148) Sanekane had 51, but Fushimi had only 18, Eifukumon-in 11, and Tamekane and Tameko none, compared with Go-Uda's 52, Tameyo's 36, and Go-Nijō's 21 (count from Ariyoshi, pp. 337, 353). Furthermore, Tameyo revised several of Eifukumon-in's poems before including them in *Shokusenzaishū*, which naturally brought strong protest from Hanazono and the poet herself.

59. See Ariyoshi, p. 88, and Inoue Muneo, p. 178, for current theories on the authorship of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki*. None of the names suggested is relevant to this study.

60. The text cited here is Sasaki, vol. 4, pp. 97–107.

61. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 353.

62. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 97.

63. Ibid., p. 105.

64. Quoted in Ishida, pp. 277–78. Ishida does not cite his source.

65. Ibid., p. 278. The 6 poems Tamekane wrote are cited in Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 259–60. Toki also briefly explains the background of Tamekane's visit to Kōya-san.

66. See, for example, Ikeda Tomizō, p. 95; and Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, p. 30.

67. Inoue Muneo, p. 153.

68. Iwasa, *Eifukumon-in*, p. 30.

69. Inoue Muneo, pp. 159–60. Inoue cites a passage from Hanazono's diary (*Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 33, p. 70, entry for 1313 x 17) in which Tamekane and Hanazono study a text of *Kokinshū* with a preface written by Shunzei.

70. *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 33, p. 63, entry for 1313 ix 13.

71. These poems, known as *Eihokekyō Waka* (Waka Composed on the Lotus Sutra), can be found in the *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 402 (vol. 15, part 1, pp. 13–17). There were no Nijō poets among the participants. But Tameko was there, and her name and poem as recorded at the event are the last known bibliographic evidence of her life.

72. The material on the Nara trip is drawn from Ishida, pp. 278–79; and

Inoue Muneo, pp. 160–61. The quote is from *Kankenki*, a kind of "house diary" kept for centuries by the Saionji family. Sanekane's son Kinpira (1264–1315) may have been responsible for this section, which is the basis for Ishida's and Inoue's accounts.

73. Modern-day Kōchi Prefecture in Shikoku.

74. Almost nothing is known of Tamekane's personal life. There is no record of a wife. He had several adopted sons (*yūshi*), though this may have been as much for the sake of his poetry school as for any paternal instinct. Only two of these men made much of a mark in poetry.

One was Kinkage (1297–1360). Originally of the Ōgimachi family, he was adopted by Tamekane, then was forced into seclusion when Tamekane was exiled in 1316. Kinkage was then adopted by a Nijō partisan, Ogura Kin'o (fl. 1272–1325), but then took back his original family name. He remained faithful to the Kyōgoku school and had a total of 44 poems published in various imperial anthologies from *Gyokuyōshū* to *Shinshokukokinshū* (1439, the last of the imperial anthologies). Another adopted son, Tamemoto (fl. 1313–1350), had 22 poems in *Fūgashū* (none elsewhere). He was the natural son of Nijō Tametoki, but once adopted by Tamekane, he became loyal to the Kyōgoku group and the Jimyō-in line, serving Hanazono after Tamekane's 1316 exile. There is much less information about the four other known adopted sons. Even the readings of their names are uncertain. They were Toshitoki, Tamemoto's elder brother; Tamenaka and Norikane, both grandsons of Tameie, but not of the Nijō, Reizei, or Kyōgoku lines, and through different grandmothers from each other; and Tadakane.

75. FGS 935, by one Dōzen Hōshi, about whom nothing is known. The entire headnote reads: "A poem on Sea and Mountains, written when the poet visited Tamekane while the latter was staying in Aki Province and the two composed verses on set topics." See Tsugita and Iwasa, p. 200, for the poem (their no. 925), and p. 455 on Dōzen Hōshi.

76. Ishida, p. 281.

77. *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 4, p. 200.

CHAPTER 4

1. Brower, "Reizei Family Documents."

2. The standard argument for these dates can be found in Hisamatsu, *Karonshū*, p. 153; and Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 98–99. Tamekane presents Sanjō Saneto (1263–1338) as an example of a poet who uses unorthodox vocabulary with mixed success.

3. The section reference is to the version of the *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* in Hisamatsu et al., to which all citations apply. All the excerpts given in the text are from Huey and Matisoff.

4. See Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 184–85.

5. *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 34, pp. 160, 199.

6. Hisamatsu et al., p. 161.

7. These 2 treatises were considered standard introductions for beginners in the art of writing waka. *Kindai Shūka* was written by Teika in 1209 for Shogun Sanetomo. It later became the basis for the famous collection *Hyakunin Isshu* (100 Poems from 100 Poets), and is translated by Brower and Miner as *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Times*. The *Eiga Ittei* (also called *Yagumo Kuden*; Secret Teachings on Waka) was written by Tameie around 1275, apparently as a primer for his son Tamesuke. For a translation, see Brower, "Foremost Style."

8. Hisamatsu et al., pp. 161–62.

9. Ibid., p. 160.

10. Ibid., p. 157.

11. Ibid., p. 158.

12. See Tsugita, "Tamekane no Bungaku." However, as Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 107–19, notes, Man'yō studies had progressed rapidly in the mid-Kamakura period (for example, Senkaku's *Man'yōshū Chūshaku* came out in 1269), so that the Man'yō poems Tamekane selected for *Gyokuyōshū* were qualitatively different from those selected by Teika and the others for *Shinkokinshū*. The biggest difference was that over half the Man'yō poems in *Shinkokinshū* were taken from *Kokin Wakarokujō* (Six Notebooks of Waka, Ancient and Modern, a poetry handbook compiled sometime in the late 10th century), rather than from *Man'yōshū* itself.

13. Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 98–109.

14. These brief definitions are from the glossary in Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*. It should be borne in mind that the meanings of these 3 words varied according to the critic or poet who was using them. Indeed traditional poetry criticism in Japan essentially involved defining and redefining these terms and their relative importance to each other.

15. Hisamatsu et al., p. 154.

16. Ibid., p. 158. Most of sec. 5 (pp. 158–60) is devoted to this issue.

17. Ibid., pp. 159–60.

18. *Hanazono Tennō Shinki*, Shōwa 2 (1313) vi 4, in *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 33, p. 53.

