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
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. 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.

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-

Kazamaki Keijirō 飯卷景次郎 was perhaps the first to note the use of association in the *Shinkokinshū*. (See note 26, below.) Professor Konishi gained his first insight into the existence of such techniques from his renga teacher, the distinguished scholar, Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄, who once casually informed him that the poems throughout the *Shinkokinshū* are arranged for calculated artistic effect. Professor Konishi then set out to explore the practice historically and critically, planning to incorporate his findings into a forthcoming book. He has been partially anticipated by Matsuda Takeo 松田武夫 who, in *Kin'yōshū no Kenkyū* 金葉集の研究 (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 18-48, noted the use of the techniques of association and progression and the consciousness of the imperial anthology as an integrated artistic structure. His discussion differs from that of this essay in critical approach, and he does not discuss the origins of the techniques, analyze them in detail, or relate the practice in the anthologies to that in other sequences and to the renga. Upon hearing of Professor Konishi’s findings, we urged him to write an essay on the subject. He consented, has developed through frequent discussions with us those aspects of the practice that we felt would most interest Western students of literature, and has graciously allowed us to translate and adapt his essay with a freedom that has characterized our discussions of Japanese poetry with him. We wish to acknowledge the generous support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Stanford-Tokyo Collaborative Studies Program which has made this stimulating contact possible and has facilitated our work in numerous other ways. [RHB and EM]
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.\footnote{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 國歌大観 (“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, 1908). 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 (Gyokuuyōshū 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: 1

Mi-Yoshino no

Yama no kasumite
Shirayuki no
Furinishi sato ni
Haru wa kinikeri.

At beauteous Yoshino

The mountains are veiled in a haze,
And to the hamlet,
Former capital, grown old beneath the snow,
Once more the spring has come.

Fujiwara Yoshitsune 藤原良經 (1169-1206)

SKKS I: 2

Honobono to
Haru koso sora ni
Kinikerashi
Ama no Kaguyama
Kasumi tanabiku.

Faintly, faintly,
The sky breathes forth a promise
Of the coming spring,
And from the holy Hill of Kagu
Drift the gossamer veils of haze.

Ex-Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽院 (1180-1239)
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 俊恵法師 (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 narimu to
Miyuki furu

Far off across the plain
The drifting clouds of haze announce
“The time of year is spring.”
Even to the distant mountain reaches  
Where still the deep snow falls.  

**Anonymous**

Toki yamabe ni  
Kasumi tanabiku.

**SKKS I: 10**

Kasugano no  
Shitamoewataru  
Kusa no ue ni  
Tsurenaku miyuru  
Haru no awayuki.

Upon the sprouting grass  
That stretches green across the moor  
Of ancient Kasuga,  
Indifferent to the season's gift of life,  
There linger patches of the soft spring snow.

**Minamoto Kuninobu** 源國信 (1069-1111)

**SKKS I: 11**

Asu kara wa  
Wakana tsuman to  
Shimeshi no ni  
Kinō mo kyō mo  
Yuki wa furitsutsu.

Roped off, the fields,  
That the courtiers can set out tomorrow  
To pick the new spring greens,  
But yesterday and now again today  
They are covered over by the snow.

**Yamabe Akahito** 山部赤人 (d. ?736)

**SKKS I: 12**

Kasugano no  
Kusa wa midori ni  
Narinikeri  
Wakana tsuman to  
Tare ka shimeken.

The withered grasses  
Of the ancient fields of Kasuga have turned  
Into a living green—  
Who could he be, that man of elegance,  
Who roped them off so he might pick young shoots?

**Mibu no Tadami** 壬生忠見 (fl. c. 950)

**SKKS I: 13**

Wakana tsumu  
Sode to zo miyuru  
Kasugano no  
Tobuhi no nobe no  
Yuki no muragie.

Like the white sleeves  
Of courtiers picking tender shoots  
On the fields of Kasuga,  
Those patches of remaining snow stand out  
Upon the fresh green fields of Tobuhi.

**Fujiwara Norinaga** 藤原教長 (fl. c. 1145-1160)

**SKKS I: 14**

Yukite minzu  
Hito mo shinobe to  
Haru no no no  
Katami ni tsugeru  
Wakana narikeri.

These tender greens,  
Plucked as the keepsake of a day  
In the fields of spring,  
Say from their basket to those who did not go,  
"Look upon us now with admiration."

