

THE MUMYŌSHŌ OF KAMO NO CHŌMEI
AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN JAPANESE LITERATURE

by

HILDA KATO

Doktorand der Universität München

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of
ASIAN STUDIES

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1964

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Asian Studies

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date 2nd Oct. 1964

A b s t r a c t

The purpose of this study is to investigate the significance of Japanese theoretical writing on poetry of the Heian period (794 - 1192) (as manifested in the distinctive literary genre known as the karon) with special reference to the development of esthetic concepts in general and the influence of this kind of writing on the Japanese literature of later periods. An attempt is made to show through the presentation of one of the major works in this field, which is here translated into English, what factors were responsible for the distinctive characteristics of Japanese poetry.

This kind of study has never been undertaken in English and no source material is available in translation; I therefore thought it best to make a start in this field with a complete translation of the Mumyōshō by Kamo no Chōmei, one of the most important Japanese theoretical works on poetry. By presenting the full text I wish to draw attention to the problems of poetic taste and criticism, as the Japanese of the Heian period saw them.

Going back to the sources which Kamo no Chōmei used in his writing, I have tried to give an account (admittedly very incomplete) of poetical thought in Japan up to his time. I have analyzed some of the most influential ideas of the Mumyōshō and presented them in summary.

This study has made it clear to me that much further research is necessary to show the genius of Kamo no Chōmei in its proper perspective and to demonstrate the importance of the karon of the Heian period for the development of Japanese literature in general.

C O N T E N T S

I N T R O D U C T I O N

THE KARON, ONE OF THE SOURCES OF THE MAJOR PRINCIPLES OF THE JAPANESE WELTANSCHAUUNG	1
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KARON UP TO THE END OF THE HEIAN PERIOD	6
Kukai's Legacy	8
The Four Japanese Norms of Poetry	9
The Official Recognition of Poetry	11
Ki no Tsurayuki and the Kokin-shū	13
Mibu no Tadamine	15
Fujiwara no Kintō	16
The Twelfth Century.....	17
Minamoto Toshiyori	19
Fujiwara Toshinari	20
Fujiwara Sadaie	22
THE KARON AND THE MUMYŌZŌSHI	25
KAMO NO CHŌMEI	28
Kamo no Chōmei's Life and Work	29
THE MUMYŌSHŌ	33
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MUMYŌSHŌ AS THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF POETRY	35
Kamo no Chōmei's Theory of the History of the Uta..	35

Chomei's Ideas about Poetry	40
How to Become a Poet	43
Good Poets and Society	45
The Good Poem	46
Notes to the Introduction	48
Note on the Translation	51
TRANSLATION OF THE MUMYŌSHŌ	52
FOOTNOTES	139
APPENDIX	<u>168</u>
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.....	175

INTRODUCTION

THE KARON, ONE OF THE SOURCES OF THE MAJOR PRINCIPLES OF THE JAPANESE WELTANSCHAUUNG

In the history of Japanese thought, the karon (essay on Japanese poetry) has particular importance: it is the first systematic statement of the esthetic principles underlying the distinctive Japanese Weltanschauung from which later cultural epochs drew so much inspiration. When we consider that the legacy of this Weltanschauung is still felt in present - day Japan, although it has repeatedly been overshadowed by a sudden enthusiasm for a different, usually alien, ideology, we realize how deeply rooted it is in Japanese thought. (1)

What was characteristic of the karon, as it developed during the Heian period (794-1192), was a strong concern for esthetic and literary values, an attachment to seemingly insignificant details, a down-to-earth attitude which prevented the over-emphasis on fantasy and rhetoric beyond the every-day reality, a quite limited interest in religion and the supernatural. All this can be regarded as characteristic also of much of the best Japanese literature in general.

The following paragraphs indicate in brief outline some of the representative literature of the Heian period, as well as literary genres of later periods and their chief exponents, in order to demonstrate the importance of this Weltanschauung and of the karon as fountainhead of subsequent literary and esthetic principles.

The literary merit of the Tale of Genji, the representative work of the monogatari literature which, like the uta (31 syllable poem) and the karon, reached its peak in the Heian period, is probably due to a great extent to the characteristics mentioned above. The detailed description of Court life in general, and the thoughts, feelings and actions of the heroes in particular, brings the reader close to the reality of their life. These heroes, however, are idealized, not from an ethical but from an esthetic point of view; their emotions find expression in the thirty-one syllable uta. Religion as a means to transcend life has no place in this monogatari. The various aspects of religious practice, prayers, visits to temples, even taking the tonsure, fit perfectly into this esthetic world as 'decorative elements' -- to use a phrase employed by Kamo no Chōmei, the 13th century Japanese poet and critic, with whom this study is concerned.

