ASSOCIATION AND PROGRESSION: PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION IN ANTHOLOGIES AND SEQUENCES OF JAPANESE COURT POETRY, A. D. 900–1350

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Anyone at all acquainted with Japanese poetry knows that its *chōka* or " long poems " are not truly long by Western standards, and that the " short poem " or *tanka* has only thirty-one syllables and yet is longer than the seventeen-syllable form, the *haiku*. The historical changes from short to still shorter forms are well known. This is only half the story, however, and the subject of this essay is one which begins with the *tanka* and ends with what may be called, with little exaggeration, lyrical structures of hundreds and even thousands of lines in length. The complement to fragmentation in Japanese poetic history is integration, and if the fragmentation has produced poems of almost incredible brevity, the integration brought into being not only the well-known *renga* or linked verse but also the structures from which this form can be shown to have inherited many of its most important and characteristic techniques—the anthology and sequence, lyric forms integrating numerous short poems into a unified series of impressive length.

There is good reason for readers well acquainted with Japanese

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poetry and even Japanese scholarship not to have heard that such structures exist. Various factors have led the Japanese themselves to obscure and, till recently, to forget them. The modern habits of making selections or abridgments of anthologies and of burying poems in an edition with notes and commentary have prevented sequential reading of the poems; but above all, the discontinuance, late in the fifteenth century, of the practice of integrating anthologies had already led to the loss of the ability to read these structures as they were intended to be read. Moreover, there is nothing we know of in Western literature to prepare a foreign student of Japanese poetry to see the integrated unity of such a collection as the *Shinkokinshū* 新古今集— an anthology that may be read from beginning to end as a single long structure divided into books.[1] This form of the sequence, as it may be called, is important in other ways, since it affords the Western reader a view of Japanese poetry that allays his innate, if prejudiced, doubts about the short Japanese forms; since it gives us insight into other genres, artistic and literary, which in turn illuminate the sequences; and since it gives a new explanation for the development and practice of the *renga*, or linked verses that developed in the thirteenth century. It is with more than ordinary enthusiasm, then, that we embark upon an essay of rediscovery—of a new concept of poetry and a re-assessment of a crucial aspect of centuries of a poetic tradition.[2]

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[1] The eighth of the twenty-one imperial anthologies, the *Shinkokinshū* was compiled c. 1206. It has no parallel among the Chinese anthologies, and only a few works in European literature may be compared in structure to the anthology. Such a closely ordered sonnet sequence as Spenser's *Amoretti*, such a series as Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, or such a song cycle as Schumann's *Frauenliebe und Leben* are integrated sequences which progress in time and action. They differ from the anthology, however, in important ways. These are the products of single artists, not anthologies; they have progression but none of the other integrating techniques; and none belongs to a genre uniting poems of a whole lyric range of subjects into one whole. The best analogy is probably the concerto or symphony with its patterns of recurrent melody, alterations in tempo, and structural unity of separate movements. The forced nature of such comparisons is an indication, however, that as a literary genre, the Japanese structures are *sui generis*.

[2] Those curious about the way this rediscovery was made will be interested to know that it came about through study of the composition of the imperial anthologies.

I. Integration in the *Shinkokinshū*: the Problem of Varying Literary Quality in a Poetic Sequence

The *Shinkokinshū* plays a crucial role in the history of the integration of poetic sequences, because it is a pivotal anthology among the great collections compiled by imperial decree. It represents the culmination of earlier integrating techniques, a development of them to new heights, and an influence upon later methods of integration. There are two other reasons for choosing this anthology as a focal point—the intrinsic worth of many of its individual poems and, paradoxically, the fact that no small degree of its greatness as a collection is founded upon its inclusion of a large number of poems that are quite ordinary and certainly far from great. No previous imperial anthology had included poems which, by the standards of the compilers at least, were not considered to be of high quality. To state the matter most summarily and categorically, the *Shinkokinshū* integrates almost two thousand *tanka* of widely varying quality, composed over a period of several centuries, and written by different poets; its integration is achieved by a complex of techniques of associa-

tion from one poem to the next and progression in the sequence
of the anthology as a whole. The high degree of unity and the
pleasure from the association and progression could not be gained
without the variety, in quality and otherwise, of the individual
poems. These facts might be demonstrated with any sub-sequence
of poems in the anthology, but we shall start with the first fifteen
poems from the first scroll, whose general subject is spring.[3]

SKKS I: 1
　Mi-Yoshino no　　　　　　At beauteous Yoshino
Yama mo kasumite　　　　　The mountains are veiled in a haze,
　Shirayuki no　　　　　　　And to the hamlet,
Furinishi sato ni　　　　　Former capital, grown old beneath the snow,
Haru wa kinikeri.　　　　　Once more the spring has come.
　　　　　　　　Fujiwara Yoshitsune 藤原良經 (1169-1206)

SKKS I: 2
　Honobono to　　　　　　　Faintly, faintly,
Haru koso sora ni　　　　The sky breathes forth a promise
　Kinikerashi　　　　　　　　Of the coming spring,
Ama no Kaguyama　　　　　And from the holy Hill of Kagu
Kasumi tanabiku.　　　　　Drift the gossamer veils of haze.
　　　　　　　　Ex-Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽院 (1180-1239)

———————

[3] In quoting and translating these and subsequent poems, we have left out the
headnotes (*kotobagaki* 詞書) and statements of topics (*dai* 題). Preceding the first
poem, for example, is a statement of its topic, " On the spirit of the coming of spring ";
and the fourth has the note, " When I humbly presented a sequence of fifty poems."
We have omitted such headings because these notes, which show the variety of sources
drawn upon by the compilers, are not as crucial as English titles; because they would
interrupt the flow from one poem to the next; and because these notes are perhaps
one of the principal reasons why subsequent readers of the imperial anthologies have
failed to see that the separate poems are integrated into one whole. The poems quoted
in this essay are identified by abbreviations of the titles of the anthologies in which
they appear, by the scroll or book numbers within the anthologies, and by the
numbering of poems in *Kokka Taikan* 國歌大觀 (" The Great Canon of Japanese
Poetry "), compiled by Matsushita Daizaburō 松下大三郎 and Watanabe Fumio
渡邊文雄 , 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1903). Our abbreviations for the anthologies are: *MYS*
(*Man'yōshū* 萬葉集), *KKS* (*Kokinshū* 古今集), *SZS* (*Senzaishū* 千載集), *SKKS*
(*Shinkokinshū* 新古今集), and *GYS* (*Gyokuyōshū* 玉葉集). " *SKKS* XI: 993 "
thus indicates the 993rd poem of the *Shinkokinshū*, to be found in Book (or Scroll)
Eleven. We have also attempted, where possible, to give the name of the author of a
poem rather than the court rank or title by which he may be called in a given
collection. Thus, the author of *SKKS* I: 1 is identified as Fujiwara Yoshitsune 藤原
良經 rather than the " Regent and Prime Minister " as he is called in this anthology.
The poets' dates, known or conjectured, are given in parentheses after their names.

SKKS I: 3
Yama fukami
Haru to mo shiranu
Matsu no to ni
Taedae kakaru
Yuki no tamamizu.

Here at my mountain hut
There are no signs that spring has come,
But from the pines
That cluster by my door the snow
Melts into intermittent crystal beads.

Princess Shokushi 式子内親王 (d. 1201)

SKKS I: 4
Kakikurashi
Nao furusato no
Yuki ni uchi ni
Ato koso miene
Haru wa kinikeri.

The falling snow
Swirls over the dreary village sky
With its white darkness,
But though I hear no sound of footfall
And see no signs, the spring has come.

Lady Kunaikyō 宮内卿 (d. 1207)

SKKS I: 5
Kyō to ieba
Morokoshi made mo
Yuku haru o
Miyako ni nomi to
Omoikeru ka na.

This very day is spring,
And even to the Land Beyond the Sea
The season spreads—
How limited to have thought such beauty
Belonged to this great Capital alone!

Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204)

SKKS I: 6
Haru to ieba
Kasuminikeri na
Kinō made
Namima ni mieshi
Awaji shimayama.

Were they told of spring,
That on Awaji Isle those distant hills,
Seen but yesterday
Between the surging of the waves,
Today have blanketed themselves in haze?

Priest Shun'e 俊惠法師 (fl. c. 1160-1180)

SKKS I: 7
Iwama tojishi
Kōri mo kesa wa
Tokisomete
Koke no shitamizu
Michi motomu ran.

From this morning
Even the ice imprisoned in the rocks
Begins to melt,
And the water underneath the mosses
Seems to seek its way to issue forth.

Priest Saigyō 西行法師 (1118-1190)

SKKS I: 8
Kazemaze ni
Yuki wa furitsutsu
Shikasuga ni
Kasumi tanabiki
Haru wa kinikeri.

Blown by the wind,
The snowflakes flutter through the air,
But even so the haze
That drifts its way across the sky
Gives proof that spring has come.

Anonymous

SKKS I: 9
Toki wa ima
Haru ni narinu to
Miyuki furu

Far off across the plain
The drifting clouds of haze announce
" The time of year is spring,"

Tōki yamabe ni   Even to the distant mountain reaches
Kasumi tanabiku.   Where still the deep snow falls.

<div align="right">Anonymous</div>

SKKS I: 10
  Kasugano no   Upon the sprouting grass
Shitamoewataru   That stretches green across the moor
  Kusa no ue ni   Of ancient Kasuga,
Tsurenaku miyuru   Indifferent to the season's gift of life,
Haru no awayuki.   There linger patches of the soft spring snow.

<div align="right">Minamoto Kuninobu 源國信 (1069-1111)</div>

SKKS I: 11
  Asu kara wa   Roped off, the fields,
Wakana tsuman to   That the courtiers can set out tomorrow
  Shimeshi no ni   To pick the new spring greens,
Kinō mo kyō mo   But yesterday and now again today
Yuki wa furitsutsu.   They are covered over by the snow.

<div align="right">Yamabe Akahito 山部赤人 (d. ?736)</div>

SKKS I: 12
  Kasugano no   The withered grasses
Kusa wa midori ni   Of the ancient fields of Kasuga have turned
  Narinikeri   Into a living green—
Wakana tsuman to   Who could he be, that man of elegance,
Tare ka shimeken.   Who roped them off so he might pick young shoots?

<div align="right">Mibu no Tadami 壬生忠見 (fl. c. 950)</div>

SKKS I: 13
  Wakana tsumu   Like the white sleeves
Sode to zo miyuru   Of courtiers picking tender shoots
  Kasugano no   On the fields of Kasuga,
Tobuhi no nobe no   Those patches of remaining snow stand out
Yuki no muragie.   Upon the fresh green fields of Tobuhi.

<div align="right">Fujiwara Norinaga 藤原教長 (fl. c. 1145-1160)</div>

SKKS I: 14
  Yukite minu   These tender greens,
Hito mo shinobe to   Plucked as the keepsake of a day
  Haru no no no   In the fields of spring,
Katami ni tsugeru   Say from their basket to those who did not go,
Wakana narikeri.   " Look upon us now with admiration."

<div align="right">Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (d. ?945)</div>

SKKS I: 15
  Sawa ni ouru   Not just in taking
Wakana naranedo   The young shoots from along the marsh,
  Itazura ni   But also in the taking
Toshi o tsumu ni mo   Of each year to my heap of broken years
Sode wa nurekeri.   Have I felt my sleeves grow wet.

<div align="right">Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)</div>

Each reader of this sequence can see for himself the difference in literary appeal between one poem and another, but three barriers may prevent some readers at least from following that alteration in literary quality which was deliberately intended by the compilers. Those who read only our translations may be misled by a weak translation of a good poem or a better translation of a weak one. Another barrier is that of the cultural differences between the Japanese and us; most Westerners are unfamiliar, say, with the elegant court practice of taking an excursion into spring fields to pick young shoots. The third barrier is that of the history of taste—not all poems that appeal to one age appeal to another. These barriers are not, however, insuperable ones, and they need not obscure the point that the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū* intended to vary the quality of poems in a given sequence, to include weak as well as good poems.[4]

Judged by the standards of the thirteenth century, then, the first seven poems would have been considered good. This is no surprise, for we would expect an anthology compiled at imperial command to contain those poems that the compilers would have judged the best of their kind, and which they would have selected with great care from the many sources available to them. Why then did they include poems 8 and 9, which they could only have considered rather insipid productions? It was certainly not for any lack of materials; we can find in the personal anthologies of the day any number of other poems on the same subjects, poems that the compilers must have regarded as of the highest quality. We may therefore assume that the selection was deliberate, but to explain why we must turn for a moment to other matters.

[4] The standards of poetic taste and criteria of quality in this age, seven and a half centuries past, are not so difficult to establish as might be thought. The judgments at poetry contests (*utaawase* 歌合) and other extant records and treatises help make clear the literary preferences of the age. Those poems that seem most impressive to the modern eye seemed so to their age as well, although sometimes for different reasons. In the sequence just quoted, we find no really excellent poems, but good and weak ones.

II. Integration Through Association and Progression

By the middle of the twelfth century, the practice of composing poems on "topics" (*dai* 題) had become so common among the aristocracy that perhaps even most of the apparently private and personal love poetry was composed in this way. We are often confronted with many such strange surprises as a pious priest who addresses passionate lyrics to a mistress as coy—and non-existent—as many of the ladies of Elizabethan sonnets. Many topics were seasonal, and poets would be given such problems as expressing the "spirit of the coming of spring," for example, as in the case of the first poem above. Indeed, all of the fifteen poems which have been quoted are quite obviously variations on a general topic which we may call "early spring." This topic continues to govern the poems which succeed these, until roughly the thirty-fourth one, where a shift begins to poems which deal with "spring proper." All of the 174 poems in the first two of the twenty books of the *Shinkokinshū* are devoted to spring, and the seasonal development is carried over and continued from the end of Book I into Book II. The series of poems on "spring proper" continues to approximately poem 115, where there is another major shift, this time to "late spring." In other words, the poems are given their place within these books on the basis of the progression of a season from the first faint signs of its arrival to its close. Following this logic, the last poem in Book II (174) is quite properly on "the last day of spring."