**Ki no Tsurayuki** 紀貫之 (d. ?945)

**SKKS I: 15**

Sawa ni ouru  
Wakana naranedo  
Itazura ni  
Toshi o tsumu ni mo  
Sode wa nurekeri.

Not just in taking  
The young shoots from along the marsh,  
But also in the taking  
Of each year to my heap of broken years  
Have I felt my sleeves grow wet.

**Fujiwara Shunzei** (1114-1204)
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.

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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 题) 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).

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<th>Poem No.</th>
<th>Haze</th>
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<th>Plum</th>
<th>Poem No.</th>
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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 represents 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.

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<th>Poem No.</th>
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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-
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. 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 associations” (engo 練語). 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 difference 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” (yojo 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 Morokoshi 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 諸) 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 progressed (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 between 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. Consequently we may suppose that the effort to achieve a smooth associational progression was of great importance to the compilers 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 progression 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 richness 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 Kinshū.” In giving their anthology this name, the compilers were consciously expressing a neoclassical ideal and were specifying the source of their inspiration—the Kinshū, or “Anthology of Poems Ancient and Modern,” the first collection of Japanese poetry compiled by imperial command early in the tenth century. The Kinshū 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 Kinshū. 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 Kinshū, a book which is also naturally devoted to spring.

KKS I: 17
Kasugano wa Be kind to us,
Kyō wa na yakī 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

83
Ima ikuka arite
Wakana tsumiten.

And tell how many days I still must wait
Until the joyous time to pick young shoots.

Anonymous

KKS I: 19
Miyama ni wa
Matsu no yuki dani
Kienaku ni
Michi no nabe no
Wakana tsumikeri.

Deep in the mountains,
Even the snow that fell upon the pines
Has not begun to melt,
But in the Capital, the fields are thronged
With courtiers gaily picking the young shoots.

Anonymous

KKS I: 20
Azusayumi
Oshite harusame
Kyo furinu
Asu sae furabe
Wakana tsumiten.

Today the rains of spring
Spring on us with the suddenness
Of a far bent bow—
If only they will fall once more tomorrow
So we may soon go out to pick young greens!

Anonymous

KKS I: 21
Kimigata me
Haru no no ni idete
Wakana tsumu
Wa ga koromode ni
Yuki wa furitsutsu.

It was for you
That I went out to the fields of spring
To pick young shoots,
Though all the while the falling snow
Piled without surcease upon my sleeves.

Anonymous

Emperor KoKō 光孝天皇 (883-887)

KKS I: 22
Kasugano no
Wakana tsumu ni ya
Shirotae no
Sode furihate
Hito no yuku ran.

Do those girls set forth
On an excursion for young shoots,
That they so gaily wave
Their white linen sleeves in beckoning
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 prepares 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.  

This evidence seems convincing enough to show that the compilers of the Shinkokinshū were consciously attempting to raise the image of the Kinshū 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 Kinshū (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 Shinkokinshū, in a context which echoes by other means the corresponding poems of the Kinshū, means that the readers of the thirteenth century were reminded of the age of the Kinshū, 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

* 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 anthologies that intervene between the Kinshū 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 Kinshū 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 mentioning the facts and suggesting the possibility that this kind of echoing (which occurs beyond question elsewhere in the anthology) 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 somewhat 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 completely logical and in harmony with the external world. In brief, the poems in the Shinkokinshū are far more carefully and consistently 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 dilettante 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 1834 (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 illustrate 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
Mite ya yaman
Kazuraki ya
Takama no yama no
Mine no shirayuki.

Can it be that I
Shall never see at closer range
The pure white snow
That glimmers in far Kazuraki
On the peak of Mount Takama?

Anonymous

SKKS XI: 991
Oto ni nomi
Ari to kikikoshi
Mi-Yoshino no
Taki wa kyō koso
Sode ni ochikere.

Only in story
Had I heard of the waterfalls
Of beauteous Yoshino,
Until this day when my own sleeves
Are moistened with their spray.

Anonymous

SKKS XI: 992
Ashihiki no
Yamada moru io ni
Oku kabi no

My love is like
The smouldering fires they tend
Beside their huts
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Shitakogaretsutsu
Wa ga kouraku wa.

To frighten deer from ripened grain
In the fields of distant hills.

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

SKKS XI: 993
Iso no Kami
Furu no Wasada no
Ho ni wa idesu
Kokoro no uchi ni
Koi ya wataran.