The Konjaku monogatari (Tales of Modern and Ancient Times) of the 12th century, in language and conception contrasting with and yet complementing the Genji monogatari, is valued for stories whose matter-of-fact realism is almost shocking to the reader of today, and whose religious concern is mainly confined to a detached curiosity about magic and the supernatural.

The diary literature, which flourished during the Heian period, is also inherently realistic. Its extreme popularity is a proof of the interest of the Heian aristocracy in small talk and matters of their daily life. The world depicted in those diaries is esthetically refined but intensely concrete and rational.

When Seami (1363-1443) produced and elaborated his nō plays and developed his theory on the art of the theater, the religious upheavals of the Buddhist reformation of the 13th century had already subsided. Buddhist religious ideas, especially of Zen, had fallen on fertile soil, but in the course of their adaptation into Japanese culture they had been transformed into an esthetic philosophy which served Seami in elaborating the esthetic ideas of the karon and provided the necessary basis for the development of his theory of drama. The nō play, highly stylized in content, form and expression and far removed from the matters of daily life, was never without its link to reality, as manifested in the kyōgen. Historically nō and kyōgen had evolved along diverging paths from what had been one type of theater -- the sarugaku -- and even as two separate entities they continued to be closely related to each other. Together they constituted the Japanese theater.

The above-mentioned qualities of the karon continued to be influential in Japanese literary criticism, such as the rengaron (essays on the chain poem) which flourished in the 15th century (2) and art criticism in general in the 16th and 17th centuries (3). Their importance was re-emphasized in the 17th century by Ōkura Toraakira (1597-1662) who tried to clarify the relationship between nō and kyōgen by analyzing their respective characteristics and developing a theory of the kyōgen which was based on all the knowledge available to him, from the Chinese classics, the karon and Seami's writings, up to the fashionable neo-Confucianism of his time. The ideas of the karon, remodelled and adapted to the needs of the stage found an excellent medium of expression in the kyōgen.

Bashō (1644-1694) and his school carried the principles of the uta and the karon to their culmination in the haiku (17 syllable poem) and the hairon (essays on the haiku). Just as the renga (chain poem), and then the haiku developed out of the uta, the rengaron and the hairon developed out of the karon in an unbroken evolutionary process. The haiku poets were thus the true heirs to the late Heian poets and theoreticians. The tendency towards literary escapism, which had been marked at the end of the Heian period, reached a peak with Bashō and his school. These poets, unlike those of the Heian period, did not live naturally in an esthetic world, but had to create this atmosphere artificially and individually. But while their isolation from the common world resulted in even greater restriction of poetic freedom within the confines of the seventeen syllables, the theories on the haiku were sober and practical. The correct use of language and subject matter determined the acceptability of a poem, if not its intrinsic worth.

Even in such a different type of literature as Saikaku's (1642-1693) realistic portrayals of the daily life of the townspeople, one sees the same qualities as we have noted in the karon, for instance in his objective detachment, his love for the small detail and his insight into human psychology. His contemporary, the playwright Chikamatsu (1653-1724), also depicted the ideals of the chōnin (townspeople) society and his plays revealed his fine sensitivity to music and his taste for the pathetic beauty of tragedy. Though they were conditioned by the Confucian moral conventions of their time, the works of Saikaku and Chikamatsu, which are generally considered as outstanding examples of Tokugawa creative literature, are almost completely free from super-

natural, mystical or religious overtones.

Saikaku did not develop a theory of his own literary genre, but Chikamatsu did so (through a friend of his, who is supposed to have faithfully recorded his remarks) - mainly on the nature of the puppet theater, for which he wrote most of his plays. Chikamatsu continued and elaborated the major lines of argument of Ōkura Toraakira: the relationship between the stylization demanded by the art on the stage, and the realistic approach to gestures and diction, necessary for communication with the audience; in this he manifested his intellectual affinity with the basic ideals of the karon as expounded by Kamo no Chōmei. For the chōnin and their greatest playwright, even ideals and dreams had to remain within the realm of everyday human experience.

Realism (4) and esthetic appreciation were the qualities of the Japanese world as observed through Japan's major literary works of the past nine or ten centuries. However specialized it may seem, the karon should be regarded as one of the earliest and most important prises de conscience by the Japanese themselves of their own special world.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KARON UP TO THE END OF THE
HEIAN PERIOD

Chinese Theoretical Writing on Poetry and its Influence on Japanese
Literature

The earliest Chinese attempts at a critical evaluation of poetry are found in the Great Preface to the Book of Odes, probably written by Wei Hung in the 1st century A.D. The differentiation of styles of poetry and prose after the Han period (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.) resulted in the formation of literary camps and stimulated the critical spirit of the writers. In contrast to the later Japanese writers, however, these Chinese seldom designed a reasoned explanation of their opinions. Theoretical writing on poetry remained confined to the categorization of styles, the so-called 'poem-diseases' (5) and poetic rules, all of which played an important role in the early Japanese karon writing.