Similar kinds of progression can be found throughout all the seasonal books of the *Shinkokinshū*. In the case of the poems on spring, a closer inspection will now reveal that the overall time progression from early to late spring is very subtly handled in order to create a total effect of the passage of the season which is in harmony with the physical world. This effect is achieved through the conscious manipulation of certain dominant images: the key "spring" image in one poem is juxtaposed to the key images in the preceding and following verses in such a way that the reader is carried along through the vicissitudes of early spring weather, with its warm, sunny days followed by cold spells and

an occasional late snow, until at last spring can really be said to have reached its height. We may illustrate this progression graphically by the following table, which shows the alternating relationships among the three key spring images of haze (*kasumi*), late snow (*yuki*) and the early flowering plum (*ume*).

Poem No.	Haze	Snow	Plum	Poem No.	Haze	Snow	Plum
1	x	x		18		x	
2	x			19		x	
3		x		20		x	
4		x		21		x	
5				22		x	
6	x			23	x	x	
7				24		x	
8	x	x		25			
9	x	x		26			
10		x		27		x	
11		x		28		x	x
12				29			
13		x		30		x	x
14				31			
15				32			
16				33	x		
17							

It will be remembered that in ancient Japan spring was considered to begin officially on the first day of the first month of the lunar calendar, which was of course the first day of the New Year. But although this was the occasion for various traditional ceremonies associated with the new season, the weather in fact remained quite cold. The first day of spring in the year 1206 (the year in which the *Shinkokinshū* was first compiled), for example, fell on February 10th of the Western calendar. This is a time when the capital city of Kyoto would have been, and still would be, very much in the grip of winter; for despite some hopeful signs that warmer weather might be on the way, the proportion of wintry days would be still relatively great. There might be

one or two fine days, but then it would grow cold again, then
warm, and so on, until the season had really settled into spring.
The image of snow in the *Shinkokinshū* poems of course repre-
sents the cold days, and the haze stands for the warm ones, so
that the progression in which these images alternate, disappear
and reappear, sometimes separately and sometimes together, was
intended to create in the consciousness of the reader a very vivid
impression of the unsettled weather of early spring.

The first appearance of the plum in the twenty-eighth poem
arouses certain expectations, for in Japan it was felt that when
the plum trees began to bloom spring had really come to stay.
However, it must be pointed out that the image in this poem
and in No. 30 is not of plum *blossoms*, but of plum *branches* which
have not yet begun to flower; and although at this point we may
begin to anticipate good things to come, we are kept waiting for
the blossoms themselves until the fortieth poem. Thus the season
continues to advance, but its steady progression is still interrupted
in a highly realistic fashion by a lapse into cold weather, as the
continuation of our table will show.

Poem No.	Haze	Snow	Plum	Poem No.	Haze	Snow	Plum
34	x			46			x
35	x			47			x
36	x			48			x
37	x			49			x
38				50			x
39	x			51			x
40	x		x	52			x
41		x	x	53			x
42			x	54			x
43			x	55			
44			x	56	x		
45			x	57	x		

Haze was regarded as an image that represented the whole of
spring, and therefore it disappears and reappears throughout the
entire sequence of spring poems either alone or in conjunction

with other elements as a kind of musical " ground " or leitmotiv. By the placement of poem No. 41, with its image of snow, however, the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū* have quietly suggested the possibility of unseasonable weather even when spring is fairly well advanced.

The overall development and movement from one poem to another within the various books of the *Shinkokinshū* is not limited to a scheme which reflects the vagaries of the weather, however; and when we look even more carefully, we discover other associations, similarities, and contrasts by which the compilers have welded their individual and independent artistic entities into a unified whole. These relationships involve, in the seasonal poems, time sequences based upon the progression of human affairs, too, for regardless of the weather, the ceremonial calendar (*nenchū gyōji* 年中行事) of ancient Japan demanded that certain acts be performed by men and women on certain days of the year. The annual excursion out into the fields to pick young shoots, for example, was fixed on the so-called " day of the rat " of the first lunar month (which fell on February 15th in the year 1206), and poems on this occasion were invariably included in their appropriate place in the progression of seasonal poems in the imperial anthologies. Sometimes this eagerly awaited occasion—which provided one of the few opportunities for nobles hedged about with innumerable restrictions in twilit palaces to get out into the open air—would fall on a stormy day, and we have many poems on the picking of young shoots in the snow.

In addition to these perhaps obvious kinds of progression through time, there are more complex associational patterns of natural images, rhetorical techniques, contrasts between groups of old and new poems, echoings of the past, and the like. Not all of these are present in any one book or sequence of the *Shinkokinshū*: highly complex associations of natural images are to be found in the spring poems, for example, whereas in the love poems the major unifying motif is the temporal development of a love affair from its beginning to its traditionally unhappy end. Before going on to other kinds of progression, however, we must estab-

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lish certain more complex patterns of images and associations in
the spring poems by examining some of these in greater detail.

A glance at the first two poems in Book I, which have been
translated above, shows that they share the word " spring " (haru)
and the images of " haze " (kasumi) and " mountains " or " hills "
(yama). But these mountains or hills are not just ordinary ones:
they are both famous beauty spots celebrated repeatedly by
Japanese poets since the age of the earliest literary poetry in the
seventh and eighth centuries. Furthermore, both are situated
in the old province of Yamato, and both are in or near former
imperial residences.[5] These place names, therefore, have quasi-
imagistic associations and tie these two poems together more
closely than might be detected at first glance.

The first two poems are bound still more closely, however,
through a device of " natural suggestion," which is to say that to
the Japanese poet the image of " snow " in the first poem quite
naturally suggests the image of " sky " in the second. Images
in such relationships, which most commonly occur between pairs
of words or images within the same poem, are called " word asso-
ciations " (engo 緣語). We find another example in the third
poem with the association of mountains (yama) and pine trees
(matsu). Other linguistic techniques enforce such an association.
In both poems there is a reduplicated adverb with voicing at
the point of juncture: honobono in the second poem and taedae
in the third.

The second and third poems are also clearly linked by the
common image of hills or mountains—linked but with the differ-
ence that the mountains in the third poem are no particular ones,
and so the progression continues to a different setting. If we
consider such settings from the point of view of the speakers of
the poems, we find ourselves first in a tiny village or hamlet from
which we gaze far off at a range of mountains; in the second poem
we are looking upon the sky and a low mountain or hill from a
closer distance, and there is no village at all. And in the third

[5] Summer palaces were built at Yoshino 吉野 for successive Emperors from Ōjin
應神 (d. c. 394) through perhaps Shōmu 聖武 (d. 756); and the Hill of Kagu
was near the city of Nara, the first " permanent " capital (710-784).

poem we now find ourselves surrounded by mountains. If we follow this shifting point of view, we find that we have moved up until we are in the poetic setting. The associational progression continues from the phrase " door framed by pine trees " (*matsu no to*) in the third poem, an image which naturally suggests some sort of dwelling and thus the presence of a human being. This implied imagery is in its way as important as the shared images of spring and snow; for the village that reappears in poem 4 is quite naturally introduced by the image of the door in the preceding one. We have here, however, not merely a " word association," but a transition, because a village is a place usually inhabited by a fair number of people, in contrast to an isolated mountain hut. In other words, we are beginning to move out of the mountains, and in the fourth poem we have been transported to a somewhat less wild and isolated setting. At the same time, while we are perhaps relieved to find ourselves with other human beings again, even if only in a snowbound village, our sense of the lonely and pathetic existence of the speaker of the third poem is intensified.

Up to this point the imagery of mountains, hills, small villages and isolated huts has kept us in the " country." If the village imagery of the fourth poem begins to take us out of this lonely and relatively uninhabited area, the image of the " capital " in the fifth poem has the function of carrying us into the environment of the " city." The crucial phrase in the fifth poem—" Capital alone "—implies a great deal more than merely the city itself however; for the " implications " (*yojō* 餘情) of this expression are that spring has come not just to the city, but everywhere —to every mountain, hill and isolated rural hamlet—and these implications become particularly clear when the poem is read in connection with the preceding one with its image of a country village.

It will also be noticed that in the fifth poem the word *Moro-koshi* 唐土, a rather archaic and romantic word for continental East Asia, especially China, is used. According to the accepted folk etymology of this word, the element *moro* (which could be

written 緒) originally meant "mutually" or "together," and
the element *koshi* (which could be written 越) signified "going
and coming across the sea." It is likely that the poet and his
audience in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had some such
conception of the "meaning" of this word, and although they
probably used it for the most part simply as an elegant word
for China, its supposed imagistic significance could be raised when
occasion required. This appears to have been the case in the
placement of the fifth poem by the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū*,
for not only does the word "Cathay" or the "Land Beyond the
Seas" widen the landscape into which we have gradually pro-
gressed (the exotic, foreign character of the word *Morokoshi* is
strengthened because the poet has alluded to a Chinese poem);
but even more important, by raising the etymological meaning
of the word, the compilers have carried us across the ocean and
back, and have prepared us fully for the image of "waves"
(*nami*) which appears in the sixth poem. This is the crucial point
of association between poems 5 and 6, but there is of course also
the common element of spring to which we have alluded above,
and there is a further association in the parallel syntax and nearly
identical wording in the first two lines of both poems—*kyō to ieba*
in the fifth, and *haru to ieba* in the sixth.

   There appears to be no obvious association of images between
the sixth and seventh poems, but the "waves" of poem 6 easily
suggests the idea of water, and lead without effort to the "water
underneath the mosses" in poem 7. Furthermore, the natural
setting of the seventh poem is in the mountains, where a brook
or stream choked with ice is beginning to flow once more in
spring. Consequently, although they are not explicitly mentioned
in the poem, the context suggests mountains; this "implied
imagery" is strengthened through association with poem 6, where
the mountains are specifically mentioned; and a further link is
thus formed between the two poems. Finally, the contrast be-
tween the "yesterday" of the sixth and the "this morning" of
the seventh poem provides an additional association of "paired
opposites."

   The "ice" of the seventh poem naturally suggests the "snow"

which reappears in the eighth, another example of the *engo* or word association. The eighth and ninth poems in turn share the words and images of " spring," " snow," and " haze," and the ninth and tenth those of " spring " and " snow." The progression is perhaps less clear than the association, however, since if the sequence of poems from the seventh through the tenth are related only in terms of these common words and images, there would seem to be no particular reason for not progressing directly from poem 7 to poem 10, which would then be linked by the word association of " ice " and " snow," and the eighth and ninth poems might be considered superfluous. However, when we try circumventing poems 8 and 9 and moving without delay from the seventh to the tenth, we see that in effect we are suddenly transported from the dark recesses of a mountain valley to the wide and brilliant fields of Kasuga 春日 near the old city of Nara. To the refined sensibilities of the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū,* such an abrupt transition would no doubt have been quite shocking. The compilers therefore chose to lead from the scene of the ice melting in the slight warmth of early spring in poem 7 to the rather similar situation of snow falling through a sky streaked with a few patches of spring haze in poem 8; thence, with the same images in the eighth poem, to a more concretely realized landscape in poem 9; and finally, by this smooth transition, to the imagery of snow, broad moors, and green, sprouting grass in poem 10. Moreover, the image of " mountains " appears in the ninth poem, their outlines seen from afar; so that the position of the speaker is by implication somewhere on the level ground, from which he gazes across towards the hills. This of course prepares us for the " moor of Kasuga " in poem 10. Again, the snow in the eighth poem is treated as actually falling before the eyes of the speaker, whereas in the ninth poem the speaker imagines that snow must still be falling somewhere in the mountains, whose whiteness off in the distance shows him that the drifts still lie deep upon the upper slopes. The fact that the snow is not treated as actually falling in the presence of the speaker thus provides a common feature between poems 9 and 10, both of which might well have been composed on the topic of " re-

maining snow." If, on the other hand, poem 9 had been omitted
and the transition made directly from the eighth poem to the
tenth, there would have been a sudden shift from " snow now
falling " to " snow on the ground," and this again would not
have been to the taste of the thirteenth-century poets. Conse-
quently we may suppose that the effort to achieve a smooth
associational progression was of great importance to the com-
pilers of the *Shinkokinshū*, and that this explains why they chose
to include poems 8 and 9—two anonymous and really rather
undistinguished verses.

The tenth through the fifteenth poems are all associated with
one another through the imagery of " young shoots " or " spring
greens " (*wakana*), and there is a time-progression within this
set of poems on the annual observance decreed by the ceremonial
calendar: in poem 10 the young shoots have just begun to sprout;
in poem 11 they have grown enough so that it is possible to pick
them; in poem 12 the snow has stopped and the time to pick
them has really come; in poem 13 courtiers are actually plucking
the shoots; and in poem 14 the occasion is over, and the nobles
have returned with the souvenirs of their excursion. The fifteenth
poem, in contrast to the others which are all on the simple topic
of " picking young shoots," is somewhat different in both tone
and situation: the speaker is an old man who laments that for
some reason he was not able to participate in this happy outing.
Of course the speaker does not explicitly declare that he could
not go, but when we read this poem in connection with poem 14
with its " those who did not go," we cannot help but imagine
that some personal difficulty—political disgrace, perhaps—has
prevented the weeping old man from joining the gay throng on the
appointed day.