Must I go on,
My love shut up within my breast
Never to show forth
As do the ears of grain at Wasada
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
Yuku sue made wa
Katakereba
Kyō o kagiri no
Inochi to mo ga na.

Since it can scarcely be
That you will remember this road of love
To the end of our life’s journey,
I wish that death would take me now
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: 1996

Shirotae no
Sode no wakare ni
Tsuyu ochite
Mi ni shimu iro no
Akikaze zo fuku.

The white sleeves covering us,
Glistening with dew and sparkling with our tears,
Are parted by the dawn,
And as we dress, shake in the autumn wind
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

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’yōshū 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 techniques of association and progression which involve topics, treatment, and imagery. The twelve poems with which the volume begins illustrate these more detailed techniques.

**SKKS X: 896**

_Tobu tori no_
_Asuka no sato o_
_Okite inaba_
_Kimi ga atari wa_
_Miezu ka mo aran._

If I abandon my village
Of Asuka, where birds are said to soar,
For a new capital,
Will it be that I shall nevermore
See you present by my side?

_Empress Gemmyō 元明皇后 (661-721)_

**SKKS X: 897**

_Imo ni koi_
_Waka no matsuhara_
_Miwataseba_
_Shiohi no kata ni_
_Tazu nakiwatari._

Longing for my love,
I gaze forth across the pines
Of Waka’s forest,
And see that over the strand of Shiohi
The cranes fly off with mournful cries.

_Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701-756)_

**SKKS X: 898**

_Iza kodomo_
_Haya Hi no Moto e_
_Ōtomo no_
_Mitsu no hamamatsu_
_Machikoinu ran._

Come along, lads!
Let us quickly make our way home
Towards the Rising Sun—
The pines on the shore at Mitsu in Ōtomo
Must wait impatiently for our return.

_Yamanoe Okura 山上憶良 (?660-?733)_

**SKKS X: 899**

_Amazakaru_
_Hina no nagaji o_
_Kogikureba_
_Akashi no to yori_
_Yamato shima miyu._

As I come rowing
Over the long sea-path from wilds
Distant as the sky,
Through the Straits of Akashi
The Isles of Yamato come into view.

_Kakinomoto Hitomaro (fl. c. 680-700)_
SKKS X: 900

Sasa no ha wa
Miyama no soyo ni
Midaru nari
Ware wa imo omou
Wakarekinureba.

Because I come
From parting with the wife I love,
The leaves of rough bamboo
Seem to fill these mountain depths
With their mournful rustling sound.⁹

Kakinomoto Hitomaro

SKKS X: 901

Koko ni arite
Tsukushi ya izuko
Shirakumo no
Tanabiku yama no
Nishi ni aru rashi.

Having come this far,
I ask, “Where is Tsukushi now?”
It seems to lie
Back to the West beyond those hills
Where the white clouds trail away.

Ōtomo Tabito 大伴旅人 (665-731)

SKKS X: 902

Asagiri ni
Nurenishi koromo
Hosazu shite
Hitori ya kimi ga
Yamaji koyu ran.

Do you walk
Alone along the narrow path
Across the peaks,
Your robe not yet dried out
From its drenching in the morning mists?

Anonymous

SKKS X: 903

Shinano naru
Asama no take ni
Tatsu keburi
Ochikochibito no
Mi ya wa togamenu.

How can the smoke
That rises from the Peak of Asama
In this country of Shinano
Fail to strike the people far and near
With amazement at the sight?

Ariwara Narihira 在原業平 (825-880)

SKKS X: 904

Suruga naru
Utsu no yamabe no
Utsutsu ni mo
Yume ni mo hito ni
Awanu narikeri.

Not in a reality
As real as these hills of Utsu
That rise in Suruga,
Nor even in the unreal world of dreams,
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 校訳日本文學大系 (Tokyo, 1936), II, 40 and 41.
The evening wind
Binds with cold the roadside grass
That pillows me—
If only I might ask for shelter in that house
That sounds with mallets fulling cloth.

JIN'ICHI KONISHI

SKKS X: 905
Kusamakura
Yūkaze samuku
Narinikeri
Koromo utsu naru
Yado ya karamashi.

The evening wind
Binds with cold the roadside grass
That pillows me—
If only I might ask for shelter in that house
That sounds with mallets fulling cloth.