19. Hisamatsu et al., pp. 162–63. The Asakayama poem is considered one of the 2 progenitors of waka: Asakayama / Kage sae miyuru / Yama no i no / Asaku wa hito o / Omou mono ka wa. ("Shallow the mountain well-pool / Where even the image of Mt. Asaka / Can be seen reflected— / But my feelings for my lord / Could never be so shallow.") With slightly different wording in the last 2 lines, it is MYS 3829 (old 3807). It is also mentioned in the preface to the *Kokinshū*, and quoted there in its entirety in one line of texts. (See Saeki, pp. 51, 425, for a discussion of this disparity in *Kokinshū* preface texts.) In fact the issue of whether the poem is quoted in full became the central point of a lengthy argument between Tamekane and Tameyo in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō* (Sasaki, vol. 4, pp. 132–33, secs. 15, 16), where Tamekane claimed that Tameie showed him the secret text of *Kokinshū* in which the poem appears in its entirety. (Ozawa Masao, editor of the NKBZ edition of *Kokinshū*, notes that Tameie is thought to have written the textual line that cites the poem in its entirety, but perhaps that is because of this reference in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*.)

In any case Tamekane's "scholarship" in this passage from *Wakashō* has

to do with his recitation of the story connected with the poem. The story, as well as the poem, appears in *Man'yōshū* itself. Both also appear in *Yamato Monogatari*, sec. 155 (see Sakakura et al., pp. 326–27), but not in all texts of *Kokinshū*. They can also be found in a host of Heian and Kamakura works on poetry, including *Kisen Shiki* (Kisen's Code; date and authorship uncertain), *Toshiyori Zuinō*, and the *Waka Iroha* (The ABCs of Waka; 1198, Jōkaku). Shunzei also mentions them twice in his *Korai Fūteishō* (see Ariyoshi et al., pp. 281, 369). It seems most likely that Tamekane got his version of the story from the last source, since the textual history of Shunzei's treatise (see Ariyoshi et al., p. 28) indicates that it was passed down through Tamekane rather than Tameyo. Given the number of sources in which the Asakayama poem and story appear, it was no great scholarly feat on Tamekane's part to have made reference to it. But his interpretation of the poem, revolving around its use of the word *sae* ("even"), has all the earmarks of secretly transmitted esoterica, with Tameie as its probable source, and this is probably the impression Tamekane wanted to leave.

20. Kangen 2 viii 28. See Hamaguchi and Ogawa.

21. Ariyoshi et al., pp. 274–75. See also Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 257.

22. Hisamatsu et al., pp. 160–61.

23. Ibid., p. 154.

24. Ibid., p. 155.

25. Ibid., pp. 155–56.

26. These ladies were unsuccessful rivals of the beauty Yang Gui-fei celebrated in Bo Ju-yi's poem "Shang Yang Ren." For the poem, see Suzuki Torao, pp. 70–76. Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 186, has offered a passage from *Maigetsushō* (Monthly Notes; see Hisamatsu et al., pp. 136–37) as a possible source for Tamekane's remarks here, but the passage he cites contains no specific reference to the Ladies in the Jōyō Palace.

27. Hisamatsu et al., p. 163. The last sentence poses some grammatical problems. I have followed Toki's suggestion (*Shinshū*, p. 186) that what Hisamatsu gives as a concessive *do* should be read as a quotative *to*. But the overall interpretation of this somewhat obscure passage is speculative.

28. See Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 252–57, for a discussion of *hon-i*, whose meaning can range from "essential nature" to "appropriate response" (though Brower and Miner themselves do not use this second term as such).

29. Ibid., pp. 256–57. A particularly clear example of Shunzei's respect for Murasaki Shikibu can be found in this judgment from the *Roppyakuban Uta-awase*: "To compose poetry without having read *Genji* is forever regrettable" (Hagitani and Taniyama, pp. 442, 537–40).

30. Hisamatsu et al., pp. 158–60.

31. The text for the poems is taken from Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 256. Shinsaishō, the poet of the Right in round 17, was also known as Fushimi-in no Shinsaishō (dates unknown). She was a lady-in-waiting in Fushimi's court from the time he was Crown Prince and took the tonsure in 1317 following his death. A major Kyōgoku poet, she participated in nearly

all the major Kyōgoku poetry contests and had 13 poems in each of the Kyōgoku imperial anthologies. Noriyoshikyō no Musume (dates unknown), the poet of the Left in round 18, was a daughter of Nijō Noriyoshi and a concubine of the Kampaku Kanemoto. She participated in a number of Kyōgoku poetry contests and has 12 poems in *Gyokuyōshū* and 5 in *Fūgashū*.

32. In fact Saigyō himself had used the "dried reed" image, in SKKS 625, [Topic unknown]: Tsu no kuni no / Naniwa no haru wa / Yume nare ya / Ashi no kareha ni / Kaze wataru nari. ("Spring at Naniwa / In the Province of Tsu / Seems but a dream, / For now the winter wind / Passes through dried reed stalks.")

33. Saeki, p. 93.

34. For the view that Japanese are not "religious" in the way we generally define the term, see, among others, Nakane Chie, *Japanese Society* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1970), p. 155; Ishida Takeshi, *Japanese Society* (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 39ff; and Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 213ff.

35. See the short biographical notes in Tsugita and Iwasa, pp. 416–61. *Gyokuyōshū* has yet to be subjected to exhaustive research, so many of its poets remain unidentified; thus, it is impossible to tell how important the poetry of Zen priests may be in that collection.

CHAPTER 5

1. Hisamatsu et al., p. 154. In Tamekane's day annual spring *renga* parties had become popular, particularly among lower-ranking courtiers. Fushimi and Hanazono did not seem to share Tamekane's abhorrence of the practice. There are a few extant verses that indicate they contributed to *renga* sequences. See *Ressei Zenshū*, pp. 265–68, 271–72.

2. On the other hand, the author of *Kaen Rensho no Kotogaki* criticized Tamekane for including "an inordinate number of monks and country folk" in *Gyokuyōshū* (Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 104). On the differing makeup of Nijō and Kyōgoku poetry contests, compare the Nijō contest *Kenji Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest in the Kenji Era; 1276—Fukuda and Inoue, pp. 29–46, 189–201), which included priests and provincial officials, with the Kyōgoku group's *Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase* (Fukuda and Inoue, pp. 69–82, 221–27).

3. Toki, *Shinshū*, pp. 66–69.

4. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 319–29.