The first comprehensive theoretical work on Chinese poetry grew out of a bitter controversy over literary styles which had already been very marked during the T'ang period (618 - 906) and had come to a climax during the Sung period (960 - 1279). A great part of this work, Tsang Lang's Discourse on Poetry by Yen-yü (6), written around 1200, is therefore devoted to criticism of literary periods and poets without explanation of the basis for the judgments. Thoughts about

poetry consist in an enumeration of rules whose validity is not critically examined, but considered self-evident. Yen-yü's work cannot compare with the contemporary works in Japan (7) in scope of imagination and thought, poetic sensitivity and sophistication, or in strength of logical argument.

Up to the time of Kūkai (774 - 835) Chinese ideas and patterns of literature had been faithfully followed in Japan; after Kūkai, and after the end of the missions of the Japanese government to T'ang China, the inflow of Chinese influence into Japan decreased until the end of the Heian period. It was during this period, nearly four hundred years, that Japan went her own way, moving culturally away from China, developing the ⁽⁸⁾kana syllabary, producing fiction of a unique type (the monogatari), elaborating the form of the Japanese short poem (the uta), and developing more and more sophisticated theories of poetry, based less on Chinese patterns than on indigenous Japanese practices and forms of poetry. The Japanese poem -- in contrast to the Chinese poem -- was characterized by extreme frugality of expression and modesty of poetic perception. It became even more restricted in the course of those four hundred years, so that poetry could not expand and diversify, but only modify itself in a process of ever-increasing refinement. (9)

Kukai's Legacy

Kūkai (774 - 835), the Buddhist monk and scholar of Chinese classics, may be considered one of the most important initiators of the karon. His extensive work on Chinese poetry, the Bunkyo-hifu-ron, established a standard for the Chinese poem in Japan that challenged the Japanese poets, whether they composed in Chinese or Japanese.

Before Kūkai's time the distinction between Japanese-^{style} and Chinese-style poetry had already been clear, as was demonstrated by the contrast between the Manyō-shū (10) and the Kaifū-sō (11). These two anthologies were different, not only in syntax and vocabulary, but also in imagery and subject matter and in the social background of the poets.

The Bunkyo-hifu-ron discusses only Chinese poetry, draws from Chinese sources (12) and its theoretical principles are only applicable to the shi (the Chinese poem) and not to the uta (13). This however does not imply that Kūkai and his work did not open the way for the further development of Japanese-style poetry and its theories. In the Bunkyo-hifu-ron Kūkai showed, for the first time in Japanese history, how one could approach poetry in a systematic and analytical way, and invited the Japanese poets to apply his principles to their writing. It might be argued that the Japanese might never have developed their special self-consciousness about their language and poetry, if Kūkai had not confronted them with the need to think about their own language and poetry in terms of an alien one -- something the Chinese were never forced to do.

Japanese poetry seems to have both suffered and benefited from this awareness on the part of the poets about the nature of their task. On the one hand it led to a certain formalism with regard to the attitude of the poet, the subject matter and poetic diction; on the other hand it was the pre-condition to the elaboration of thought about poetry, without which Japanese poetry would not have developed its unique characteristics.

The Four Japanese Norms of Poetry

In the early Heian period the Japanese started to apply the rules of poetic composition of Chinese origin to Japanese-style poetry. The first attempts of this kind are to be seen in the four Japanese Norms which enjoyed great prestige all during the Heian period and whose influence can be traced in most of the karon writing of that time.

The earliest and most extensive of these norms was the Kakyō-hyōshiki by Fujiwara Hamanari (732 - 799); the other three were of a later date: the Kisen-saku-shiki by Kisen (9th century), and the Hikohime-shiki and Iwami-no-jō-shiki, both of unknown authorship.

The Kakyō-hyōshiki is not as voluminous and systematic as Kūkai's work, and shows little concern for a theoretical approach to poetry. It is however an important step in the process of Japanization of Chinese ideas on poetry. Although written in kanbun (14) and in many respects showing its dependence on its Chinese models, it adapts

Chinese literary concepts to the Japanese poem. It is concerned only with the Japanese poem, and draws on early Japanese material, especially the Kōjiki, for examples.