Ki no Tsurayuki (d. ?945)

SKKS X: 906
Shirakumo no
Tanabikewataru
Ashihiki no
Yama no kakehashi
Kyō ya koenan.

I hope this day
That I shall cross the distant bridge
That hangs across
The gulf between those mountain peaks
Now draped in streamers of white clouds.

Ki no Tsurayuki

SKKS X: 907
Azumaji ya
Saya no nakayama
Sayaka ni mo
Mienu kumoi ni
Yo o ya tsukusan.

Am I then doomed
To pass my life in low estate,
While you rise
To lofty peaks concealed by clouds
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 by 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 potentially 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* 与津, 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 technique and practice of the *renge*, 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 *renge* 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* 聲物)—moisture or vapor which rises into the air and dissipates itself. Once this category is recognized, the association 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 inevitably 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 interesting.

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 浅間 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 association 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 conventional and usually shorter. Like the preface, it is characteristic 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*  
*Haru wa kinikeri*  
*Hitotose o*  
*Kozo to ya iwan.*  
*Kotoshi to ya iwan.*  

The Old Year not yet gone,  
The longed for spring has come at last  
Yet brought confusion—  
For are we now to say "last year."  
Or should we rather say "this year?"

Ariwara Motokata 在原元方 (888-953)

*KKS I: 2*

*Sode hijite*  
*Musubishi mizu no*  
*Kōreru o*  
*Haru tatsu kyō no*  
*Kaze ya toku ran.*

Will the wind  
That gently blows on this first day of spring  
Melt perhaps the ice  
To which was changed the water of the stream  
That wet my sleeves in summer when I drank?

Ki no Tsurayuki (d. ?945)

*KKS I: 3*

*Harugasumi*  
*Tateru ya izuko*  
*Mi-Yoshino no*  

Where does it rise,  
The haze that is the sign of spring?  
In lovely Yoshino,
100

JIN’ICHI KONISHI

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

Anonymous

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

Empress Takako 高子皇后 (fl. 858-882)

KKS I: 5
Ume ga e ni
Kijuru uguisu
Haru kakete
Nakedo mo imada
Yuki wa furitsutsu.
Although the warbler,
Who is the harbinger of spring,
Has already come
And perches singing in the plum tree
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 *Shinkokinshū*, at least as far as the seasonal and love poems are concerned, 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 repeatedly 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-
veloped 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 devoted 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 according to any set pattern of topical development. The reason for the relative lack of attention given to these books by the compilers 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 “formal” 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 Professor Konishi has discussed the arrangement of poems in the Kokinshū in his edition, Kokinwakashū, 古今和歌集 for the Shinshū Kokubungaku Sōsho 新註國文學叢書, XLIV (Tokyo, 1949), 90-31. 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 *Senzai* (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_ 源俊賴_ (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.
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 progression are found as early as the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, the Kokinshū, we may ask whether the compilers 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, conventions which are very similar in effect. By this we mean the techniques employed in the horizontal picture scroll (emakimono 繪巻物), 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 picture 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 Ingakyo* 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 hyakushūuta 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 曽禰好忠 (fl. c. 985) examples of the genre.\(^\text{13}\) 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 Hyakushū 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.\(^\text{14}\)

The first poet to apply the techniques of association of images

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\(^{13}\) Shigeyuki’s one sequence, composed by command of the Crown Prince Norihira 憲平 (850-1011; reigned 967-969 as Emperor Reizei 冷泉), is printed in Shinkō Gunsho Ruijū 新校彙書類從 (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.

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). 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.\textsuperscript{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 classified 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.\textsuperscript{17} There is, however, one significant exception—the work of the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba. In all of his extant sequences, each successive poem is linked with the preceding one through association of images.\textsuperscript{18} This fact seems of particular importance because of Go-Toba’s relation to the \textit{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 \textit{Shinko-}

\textsuperscript{16} See, for example, the seventeen sequences by six major poets of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century in \textit{Kokka Taikei}, X, 507-514 (Fujiwara Shunzei); 548-550, 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).

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Kokka Taikei}, X, 612-625 and 670-679, respectively.

\textsuperscript{18} Go-Toba’s personal collection, printed in \textit{Kokka Taikei}, X, 25-180, contains three sequences of 100 poems, one sequence of 500 poems (a kind of grandiose version of the \textit{hyakushuuta}), and seven sequences of thirty poems (an abbreviated version of the \textit{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.