5. Eifukumon-in's win might be explained by the fact that hers was the poem of the Left for the first round, and by poetry contest convention the poem in that position never lost. However, the first round *could* be declared a draw, and in the *Kōan Hachinen Shigatsu Uta-awase*, an earlier Kyōgoku contest, as well as in the Nijō contest *Kenji Uta-awase* (Fukuda and Inoue, p. 31), the poem of the Right was awarded the victory in round 1, implying

that the old rule had given way. Since Eifukumon-in's poem was awarded a clear win, it was presumably considered the better (or more appropriate) of the 2.

6. See Inoue Muneo, pp. 101–14, for a summary of Kyōgoku and Nijō poetry contest activity during the first decade of the 14th century.

7. *Eiga Ittei*, in Sasaki, vol. 3, p. 392.

8. Fukuda and Inoue, p. 75.

9. Though some modern scholars try to deny the importance of "lines" in waka, there is no question that the traditional waka poet/critics from Hamanari and Fujiwara Kintō (966–1041) to Toshiyori, Shunzei, and Teika considered them the units on which a poem was built. This is evident from their poetic treatises (*karon*) and poetry contest judgments. See, for example, Kintō's *Shinsen Zuinō* (Hisamatsu et al., p. 26) and Toshiyori's *Toshiyori Zuinō* (Ariyoshi et al., pp. 43–47), and numerous poetry contest judgments that cite individual lines by name (e.g., *hatsu no itsumoji*, "the first five lines," for the first line; *musubiku*, "the concluding *ku*"; or even *daigo-ku*, "the fifth *ku*").

On the issue of "rhyme," Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 353, cite Eifukumon-in's FGS 1036, with 3 "rhyming" lines in succession, as a poem that would have been unacceptable to the Nijō critics. But even the Nijō poets no longer slavishly followed the old rules. There are at least 2 cases of poems with several "rhyming" lines being awarded wins in a Nijō poetry contest (one had 3 in a row, the other had 4 nonconsecutive lines); see rounds 14 and 18 of the *Go-Nijō-in Uta-awase* (Poetry Contest at Go-Nijō's Palace; 1303), which was judged by the group, in Fukuda and Inoue, pp. 53–54. Nor is the phenomenon unusual in imperial anthologies. See, for example, SKKS 1257, SKKS 1258, and even SKKS 5.

10. This sort of "poetry contest" was not without precedent. By the early Kamakura period *senka-awase*, that is, poetry contests in which the competing poems were selected from among existing works, were popular, particularly among the group of poets surrounding Shunzei, Teika, and Go-Toba. Saigyō also produced 2 well-known contests, the *Mimosusogawa Uta-awase* and the *Miyagawa Uta-awase*, both probably in 1187, in which he pitted his own poems against each other (Ariyoshi, pp. 46–47, 375, 621). See also Huey, "Kingyoku Poetry Contest."

11. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 128.

12. See Ariyoshi, p. 355, for a description of this work. For one version of its text, see *Zokuzoku Gunsho Ruijū*, pp. 101–78.

13. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 348, make this point, as do many Japanese scholars (e.g. Kubota). It was Tameie's growing conservatism that finally alienated his four co-contributors. They were more willing to experiment with vocabulary and diction than he liked, and showed a great interest in *Man'yōshū*. Indeed the unique characteristics of their syntax are the very ones Iwasa describes with regard to the Kyōgoku poets. (This idea is explored by Watanabe.) The influence of Tameie's rivals grew after 1260, when Shinkan went to Kamakura to be Shōgun Munetaka's poetry teacher. Conversely, when Munetaka was sent back to Kyoto

in 1266 by order of the Kantō officials, the anti-Mikohidari group suffered a loss of prestige. Again, politics seems to have had as much effect on literary affairs as sheer skill in the poetic arts.

14. This contest, sponsored by Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169–1206), one of the most influential politicians of his day, brought together members of the Mikohidari group (including Teika) and the rival Rokujō group (Ariyoshi, pp. 705–6).

15. The *Shūi Gusō* was a house collection made by Teika. Most of its 628 poems were taken from 100-poem sequences he wrote in the 1190's.

16. Watanabe is the source on the first pair of examples, Tani the source on the others.

17. See Miner, pp. 137–43.

18. Ishida, p. 307.

19. These poems are found in 3 sequences thought to have been completed in the winter and spring of 1286–87: *Seibo Hyakushu* (100 Poems on Year's End), *Risshun Hyakushu* (100 Poems on the Coming of Spring), and *Hana Sanjūshu* (30 Poems on Flowers). Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 71–73.

20. Ibid., pp. 70–71.

21. The first selection is from the *Risshun Hyakushu*, the other from the *Hana Sanjūshu*, as quoted in ibid., pp. 82, 91.

22. Iwasa (ibid., p. 89) has found *ji-amari* in at least 1 line (often 2 lines, and in a few cases 3 or 4) of 66 percent of the *Seibo Hyakushu* poems, 51 percent of the *Risshun Hyakushu* poems, and 60 percent of the *Hana Sanjūshu* poems. These are extraordinarily high proportions.

23. *Seibo Hyakushu*, as quoted in ibid., p. 91.

24. Tsugita and Iwasa, pp. 16–19, demonstrate that Hanazono first began to think about sponsoring an anthology in 1342, 10 years after Tamekane's death, and that the collection was completed by early 1348.

25. Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 414–15.

26. Several scholars have examined specific aspects of the Kyōgoku style. For example, the question of *ji-amari* is taken up in detail in Suzuki Jun'ichi; and *ji-amari* and the repetition of sound are discussed by Inoue Yutaka. See Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, chap. 7, on the Kyōgoku style in general.

Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 415–38, discusses what she calls *tokui ku*, that is, lines or expressions that are unique to the 2 Kyōgoku anthologies. Her emphasis is on unusual vocabulary or combinations of vocabulary, and she does not give a detailed breakdown of the things that make a particular line unique. Nonetheless, she cites many specific examples and also provides exhaustive charts showing the proportion of such verses in various imperial anthologies, as well as individual percentages for particular poets.