Hamanari starts with a preface, a forerunner of the famous preface to the Kokin-shū (15) of Ki no Tsurayuki, in which he explains the nature and purpose of poetry and his wish to inform his contemporaries of the notions of rhyme and poem-diseases, which although essential in the composition of poetry, are unknown to most poets. He quotes seven poem-diseases (16) in which he has transformed the Chinese tone and rhyme into a Japanese equivalent -- a strong rhyme, in which a whole syllable is repeated at the end of a line of the poem. Hamanari demands this rhyme for the third and fifth line of the short poem (17), a postulate that has hardly ever been followed. His seven style-groups (18) point out mistakes of the crudest kind, such as no poet is likely to have committed. Those seven style-groups are probably Hamanari's own creation, while the ten refined styles (19) which he discusses at great length, resemble in their set-up the ten styles of Ts'ui Jung (20), but in content have little in common with the Chinese model.

A discussion of poem-diseases makes up the major part of the other three norms. The Kisen-saku-shiki and Iwami-no-jō-shiki have only four diseases (21), and the Hikohime-shiki has eight (22). Those later norms

show already a great degree of independence from their Chinese models. Their ideals seem to correspond to the much later work by Yen-yü, Tsang Lang's Discourse on Poetry rather than contemporary or earlier Chinese works.

All four norms show a tendency to try to restrict the repetition of syllables and eliminate rhyme except for very special cases. Considering the nature of the Japanese language, few poems might claim to be perfect according to the rules of the four norms. At the poetry contests developing at that time the norms provided the judges with a tool to reject poems as unacceptable whenever they wanted to. On the other hand they had to find new criteria to make even an imperfect poem acceptable if it had some outstanding qualities or was composed by a person of the highest rank.

The Official Recognition of Poetry

The development of the karon in the Heian period was not only due to the influence of Chinese ideas and their elaboration, but also to the institutionalization of activities concerning the composition of poems. The Imperial Court became the official guardian of poetry and with it the high aristocracy became seriously involved. The first step of the Court was to hold poetry contests under the auspices of the Emperor or high officials. The first known was held during the era Ninna (885-888). The second step was to have anthologies compiled under Imperial order. The Kokin-shū, ordered by Emperor Daigo and completed

in 905, was the first of its kind; other anthologies followed at intervals of about fifty years, until they became more frequent in the 12th century. The third step was the institutionalization of the 'Bureau of Japanese Poetry' (23) that had in practice already existed during the compilation of the Kokin-shū, but became established as a Court office in 951 under the Emperor Murakami. Poets employed by this office were entrusted with the selection of poems for anthologies and the arrangement of poetry contests.

The duties connected with the Bureau of Japanese Poetry called for a new type of official: he had to be a recognized poet, a man of extensive knowledge and a good diplomat. Needless to say, he was an aristocrat. The importance of poetry and the prestige of its official recognition seemed to increase during the development of Heian culture in the same degree as the power of the old aristocracy declined.

The judges not only faced the difficulties arising from the differences of opinion between the judge and the judged at poetry contests, but often had to give a written justification of their decisions. Their personal impression was not an officially acceptable criterion, nor did the notions of poem-diseases provide a satisfactory standard of quality. New notions had to be introduced, ideas about poetry had to be elaborated. Thus a systematic body of literary analysis and criticism began to crystallize into what became the karon.

Ki no Tsurayuki and the Kokin-shū

Ki no Tsurayuki (882 - 945), who is considered the first thinker with a truly Japanese background and concepts, working with Japanese material, revealed his ideas not only through his Kana Preface to the Kokin-shū, but indirectly also through the criteria he used in the selection of the poems for the Kokin-shū and the manner in which he arranged those poems. The influence of the Kokin-shū on later generations as a standard of good poetry has been so great that it merits a detailed description.

The Kokin-shū has two prefaces, one in kana, written by Ki no Tsurayuki, the other in kanbun, whose authorship cannot be determined with certainty. Though the two prefaces deal with the same subjects and are largely identical, it is not possible to tell which version is the earlier. These prefaces are the only works in the field of karon that have been studied and translated into foreign languages. The following is a brief summary of those aspects that seem important in connection with the development of karon.

Tsurayuki closely follows his Japanese forerunner, Hamanari, in the organization of his preface. He does not concentrate however on the classification of styles or poem-diseases. He only mentions briefly six principles, (24) which are partly borrowed from Chinese literature, and serve him as criterion for the classification of uta. He discusses the nature and purpose of the Japanese poem, stressing

the characteristics of the uta as opposed to the Chinese poem. A critical evaluation of famous Japanese poets illustrates the artistic taste and ideals of the author. (25) The fact that, according to Tsurayuki, even those very best poets, whom he must have chosen in view of their tremendous prestige during the early Heian period, are not perfect, may have given later generations of poets a problem to solve. The poetic terminology of the preface and especially the pairing of terms, was accepted unquestionably in later karon writing.