Such an analysis of the association of images and their pro-
gression from one poem to another could be carried on through
all six books of nature poems in the *Shinkokinshū* in the same
detailed fashion. But we have not yet exhausted the poetic rich-
ness of associational progression in our fifteen spring poems. They
are related by yet another kind of association, one which is
different but at the same time closely related to progressions of

related images. This second type of association involves the neoclassical technique of " echoing " older poems, and in the case of the *Shinkokinshū* it means something at the same time more general and more complex than this: namely, raising the image of an entire anthology through echoing in groups of poems in the newer collection corresponding groups of poems in the older one. The meaning of the title, *Shinkokinshū*, is " New Anthology of Poems Ancient and Modern "—in other words, the " New *Kokinshū*." In giving their anthology this name, the compilers were consciously expressing a neoclassical ideal and were specifying the source of their inspiration—the *Kokinshū*, or " Anthology of Poems Ancient and Modern," the first collection of Japanese poetry compiled by imperial command early in the tenth century. The *Kokinshū* remained, despite fundamental changes in poetic theory and practice, the almost universally accepted standard of propriety in poetic diction and, to a lesser extent, technique, throughout the history of the Japanese classical tradition. In choosing the name for their anthology, and in raising the image of the older collection through echoings, the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū* were giving expression to their ideal of recreating in their own age—an age, significantly, of political and social decline for the court aristocracy—the poetic achievement and, by implication, the social brilliance of that more happy period of the *Kokinshū*. We may demonstrate the ways in which these overtones are conveyed by comparing poems 10 through 15 in the *Shinkokinshū* (which have been already quoted above) with poems 17 through 22 in the first book of the *Kokinshū*, a book which is also naturally devoted to spring.

KKS I: 17

Kasugano wa	Be kind to us,
Kyō wa na yaki so	And do not burn today the withered fields
Wakakusa no	Of ancient Kasuga,
Tsuma mo komoreri	For like the young grass sprouting underneath,
Ware mo komoreri.	She hides there, and I there by her side.

Anonymous

KKS I: 18

Kasugano no	O guardian of the fields
Tobuhi no nomori	Of Tobuhi in ancient Kasuga,
Idete miyo	Come out and look

Ima ikuka arite   And tell how many days I still must wait
Wakana tsumiten.   Until the joyous time to pick young shoots.
                                                    Anonymous

KKS I: 19
  Miyama ni wa   Deep in the mountains,
Matsu no yuki dani   Even the snow that fell upon the pines
  Kienaku ni   Has not begun to melt,
Miyako wa nobe no   But in the Capital, the fields are thronged
Wakana tsumikeri.   With courtiers gaily picking the young shoots.
                                                    Anonymous

KKS I: 20
  Azusayumi   Today the rains of spring
Oshite harusame   Spring on us with the suddenness
  Kyō furinu   Of a far bent bow—
Asu sae furabe   If only they will fall once more tomorrow
Wakana tsumiten.   So we may soon go out to pick young greens!
                                                    Anonymous

KKS I: 21
  Kimi ga tame   It was for you
Haru no no ni idete   That I went out to the fields of spring
  Wakana tsumu   To pick young shoots,
Wa ga koromode ni   Though all the while the falling snow
Yuki wa furitsutsu.   Piled without surcease upon my sleeves.
                              Emperor Kōkō 光孝天皇 (830-887)

KKS I: 22
  Kasugano no   Do those girls set forth
Wakana tsumi ni ya   On an excursion for young shoots,
  Shirotae no   That they so gaily wave
Sode furihaete   Their white linen sleeves in beckoning
Hito no yuku ran.   Towards the fields of ancient Kasuga?
                                          Ki no Tsurayuki (d. ?945)

A comparison of these six poems with poems 10 through 15 of the *Shinkokinshū* will show that such complexes of images as " picking young shoots in the fields of ancient Kasuga " appear in both sets. It was perhaps inevitable, given the popularity of such images and the annual observance of this social rite, that there should be poems on young shoots in both anthologies. However, the number of poems in each anthology is the same and, what is more important, the same kind of progression is followed in each case. The first poem in each group (*KKS* I: 17 and *SKKS* I: 10) is not properly speaking on the topic of young shoots at

all. Each poem is rather an introduction to the series, each pre-
pares the way for those that follow by treating only the young
grass which had begun to spring up on the fields of Kasuga. The
next three poems in each case develop the progress of the actual
picking; and the fifth poem in each sequence (*KKS* I: 21 and
SKKS I: 14) treats the topic in terms of a speaker who has gone
out and gathered greens and then makes a present of them to
someone who did not go. Finally, the speaker of the sixth poem
in each set is a person who, for some reason, did not or could not
go on the outing himself.[6]

This evidence seems convincing enough to show that the com-
pilers of the *Shinkokinshū* were consciously attempting to raise
the image of the *Kokinshū* at this point in their anthology, and
at times this echoing becomes very complex. We must recognize,
for example, that Ki no Tsurayuki in the last poem of the group
in the *Kokinshū* (*KKS* I: 22) has in turn raised the image of an
earlier age with his " fields of ancient Kasuga " and his use of
such an old poetic technique as the " pillow word " (*makurakotoba*
枕詞), or conventional attribute, in the phrase *shirotae no sode,*
or " white linen sleeves." This setting and this technique evoke
the life and the poetry of the seventh and eighth rather than the
late ninth and early tenth centuries when Tsurayuki lived. Thus
the reappearance of the " fields of ancient Kasuga " in the *Shinko-
kinshū*, in a context which echoes by other means the correspond-
ing poems of the *Kokinshū,* means that the readers of the
thirteenth century were reminded of the age of the *Kokinshū,* but
that this allusion itself alludes to an even more remote and
romantic era. Tsurayuki's former evocation of the past mingles
with the new evocation, harmonizing three ages of past and
present. The identity of the poets within the sequences is also
important. The " anonymous " poems, as well as the one by

[6] While it might be thought that the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū* may have had
in mind as a pattern one of the similar sequences to be found in all of the six an-
thologies that intervene between the *Kokinshū* and this eighth anthology, examination
shows that either the number of poems is different, or where, as in the *Gosenshū*
後撰集, the number is the same, the images and patterns of progression differ from
those in the *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū.*

Emperor Kōkō, in the *Kokinshū* set are old, in the sense that they
employ techniques more " primitive " than those employed in
the tenth century—these poems are mostly in the declarative
mode characteristic of Japanese poetry of a hundred years or
more before the generation of Tsurayuki. The correspondence is
not exact, but the poems in the *Shinkokinshū* on the topic of
" young shoots " are also for the most part by poets who lived
from several hundred years to a generation or two before the
time when this anthology was compiled. The fourth and sixth
poems in the set (*SKKS* I: 13 and 15) do not fit this rather loose
definition, however, and perhaps indeed we are straining a point
here. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with simply mention-
ing the facts and suggesting the possibility that this kind of
echoing (which occurs beyond question elsewhere in the an-
thology) might have been consciously, if imperfectly, attempted
in this group of *Shinkokinshū* poems as well.

Despite these astonishing similarities, however, we must be
fully aware of the differences which exist between the two sets
of poems in the older and the newer collection. The principles
of association and progression are already evident in the *Kokinshū*,
for example, but not in as thorough or consistent a way as in the
Shinkokinshū. Thus the first poem in the *Kokinshū* set on " young
shoots " (*KKS* I: 17) is principally concerned with the burning
of withered fields at winter's end, and may be said to be some-
what too remote from the designated topic. Again, the third
poem (*KKS* I: 19) treats the topic in such a way that the
courtiers are represented to be already out on their excursion,
whereas in the fourth poem (*KKS* I: 20) the young shoots are
not yet ready to pick. In other words, these poems are not
arranged according to a logically developed time sequence. But
in the *Shinkokinshū*, the six poems are all (except the first) clearly
on the topic of " young shoots," and the time progression is com-
pletely logical and in harmony with the external world. In brief,
the poems in the *Shinkokinshū* are far more carefully and con-
sistently arranged than those of the *Kokinshū*. The compilers
of the later anthology certainly used the earlier one as their
model and their guide, but there is a further significance in the

title " New *Kokinshū* ": the compilers were not satisfied with mere slavish imitation of their ideal; instead, while following the general outlines laid down in the *Kokinshū*, they obviously attempted to create something " new " and something better than the anthology to which they looked for inspiration.

The " newness " is evident not only in the much greater care taken with the associations and the progression from poem to poem; it is perhaps nowhere more clear than in the appearance in this set of *Shinkokinshū* poems of a personality which is hardly realized at all in the *Kokinshū* group. This is the figure of the " man of elegance," who appears most conspicuously in the second and third poems of the *Shinkokinshū* set (*SKKS* I: 11-12). The notion of " elegance " was perhaps the dominant ideal of both art and life among the aristocrats of Japan in the Heian period (794-1185), and it certainly was already widespread by the time of the *Kokinshū*. It was, however, only a century or two later that the concept became realized to such an extent that it was translatable, so to speak, into the terms of poetry. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ideal should be more vividly realized in the *Shinkokinshū*.[7] Like most aristocratic ideals, this one was at once amateurish and esoteric, a glorification of the dilletante with social and philosophical overtones; it is very like Renaissance European ideals of the courtier. Such a man would rope off his fields so that he and his friends might indulge in the elegant, if primitivistic and romantic, activity of picking spring greens, undisturbed by the unwelcome intrusions of the inelegant commoners. Therefore, although this group of poems in the *Shinko-*

[7] The Japanese esthetic ideal, modeled in considerable measure on similar Chinese concepts, came to have an importance in Japan comparable to that of the Confucian ethical ideal in China. The elegant Japanese courtier was artistically and aristocratically conceived: he was expected to have achieved a good hand with the brush, compose poetry, perform reasonably well on one or two instruments, appreciate a beautiful woman, and hold his wine like a gentleman. The hero of *The Tale of Genji* is an embodiment of this and other ideals. In his *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (rev. ed., New York, 1943), Sir George Sansom has defined the tastes of Heian courtiers and the artistic accomplishments of this " almost entirely aesthetic " culture (pp. 235-41), and in his latest work, *A History of Japan to 1334* (Stanford, 1958), a very interesting chapter—aptly entitled " The Rule of Taste "—is devoted to an analysis of these aspects of Heian court life (pp. 178-96).

kinshū echoes the similar group in the older anthology, it does
so with a difference—an elegance that the compilers have invited
us to contrast with that of the anthology on which they patterned
theirs but which they were obviously determined to surpass.

Such subtleties in the association and progression of the seasonal
poems of the *Shinkokinshū* perhaps make *Tristram Shandy*,
Ulysses, or Ezra Pound's *Cantos* seem less uniquely Western or
strangely modern than they often seem to be. These same subtle
techniques of association and progression are employed in other
sections of this anthology such as the love poems (Books XI-XV)
or the travel poems (X). There is no need to analyze these
sequences to show how they employ the same techniques as the
seasonal poems, but they are worth examination for what they
show of new techniques.

The love poems are of particular interest in that they are
organized in accordance with a kind of time progression which is
based entirely upon human concerns and which is more dramatic
than that of the seasonal poems; and the poems on travel illus-
trate still another kind of progression. We shall begin with the
love poems, taking as our initial example the first four poems in
Book XI.

SKKS XI: 990
  Yoso ni nomi   Can it be that I
Mite ya yaminan   Shall never see at closer range
  Kazuraki ya   The pure white snow
Takama no yama no   That glimmers in far Kazuraki
Mine no shirayuki.   On the peak of Mount Takama?

                                              Anonymous

SKKS XI: 991
  Oto ni nomi   Only in story
Ari to kikikoshi   Had I heard of the waterfalls
  Mi-Yoshino no   Of beauteous Yoshino,
Taki wa kyō koso   Until this day when my own sleeves
Sode ni ochikere.   Are moistened with their spray.

                                              Anonymous

SKKS XI: 992
  Ashihiki no   My love is like
Yamada moru io ni   The smouldering fires they tend
  Oku kabi no   Beside their huts

Shitakogaretsutsu   To frighten deer from ripened grain
Wa ga kouraku wa.   In the fields of distant hills.

                              Kakinomoto Hitomaro 柿本人麿 (fl. c. 680-700)

SKKS XI: 993
  Iso no Kami   Must I go on,
Furu no Wasada no   My love shut up within my breast
  Ho ni wa idezu   Never to show forth
Kokoro no uchi ni   As do the ears of grain at Wasada
Koi ya wataran.   In Furu, land as ancient as the gods?

                                   Kakinomoto Hitomaro

It may seem surprising that a volume of love poems should begin with what is apparently a seasonal poem on a winter topic. But when this first poem is read in the context of the following verses, its use of the allegorical mode becomes obvious: the speaker of the poem is a man, and the white snow on the peak is his beloved. The poem tells us, further, that although the speaker has seen this woman at a distance, and has fallen in love, he has not yet met her, and we assume that she on her part is unaware of his tender feelings. Such a one-sided beginning was the rule in affairs of the heart at the Japanese court and became a fixed convention in the literary treatment of first love. Each of the poems quoted is, in fact, a variation upon the fixed topic of " love before the first meeting." All of the poems in Books XI and XII of the *Shinkokinshū* are on this, or virtually identical topics, which required a more or less uniform treatment and tone. This shared topic gives these poems a thematic unity. At the beginning of Book XIII, however, there is a progression in the dramatic development of the human relationship, as can be seen in the first poem of this book:

SKKS XIII: 1149
  Wasureji no   Since it can scarcely be
Yuku sue made wa   That you will remember this road of love
  Katakereba   To the end of our life's journey,
Kyō o kagiri no   I wish that death would take me now
Inochi to mo ga na.   On this day of new-found happiness.