27. See, for example, Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 89–94, on *ji-amari* in Tamekane's early draft poems. The linguist Hashimoto Shinkichi, however, has demonstrated (p. 183) that through the Heian period, the Japanese tended to avoid lengthening vowels or using identical ones in succession. This may account for the high proportion of *ji-amari* in *Kokinshū*; many of the verses just were not seen as having an extra syllable. Unfortunately,

literary scholars like Iwasa and Hamaguchi are not precise about their definition of *ji-amari*. It is not clear whether they take historical linguistic factors into account or simply count each *kana* (written character corresponding to one mora, or syllable), as seems to be the case. I have used the *kana* counting technique, since Hashimoto, p. 264, agrees that by the late Kamakura period even successive identical vowels were being pronounced distinctly.

28. Hamaguchi gives a few statistics that supplement mine in his article (p. 57). He has found that slightly more than 8 percent of the poems in *Shingosenshū* use *ji-amari*, compared with just over 23 percent in *Gyokuyōshū*. The overall distribution of these extra syllables by line is as follows: 226 in line 1, 44 in line 2, 172 in line 3, 36 in line 4, and 174 in line 5. This distribution accords quite closely with the patterns I found. Among the participants in the *Sumiyoshisha Uta-awase*, held at Sumiyoshi Shrine, were Tameie, Abutsu, Tameuji, Tamenori, and various shrine officials; the text for that contest is in Fukuda and Inoue, pp. 1–14. Participants in the *Go-Nijō-in Uta-awase* included Go-Uda-in, Tameyo's daughter Tameko (not to be confused with Tamekane's sister), and Tameyo's son Tamefuji; text in ibid., pp. 47–59.

29. But see note 22, above.

30. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 346.

31. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 129.

32. Quoted in Iwasa, *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, p. 90.

33. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 99.

34. See Hisamatsu et al., pp. 157–58, for Tamekane's remarks about these poets.

35. Fukuda and Inoue, p. 78.

36. See Hamaguchi, pp. 62–63.

37. The new *Shinpen Kokka Taikan* omits the *ni* from line 1, though most other texts include it.

38. The analysis is based on Brower and Miner, *Superior Poems*, pp. 48–130.

39. Translation from ibid., p. 70.

40. See Hurvitz, pp. 104–5.

41. Stewart, pp. 1–7.

42. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 104.

43. This statement is qualified because certain *hentaigana* forms of *shi* and *te* are easily confused, though none of the editors I have consulted suggest that this might be the case here.

44. Fukuda and Inoue, p. 85.

45. Stewart, p. 6.

46. Translation from Brower and Miner, *Superior Poems*, pp. 52–53.

47. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 99. The "parlor game" referred to is *mojigusari* (similar to modern-day *shiritori*), in which a chain of verses is constructed by taking the last syllables of one line and making them the first syllables of the next.

48. Translation from Brower and Miner, *Superior Poems*, p. 66. As they point out, the poem originally appears as anonymous in *Kokinshū*, but is attributed to Sarumaru Dayū in *Sarumaru Dayū Shū* and *Hyakunin Isshu*.

49. Koshi, which was divided into the provinces of Echizen, Etchū, and Echigo, roughly corresponds to modern-day Toyama Prefecture. Shirayama, the mountain referred to in the poem, is more formally known as Hakusan, written with the same characters. "Koshi no Shirane" (the White Peak of Koshi) was another name for Hakusan.

50. As Ōno, p. 485, suggests.

51. See Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, chap. 7.

52. See chap. 4, note 19, on this poem. The reference in *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* is Hisamatsu et al., p. 162, and, in translation, Huey and Matisoff, pp. 145–46.

53. Tsugita and Iwasa, p. 72.

CHAPTER 6

1. In *Fūgashū* line 3 is changed to *arawarenu* ("has shown itself").

2. This poem is part of the "Hitomaro Collection" and was probably written in the late 7th or early 8th century (Takagi et al., vol. 6, pp. 18–19, 54–55).

3. Ōno, p. 1081, for example, gives this standard interpretation. But he also suggests that since in *Man'yōshū* the term is often written with the characters 久堅 , it might have originally meant "ever firm."

4. Although the issue can never be resolved, the general view of pillow words is that while they might have been taken more or less literally by the early poets who used them, they gradually came to have little more than a decorative function. (For a brief statement of this view, see Ariyoshi, pp. 580–81.) This may well be true, particularly during the Heian period, when so much of *Man'yōshū* was "lost," in the sense that it was unannotated and thus beyond the comprehension of even well-educated poets. Yet the neo-classicism of the Shinkokin period, undoubtedly stimulated further by the publication, in 1269, of Senkaku's (b. 1203) monumental study, *Man'yōshū Chūshaku*, brought about renewed interest in such things as pillow words, and it is not too far-fetched to think that Tamekane might have been aware of and influenced by the "original," literal, meaning of *hisakata*.

5. See Ozawa, p. 70.

6. Ben no Naishi served in Go-Fukakusa's court. Her exact dates are unknown, though she was still alive as late as 1265.

7. Tsuchimikado (1195–1231; r. 1198–1210) was Go-Toba's eldest son. Although he was known as a poet in his own day, his poems did not appear in an imperial anthology until *Shokugosenshū* in 1251.

8. Dōmyō (974–1020), son of Fujiwara Michitsuna (whose mother wrote the *Kagerō Nikki*), was a noted poet in his day, counted as one of the Thirty-six Poetic Geniuses (Sanjūrokkasen).

9. Known as the *Dōmyō Ajarishū*. For the text, see Wakashi, pp. 745–55; or Miho.

10. SKKS 29 and 30 are MYS poems; SKKS 17, 18, and 31 are allusive variations of KKS works.

11. The poem first appears as the Right entry in round 3 of *Tamekanekyōke Uta-awase*, where the topic in the extant text is given as Spring Evening. Although the "win" mark is missing in this round, the judgment makes it clear that Tamekane's poem won. *Gunsho Ruijū* 213 (vol. 13, p. 262).

12. See *Kōjien*, p. 1829; and Ōno, p. 1063.

13. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 98.

14. Another poem with these images immediately precedes this one. Both poems and 30 others were composed by Dazaifu officials in 730 during a plum blossom viewing party at the official residence of the Dazaifu Governor-General, Ōtomo Tabito. See also MYS 1860 (Old 1865) and MYS 3925 (Old 3903).