The anthology itself represents a break with the past (as exemplified in the Manyō-shū) and the establishment of a future standard for judging poetry as well as criteria for its composition. Tsurayuki and his co-compilers excluded all other forms of poetry and made the Japanese short poem the one acceptable form. They set up categories (such as the four seasons, love, travel) into which the poems were classified, thus narrowing down the subject matter of poetry. This had a great influence on the scope of poetry in general, for soon the poetry contests followed these categories and in the meetings only such titles were composed as might fit into an anthology. The Kokin-shū, by its exclusion of all poems that did not conform to the refined culture at the Kyōto Court, was historically the most important step in creating the so-called Court poetry and its esthetic world, as defined by the karon. The term 'esthetic' already indicates the almost complete absence of ethical or religious values in that type of poetry, and the term 'world' may be justified because the poets adjusted their personal and social life to the esthetic ideals of poetry.

The problem of language deserves special mention in connection with the Kokin-shū. This anthology is remarkable for its linguistic skill. All the possibilities of the Japanese language were carried to the limit (26). Because the technical accomplishment of the poems was taken for granted, criticism could only be directed at small details and their elaboration, a fact which led to a more and more analytic approach to poetry. Later karon writing took up this problem of language, usually with reference to the Kokin-shū.

Mibu no Tadamine

After Ki no Tsurayuki his disciple and co-compiler of the Kokin-shū, Mibu no Tadamine (868 - 965), went one step further in the attempt to create a truly Japanese theory of poetry. He established ten poetic styles (27), which he discussed and illustrated with examples from Japanese poetry. He wrote in kanbun and used Chinese models for some of his style names, but his way of classifying poetry by its emotional content and the attitude of the poet is already typical of the karon. Among the ten styles Tadamine gives preference to those which emphasize feeling that reaches beyond words. In the explanation of the sixth style he introduces the term yūgen (28) for the first time into Japanese writing on literature.

Fujiwara no Kintō

Fujiwara no Kintō (966 - 1041), who was famous as a composer of Chinese and Japanese verse as well as music, may be credited with having produced the first systematic karon work.

His Wakakubon (Nine Steps of Waka) defines - as the title suggests - nine steps with regard to the appreciation of the Japanese poem. (29) Kintō evaluates each step on the basis of its richness in certain ideals, the most important of which are beautiful and refined diction and amari no kokoro (more kokoro than can be expressed in words). The word kokoro may best be translated literally as 'heart', which implies that the feeling of the poet has been carried over together with a meaning into the poem. Kokoro (usually translated ^{however,} by 'content' or 'feeling') and kotoba (word) or sugata (form) as the main elements in poetry are important notions in all Japanese karon writing. Kintō also ranks poems with intellectual appeal (omoshiroki tokoro aru) among the best. A good poem should avoid extravagances, should be deeply felt and well expressed, and should sound smooth.

In the Shinsen-zuinō Kintō quotes a number of poem-diseases (30) which deal mainly with the problem of rhyme and repetition, not only of syllables and words, but also of meaning. He also wants to eliminate from poetry all words that destroy the harmony of a poem, either because they are obsolete and do not conform to the language of the time, or are vulgar and unsuited to the esthetic world of Court poetry. These ideals, which are characteristic of Court poetry and received in Kintō's writing a theoretical basis, were taken up again in most of the later karon works.

Kintō has often been called the first conservative in Japanese poetics and has been blamed for the formalism and 'stagnation' of the poetry that came under the influence of his ideas. This is however a simplification of the facts. He was not a conservative, but he analyzed the poetic forms of his time which had already a strong inclination towards formalism. He may have accelerated this tendency by giving it theoretical confirmation, but his role in a later developing conservatism was a passive one: he could not protest against those poets ^{for almost 200 years after his death} who _^clung stubbornly to his theories to justify their own mediocre poetry.

The Twelveth Century

Poets and theoreticians of the 12th century drew on the traditional ideals of poetry as Tsurayuki and Kintō had developed them, but in the course of the composition of so many thousands of poems the poetic devices from the early Heian period seemed to become exhausted; repetitions of already used phrases multiplied in spite of the strict rules about 'borrowing' from other poems and it became more and more difficult to compose an original and good poem.