                    The Mother of Gidō Sanshi 儀同三司母 (fl. c. 980)

This poem was composed on a topic which a Japanese would probably have called " love after the first meeting "—the affair

has begun and is in its happy early stages. At the same time, there is foreboding in the poem. Whether or not it was always true in life, it was conventional in the literary treatment of love in this period that the affair should gradually cool and the man become less and less attentive and regular in his visits. At the Japanese court, where polygamy was the norm, it was the common thing for a court noble to keep two or three mistresses or concubines in addition to his consort or lawful wife, and he might also carry on a number of secret affairs as well. These secondary relationships might be formed and broken by the man with more or less casualness, and it was of course the woman who suffered most from the consequences of such an affair. The customs of the day demanded that high-born ladies live in guarded palaces, hidden from the eyes of all men except their husbands or enterprising lovers, and they could seldom leave their cloistered apartments. A woman might be abandoned at any time by her fickle lover, and while he might move on to new and fairer flowers, she must continue her secluded and now empty life until perhaps discovered by some other man, whereupon a new affair might begin its inevitable course.

Such, at least, was the conventional treatment of love in Japanese literature, and it is therefore natural that it should be reflected in the dramatic progression of the love poems in the *Shinkokinshū*. The last half of Book XIV and all of Book XV in fact are devoted to poems which express the woman's suffering as her lover's visits become less frequent. Book XV begins with the following famous poem.

SKKS XV: 1336

Shirotae no	The white sleeves covering us,
Sode no wakare ni	Glistening with dew and sparkling with our tears,
Tsuyu ochite	Are parted by the dawn,
Mi ni shimu iro no	And as we dress, shake in the autumn wind
Akikaze zo fuku.	Which blows its pale color through our hearts.[8]

Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241)

We may assume that the parting treated in this poem involves

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[8] The reference to sleeves in this poem suggests not only tears but the custom of lovers' lying together under cover of their removed garments.

a temporary separation, and that the lover will return. At the same time, the autumn wind is a conventional symbol in Chinese and Japanese poetry for the death of love, and the chill which it blows into the heart is a foreboding of the doom of eternal separation. This theme is developed through Book XV with increasing intensity, and the last poem is an expression of bitter resentment and despair at the lover's infidelity.

The arrangement of the love poems in the *Shinkokinshū* thus follows dramatically the progression of a typical love affair from the first glimpse of the beloved through the successive stages of a passionate courtship, marriage or liaison, disenchantment, separation, and final despair and loneliness. This provides a clearly defined plot structure which would be inappropriate or impossible for poems on subjects other than love. There are types of association and progression in the poems on travel in Book X, for example, which follow quite different principles, and it is to these poems that we now turn.

Although the poems in Book X do not appear to be arranged according to any common topical element, this is not by any means to say that the arrangement is haphazard, for instead of the time progression of the seasonal poems or the plot development of the love poems, the sequence of the poems on travel appears to have been designed to show—incredible as it may seem —the historical development of Japanese poetry through the centuries. That is to say, close study reveals that the poems are arranged in several large groups which represent in chronological sequence the four major periods in classical poetry down to the age of the *Shinkokinshū*. Specifically, of the total of ninety-four poems in Book X, the first six (*SKKS* X: 896-901) are by poets of the so-called " Man'yō 萬葉 period " (c. A. D. 500-750), the early great age of literary Japanese poetry. Following this group is a single anonymous verse which might be called transitional in that it is in a style characteristic of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the age between the two great periods of the *Man'yōshu* 萬葉集 on the one hand and the *Kokinshū* on the other. The next group of five poems (*SKKS* X: 903-907) is from the age of the *Kokinshū* proper, and this is followed by a sequence

of twenty-four poems which range in date from the mid-tenth to
the late eleventh centuries; in other words, they belong to the
period spanned by six imperial anthologies, beginning with the
second anthology, the *Gosenshū* 後撰集 (c. 951), and ending with
the seventh, the *Senzaishū* 千載集 (c. 1188). The last fifty-eight
poems (*SKKS* X: 932-989) are contemporary, which is to say
they are by poets of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,
the age of the *Shinkokinshū* itself.

There is no doubt that the audience of the *Shinkokinshū* period
who read through this volume was aware of this chronological
sequence by literary periods, and that this sequence contributed
to their pleasure. But there are also in this volume other tech-
niques of association and progression which involve topics, treat-
ment, and imagery. The twelve poems with which the volume
begins illustrate these more detailed techniques.

SKKS X: 896
 Tobu tori no   If I abandon my village
Asuka no sato o   Of Asuka, where birds are said to soar,
 Okite inaba   For a new capital,
Kimi ga atari wa   Will it be that I shall nevermore
Miezu ka mo aran.   See you present by my side?
      Empress Gemmyō 元明皇后 (661-721)

SKKS X: 897
 Imo ni koi   Longing for my love,
Waka no matsuhara   I gaze forth across the pines
 Miwataseba   Of Waka's forest,
Shiohi no kata ni   And see that over the strand of Shiohi
Tazu nakiwataru.   The cranes fly off with mournful cries.
      Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701-756)

SKKS X: 898
 Iza kodomo   Come along, lads!
Haya Hi no Moto e   Let us quickly make our way home
 Ōtomo no   Towards the Rising Sun—
Mitsu no hamamatsu   The pines on the shore at Mitsu in Ōtomo
Machikoinu ran.   Must wait impatiently for our return.
      Yamanoe Okura 山上憶良 (?660-?733)

SKKS X: 899
 Amazakaru   As I come rowing
Hina no nagaji o   Over the long sea-path from wilds
 Kogikureba   Distant as the sky,
Akashi no to yori   Through the Straits of Akashi
Yamato shima miyu.   The Isles of Yamato come into view.
      Kakinomoto Hitomaro (fl. c. 680-700)

SKKS X: 900
  Sasa no ha wa   Because I come
Miyama mo soyo ni   From parting with the wife I love,
  Midaru nari   The leaves of rough bamboo
Ware wa imo omou   Seem to fill these mountain depths
Wakarekinureba.   With their mournful rustling sound.[9]

                       Kakinomoto Hitomaro

SKKS X: 901
  Koko ni arite   Having come this far,
Tsukushi ya izuko   I ask, " Where is Tsukushi now? "
  Shirakumo no   It seems to lie
Tanabiku yama no   Back to the West beyond those hills
Nishi ni aru rashi.   Where the white clouds trail away.

            Ōtomo Tabito 大伴旅人 (665-731)

SKKS X: 902
  Asagiri ni   Do you walk
Nurenishi koromo   Alone along the narrow path
  Hosazu shite   Across the peaks,
Hitori ya kimi ga   Your robe not yet dried out
Yamaji koyu ran.   From its drenching in the morning mists?

                              Anonymous

SKKS: X: 903
  Shinano naru   How can the smoke
Asama no take ni   That rises from the Peak of Asama
  Tatsu keburi   In this country of Shinano
Ochikochibito no   Fail to strike the people far and near
Mi ya wa togamenu.   With amazement at the sight?

          Ariwara Narihira 在原業平 (825-880)

SKKS X: 904
  Suruga naru   Not in a reality
Utsu no yamabe no   As real as these hills of Utsu
  Utsutsu ni mo   That rise in Suruga,
Yume ni mo hito ni   Nor even in the unreal world of dreams,
Awanu narikeri.   Can I meet face to face with her I love.[10]

                      Ariwara Narihira

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[9] Like many of the other poems from the Nara period taken into the *Shinkokinshū*, this one has been altered somewhat to fit new tastes or because the readers of a later age had difficulty in parsing the Chinese characters used in varying ways in the *Man'yōshū*. Cf. *MYS* II: 133. With the next poem in the text, cf. *MYS* IV: 574.

[10] This poem is the tenth and the preceding one the eighth poem in the *Ise Monogatari* 伊勢物語, the famous collection of tales combining poems with prose contexts and attributed to Narihira. See the *Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei* 校註日本文學大系 (Tokyo, 1936), II, 40 and 41.

SKKS X: 905
  Kusamakura   The evening wind
Yūkaze samuku   Binds with cold the roadside grass
  Narinikeri   That pillows me—
Koromo utsu naru   If only I might ask for shelter in that house
Yado ya karamashi.   That sounds with mallets fulling cloth.
                                                        Ki no Tsurayuki (d. ?945)

SKKS X: 906
  Shirakumo no   I hope this day
Tanabikiwataru   That I shall cross the distant bridge
  Ashihiki no   That hangs across
Yama no kakehashi   The gulf between those mountain peaks
Kyō ya koenan.   Now draped in streamers of white clouds.
                                                                Ki no Tsurayuki

SKKS X: 907
  Azumaji ya   Am I then doomed
Saya no nakayama   To pass my life in low estate,
  Sayaka ni mo   While you rise high
Mienu kumoi ni   To lofty peaks concealed by clouds
Yo o ya tsukusan.   Like Mount Saya on my Eastern way?
                                  Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (fl. c. 877-922)

Although it may not be immediately apparent, the first six of
these poems share a common topic which is more specific than
mere " travel "—a topic which might be paraphrased as " longing
for absent loved ones." At the same time, these six poems are
linked still more closely through associations of images from
poem to poem, just as in the spring poems which we have already
examined. To begin with, the phrase " soaring bird " in the first
poem is a pillow-word associated in this case with the place name
Asuka 飛鳥. So dulled had this and other such phrases become
through long usage that by the thirteenth century they had lost
most of their imagistic freshness, and the technique of the pillow-
word appears in the poetic practice of the time largely as a neo-
classical device for creating a heightened solemnity of tone. But
such an expression, no matter how dulled by familiarity, is po-
tentially an image; and when we read the second poem, with its
image of cranes flying across the bay, the " soaring bird " of the
first poem springs to renewed poetic life, and at the same time
provides the association that links the two poems.

The image of the pine forest in the second poem leads us

smoothly to the pine-fringed beach in the third, and, further, the movement suggested by the "soaring bird" in the first, and the flight of the cranes in the second poem, provides the impetus to "carry" the reader across the sea to China, which is the setting of the third poem. We should note, too, that in the first three poems we have progressed from an inland setting to the seacoast, and then across the sea. Our direction is at the same time reversed, however, for the movement back to the shores of Japan already begins in this third poem. The overt link between the third and fourth poems is the appearance in each of a poetic term for Japan—the Rising Sun in the third, and Yamato in the fourth—but there is also the imagery of a ship and the sea which, while only implied in the situation of the third poem, is raised in the fourth with its image of rowing. In addition, such images as "strand" (*kata*), "beach" (*hama*) and "straits" (*to*) in the second, third and fourth poems are related in terms of what might be called a category of "sea phenomena." [11]

The change in the situation of the speaker from sea to land is foreshadowed in the fourth poem, with its image of the "isles of Yamato." We may imagine that the speaker of this poem sees from his boat the outlines of the mountains of Japan against the sky, and that there is in this poem submerged or implied imagery of mountains. This provides a link with the fifth poem, where mountains are specifically mentioned. The mountain image of course recurs in the sixth poem, and provides the association between this and the preceding one.

The next seven poems (*SKKS* X: 901-907) are all obviously associated through the imagery of mountains, except for the tenth, which to the Western reader must appear to lack the requisite imagery. However, if the Japanese text is compared with that of the preceding poem (*SKKS* X: 904), it will be seen that the

[11] Such categories as "falling phenomena" to designate rain, snow, and the like were identified by later *renga* poets. But we see here a technique which implies these categories and indeed which led to the use and naming of them by *renga* poets. This is one of the respects in which the practice of integrating *tanka* influenced the formation and practice of the *renga*. See also the discussion which follows in the text and section V, below.

verb *utsu* " to full cloth " in the tenth poem is homophonous with
the place name Utsu 宇津, the mountainous region of Suruga
province mentioned in the ninth poem. In the context of the
arrangement of poems in the *Shinkokinshū,* therefore, the verb
utsu in the tenth poem is a " pivot word " (*kakekotoba* 掛詞):
it carries two meanings, one of which is applicable to the part
of the poem which precedes it, and the second to the part that
follows. Consequently, the house in the tenth verse is really " that
house *in Utsu* that sounds with mallets fulling cloth," and the
place name thus suggested also raises the image of the mountains
with which the place is associated.

There are also other, less sustained patterns of images by which
the association from poem to poem is strengthened. The image
of clouds (*kumo*) in the sixth, and mist (*kiri*) in the seventh
poem are words which were traditionally associated by the
Japanese poets as members of the same " category of phenomena."
This kind of association was particularly important in the tech-
nique and practice of the *renga,* or " linked verse," which began
to flourish some hundred years or so after the *Shinkokinshū* was
compiled, and names came to be given by the *renga* poets to the
different categories which they recognized. Therefore, to borrow
a term from the technical vocabulary of this later poetic genre,
the images of clouds, dew, and the like are " rising phenomena "
(*sobikimono* 聳物)—moisture or vapor which rises into the air
and dissipates itself. Once this category is recognized, the asso-
ciation between the " mist " of the seventh poem and the " smoke "
(*keburi*) of the eighth can be accepted, since smoke, like clouds
and mist, is a " rising phenomenon."

There is a further link between the seventh and eighth poems.
This association is not immediately apparent because it involves
a conventional symbolic value attached to a given expression but
one which had not been evoked by the poet for the immediate
purposes of this particular poem. Specifically, the image of the
wet robe (*nurenishi koromo*) in the seventh poem is frequently
used as a conventional symbol for the indignation of a lover falsely
accused of infidelity. Such is not its function in this poem, but
looked at in connection with the verb *mitogamu* " to regard with

amazement " in the eighth poem, its symbolic meaning is in-
evitably raised for an instant, because the verb *mitogamu* is a
traditional *engo* or word association for the " wet robe " in its
metaphorical sense. This kind of association is quite different
from that of the related images of mountains, clouds, fog and the
like which we find in this group of poems, for the symbol of the
indignant lover has no function either in the poem in which it
is used or in the developing pattern of associations in this sequence
of poems. As a purely mechanical device for linking the two
poems, however, it must be recognized, and although we moderns
may find such a technique rather forced, the audience of the
thirteenth century probably felt it to be very clever and inter-
esting.