15. Ozawa, pp. 70–71.

16. Both Tamekane and his critics were presumably aware of Fujiwara Kintsugu's (1175–1227) losing entry in the *Sengohyakuban Uta-awase*, Round 139, Left: Haru no uchi wa / Ume saku sono no / Tamayanagi / Nioi o utsuse / Kaze no tayori ni. ("While it's still spring / O lovely willow in the garden / Where plum trees bloom, / Catch and hold their scent / Borne upon the breeze!") According to the judgment, by Fujiwara Tadayoshi (1164–1225), this poem in turn is a reference to another by Nakahara Munetoki (d. 1004), GSIS 82, [Topic unknown]: Mume ga ka o / Sakura no hana ni / Niowasete / Yanagi ga eda ni / Sakaseteshi gana. ("I wish they had perfumed / Blossoms of the cherry tree / With the scent of the plum / And had brought forth blooms / On branches of the willow.") Ariyoshi Tamotsu, *Sengohyakuban Uta-awase* (Kazama Shobō, 1968), p. 64.

17. The author, Fujiwara Hideyoshi (1184–1240), more generally known by his priestly name Nyogan, was an active poet and supporter of Go-Toba in the Jōkyū Disturbance. His work was very highly regarded by the Retired Emperor, although Teika did not think much of it (Ariyoshi, pp. 514–15).

18. The author of the first poem, Fujiwara Yorimichi (992–1074), rose to Kampaku and was an important patron of poetry.

19. See, for example, SKKS 63 and SKKS 66.

20. See Ōno, p. 951, for these definitions and their sources. *Nagori* has several other definitions that are not relevant here.

21. Although the pun on *ato no shirana(mi)* ("to parts unknown") is not usually translated, it serves as an echo of the original version in *Man'yōshū* and should be rendered. The original, MYS 354 (old 351), is given in this rather different form, reflecting, perhaps, the priestly vocation of its author: Yo no naka o / Nani ni tatoemu / Asabiraki / Kogiinishi fune no / Atonaki ga goto. ("To what shall we compare / This world of ours? / It is like the non-wake / Left behind by a boat as it rows / Out from its mooring at dawn.") Tamekane must at least have been aware of *Shūishū*'s revised version. Mansei's exact dates are unknown, though records cover his activities between 704 and 730. He has 7 poems in *Man'yōshū*, including 1 from Tabito's plum blossom viewing party (see note 14, above—MYS 825, old 821).

22. Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, p. 88.

23. See ibid.

24. Tsugita and Iwasa, p. 99. Following the poem in the *Kokinshū* text there is a note: "As for this poem, some people have said it is the work of Kakinomoto no Hitomaro."

25. The author, Jakuren (1139?–1202), was an adopted son of Shunzei, a partisan of the Mikohidari school, co-compiler of *Shinkokinshū*, and one of the most prolific and highly regarded poets of his day.

26. It is not clear which Retired Emperor the headnote refers to. At the time *Shingosenshū* was compiled, Go-Fukakusa, Kameyama, Go-Uda, Fushimi, and Go-Fushimi were all retired. But the first 2 had taken the tonsure and would no longer have the title Retired Emperor (*In*), so it is presumably one of the others. In verse attributions in this collection, *In no gyosei* ("a poem by the *In*") designates the work of Fushimi (see *Kōchū Kokka Taikei*, p. 4, of main text), and he is probably the Retired Emperor referred to here. Since the poem can be taken metaphorically (as poems composed for such occasions often were; see Go-Daigo's poem "Oshinabete," cited above), Tameyo would have had less reason to lament Fushimi's retirement than Go-Uda's. But this does not prove anything: considering Tameyo's propensity for the conventional, he was not likely to have written a poem hostile to Fushimi.

27. Iesada (1283–1342) participated in several Nijō poetry contests, but his talent never reached the level of his court rank, which was First.

28. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 398.

29. As with Bashō's "Furu ike ya," the definitive translation of this poem will probably never be made. This is not the place to enter into the many interpretations proposed over the centuries. For full headnote, see McCullough, p. 165.

30. Ozawa, pp. 292–93.

31. Ariyoshi Tamotsu et al., p. 390.

32. Myōkai (985–1070) was the thirty-third head of the Tendai sect. The sixth imperial anthology, *Shikashū*, was compiled by Fujiwara Akisuke (1090–1155), a conservative poet but with eclectic tastes. It went through 2 revisions after it was submitted.

33. The contest took place sometime before the ninth month of 893 (Ariyoshi, p. 236).

34. There was a Hino Sukenobu who participated in several poetry contests around 1290 (Inoue Muneo, p. 23). If he was the father of this poet, then she would have been roughly contemporary with the younger members of the Kyōgoku group, although we have no way of knowing what her poetic allegiances were.

35. Ishida, pp. 312–13.

36. Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 69.

37. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, chap. 7.

38. In GYS 1706 line 2 reads *ideshi urami wa*. I have attempted to cover both wordings with the phrase "once expressed," which may mean "once it has been expressed; having been expressed" (*idete*) and "it was expressed once (in the past)" (*ideshi*).

39. The name of the first poet probably means "Etchū, a Lady-in-

Waiting for Emperor Shirakawa," but she has not been otherwise identified (see Masamune, pp. 593–94; and Masuda, p. 66). The new *Shinpen Kokka Taikai* gives her name as Shirakawa no Nyōgo Echigo, rather than Etchū, but that does not tell us any more about who she was. Akisuke, named in the other headnote, was the compiler of *Shikashū*. Shunzei was here identified by his original name (Fujiwara) Akihiro. He did not change to the name under which he achieved fame until 1167.

40. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 365 and chap. 7 passim.

41. See, for example, the first 2 pages of poems in Book 11 (Love Poems, 3) of *Gyokuyōshū*.

42. Prince Koreakira (1179–1221) was the third son of Emperor Takakura, and the elder brother of Go-Toba.

43. SKKS 1137, "On Winter Love": Toko no shimo / Makura no kōri / Kiewabinu / Musubi mo okanu / Hito no chigiri ni.

44. The author of the first example, Saneyasu (1270–1327), was a member of the Tōin family, an offshoot of the Saionji house. He was a minor poet, though a courtier of significant rank and office. The second example is from a palace poetry gathering whose exact date is unknown at which the participants, all Nijō partisans, submitted 30-poem sequences (Inoue, pp. 103–4).

45. See Hisamatsu et al., pp. 157–58.

46. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 102.

47. By "miscellaneous," I mean (as in the case of the *Kingyoku Utaawase*) all poetry—whether on travel, or religious themes, or whatever—that does not fit into the seasonal or love books of an imperial anthology.