The 12th century was also the time when, through the impending decline of the aristocratic culture, the poets became strongly aware of their cultural past, which they studied with great interest in order to elucidate and confirm their own standing in history. Declining in political power many of the old aristocrats liked to see their true profession in poetry.

The attention of the theoreticians was focused again on the question of kokoro and form. In Kintō's time kokoro had been emphasized, not because a strong discipline concerning the selection of words and good form was considered unimportant, but because a certain level of technical accomplishment had been taken for granted since the Kokin-shū. With the increasing popularization and vulgarization of the art of composing -- a consequence of the spreading fashion of poetry contests through all ranks of the aristocracy -- it was not feeling that was deficient so much as knowledge of the discipline; and so the formal aspects of poetry began to be taken again into consideration.

The poetic ideals prevailing were expressed in the notion of aware, a term much used in the monogatari and diary literature, meaning 'impressive' or 'moving', usually referring to an emotion initiated by a person's sensitivity to what he can see, hear, feel, smell and taste. There existed a number of words for beauty, each with a slightly different nuance (such as delicate beauty, refined beauty, and the like) which were used for the formal aspects of poetry, while for ~~the~~ kokoro such attributes as 'deep', 'genuine', 'with an intellectual appeal' were considered ideal.

Minamoto Toshiyori

Minamoto Toshiyori (1057 - 1129), who reached almost legendary fame as a poet during his lifetime, has recorded in his Zuinō his thoughts about poetry and the rules he wished to transmit to his successors. In it he gives an explanation of the various forms of poetry and describes various techniques for the composition of poems, such as the mawashibumi, in which a poem can be read forwards or backwards, both ways in exactly the same wording. The Zuinō gives many an example of such monstrosities, which were a consequence of the ever increasing formalism in poetry. Toshiyori does however not comment critically on such abuses, but is mainly concerned with the technical aspects that interested him as a poet.

Toshiyori lists four poem-diseases, which closely follow his models, the Kisen-saku-shiki and the karon of Kintō, and deal mainly with the avoidance of repetition of syllables. His twenty-seven styles of poems may be regarded as a synthesis of the ten styles of Hamanari and Mibu no Tadamine and the nine steps of Waka by Kintō. He emphasizes the importance of beauty and dignity, an intellectual appeal that is not related to the personality of the poet, and freshness of tone. Toshiyori does not mention yūgen, nor was he very conscious of kokoro and form as controversial elements of poetry.

Toshiyori was in the first place a poet and his karon is mainly confined to descriptions of evident facts. Formal matters attracted his attention because they appealed to his senses rather than to his

intellect, and he did not try to systematize what he saw and heard, but simply wrote it down. He loved to experiment with poetic devices in his poems -- the *Mumyōshō* of Kamo no Chōmei records several such cases --but did it with such good taste and skill, that even the products of his playful mind still retained a poetic quality. His remarks on technical matters with regard to composition were taken up by his successors, Kamo no Chōmei and Fujiwara Sadaie, who interpreted them and integrated them into their theories on poetry.

Fujiwara Toshinari

Fujiwara Toshinari (1114 - 1204) was the first Japanese poet who had an intellectual perception of the evolution of culture and literature. His tremendous prestige as a poet gave him the power to convince his contemporaries and the generations to come of the validity of his theories.

In his Korai-fūtai-shō Toshinari demonstrates with a series of well chosen examples the historical evolution of the styles of poetry, explaining the change of style as a consequence of the changing tastes and needs of the times. He distinguishes three historical periods, ancient, middle and final (31). Of the poems of the ancient time Toshinari says that they were composed with genuine feeling and sincerity, but without particular awareness of formal matters. The Kokin-shū represents for Toshinari a carefully selected anthology, containing all the essentials of poetry and establishing a standard never reached by later anthologies. In the period after the Kokin-shū he detects a

tendency to artificiality and an unconcealed desire to be striking in poetry and gives this as the reason why he went back to the principles of the Kokin-shū in the compilation of his own anthology, the Senzai-shū. He speaks of the need for reform of the language of poetry and in particular turns against the use of word-plays, that are a product of the intellect and not of taste and feeling. He emphasizes the ideal of the natural flow of language, which is obstructed by the use of obsolete words, such as people like Toshiyori in their new appreciation of the Manyō-shū liked to use. Language, he says, must be alive, and the content must have appeal and come within the range of human experience.