The eighth and ninth poems share the central term, " people/
person " (*hito*), although the association is not close because of
the great difference in relationship between the people mentioned
and the speaker of each poem; the " people " in the eighth poem
are strangers, whereas the " person " in the ninth is the speaker's
beloved. A much closer association is found in the use in each
verse of a famous mountain—the Peak of Asama 淺間 in the
eighth and the hills of Utsu in the ninth poem. These and other
names of famous mountains, rivers, and the like came through
tradition to possess a quasi-imagistic status, and were bound to
evoke in the minds of poet and audience similar associations of
romantic beauty. It will be noted further that in each of these
poems the name of a province is mentioned—Shinano in the first,
and Suruga in the second—and this provides an additional asso-
ciation of related categories.

The ninth and tenth poems are associated, as we have said,
through the device of the pivot-word on Utsu/*utsu*; there is an
additional link in the conventional word-association of " dream "
(*yume*) in the ninth and " pillow " (*makura*) in the tenth. The
same device links the tenth and eleventh verses, where the word-
association is found in " wind " (*kaze*) and " streamers " (*tana-
biku*, lit., " to trail "). The association between this latter pair
of poems, however, is one of total situations as well as discrete
elements, and there is a progression from the one to the other

in this respect. The time of the tenth poem is evening, and the speaker has lain down upon the ground to spend the cold night under the open sky; in the eleventh poem, it is early morning, and by accepting the speaker as the same person in both cases, we imagine the traveler rising from his bed of grass and gazing out across the mountains in contemplation of the day's journey that lies ahead.

The images of clouds and mountains provide the principal points of detailed association between the eleventh and twelfth poems. It should be pointed out finally, however, that the ninth through the twelfth poems are associated in terms of shared rhetorical techniques as well as those other elements which have been discussed. That is to say, the first two lines in the ninth poem are a " preface " (*jo* or *jokotoba* 序詞) for the word *utsutsu* " in reality," and serve to anticipate this word through the identity of sound in the first two syllables of the latter and in the place name, " Utsu," in the " preface." The tenth poem is related on the same basis of rhetorical technique. *Kusamakura*, " pillow of grass," suggests the latent meaning in the *yū* (" to bind up "— the grass for a pillow) of *yūkaze*, " evening wind."

The third line of the eleventh poem is a pillow-word, which is similar in technique and feeling to the preface, though more con-ventional and usually shorter. Like the preface, it is character-istic of early Japanese poetry, and in the context of this sequence of poems it sustains both the romantic atmosphere of association with a bygone age and the effect of unity achieved through the use of similar rhetorical devices in successive poems. We discover another preface in the first two lines of the twelfth poem, where the word *sayaka* in the third line is " introduced " through the identity of sound in its first two syllables and in the place name " Saya 佐夜."

The foregoing analyses of sequences from the seasonal, love, and travel poems will serve to show that although the overall unifying principles of progression may differ in the individual books of the *Shinkokinshū*, depending upon the subjects of the poems and the appropriateness to these of different types of organization, the association in detail of images and rhetorical

techniques is a constant principle which governs the choice and arrangement of all the poems in the anthology. The labor involved in such a careful and painstaking attempt to achieve an overall unity of structure and harmony of detail among disparate elements must have been prodigious. Such effort would not have been expended unless association and progression answered to the desire of the age for techniques which would create long lyric sequences from the individual poems written by the poets of the age or inherited from a valued literary tradition. The problem of the motivation behind this desire can best be solved by showing how this literary principle was developed and gradually refined in the earlier imperial anthologies before the *Shinkokinshū*, and by tracing it to its ultimate origins.

III. Integration in the Imperial Anthologies
Preceding the *Shinkokinshū*

With its status as the first and most influential of the imperial anthologies, the *Kokinshū* is clearly the place to begin. To facilitate comparison, we shall again begin by quoting the first few poems from the first book—" Spring "—to see how it exemplifies association and progression.

KKS I: 1

Toshi no uchi ni	The Old Year not yet gone,
Haru wa kinikeri	The longed for spring has come at last
Hitotose o	Yet brought confusion—
Kozo to ya iwan.	For are we now to say " last year,"
Kotoshi to ya iwan.	Or should we rather say " this year? "

Ariwara Motokata 在原元方 (888-953)

KKS I: 2

Sode hijite	Will the wind
Musubishi mizu no	That gently blows on this first day of spring
Kōreru o	Melt perhaps the ice
Haru tatsu kyō no	To which was changed the water of the stream
Kaze ya toku ran.	That wet my sleeves in summer when I drank?

Ki no Tsurayuki (d. ?945)

KKS I: 3

Harugasumi	Where does it rise,
Tateru ya izuko	The haze that is the sign of spring?
Mi-Yoshino no	In lovely Yoshino,

Yoshino no yama ni   Yes, here upon the hills of Yoshino,
Yuki wa furitsutsu.   The winter snows still fall.

                                                        Anonymous

KKS I: 4
  Yuki no uchi ni   Amidst the snow
Haru wa kinikeri   The long-awaited spring has come—
  Uguisu no   Will they melt today,
Kōreru namida   Those tears shed by the warbler crying
Kyō ya toku ran.   And turned to ice in winter's cold?

                          Empress Takako 高子皇后 (fl. 858-882)

KKS I: 5
  Ume ga e ni   Although the warbler,
Kijuru uguisu   Who is the harbinger of spring,
  Haru kakete   Has already come
Nakedo mo imada   And perches singing in the plum tree
Yuki wa furitsutsu.   Amongst the branches, the snow still falls.

                                                        Anonymous

As these first poems indicate, the seasonal poems in the *Kokinshū* set the pattern for a progressive topical development based on the passage of time. In the first two books of the anthology, the spring topics follow one another in harmony with external nature from the beginning of the season (poems 1-16), through " picking young shoots " (17-22); " new growth in the fields and hills " (23-27); " spring birds " (28-31); " plum blossoms " (32-48); " blossoming cherries " (49-68); " falling cherry blossoms " (69-118); " wisteria in bloom " (119-120); " blooming of the yellow mountain rose " (121-125); and the " passing of spring " (126-134). The same kind of arrangement is also to be found in the poems on summer in Book III, autumn in books IV and V, and winter in Book VI.

An examination of the love poems, which are found in Books XI through XV of the *Kokinshū*, also yields similar results: the poems are arranged by similar topics in accordance with the development of an affair from " love yet undeclared " (469-551), through such phases as courtship (552-615), love after the first meeting (616-704), the lover's growing coolness (705-746), and the ending of the affair in bitterness and misery (747-828). It would be possible to divide these larger topical categories into several lesser ones, but what has been said is probably sufficient

to show that the love poems in the *Kokinshū* are arranged in a
kind of dramatic plot structure very much like that later realized
in the *Shinkokinshū*.

At the same time, although there appears on the surface to
be no marked difference between the *Kokinshū* and the *Shinko-
kinshū*, at least as far as the seasonal and love poems are con-
cerned, there are two important points to be made. The first is
that a smooth association and transition from poem to poem in
terms of images, rhetoric, and the like is not nearly so carefully
contrived in the *Kokinshū*. One example of this lack of attention
to such matters is to be found in the first two in the series of
spring poems which have just been quoted. Because these poems
are both on the same topic—the arrival of spring—they can hardly
fail to have at least that much in common, and we therefore
cannot say that they are completely unrelated. Nevertheless, if
it had been the intention of the compilers to provide a really
smooth and harmonious shift from the first poem to the second,
with its images of " sleeves," " water," " wind " and the like, it
would have been possible to find without great difficulty a more
suitable poem to use in place of the first one. The fact that this
was not done leads us to conclude that the compilers of the
Kokinshū were not in this case very deeply concerned with a
harmonious association of images from the first poem to the
second. The same observation holds true for the relationship
between the second and third poems, and could be made re-
peatedly concerning given sequences of poems throughout the
anthology. On the other hand, the succession of images from
the third through the fifth poems (" haze," " mountains," and
" snow " in poem 3; " snow," " warbler," and " plum " in poem 5)
is relatively smooth, so that we cannot say that no effort at all
was made to produce this effect of harmony. In other words,
although a progression in terms of a logical sequence of topics was
consciously carried out in the *Kokinshū*, the association of images
from poem to poem was attempted only spasmodically, and no
effort was made to give unity to entire books of poems through
the consistent application of this principle.

The second point that must be brought out is that even de-

velopment in a progressive sequence according to poetic topics
is actually to be found only in the seasonal poems (Books I-VI)
and the love poems (Books XI-XV) in the *Kokinshū*. In the
other volumes of the anthology, whether for example those de-
voted to congratulatory poems (Book VII), those to poems on
parting (Book VIII), or those to travel poems (Book IV), there
is no evidence at all of any attempt to arrange the poems accord-
ing to any set pattern of topical development. The reason for
the relative lack of attention given to these books by the com-
pilers may perhaps be that they were considered of secondary
importance. It should be pointed out in this connection that the
arrangement of the twenty books of the *Kokinshū* reflects a clear
distinction between different grades of what may be called " form-
al " and " informal " poetry. Formal poetry was intended for the
eyes or the ears of a relatively large audience, and required a
greater degree of technical polish; informal poetry was, ostensibly
at least, a mode of private communication between a poet and
his mistress or friends, and might be written with less complex
techniques. In the *Kokinshū*, the first ten books are devoted to
formal, and the second ten to informal poetry; and within these
two major categories the seasonal poems appear to have been
considered the most important variety of formal, and the love
poems the most important variety of informal verse. Less care
was expended for the arrangement of poems on other subjects
and no attempt was made to arrange them according to a topical
progression or time sequence.[12] It is true that a few scattered

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[12] Professor Konishi has discussed the arrangement of poems in the *Kokinshū* in his
edition, *Kokinwakashū,* 古今和歌集 for the *Shinchū Kokubungaku Sōsho* 新註國
文學叢書, XLIV (Tokyo, 1949), 30-31. The distinction between formal and
informal poetry is related to, but different from, that between public and private
poetry. All public poetry (e. g., Pope's *Dunciad*) is formal, but not all formal poetry is
public (e. g., Donne's " Good-Morrow "). All informal poetry (e. g., Swift's " bagatelles "
to Sheridan and others or Dryden's verse letter to Etherege) is private, but not all
private poetry (Donne's poem) is informal. The distinctions are largely those of
subject, tone, technique, and esthetic distance. Poems on public and social themes
tend to disappear from Japanese poetry after the Nara period, except for semi-
ritualistic poems on such " congratulatory " occasions as the New Year or those
addressed to Emperors on their accession. From about the ninth through the eleventh
centuries, the Japanese developed and esteemed a wide range of private poetry, both

groups of poems in these "secondary volumes" show evidence of some attempt to achieve an associational progression of related images, but it is clear that no great store was set by the result. In other words, the principles of association and progression so carefully followed throughout the *Shinkokinshū* are only partially and rather carelessly applied in the *Kokinshū*. At the same time, however, the earliest attempt to apply these principles to an anthology of Japanese poetry, albeit in a rather rudimentary fashion, can be traced to this first imperial collection.

A study of the topical arrangement of poems in the six imperial anthologies that fall between the *Kokinshū* and the *Shinkokinshū* reveals a situation very similar to that which we have found in the *Kokinshū*. That is, a topical progression according to the passage of time is limited to the seasonal and love poems in these collections, and no attempt is made to give any such overall unity to the other volumes or the anthology as a whole. On the other hand, we observe an increasing concern with the problem of achieving a smooth transition from poem to poem through associations of images, rhetorical techniques, and the like. Such an attempt, while by no means so overriding a consideration as it was to become in the *Shinkokinshū*, is made with increasing seriousness and consistency in each successive anthology—the later the collection, the more conspicuous this phenomenon becomes. The first six poems in the *Senzaishū* (1188), the seventh imperial anthology and immediate predecessor of the *Shinkokinshū*, will illustrate the point.

SZS I: 1

Haru no kuru	As I gaze far out,
Ashita no hara o	I see that spring has come this morning,
Miwataseba	For today the haze
Kasumi mo kyō zo	Begins to rise across the moor
Tachihajimekeru.	Of Ashita and its morning fields.

Minamoto Shunrai 源俊頼 (d. 1129)

formal and informal. Gradually formal poetry rises in estimation to the point of almost excluding informal poetry as a valued art; and by the latter eleventh or twelfth century, most of the poetry thought worthy of preservation in official anthologies and family collections is formal private poetry.

SZS I: 2
  Mimuroyama   At Mount Mimuro
Tani ni ya haru no   Has spring now at last arrived
  Tachinu ran   Deep in the valleys?
Yuki no shitamizu   The water melting underneath the snow
Iwa tataku nari.   Taps impatiently against the rocks.

                Minamoto Kuninobu 源國信 (1069-1111)

SZS I: 3
  Yuki fukaki   Even to Yoshino
Iwa no kakemichi   The spring has come where winter drifts
  Ato tayuru   Blocked up the path
Yoshino no sato mo   Leading steeply to my mountain village,
Haru wa kinikeri.   And no visitor's footprint marked the snow.

      Lady Taiken Mon'in Horikawa 待賢門院堀河 (fl. c. 1130-1145)

SZS I: 4
  Michi tayu to   I hated them,
Itoishi mono o   For they would block the visitor's path
  Yamazato ni   To my mountain village,
Kiyuru wa oshiki   But still their melting fills me with regret,
Kozo no yuki ka na.   These snowdrifts of the year just past.

              Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111)

SZS I: 5
  Haru tateba   Now that spring begins,
Yuki no shitamizu   From underneath the snowdrifts
  Uchitokete   Streams of water flow,
Tani no uguisu   And the warbler in the valley
Ima zo naku naru.   This moment breaks into his song.

          Fujiwara Akitsuna 藤原顯綱 (1029-1103)

SZS I: 6
  Yamazato no   Is it because
Kakine ni haru ya   The warbler knows that spring has come
  Shiraru ran   To this mountain village,
Kasumanu saki ni   That even before the haze appears
Uguisu no naku.   He sings atop my brushwood fence?