48. The date of this poem is uncertain. It is generally thought to have been from the so-called middle period, that is, composed sometime between 670 and 710 (Takagi et al., vol. 5, pp. 30–31).

49. The author, Chūmei, is unidentified.

50. This poem is one of a series on travel composed at a poetry contest in 1204. Though Ienaga attained only modest rank, he was an important literary figure. He served Go-Toba and took part in the editing of *Shinkokinshū*. His diary, *Ienaga Nikki*, is a valuable source of information on the period (see Ariyoshi, p. 26).

51. Mototada (1247–1313) rose to the office of Kampaku and Prime Minister. He was thought sufficiently skillful as a poet to have been included in the *Kagen Hyakushu* in 1302 (100-Poem Sequences of the Kagen Era), the call for 100-poem sequences for the *Shingosenshū*.

52. I have followed Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 387, in assuming that *mino* refers to the straw rain-cape of that name. However, the text is ambiguous, and the word could simply be *mi no*, meaning "body."

53. Several lines earlier, the author had attacked Tamekane's poem from KU, round 29 (GYS 1010), in which he uses the word *yokogiru* ("slanting").

54. Sasaki, vol. 4, p. 102.

55. Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 387.

APPENDIX B

1. *Shiryō Taisei*, vol. 34, pp. 90–91, 198–201.
2. This note was added by a copyist and suggests that Hanazono wrote the obituary on the back of his diary as a kind of appendix.
3. Tameo was Tameyo's brother; little is known about him. Tamemichi was Tameyo's eldest son; he died in 1299.
4. Hanazono is here referring to a special rank of Middle Captain, called *saishō chūjō*, that could only be held by someone who was also a Consultant (*sangi*). *Saishō* was another term for *sangi*.
5. After Tameyo "lost" his dispute with Tamekane over *Gyokuyōshū*, he resigned his office and went into seclusion in protest. He returned to court after Go-Daigo became Emperor in 1318.
6. That is, his father Tameyo should have shared the commission. In fact Tamefuji got the appointment at the request of his father. Hanazono is not saying that Tameyo was unfairly neglected; he feels that the son was not deserving of such an honor.
7. Reizei Tamesuke (1263–1328), Asukai Masataka (1281–1353), and Kujō Takanori (1269–1348), poets with closer ties to the Kyōgoku group than to the Nijō faction.
8. Text amended from Tamesada (1293–1360), Tamefuji's nephew and adopted son, on the basis of a copyist's note suggesting Tamesada is an error. It is true that after Tamefuji's death, Tamesada took over his official duties as compiler, but Tamefuji had just died, so it is not likely that Tameyo had begun manipulating Tamesada yet.
9. This refers to Tamekane's second exile.
10. Yi Yin, a one-time cook, helped King Tang, founder of the Shang, or Yin, Dynasty (1766 B.C.–1122 B.C.) to pacify the nation. Born poor, Ning Qi moved to the state of Qi, where he became famous for singing while beating time on cattle horns. The Duke of Huan (r. 685 B.C.–643 B.C.) recognized his greatness and made him Prime Minister.
11. Tamemoto (dates unknown) last appeared on the pages of history in 1350. He was of the Nijō house, but allied himself with the Kyōgoku group and became Tamekane's adopted son (Ikeda Tomizō, p. 85).
12. Hanazono uses the term *nyūfu* (literally, "nurse father"), which is not found in any major dictionary, but would appear to be the male equivalent of *nyūbo*, "nurse." "Guardian," or "godfather," would more accurately describe the role. Tamekane's sister, Tameko, was Hanazono's *nyūbo*.
13. Some scholars cite this description as proof that Tameko was older than Tamekane. Others think it is probably just a copyist's interpolation.
14. Tamekane was actually arrested and exiled in the winter of 1315–16. The text was damaged here, and the date 1317 may be a copyist's interpolation.
15. Or roughly during Go-Fushimi's tenure as *jisei no kimi*.
16. What the 90 lines were about is unknown. Toki, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*,

pp. 184–85, suggests they might have been part of *Tamekanekyō Wakashō*. The 3 men named were Tamekane's adopted sons. "The others" would presumably be his other two adopted sons, Tamenaka and Yorinobu. Though all of these men remained loyal to the Kyōgoku style, none of them carried on the Kyōgoku name, so the family line ended with Tamekane's death. See Ikeda Tomizō, p. 85, for details.

17. The Six Genres of Poetry, Rikugi, were first set forth in one of the five Confucian classics (the *Book of Odes*) and adapted by Ki no Tsurayuki for Japanese poetry. They were *soe-uta* (poems that use some concrete thing to reflect the feelings of the poet), *kazoe-uta* (poems that express feeling directly or contain embedded words), *nazurae-uta* (poems that compare the poet's feeling to something concrete), *tatoe-uta* (simile poems), *tadagoto-uta* (poems that describe something directly, without use of comparison or simile), and *iwai-uta* (auspicious or congratulatory poems).

18. Neither of these religious teachers has been identified.

19. The *Book of Odes*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Rites*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

20. There is a missing character in here that I have interpolated as "weak points."

21. On the *Bunpitsu Ganshinshō*, consult the Index for the text discussion. The *Shijin Gyokusetsu* (C. *Shiren Yuxie*; Poets and Fine Verses) was a critical treatise by the Sung writer Wei Jing Zhi. Hisamatsu et al., p. 270, n. 2, cite it as a possible influence for part of *Tamekanekyō Wakashō*.

22. Teika wrote *Hekianshō* (Notes on False Views) in 1226 to pass on to his descendants the teachings he learned from Shunzei about the poets and poetry of the *Sandaishū*.

23. There are 2 characters missing from the text here, but the meaning of the sentence seems clear enough without them.

24. Hanazono might be referring here to the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō*, which is the source of the criticisms described in the following paragraph. But this could more logically be seen as pertaining to the events surrounding the aborted attempt to compile an imperial anthology in 1293, for it was from this time that the enmity between the 2 men became marked.

25. The ubiquitous reference to the *Kokinshū* preface.

26. Text from Tamai, pp. 13–22.

27. The Tsuchmikado Captain was Minamoto Tomoaki (d. 1287). He is thought to have been about 28 when he died. In spite of his youth he had quite a reputation as a Genji scholar and poet and was highly thought of by Fushimi. Iwasa devotes an entire section to him in her *Kyōgokuha Kajin*, pp. 23–69.