Toshinari demanded greater freedom in matters of poetry and wanted to break with the conventional formalism of his time. He felt the pressure of the more fundamental social and political changes that were already in the making with the decay of the Heian Court. In his study of history he discovered that a break with tradition had once occurred at the beginning of the Heian period, that Ki no Tsurayuki was actively connected with it, and that the Kokin-shū was the result. He studied the principles of the Kokin-shū and adapted them to his work. He was fortunate in the choice of his spiritual ancestor, for the prestige of Tsurayuki, unbroken in three hundred years, was an important factor in the acceptability of his theory. Toshinari made it clear, that he wanted to use the principles of the Kokin-shū, not its vocabulary and content, and he criticized those poets who had turned to the Manyō-shū in search of a model that would allow them greater freedom and

had ended up with sheer imitation of its formal aspects -- an anachronism in Toshinari's eyes.

Toshinari opened the way for a new approach to poetry. He did not go very far however in the analysis and elaboration of his ideas and their consolidation into a comprehensive theory; this task he left to his son, Sadaie, and his contemporary, Kamo no Chōmei.

Fujiwara Sadaie

Fujiwara Sadaie (1162 - 1241) was one of the most famous poets of his time, the highest authority on the uta and an eminent scholar of Heian literature in general. He had received an excellent education in Chinese classics. His three karon works, Kindai-shūka, Eika-taigai and Maigetsu-shō, are the most concise and probably the most logically constructed of all the karon works of the Heian period. The Shin-kokin-shū, whose compilation he supervised, is certainly the most important Imperial anthology after the Kokin-shū, establishing a new style at the end of the Heian period..

Sadaie was apparently not a modest man by nature and was rather arrogant and cynical in his outlook. Living as an aristocrat at the Court which was no longer the center of power, he identified himself not with the hopelessly declining political power, but with the brilliant cultural tradition of the Court poetry and literature. Extremely conscious of his vocation as a poet, Sadaie was sometimes

so aggressive that his attitude caused bitter resentment among his literary colleagues, especially the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba.

In the Maigetsu-shō Sadaie follows the line of his father Toshinari, seeing the uta in relation to the era that produced it. He does not elaborate on his father's theory of the historical evolution of poetry -- this task is left to Kamo no Chōmei -- but he transfers the principle of evolution to the disciplining of a poet: a person who wishes to become a poet must submit to training under a master for many years. The training consists of a thorough study of literature and frequent practice in composing in styles that are easily manageable for the student. As his skill improves, he can try more difficult styles. The master must guide him without destroying his natural talent. To improve the physical fitness of the student he is advised to become accustomed to endurance, so that he may be able to sit through a poetry contest of the strictest etiquette without showing a sign of physical or mental fatigue. After a poet's natural talent has thus been disciplined and shaped and the discipline has become part of him, he may start to compose spontaneously and the impulses of the heart will naturally transform themselves into a fine poem.

A good poem must contain kokoro. Sadaie emphasizes this in his discussion of ten styles, which he classifies according to their relative values and the difficulties they represent for the poet. This kokoro cannot be put into a poem by the will of the poet, for if this is done

the poem will invariably reveal this intention, which is worse than if there were no kokoro at all. A poem without kokoro however cannot be considered a true poem. All the ten styles are acceptable styles, provided only that the poem composed contains kokoro.

With regard to poetic diction Sadaie advocates modesty, especially for the beginner. The use of word-plays is the privilege of the master, for it demands great skill. Cheap effects should be avoided, crude and vulgar words eliminated and the custom of 'borrowing' from other poems should be subject to strict rules.

Sadaie's approach to the composing of poetry was intellectual. The screen which existed between the poet and his product, and which had in former times been provided by the self-confident Heian Court culture, he gave into the hands of each individual poet who had to improve himself through discipline. The disciplining was a conscious act through which the poet developed his individualism and separated from the conventions of society. The kokoro he emphasized was not just simple feeling about something, but was the greatest accomplishment of a professional poet.

Sadaie's karon seems to be an indictment against the conventions of his time. He saw no way out of the increasing corruption of the Court that went along with the vulgarization of poetry. He bitterly resented the commonly held view that it was easy to scrape thirty-one syllables together for a poem. There was no longer a standard of poetry which was generally understood and Sadaie's compilation of the Shinkokin-shū may be regarded as the work of an individualist, who stood at the threshold of a new time.

THE KARON AND THE MUMYŌZŌSHI

The monogatari literature which developed in the tenth century and reached its heyday in the eleventh may be regarded as the prose pendant to the uta. Both reflected the same Heian culture and its esthetic principles; both were closely linked to each other, as is evident not only in so-called uta-monogatari, but also in the ordinary monogatari which usually contains many poems. Yet, as far as the theory or criticism was concerned, Heian society did not produce a counterpart to the karon concerning the monogatari.