             Minamoto Takakuni 源隆國 (1004-1077)

Topically, these poems seem to follow a regular progression from what might be called the " onset of spring " into " early spring," and the association of images seems to develop smoothly from poem to poem as the setting shifts from the plains to the mountains and from open country to an isolated village. On closer examination, however, it may strike us that the position of the fifth poem is somehow wrong. First, the subject of this

poem is the first day of spring, whereas in the fourth poem we have already moved beyond this point in the time progression. Second, and more important than this, the description of streams of water from melting snow in mountain valleys is very similar in the second and fifth poems. Therefore from both considerations —time sequence of topics, and close association of imagery—the most logical position for poem 5 would seem to be between the second and third poems. On the other hand, we can find some justification for the placing of this fifth poem in the order to which the compiler assigned it: its imagery of mountains and snow associates it with poem 4, and it introduces the warbler, which becomes the principal image in poem 6. No doubt it was these considerations which led to placing this poem in the position in which we find it today, but it must still be admitted that the topical sequence and progression of images is somewhat rough at this point.

In a situation of this kind, the compilers of the *Shinkokinshū* would have laid primary emphasis upon smoothness of association and progression, and would even have chosen a less " outstanding " poem in place of this fifth one if thereby a more felicitous progression could have been effected. However, when the *Senzaishū* was compiled, the principles of association and progression had not yet been accepted by the poetic elite to be more important even than high quality in each individual poem, and the compiler would not have felt free to reject a good poem simply because another one, less good, would make for a smoother sequence of images. Thus, although the same kinds of principles are followed in the arrangement of poems in both the *Senzaishū* and the *Shinkokinshū*, these principles are applied with much greater consistency and thoroughness in the *Shinkokinshū*; in many instances they outweigh even those considerations of high individual quality which down to this time had been the principal standard for the inclusion of poems in an imperial anthology.

IV.   The Origins and Development of Association
and Progression

Since, as we have seen, the principles of association and pro-
gression are found as early as the first imperial anthology of
Japanese poetry, the *Kokinshū*, we may ask whether the com-
pilers of this collection did not themselves borrow these principles
from some earlier poetic source or develop them by analogy with
other art forms. All available evidence suggests that the *Kokinshū*
was indeed the first such anthology, for neither in the *Man'yōshū*
nor in the anthologies of China do we find any such arrangement
of poems. We do discover in the field of painting, however, con-
ventions which are very similar in effect. By this we mean the
techniques employed in the horizontal picture scroll (*emakimono*
繪卷物), in which a given subject is developed continuously from
scene to scene in chronological sequence. Sometimes, to be sure,
narrative or descriptive passages were inserted at various points
to explain the incidents depicted in the scrolls, but frequently the
events were portrayed entirely through a continuous series of
pictures. In either case, one of the outstanding characteristics
of this art form was the continuity of the total sequence. Even
though the flow might be sometimes broken by written passages,
most of the individual scenes were not set off by frames or other
devices, but blended into one continuous linear progression;
clouds, mountains, or other natural scenery and even scattered
human figures provided a unifying thread connecting the more
concentrated scenes of separate incidents in the narrative.

The similarity between the chronological development of scenes
in the picture scrolls and the temporal progression in the *Kokinshū*
and other imperial anthologies is obvious, but a further analogy
suggests itself between the continuous flow of scenery and figures
in the scrolls and the association of images and rhetorical devices
that link the separate poems in the anthologies. It is tempting
to conjecture that a familiarity with the conventions of the pic-
ture scroll may have suggested to the compilers of the *Kokinshū*
the desirability of applying these techniques to an anthology of
poems. The great age of the picture scrolls, especially those which

treat secular subjects, extended from the eleventh through the sixteenth century, however; and since almost no examples survive from an earlier period, we do not know the extent to which such scrolls may have existed and been appreciated by the court nobility of the early tenth century, when the *Kokinshū* was compiled. At the same time, one famous example, the *Kako Genzai Ingakyō* 過去現在因果經, or "Sutra on Causality Between Past and Present," has come down from the eighth century. This religious scroll is different from the later genre of the *emakimono* in that it is divided horizontally into a continuous written text along the bottom half and a continuous series of pictures illustrating episodes from the text along the top. However, although it is regarded as a somewhat crude ancestor of the great lay scrolls of subsequent centuries, this illustrated sutra shows in its graphic portion the basic narrative conventions of the form: a given number of episodes in the legendary life of the Buddha depicted in a continuous series of pictures in chronological sequence. There is little doubt that the secular *emakimono* developed from such illustrated religious texts as this, and even though the first lay scrolls may have been painted somewhat later than the *Kokinshū* age, numerous illustrated Buddhist scriptures, no longer extant, were undoubtedly available to the aristocracy of the time. Through familiarity with such scrolls, the compilers of the *Kokinshū* may have become accustomed to the convention of narration through a chronological sequence of tableaux which, though separate, are depicted in a single continuum.

Whether or not the poets of the tenth century derived the notions of progression and association from the *emakimono*, their application of these techniques to a series of poems was quite original and unprecedented. Furthermore, as we have seen, it was primarily the techniques of progression through time that were used in the arrangement of the seasonal poems and the love poems in the *Kokinshū*—the various techniques of association through images and rhetoric had apparently not yet been developed to the point of consistent application. Consequently, the consistency as well as the increasing variety and complexity with which the techniques of progression are combined with techniques

of association in the *Shinkokinshū* leads us to look to other sources outside the successive imperial anthologies for elements that contributed to this process of refinement.

It is probable that the increasing attention given to the linking of successive poems in the imperial anthologies through image and other associations reflects a growing concern with such matters in other kinds of sequences than those of the great collections. The genre which immediately suggests itself is the *hyakushuuta* 百首歌, or " hundred-poem sequence," a series of *tanka* composed on a given number of topics by an individual poet. This genre was a formal one, in that it was intended to be read and appreciated by an audience of peers, and it shows in its most usual form the influence of the imperial anthologies in the sequence and kind of topics. But the important characteristic of the hundred-poem sequence was that it was composed and judged as a single artistic unit: praise or criticism was accorded a given sequence not on the basis of the merits of the individual poems, but in terms of the overall effect of harmony, beauty, variety, and smoothness conveyed by the sequence as a whole.

The practice of composing hundred-poem sequences certainly existed by the middle of the tenth century, and we find in the personal collections of the poet Minamoto Shigeyuki 源重之 (fl. c. 970-1000) and Sone no Yoshitada 曾禰好忠 (fl. c. 985) examples of the genre.[18] However it was not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the hundred-poem sequence became really popular among the aristocracy, and the beginning of this later vogue may be traced to the so-called *Horikawa Hyakushu* 堀河百首, or " Hundred-Poem Sequences Submitted by Command of the Ex-Emperor Horikawa," which were composed between 1099 and 1103 by sixteen of the most prominent poets.[14]

The first poet to apply the techniques of association of images

[18] Shigeyuki's one sequence, composed by command of the Crown Prince Norihira 憲平 (950-1011; reigned 967-969 as Emperor Reizei 冷泉), is printed in *Shinkō Gunsho Ruijū* 新校羣書類從 (Tokyo, 1928), XI, 507-509. Yoshitada's two sequences may be found in *Kōchū Kokka Taikei* 校註國歌大系 (Tokyo, 1929; hereafter *Kokka Taikei*), XIII, 53-71.

[14] Printed in *Shinkō Gunsho Ruijū*, VIII, 65-107.

in the hundred-poem sequence may well have been Sone no Yoshitada, for in both of his two surviving sequences we find such techniques. Yoshitada was, however, a poet who was unappreciated and even scorned in his own day, and perhaps because the other poets of his time had not yet come to appreciate the esthetic possibilities of association, we do not find it employed in other hundred-poem sequences until the end of the twelfth century. The reappearance of the technique in this later period was probably not due to a " discovery " and imitation of Yoshitada's technique, but rather to the elaboration of topics and categories in certain kinds of sequences.

The most usual kind of hundred-poem sequence was a kind of miniature imperial anthology in its arrangement and distribution of topics: ordinarily it began with twenty poems on spring, followed by ten on summer, twenty on autumn, ten on winter, twenty on love, and twenty on so-called miscellaneous topics. Towards the end of the twelfth century, however, sets of poems with much more detailed topical divisions began to be composed. We find, for example, a sequence composed in 1200 by the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239) which consists of five poems each on the following specific rather than the usual more general topics: haze, the warbler, cherry blossoms (spring); the *hototogisu*, early summer rain (summer); flowers and plants, the moon, autumn foliage (autumn); snow, ice (winter); Shintō, Buddhism, dawn, dusk, mountain roads, the seaside, the Imperial Palace, entertainments, annual observances, and felicitations (miscellaneous).[15] All of these specific topics are, it will be noted, either images in themselves, or require, as in the case of " annual observances," that a common imagery of setting be conventionally used in their treatment. A natural and almost inevitable result is that every poem in each group of five would be associated with the other members of the group through the same or related images. Such sequences as this appear to have enjoyed a kind of vogue from the end of the twelfth through the beginning of the thirteenth

[15] *Kokka Taikei*, X, 56-64.

century, and many examples of them have been preserved.[16]
Although they represent only one of several possible methods of
organizing and classifying the necessary hundred poems, it may
still be conjectured that they influenced other varieties, and that
the result was a re-emergence of those techniques of imagistic
association that were at first perhaps unconsciously, but later
consciously, employed.

Such an assumption is borne out by a study of the hundred-
poem sequences of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries classi-
fied according to the usual more general categories of spring,
summer, autumn, and so on. For although practice varies with
individual poets, we find that in most cases the same poet has
composed some sequences in which no attempt at association is
made and others in which the poems are linked through deliberate
associations of imagery.[17] There is, however, one significant ex-
ception—the work of the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba. In all of his
extant sequences, each successive poem is linked with the pre-
ceding one through association of images.[18] This fact seems of
particular importance because of Go-Toba's relation to the
Shinkokinshū: although this anthology was nominally compiled
by a group of five courtiers headed by Fujiwara Teika, their
function was in reality only that of assistants or advisers to
Go-Toba, and it was the Ex-Emperor himself who was the chief
compiler and had the final say in the selection or rejection of
poems. Therefore we may conclude that the application of
techniques of association in such thorough fashion in the *Shinko-*

[16] See, for example, the seventeen sequences by six major poets of the late twelfth
and early thirteenth century in *Kokka Taikei*, X, 507-514 (Fujiwara Shunzei); 543-
550, 625-632, 655-663, 670-678, 679-686, 716-724, 746-758 (Priest Jien 慈圓法師);
and XI, 7-15, 15-20, 35-43 (Fujiwara Yoshitsune); 309-316 (Priest Saigyō); 381-388,
447-455, 660-669 (Fujiwara Teika); 754-762, 814-822 (Fujiwara Ietaka 藤原家隆).

[17] Two sequences by Priest Jien (1155-?1225) may serve as illustrations. In a
hundred-poem sequence composed in 1187 there is no attempt to employ association,
while in another, composed in 1190, association is employed to integrate the sequence.
See *Kokka Taikei*, X, 612-625 and 670-679, respectively.

[18] Go-Toba's personal collection, printed in *Kokka Taikei*, X, 25-180, contains three
sequences of 100 poems, one sequence of 500 poems (a kind of grandiose version of
the *hyakushuuta*), and seven sequences of thirty poems (an abbreviated version of
the *hyakushuuta*).

kinshū was a reflection of Go-Toba's own taste and preference for these techniques.[19]

In addition to the techniques of association, there was another feature of the hundred-poem sequences which probably exerted a considerable influence upon the way in which the progression was handled in the imperial anthologies, and again particularly in the *Shinkokinshū*. Because the hundred-poem sequence was intended to be appreciated as a single artistic whole, the overall effect of harmony and balance, variety, and contrast was therefore of greatest importance. In producing the desired impression, a conscious effort was made to vary the pace and avoid monotony within the progression by creating a certain number of high and low points. The high points were individual poems which were striking or remarkable for technical or other reasons, and the effect of such poems might be considered to last longer in the minds of the audience if they were placed next to more mediocre poems which would create no strong impression. In other words, the poet would deliberately include a certain number of bland or " easy " poems at crucial points in his sequence so as to enhance the effect of the more interesting ones and create a general impression of sinuous, undulating flow. By analogy with a piece of woven material, the " easy " verses were called *ji no uta* 地の歌 or " background poems," and the more striking ones were known as *mon no uta* 文の歌 or " design poems ": just as the effect of beauty in a piece of material is made more striking when a pattern is contrasted against a plain or neutral background, so with a sequence of poems.

Just when this esthetic principle began to be consciously applied to the hundred-poem sequence is not certain, but we find the term *ji no uta*, or " background poem," employed without definition in one of the poetical treatises of the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba. This is probably some indication that the principle had been current for some time, and that the terms " design poem " and " background poem " were assumed by Go-Toba to be meaningful

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[19] For a detailed discussion of Go-Toba's dominant role in the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū*, see Kojima Yoshio 小島吉雄, *Shinkokinwakashū no Kenkyū* 新古今和歌集の研究, II (Tokyo, 1946), 1-48.

to his readers. Therefore, although Go-Toba's treatise was pre-
sumably written some years after the *Shinkokinshū* was compiled,
it is perfectly reasonable to assume that the principle had been
known and more or less generally accepted before this anthology
was completed.[20] At any rate, such an assumption is helpful in
explaining the apparent anomaly of finding in the *Shinkokinshū*
a number of poems which could only have been considered bland
or mediocre by the prevailing standards of the age. In other
words, the inclusion of a number of such poems in this collection
was not simply the result of a dearth of suitable materials, nor
was it simply an inevitable result of placing paramount importance
on the achievement of a smooth transition from poem to poem.
On the contrary, the technique appears to have been deliberately
used in order to create variety, contrast, and alterations of pace
within the progression, and, on the model of the hundred-poem
sequences, to apply the principle of " design " and " background "
even at the expense of uniformly high quality in an imperial
anthology.