28. A reference to a well-known poem by Ki no Tomonori, KKS 38: Kimi narade / Tare ni ka misemu / Ume no hana / Iro o mo ka o mo / Shiru hito zo shiru. ("If not to you / To whom could I show them, / These plum blossoms? / Their beauty, their fragrance— / Only one who knows, knows.")

29. One might have expected Tamekane, out of respect for royalty, to have replied with something like "no song has come to my humble home,

that is, until Your Majesty's poem arrived." *Ima mo tsurenashi* ("remains untouched") seems almost ungrateful. Yet none of the participants in these events comments on the tone of his response. Perhaps it is because they were of a mind when it came to poetry.

30. This *chōka* is extremely complex—much more so than Tamekane's—and elliptical, not to say ungrammatical in its structure. I have tried to maintain as many of the wordplays and pillow words as possible, with results that in places may be as strained as the original.

31. Tamai notes that the missing line appears to have been scratched out, and further notes that there is no concluding *hanka* (an envoy in the form of a *tanka*) to this poem, though by convention *chōka* were typically followed by at least one *hanka*. (Tamekane's poem does not have one, either.) He suggests that these missing parts might have contained specific references to the Nijō house that someone felt should be removed. (Tamai does not speculate on who it might have been.) In fact only one of the five *chōka* in Book 19 of *Kokinshū* has an accompanying *hanka* (KKS 1003 and 1004), so the lack of envoys here may not signify anything. Tamekane and Tomoaki might simply have been following the *Kokinshū* precedent. Although Tamai does not make note of it, Tamekane's poem does not fit the regular *chōka* pattern (5-7-5-7 . . . 5-7-7). Its last ten lines are 5-7-7-5-7-5-7-5-7-7, suggesting that 1 or more lines might have been cut from it, too.

32. Text from Sasaki, vol. 4, pp. 127–37 (cited hereafter by page number only). There are 22 sections in the *Enkyō Ryōkyō Sochinjō* text as printed in this source. The first section and every other one after that present excerpts from Tamekane's second countersuit. These sections are all indented and begin with the phrase *Ichi, dōjō iwaku* ("Item: And in the same letter it says"). They alternate with passages from Tameyo's third suit. Tameyo occasionally quotes from other sources besides Tamekane's countersuits. These quotes are also paragraph indented, but they are easily distinguished from Tamekane's remarks by the absence of the opening *dōjō iwaku*. That opening is omitted in the extracts below.

33. That is, of an exiled "criminal" being permitted to compile an imperial anthology.

34. P. 127.

35. Pp. 127–28. I have omitted Tamekane's enumeration of various gods. Tamekane's debt to the *Kokinshū* Preface here is obvious. It is unfortunate that we have only what Tameyo chose to excerpt of Tamekane's remarks, for obviously these comments as Tameyo relays them can be (and are) used against Tamekane.

36. "Hence two men died prematurely and Tamekane was exiled" is the implied follow-up. I have omitted another enumeration of gods here.

37. P. 128. This is one of the few passages that contain anything approaching a literary discussion as we would define it today. The attitude toward traditional language that Tameyo expresses here is the main point that separated the Nijō and Kyōgoku groups.

38. *Senzaishū*, compiled by Shunzei, was formally submitted in 1188. Nariie was Shunzei's eldest son and Teika's elder brother by the same

mother. He was not, according to Tameyo, much of a poet, compared with his father and brother, though Tamekane maintains that he was better than Tameyo could ever be.

39. Yoshimichi (1167–88) and Yoshitsune (1169–1206) were sons of the Kampaku Fujiwara Kanezane (1149–1207), probably the most politically powerful man of his day. Yoshimichi was considered to have scholarly promise, but died too young to really show it. Yoshitsune went on to become a major force in poetry (Ariyoshi, pp. 672, 677). Tameyo later correctly notes that Yoshitsune had only 7 poems, not 8, in *Senzaishū*, and that Tamekane refers to him by the wrong title. He adds, somewhat cattily: "To be sure, these are minor details, but it is odd that such errors should be scattered about in his petition" (p. 129). The comment about Yoshitsune's position as Middle Captain is a copyist's addition.

40. Pp. 128–29.

41. P. 129.

42. P. 130. I have placed this section out of order for the sake of the argument. Tamekane makes the same point about quantity versus quality in *Tamekanekyō Wakashō* (see Hisamatsu et al., p. 156). The source of the Teika remark is unknown.

43. Pp. 129–30.

APPENDIX C

1. From 1416 to 1448 the Imperial Prince Go-Sukō-in kept a diary now known as the *Kanmon Gyoki*. As was customary in an age where good paper was scarce, he wrote on the back of old documents. In 1965 the Imperial Household Library printed the materials found on the reverse side of the diary in a document called the *Kanmon Gyoki Shihai Bunsho*. Among them are 244 draft poems written by Tamekane in the 1280's, when Fushimi was Crown Prince. As a total for Tamekane's extant poems, Hisamatsu, p. 47, and Ishida, p. 307, give 530, but neither provides a breakdown by source. Subtracting the 244 draft poems (which were unknown until 1965) from the 720 poems I have accounted for here (leaving 476) and adding 57 in the *Fubokushō* that are attributed to Tamekane yields 533.

2. The *Nigonshō* (Two-Part Notes) is a poetic treatise written in 1403 by Imagawa Ryōshun. Its text can be found in Sasaki, vol. 5, pp. 166–76.

APPENDIX D

1. I have followed the text found in the *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 15, pp. 340–47, except as noted.

2. Also FGS 27, with line 3 changed to *arawarenu* ("has shown itself"). Headnote: "Topic unknown."

3. Also FGS 84.

4. Also GYS 174, with the last word of line 4 changed to *mo*. Headnote: "From among poems on Spring."

5. Also GYS 292. Headnote: "Written on the Last Night of the Third Month."

6. Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 237, gives line 2 as *to no hanagaki ni* ("on the outer fence of flowers"), but does not say what text he is using.

7. Also FGS 325. Headnote: "On the topic of Hearing the Cuckoo; from 30 poems offered to Retired Emperor Fushimi."

8. Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 238, gives the last word of line 4 as *yuragu*, an archaic form of *yurugu*.