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 (Tokyo, 1946), 1-48.
to his readers. Therefore, although Go-Toba’s treatise was presumably 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.\textsuperscript{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 influence 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

\textsuperscript{20} See the *Go-Toba-In Kuden* 後鳥羽院口傳 in Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱, ed., *Nihon Kagaku Taikai 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 T'ang 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 中命門宗忠 (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 P'u 賦譜, or Rules of Composition, is in the private collection of Mr. Gotô 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 Shinkô Gunsho Ruijû, 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 Shinkokinshū 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 comparison 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 developed 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). These two collections appear to show much

22 These two anthologies are exceptional in other ways. Of the last thirteen anthologies, 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  
Nochi wa shiranu o  
Ika naran  
Toki ni ka mata wa  
Awan to su ran.  

We cannot know  
What may befall in the uncertain time  
After we have parted,  
But still I yearn to know the time  
When we shall meet again.

Öe no Chisato 大江千里 (fl. c. 890-905)

_GYS VIII: 1106_  
Kimi o oshimu  
Kokoro no sora ni  
Kayoeba ya  
Kyō tomaru beki  
Ame no furu ran.  

Is it because  
My heart’s regret at losing you  
Has carried to the sky  
That now the rain is falling  
To keep you here today?

Ki no Tsurayuki (d. ?945)

_GYS VIII: 1107_  
Shirotae no  
Sode wakaru beki  
Hi o chikami  
Kokoro o musebi  
Naki nomi zo naku.  

Because the day  
Is near when our white hempen sleeves  
Must draw apart,  
My time is spent in ceaseless weeping,  
Though my tears are locked within my breast.

Ki no Iratsume 紀郎女 (fl. c. 680)

_GYS VIII: 1108_  
Yama tōmi  
Kumoi ni kari no  
Koete inaba  

When the goose  
Departs in flight beyond those peaks  
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
Ne ni ya nakanan.

In the land of clouds, must I alone
Remain behind to voice my cries?

Minamoto Sanetomo 源實朝 (1192-1219)

GYS VIII: 1109
Irie kogu
Obune ni nabiku
Ashi no ha wa
Wakaru to miredo
Tachikaerikeri.

Although the reeds
Bow down their tassels in the cove
Before the rowing boat,
And though they seem to part, they rise,
Returning to their former place.

Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原清朝 (1114-1204)

GYS VIII: 1110
Sayo fukete
Ina mo nakanan
Hototogisu
Wakare o oshimu
Koe to kiku bekai.

Since the hour grows late
Will you not now begin your song,
O hototogisu,
That we may hear your voice and feel
It echo the sadness of our parting?

Fujiwara Kiyomasa 藤原清正 (d. 958)

GYS VIII: 1111
Tanomu ran
Shirube mo isaya
Hitotsuyo no
Wakare ni dani mo
Madou kokoro wa.

You speak of trust,
But how can you rely upon a guide
Whose unstable heart
Still wavers in its human weakness
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).

\[
\begin{align*}
Kazu\ kazu\ ni & \quad \text{Wondering, wondering,} \\
Omoi\ omowazu & \quad \text{"Does he love or love no more?"} \\
Toigatami & \quad \text{Yet I dare not ask—} \\
Mi\ o\ shiru\ ame\ wa & \quad \text{The rain that knows my destiny} \\
Furi\ zo\ masareru. & \quad \text{In falling only tells of downfall.}
\end{align*}
\]

In this poem the woman's uncertainty is resolved in a way she is unwilling wholly to accept or to hasten. This theme of uncertainty 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).

28 See, for example, the famous anonymous poem in the Kokinshū XVI: 855.
Kokoro naki
Mi ni no aware wa
Shirarekeri
Shigi tatsu sawa no
Aki no yūgure.

While denying his heart,
Even a priest must feel his body know
The depths of a sad beauty:
From a marsh at autumn twilight
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 砺句 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 藤原为顯 (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. 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 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 and the Reizei families, joined forces in self-defence and in poetic terms espoused a general liberalism of technique against the highly conservative, even unimaginative, conventionalism 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 distantly 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 unrelated 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

** 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 Shinkokinshū 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, however, 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 poetries 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 関見正雄, 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 techniques 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* 金蔵集 (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 integration 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 anthologies 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 anthologies and the similar poetic practice of the *tanka*, especially in the hundred-poem sequences, the *renge* 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 integration 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.