Unfortunately, there are no extant treatises on poetics in which
the theory of design and background in sequences of Japanese
poems is discussed, and there remains the question of how such
a concept came to suggest itself to the poets of the twelfth and
thirteenth centuries and why it was accepted as a valid esthetic
principle. The answer probably lies in part at least in a natural
response to the problem of monotony or sameness inevitably
posed by a series of *tanka* intended to be read as a single unit.
On the other hand, it may be suggested that a considerable in-
fluence in shaping the principle was exerted by the theory and
practice of a very different literary genre, the formal prose essay.
This esteemed prose genre was highly complex, first because all
formal essays and official documents had to be composed in

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[20] See the *Go-Toba-In Kuden* 後鳥羽院口傳 in Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱,
ed., *Nihon Kagaku Taikei* 日本歌學大系, III (Tokyo, 1941), 3. Go-Toba uses
the term in criticizing the hundred-poem sequences of Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169-
1206), which, he says, give the impression of containing too few "background poems."
Since Yoshitsune is referred to in this passage as the "late Regent," we assume that
the treatise was written some years after his death, which, it will be noted, took
place the year after the *Shinkokinshū* was first compiled.

Chinese, and secondly because the proper style of composition required the mastery of numerous rules and techniques. Nevertheless, like the French of English courts of law or the Latin of the humanists, the Chinese language was the only medium considered proper for official documents, both secular and religious, from the eighth to the middle of the nineteenth century in Japan; and this difficult medium had to be learned by court officials and priests—in other words, by the same group who composed hundred-poem sequences and compiled imperial anthologies.

During the four hundred years from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, it was the official written style of the Tʻang dynasty (618-907) in China which was followed as the model for Japanese state papers. This style was particularly complex, and both in China and Japan a number of handbooks were compiled as aids to composition and study. Though none of these has survived in China, at least one Japanese copy of a late ninth or early tenth-century Chinese rule book exists, and a number of manuals written by Japanese were in existence by the twelfth century, of which the *Sakumon Daitai* 作文大體, or *Essentials for Composing Formal Prose*, by Nakamikado Munetada 中御門宗忠 (1061-1141) is a typical example.[21] The most striking aspect of the practice of the formal essay, and that which seems to relate it to the integration of poetic sequences, was the combination of two distinct kinds of style in a single essay. The first of these consisted of a rhetorically ornate, rhymed, parallel prose, which was reserved for the most important sections of the essay, while the second style, used in the less important passages, was what might be called ordinary prose, in that meter, rhyme, antithesis, and the like were not used. Both styles were employed alternately in the same essay, and a conscious effort was made to distribute the passages in ordinary prose in such a way as to enhance the impression created by the more elegant and ornate sections.

[21] An early thirteenth-century Japanese manuscript of a Chinese rule book entitled *Fu Pʻu* 賦譜, or *Rules of Composition*, is in the private collection of Mr. Gotō Keita 五島慶太 of Tokyo. Two unpublished manuscripts of the *Sakumon Daitai*—not to be confused with the fourteenth-century work of the same title in *Shinkō Gunsho Ruijū*, VI, 488-504—are in the Higashiyama Library of the Imperial Palace at Kyoto.

Obviously this practice of alternation of styles resembles very closely the effect of background and design aimed at in the hundred-poem sequences and finally in the imperial anthologies, and it is quite possible that in the techniques of the formal essay we have the original concept which was gradually adapted to the poetic sequences. It should also be pointed out that the Japanese literati became more than ever scrupulous about strict adherence to the rules of formal essay-writing just at the time—around the beginning of the twelfth century—when the hundred-poem sequences began to come into vogue. The lack of a written poetics for the sequences makes it impossible to state categorically that the inclusion of mediocre verses in the earlier ones was not due simply to lack of talent on the part of the poet. However, the historical facts as they have been described indicate that this is highly unlikely, and it would appear, rather, that the most probable historical development was an introduction of the technique of " design " and " background " through the stylistics of the Chinese essay, followed by a conscious adaptation of this esthetic to the hundred-poem sequence, and finally its application to an imperial anthology like the *Shinkokinshū*.

The notion of improving the overall quality of an anthology of poems by including the bad along with the good may seem doubtful practice to the Westerner—surely the consistent application of absolute standards of quality should yield better results. But the integrated beauty of the *Skinkokinshū* speaks for itself, and to the Japanese of the thirteenth century, a long tradition of Buddhist teaching had made clear that absolute standards were an illusion. The central concept of the Tendai sect—the sect whose teachings were most influential among the early medieval aristocracy—was that no phenomenon exists independently in and of itself, but only in complex relation to all other phenomena. This was true of abstract values as well as of anything else; " good " and " bad " did not exist as absolutes, but only in terms of specific situations, and a " bad " act might be " good " if it proved to be a cause that brought the individual closer to final enlightenment. This does not mean that such a general philosophical outlook was a direct cause for the development of the

particular literary practice we have been considering. But it helps explain how the medieval Japanese poets could accept without any sense of anomaly the notion that a " bad " poem could be " good " in a given context if its effect was to enhance the overall effect of the interrelated parts of a poetic sequence.

V.   Further Developments: Later Anthologies and *Renga*

With some such complex historical development as this, the techniques of association and progression were gradually raised to the refinement they show in the *Shinkokinshū*. But the *Shinko-kinshū* was only the eighth in the series of twenty-one imperial anthologies, and we must now consider the practice of these techniques in the arrangement of poems in the last thirteen anthologies compiled during the remainder of the thirteenth, in the fourteenth, and in the early fifteenth centuries.

In general it may be said that the later anthologies show much the same techniques of association and progression as have been observed in the *Shinkokinshū*. However, perhaps because the compilers of these later collections were not quite as painstaking as the committee directed by Go-Toba, there are occasional places in the later anthologies where the association of related images in particular seems to falter and break down. In most cases such places are relatively few—few enough to be negligible in com-parison with the only partial application of such techniques in the early anthologies which preceded the *Shinkokinshū*—and it appears that on the whole the compilers of the later anthologies consciously attempted to apply the principles of association de-veloped in the *Shinkokinshū*.

There are, however, two outstanding exceptions to this general rule—the *Gyokuyōshū* 玉葉集 (1313-1314) and the *Fūgashū* 風雅集 (1344-1346) .[22] These two collections appear to show much

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[22] These two anthologies are exceptional in other ways. Of the last thirteen an-thologies, these are the only ones to have been compiled not by the conservative Nijō school, but by the more liberal Kyōgoku-Reizei faction. For an excellent historical account of the personal and political grounds for the disputes between these groups,

less concern with time and spatial progression, and even the association of related images and the like, which they clearly employ, seems to break down so frequently that our suspicion is aroused. One might of course conclude that the compilers of these anthologies had deliberately rejected the techniques of association and progression as a basis for the arrangement of poems in a sequence. But the skill with which both anthologies use many of the techniques of the *Shinkokinshū* on the one hand, and the large number of exceptions to the *Shinkokinshū* pattern on the other, seem to call for some kind of explanation. The first seven of the poems on travel in the eighth book of the *Gyokuyōshū* illustrate the dilemma.

GYS VIII: 1105

Wakarete no	We cannot know
Nochi wa shiranu o	What may befall in the uncertain time
Ika naran	After we have parted,
Toki ni ka mata wa	But still I yearn to know the time
Awan to su ran.	When we shall meet again.

Ōe no Chisato 大江千里 (fl. c. 890-905)

GYS VIII: 1106

Kimi o oshimu	Is it because
Kokoro no sora ni	My heart's regret at losing you
Kayoeba ya	Has carried to the sky
Kyō tomaru beki	That now the rain is falling
Ame no furu ran.	To keep you here today?

Ki no Tsurayuki (d. ?945)

GYS VIII: 1107

Shirotae no	Because the day
Sode wakaru beki	Is near when our white hempen sleeves
Hi o chikami	Must draw apart,
Kokoro o musebi	My time is spent in ceaseless weeping,
Naki nomi zo naku.	Though my tears are locked within my breast.

Ki no Iratsume 紀郎女 (fl. c. 680)

GYS VIII: 1108

Yama tōmi	When the goose
Kumoi ni kari no	Departs in flight beyond those peaks
Koete inaba	That rise so far away

see the introduction of Edwin O. Reischauer to the *Izayoi Nikki* in Edwin O. Reischauer and Joseph K. Yamagiwa, *Translations from Early Japanese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 3-51. See also pp. 122-123 and 126-127, below.

Ware nomi hitori   In the land of clouds, must I alone
Ne ni ya nakinan.   Remain behind to voice my cries?

                      Minamoto Sanetomo 源實朝 (1192-1219)

GYS VIII: 1109
  Irie kogu   Although the reeds
Obune ni nabiku   Bow down their tassels in the cove
  Ashi no ha wa   Before the rowing boat,
Wakaru to miredo   And though they seem to part, they rise,
Tachikaerikeri.   Returning to their former place.

                      Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)

GYS VIII: 1110
  Sayo fukete   Since the hour grows late
Ima mo nakanan   Will you not now begin your song,
  Hototogisu   O *hototogisu,*
Wakare o oshimu   That we may hear your voice and feel
Koe to kiku beku.   It echo the sadness of our parting?

                      Fujiwara Kiyomasa 藤原清正 (d. 958)

GYS VIII: 1111
  Tanomu ran   You speak of trust,
Shirube mo isaya   But how can you rely upon a guide
  Hitotsuyo no   Whose unstable heart
Wakare ni dani mo Still wavers in its human weakness
Madou kokoro wa.   Even at partings in this world?

                      Priest Saigyō (1118-1190)

Apart from the shared subject of travel which naturally gives these poems a certain common ground, there seems to be rather little in the way of an association or progression of related images. The second and third poems do share the image of " weeping " and the word for " parting " does appear in various noun and verb forms in the first, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh poems. But such words and images are natural, almost inevitable to the subject, and in any case the sequence seems to lack the complex associational patterns of the *Shinkokinshū*.

However, a more thorough examination reveals that the disjointed appearance is deceptive, and that rather than turning their backs upon the tradition of association, the compilers of the *Gyokuyōshū* are really outdoing the *Shinkokinshū* in subtlety. The poems are related by an imagistic association, but the association is, as it were, at one remove: poems have been juxtaposed in such a way that their existence side by side should recall to the

mind of the reader some famous earlier poem, or in such a way
that the juxtaposition evokes the reader's knowledge of traditional
associations or conventional ways of treatment. In other words,
even though the original author of a poem in the *Gyokuyōshū*
had not alluded to a given older poem, the editors made the
allusion or recalled traditional associations by the juxtaposition,
and so made a smooth associational flow from poem to poem.
These techniques of *editorial* allusion and recollection, as they
may be called, can be demonstrated by examining the sequence
of travel poems just quoted.

   The first two poems seem to be particularly lacking in any
shared characteristics of imagery, or even of syntax and other
less important stylistic matters that might provide a point of
association. The first poem contains scarcely any imagery, a fact
which makes association seem all the more unlikely, and yet the
two poems take on a relationship when we recall a famous love
poem by the ninth-century poet, Ariwara Narihira (*KKS* XIV:
705).

Kazu kazu ni	Wondering, wondering,
Omoi omowazu	" Does he love or love no more? "
Toigatami	Yet I dare not ask—
Mi o shiru ame wa	The rain that knows my destiny
Furi zo masareru.	In falling only tells of downfall.

   In this poem the woman's uncertainty is resolved in a way she
is unwilling wholly to accept or to hasten. This theme of uncer-
tainty expressed in the first three lines in quite close to the first
of the travel poems, while the imagery is close to that of the
second. By themselves, neither of the poems is close enough to
Narihira's to suggest any allusion, but put together they suggest,
in treatment and imagery, the older poem. The compilers of the
Gyokuyōshū knew that their anthology would be read by persons
steeped in the poetic tradition, and so could count on rousing
such associations by their juxtaposition of the two poems. This
kind of extrinsic association, or editorial allusion, was practiced,
as far as we know, for the first time by the compilers of this
anthology.

   The association between the second and third poems is relatively

easy and simple. The relation between the words " today " in the second poem and " day " in the third is almost too obvious. A subtler association is that between the images of " rain " and " weeping " in the two poems. For while no such metaphorical relation exists within either of the two poems, the image of rain is often used as a metaphor for tears. The relation between the third and the fourth poems is rather similar. They share the image of weeping that was previously mentioned, and have a further resemblance in the syntax and morphology of *hi o chikami* (" because the day is near ") and *yama tōmi* (" because the mountains are far "), a resemblance whose associations are strengthened by the contrasting sense of the phrases.

We find a similar association by contrast between the fourth and fifth poems. " Departing " (*inaba*) in the former and " returning " (*tachikaeri*) in the latter join the poems; but there is an even closer tie through traditional associations. The image of the goose (*kari*) and the verb " returning " were so often connected through centuries of poetic practice that they were related through conventional association (*engo*). The geese were repeatedly celebrated in poetry for their coming to Japan in the autumn and returning to their northern home in the spring of each year.

The fifth and sixth poems are rather obviously linked by the image of parting in both. There is again, however, a more subtle association—between the image of the cove (*irie*) in the fifth and the *hototogisu* in the sixth, since according to tradition the bird is associated early in the season with the mountains from which it later comes down to the towns and villages, and in these lowlands a stream or lake, even the seacoast, was considered to be the best place to hear its song.