9. Also GYS 501. Headnote: "On the topic of Dew on Grasses and Flowers; composed when the Retired Emperor had people write 30 poems." *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* has line 1 as *tsuyu omoru* (露をもる), but Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 228, *Shinpen Kokka Taikan*, and *Kōchū Kokka Taikei*, vol. 6, p. 290, all write the first line as 露重る. I have followed the second reading in my translation.

10. Also GYS 544. Headnote: "When the poet presented 20 poems on Autumn." Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 228, and *Kōchū Kokka Taikei*, vol. 6, p. 296, give line 4 as *asu mo ya koko ni*, a reading I have followed here.

11. Also GYS 689. Headnote: "On the topic Longing for the Old Days While Looking at the Moon; composed when Retired Emperor Fushimi was Crown Prince and posed topics for a poetry contest among those men who were in attendance."

12. Also appears in *Kōan Hachinen Shigatsu Uta-awase*, under the topic "Moon."

13. Also FGS 542. Headnote: [As a poem on Autumn]. *Shinpen Kokka Taikan* gives line 2 as *yanagi no sue no*. I follow the line given in Tsugita and Iwasa.

14. Also GYS 832. Headnote: "When the poet presented 10 poems about Late Autumn."

15. Also appears in *Tamekanekyōki* (Hamaguchi and Ogawa, p. 63, entry for x 4).

16. Also FGS 855. Headnote: [Snow at Night]. The *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* text notes that another, unspecified text gives line 5 as *yuki zo furishiku* ("and snowfall covers them"). It also appears that way in *Shinpen Kokka Taikan* and Tsugita and Iwasa.

17. Also GYS 1010. Headnote: [From among poems on Winter].

18. Also appears in *Tamekanekyōki*.

19. Also GYS 1367. Headnote: "On Secret Love in Waiting; from a 50-poem sequence." In translating this poem from the man's point of view, I follow a suggestion made by Konishi Jin'ichi, in a personal communication. It is not unusual for poems describing this early stage of love to have a man as the speaker. Fushimi's poem in this same round is a case in point: Shinobizuma / Matsu to shi sureba / Ayanaku ni / Nenu hito shigemi / Sayo zo fukeyuku. ("As my secret / Longed-for love awaits me / The night deepens— / Hateful that all those around me / Will not go off to bed.")

20. Also GYS 1381. Headnote: "On the feeling of Waiting Love."

21. Also GYS 1405, with the first 2 lines given as Towamu shimo / Ima

wa ushi ya no ("I was going to visit / And now . . .") changing the viewpoint of the poem to that of the man who does not visit: "Towamu shimo / Ima wa ushi ya no / Akegata mo / Matarezu wa naki / Tsuki no yo sugara. ("I was going to visit / And now it must seem sad to her / This breaking day, / She had nothing to do but wait / Throughout this moonlit night.")

22. Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 238, gives line 4 as *itou bakari mo* ("to the point of shunning").

23. Also GYS 1281. Headnote: "On the feeling of Hidden Love." The GYS version is substantially altered in a way that makes the poem more appropriate to an earlier stage in the traditional course of poetic love: Sara ni mata / Tsutsumimasaru to / Kiku kara ni / Usa koishisa mo / Iwazu naru koro. ("Hearing that my lover / Strives even more to keep / Those feelings hidden, / I cannot bring myself to speak / Of my own sadness, my own longing.") There are also textual variants. *Kōchū Kokka Taikei*, p. 397, gives line 4 as *ukikoishisa mo* ("my sad, unsettled longing").

24. Also FGS 1157, with line 3 given as *yowareba ya* ("since it grows weaker"). Headnote (and for Tamekane's preceding 1156): "Love poems."

25. Also GYS 1683, with line 2 changed to *kore ya kagiri mo*, and line 4 to *sono aware oba*. The change in line 4 makes it somewhat more emphatic; the effect might be duplicated by inverting the lines in English: "The pathos of my thoughts / Is something no one understands." Headnote: "Topic unknown."

26. Also GYS 1706, with line 2 changed to *ideshi urami wa* ("the resentment that came out in words"). Headnote: "On Resentful Love; composed when 30 poems were ordered." Inoue Muneo, p. 113, maintains that the 30 poems referred to here and many other places in both *Gyokuyōshū* and *Shingosenshū*, means the 30-poem sequences that Fushimi ordered from a number of poets in 1303. Several entries in Tamekane's diary show him giving advice to poets of the day about this sequence. See, for example, Hamaguchi and Ogawa, p. 54, entries for vi 30 and vii 28.

27. Also GYS 1142. Headnote: "On Travel at Night; from a 100-poem sequence formally submitted."

28. Also GYS 1204. Headnote: "On the topic of Travel in the Rain."

29. Toki, *Shinshū*, p. 239, gives line 2 as *kusa ni hageshiki (yama arashi)* ("rough [mountain storm blowing] on the grasses"), but again, since he does not cite his text, there is no way of knowing whether this is his own emendation. It is a plausible enough suggestion, since to describe a mountain storm as *shigeki* would be unusual, not to say unprecedented. Still, *shigeki* in the sense of "ceaseless, endless" does appear in *Man'yōshū* to describe rumors, and Murasaki Shikibu uses it in *Genji Monogatari* to describe a large number of people packed solidly together at the palace (see Ōno, p. 602). So it is conceivable that Tamekane was describing a powerful, relentless mountain storm, and using *shigeki* also as a pivot word to modify the grasses.

30. Also FGS 1687, with line 1 given as *Ōzora ni* ("In the great sky"). Headnote: "From among Miscellaneous poems." Tsugita and Iwasa, p. 321,

note that Tamekane here alludes to a poem by Go-Toba, ShokuSZS 70, [Topic unknown]: Furu ame no / Amaneku uruū / Haru nareba / Hana sakanu hi wa / Araji to zo omou. ("Since now it's spring— / The season when rain falls / Nurturing everything— / We cannot imagine a day could pass / Without flowers coming into bloom.") Both Tamekane's and Go-Toba's poems are allegorical references to the nurturing Dharma Rain described in the Lotus Sutra (see Hurvitz, pp. 104–5).

31. This poem is clearly in praise of Fushimi's poetry.

32. This poem alludes to the first lines of the Japanese preface to *Kokinshū*: "Japanese poetry is countless leaves of words springing from the seeds of the human heart" (Saeki, p. 93).

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