The same sort of dual associational connection relates the sixth and seventh poems. The word, " parting," is the obvious link, but again there is a traditional association to unite the two. The phrase, " partings in this world " (*hitotsuyo no wakare*), in the seventh poem implies a journey to the world of death. This recalls another traditional association of the *hototogisu*, for the bird was often called the " headman of the fields of death " (*shide*

no taosa) , a guide for the traveler to the land beyond the grave, a bird that might fly back and forth between this and the other world.[23]

Such analysis might be made of other groups of poems in the *Gyokuyōshū* where the usual forms of association seem to have broken down or to have been abandoned. Actually, there is no such breaking or abandonment, but rather a desire on the part of the compilers to have the reader make the associations in his own mind. The compilers were willing to evoke the response with a word, an allusion, or some hint, and the reader was expected to contribute the rest from his knowledge of the poetic tradition. The technique of association is therefore more subtle, even esoteric, in the *Gyokuyōshū* (and in the *Fūgashū* also, although there is not space to give examples) than in the *Shinkokinshū*; and the associations themselves are, we might say, more distant and more dependent upon implication extrinsic to the poems. These distant associations are not the consistent methods of the *Gyokuyōshū* and the *Fūgashū*—most frequently they employ the same methods used by the *Shinkokinshū* and the other anthologies that follow it—but these two collections stand out from the others by virtue of the new techniques of association and of the fact that the techniques were to affect the practice of certain kinds of poetry in subsequent years.

These techniques of distant or implied association were not born with these two somewhat unusual anthologies. Some of the more original and innovating poets had employed them more than a century before in *tanka* that appeared to be broken into two or more parts that often seemed unrelated. Typically, the " upper verse " (*kami no ku* 上の句) or the first three lines, and the " lower verse " (*shimo no ku* 下の句) or last two lines were divided syntactically and otherwise to such a degree that there seemed to be no connection in subject, imagery, or meaning. The poem by the Priest Saigyō on autumn dusk is a famous example (*SKKS* IV: 362) .

[23] See, for example, the famous anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū* XVI: 855.

Kokoro naki	While denying his heart,
Mi ni mo aware wa	Even a priest must feel his body know
Shirarekeri	The depths of a sad beauty:
Shigi tatsu sawa no	From a marsh at autumn twilight
Aki no yūgure.	Snipe that rise to wing away.

The strong break between the two parts of this poem is made syntactically by the finite verb at the end of the third line, and this break is strongly reinforced by the disparity in poetic modes. The first three lines are declarative, with an effect of generalization, while the last two are descriptive. Moreover, there seems to be little connection between the images of the second part and the less concrete terms, " heart " and " body," in the first. However, a little consideration will show that the images in the second part serve to convey the meaning expressed in the first— in technical terms, the description is the vehicle of the tenor of the declaration. What we have is a kind of descriptive symbolism, with the signification of the symbols hinted at by a more discursive passage before the images. The two parts of the poem are truly " distant " from each other, but they have been integrated.

Saigyō's poem is an extreme but by no means uncommon example of the integrated fragmentation of many of the poems of the eleventh and subsequent centuries. This technique was one which by its very difficulty had to be a conscious practice, but it was not until the late twelfth or early thirteenth century that terms were coined to distinguish between poems like this one of Saigyō's and unfragmented wholes. The later terms—*shinku* 親句 or " closely related verses " and *soku* 疎句 or " distantly related verses "—were used to describe the relative degree of fragmentation in a poem. As literary history so often records, once a technique or practice has been named, it becomes a matter of critical controversy. The first extant document to use the terms is the *Chikuenshō* 竹園抄, a poetic treatise by Fujiwara Tameaki 藤原 爲顯 (d. c. 1278), who claimed to have based his theories upon the teaching of his father, Tameie 爲家 (1198-1275). Judging from the greater space given to the discussion of closely related verses in this work and the statement that these are more difficult to compose than the distantly related verses, we may assume that

in the opinion of this father and son the close relation in *shinku*
composition was preferable to the distant relation in *soku*.[24]
What had been a preference became an insistence after the death
of Tameaki, when his family separated into three distinct political
and poetic wings. Of these three, the Nijō 二條 became politically
the most dominant, a fact of power demonstrated by the choice
of them to compile all of the last ten imperial anthologies except
the *Gyokuyōshū* and the *Fūgashū*. The other two branches, the
Kyōgoku 京極 and the Reizei 冷泉 families, joined forces in self-
defence and in poetic terms espoused a general liberalism of tech-
nique against the highly conservative, even unimaginative, con-
ventionalism of their Nijō opponents. These two associated wings
justified their liberalism by basing their theories on the writings,
both critical and poetic, that they had inherited and jealously
guarded. These were primarily from the great ancestor of all
three wings, Teika, Tameie's father. The Nijō family looked
back to Tameie, whose easy but insipid and monotonous style
cast a pall of mediocrity and conservativism over first the Nijō
poets and later, as they triumphed over their more imaginative
opponents, over the whole poetic tradition of the *tanka*.

   This sad tale of intrigue and poetic decline had two important
and related consequences. The conflict served to dramatize the
poetic differences between the Nijō and the Kyōgoku-Reizei wings,
particularly (insofar as this discussion is concerned) in the matter
of closely and distantly related verse. The liberal wing became
characterized, among other distinctions, for its practice of dis-
tantly related poems, and the fact of conflict served to heighten
awareness and harden the lines of difference. As the liberal wing
studied to justify this particular technique, it also discovered
greater possibilities in it, and among these possibilities appear
to have been techniques of association between seemingly unre-
lated poetic divisions, whether of upper and lower verses or of
poems in anthologies. The implicit or distant association between
many of the poems in the *Gyokuyōshū* and the *Fūgashū* probably
grew as much out of the family quarrel as out of any other

[24] See the *Nippon Kagaku Taikei*, III, 395-396.

impetus. The second consequence grew from the first, for the Kyōgoku-Reizei insistence upon the worth of distantly related verses was later adopted by poets writing in a new, more vital form than the *tanka* as it was conceived and practiced by the now triumphantly unimaginative Nijō faction.

The new form was that of the *renga*, which is, so to speak, a progressive alternation of " upper " and " lower verses," usually totalling a hundred of these verse units successively linked through association. But though the form was indeed new, the characteristic techniques of integration in the *renga* are those developed in sequences of *tanka* and even within the *tanka* form itself. Like the poems in anthologies and hundred-poem sequences, the linked verses are often related through associations of similar categories of images. The critical writings of the *renga* masters were the first to theorize explicitly and give names to these categories, but as we have seen, by the time of the *Shinkokinshū* such a category as that of " rising phenomena " was already implicit in the association of poems through such images as smoke and haze.[25] In addition, the practice, especially in the *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, of association by the juxtaposition of seemingly unrelated poems whose materials recalled traditional kinds of treatment—like the relation of the *hototogisu* in one poem as a bird to another poem in which its associations with the world of death were recalled—set the way for similar " distant " associations in the *renga*. Thus, the relatively " close " association between verse units practiced in the thirteenth, fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries by *renga* poets trained in the Nijō tradition gave way in the late fifteenth century to an ideal and practice of " distantly related verses " as the leadership in *renga* was assumed by poets like Shinkei 心敬 (1406-1475), who studied court poetry with masters of the Kyōgoku-Reizei school. These changes in *renga* technique echo and follow historically upon the changes and differences in the techniques of integration within the *tanka* itself and in poetic sequences and anthologies from the *Shinkokinshū* to the *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*; they stem from

[25] See pp. 96-97, above.

ideals developed and realized within these older poetic forms.
The great *renga* poets learned their craft from the court poetry,
developing, codifying, categorizing, and making explicit what had
been earlier more a matter of practice than theory.[26]

The conventional explanations for the development of the
renga do not indeed take into account this debt to the associational
practice of the hundred-poem sequence and to the associational
practices of the *Shinkokinshū* with the subsequent modifications
in the *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*. It has for long been assumed
that the *renga* originated in the pre-literary period, when poems
were sometimes composed as a kind of exchange in which one
person recited the upper verses and another the lower. This
practice is supposed to have developed " somehow " after an
interval of several centuries into the genre which we now call
renga. There are two obvious reasons for this very unsatisfactory

[26] Kazamaki Keijirō observed in his *Shinkokin Jidai* 新古今時代 (Tokyo, 1936,
1955), p. 79, the similarity between certain techniques of association in the *Shinko-
kinshū* and in the *renga*. This observation was perhaps the first published insight
into the integrated nature of the anthology. (See note 2, above.) Professor Kazamaki's
explanation—that the *renga* influenced the composition of the *Shinkokinshū*—is, how-
ever, unhistorical. The influence must have worked the other way, since association
had been employed in imperial anthologies and poem sequences many years before
either the *Shinkokinshū* or the *renga* came into being. Further, although no *renga*
contemporaneous with the *Shinkokinshū* have survived, we may surmise from the
very simple rules for the genre found in the *Yakumo Mishō* 八雲御抄, a treatise on
poetics by Emperor Juntoku 順徳 (1197-1242) completed around 1234, that the
renga of the early thirteenth century were still relatively uncomplicated and less
associational in technique than the form perfected in the fourteenth century. (For
the relevant passages in the *Yakumo Mishō*, see *Nihon Kagaku Taikei*, III, 23-25.)
These simple rules contrast strikingly with the very elaborate ones compiled by Nijō
Yoshimoto 二條良基 (1320-1388) and given quasi-legal status by imperial decree
in 1372. (For these rules, see Okami Masao 岡見正雄, ed., *Yoshimoto Renga
Ronshū* 良基連歌論集 [Tokyo, 1952], pp. 8-23.) The formal analogy from the
hundred poems of a *tanka* sequence to the hundred verse units of the standard *renga*
of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is as obvious as the influence upon the *renga*
of the topical categories of the imperial anthologies and the *hyakushuuta*. It seems
clear that the *renga* was developed quite suddenly and at a rapid pace beginning in
the late twelfth century by poets who adapted to the new form the integrating tech-
niques of the poetic sequences which they composed and of the imperial anthologies
which they compiled, and that at least as late as the middle of the fifteenth century,
renga masters continued to apply the ideals of the *tanka* and the associational
techniques of the sequences and anthologies to the new genre.

explanation. First, the individual poems which resulted from this practice of verse-capping were indeed called *renga*: a group of such poems is even included under this heading in the last book (X: 692-710) of the fifth imperial anthology, the *Kin'yōshū* 金 葉集 (1124-1127). Secondly, this practice, like that of the long *renga* of later centuries, involved the participation of more than one poet. Perhaps any explanation is better than none, but it is hard to believe that such a practice could have developed of itself into the integrated form of the later genre. The close resemblance between associational techniques in the hundred-poem sequences, in the *Shinkokinshū*, and in the Kyōgoku-Reizei style of composition and compilation convincingly disproves the usual explanation. It was because they were acquainted with these techniques and these practices that the early *renga* poets were able to develop the genre into a serious literary form.

VI. Conclusions

The many developments that have been discussed took place over a lengthy historical period, but it is possible to see in them both a constancy of motive and a general pattern. From the eighth or ninth century onwards two complementary forces seem to be at work in Japanese poetry. On the one hand, the poetic unit becomes smaller as the *chōka* gives way to the shorter *tanka* and as the *tanka* itself is broken into what we have called fragments, whether within the *tanka* proper or in the alternating stanzaic units of the *renga*. On the other hand, there has been an equally powerful tendency to recombine the smaller units into larger wholes by the use of techniques that vary considerably from age to age. This dual process is best viewed as a complementary disintegration and integration. The nature of the integration at any given period depended upon the interests of the age, and the change in the kind of integration helps establish the pattern of development.

The period of the compilation of the *Kokinshū* was one in which narrative was beginning to develop through the medium of the poetic diary and the collections of poems with prose contexts.

As a result, it is not surprising that the method of poetic inte-
gration in this age was through temporal and spatial progression.
Such progression marks not only such later *monogatari* as the
Genji with its almost eight hundred poems in a prose context,
or the earlier *Tales of Ise* where the prose passages are little more
than excuses to bring a group of poems together, or such a poetic
diary as the *Tosa Diary*—but even the ordering of poems in the
first of the imperial anthologies, the *Kokinshū*. Successive an-
thologies were modelled on the *Kokinshū* in this as in other
respects, but by the time of the *Shinkokinshū* the complex of
developments described in this essay led to a taste for associational
integration as well. As a result, the *Shinkokinshū* plays a pivotal
role in the history of the integration of poetic sequences. It
managed the almost unbelievably complicated feat of arranging
poems in an anthology so that they should follow both a temporal
or spatial sequence and patterns of association of imagery or other
specific poetic qualities. All of the later anthologies follow the
associational pattern of this creation of the Retired Emperor
Go-Toba, but he had so altered the progression and so tempered
it with association, that progression is to be found in the later
anthologies to a degree determined more by the sequence of the
seasons than any closely worked out scheme from poem to poem.
Two anthologies, the *Gyokuyōshū* and the *Fūgashū*, frequently
carried the associational process to its utmost limit by developing,
in some sequences, a very tenuous association based more upon
tradition than common elements shared by two successive poems.

From the subtle associational techniques of these two an-
thologies and the similar poetic practice of the *tanka*, especially
in the hundred-poem sequences, the *renga* emerged as the first
poetic form in five centuries to challenge the supremacy of the
tanka. The challenge was not indeed directed at the prestige of
that pre-eminent form of Japanese court poetry; it was rather a
sign of the fall of the court itself and of the decline of the poetic
tradition of the *tanka* under the control of the almost wholly
uncreative Nijō family. The motif of disintegration and integra-
tion and the pattern of historical development from progression

to associational progression to association were both symptoms and in turn causes of the complex developments in Japanese poetry over a period of several centuries. It does not seem an exaggeration to say that the motif and the pattern, representing as they do so many different poets, poems, events, and ideals, may be regarded as one of the trustworthy guides for following the greater part of the tradition of the poetry of the Japanese court over its historical topography from point to point, from height to height, and onward to its gradual downslope and the emergence of new forms of literature to express the experience of a society, at once new and the child of what had gone before.