In Japanese and Chinese literary tradition prose fiction was not considered a literary genre of the same rank as poetry. The writing and recitation of poetry was an important part of the official events at Court, whereas the writing and reading of monogatari was a private pastime. Moreover, the enormous prestige of the Genji monogatari greatly helped to give the impression that the monogatari literature was monopolized by women, and a matter in which men had no part could of course not be taken seriously. Around the year 1000, when women like Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon were active, Fujiwara no Kintō already developed an abstract theory on the uta, but as for the monogatari it was apparently not until the end of the Heian period that the first book of criticism, if not of theory, appeared. This was the Mumyōzōshi. (32)

The authorship of the Mumyōzōshi cannot be determined with certainty. It has been ascribed sometimes to Fujiwara Toshinari, whose other work on the uta seems however to be very unlike the Mumyōzōshi. Sometimes it was attributed to Toshinari's granddaughter, whom he had adopted as his daughter and who is mentioned in the Mumyōshō of Kamo no Chōmei, Chapter 65. In any case it was written by a contemporary of Chōmei and Sadaie, and if the theory that Toshinari's daughter was the author is right, by a lady who was a well educated poetess herself.

The Mumyōzōshi, written in the style of a monogatari (about an old nun who goes to a mountain temple to speak to young nuns), has throughout a religious and moral overtone that is absent in most karon writing. First of all, there is a confession of the author's personal opinion through the intermediary of the old nun. The prevailing fashions of the time are discussed -- its liking for dreams, tears and the written word, and the nuns argue that Amitābha and the Lotus Sutra, which should receive much attention, are neglected. From this point of view they criticize the Genji monogatari, which does not contain a word on such matters. They also censure Genji's attitude towards women, and the characters appearing in the various chapters, with regard to their moral value and behaviour, as if they were real people. This speaks for Murasaki's ability to make her characters come alive in fiction, but it does not establish the Mumyōzōshi as true literary criticism of the Genji monogatari. There is an enumeration of the impressive chapters

of the Genji monogatari. They are classified under the heading aware, which seems to have been the most important quality in the opinion of the author of the Mumyōzōshi, because those chapters are discussed somewhat in detail, ^{under} en ni omoshiroki (beautiful and appealing to the mind) and midokoro no aru (not without some point). None of the chapters are discussed in an analytical way or on the basis of theoretical principles. Esthetic notions are not elaborated as in the karon, although the monogatari literature certainly provided as much material as the uta for the karon.

After the Mumyōzōshi, too, there was no serious attempt to discuss the monogatari as a literary form, until the kokugaku movement in the 18th century opened a new approach to the appreciation of Japanese literature in general. (33)

It was thus almost exclusively in the karon, that the esthetic and literary ideas of the four hundred years of Heian culture were discussed and elaborated systematically.

KAMO NO CHŌMEI

At one of the turning points of Japanese cultural history, initiated by the transfer of political power from Kyōto to Kamakura as a consequence of the corruption and degeneration of the old aristocratic regime, there stood the solitary figure of Kamo no Chōmei. His personality and his work reflected the conflicting value-systems of the Kyōto Court and the Kamakura culture with its new ethical principles. His two major works, the Mumyōshō and the Hōjōki, demonstrate dramatically how strongly attached he was to the traditional culture whose social conventions he abhorred and whose artistic decline he deplored. He saw no hope for the old regime and its parasites, the disaster was already approaching with visible signs; but the uta he thought to save, not, like Sadaie, by making it inaccessible to the masses and artificially elevating its standards, but by adapting it to the requirements of the changing times. He, like Toshinari, saw poetry as a product of historical evolution which could be understood, and the style of his own time as something that was to a great extent determined by the will of the poets. Holding such views he felt it should be possible to give poetic expression the freedom it needed to carry its traditional values into the new world that had to come.

He was a solitary figure by virtue of his social status and his extraordinary genius, that permitted him to see the world as it was: ugly and beautiful, vain and full of tenderness, frivolous and yet lovable, characterized by the mixture of comedy and tragedy that is the lot of ordinary humanity.

Kamo no Chōmei's Life and Work

Kamo no Chōmei was born in 1154 into a family which had held the position of Warden of the Kamo Shrine for generations. Chōmei's father Chōkei died early, leaving his two sons to fend for themselves when they were still in their teens. About the mother we know nothing. The elder brother became a minor civil servant, while Chōmei remained an aristocrat of low rank without office.

At the age of 27 Chōmei already enjoyed a reputation as a poet and musician, when for the first time a collection of his poems was published. Later he was made a member of the Bureau of Japanese Poetry and belonged to the literary circle around the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba, who recognized Chōmei's talent and wanted to promote him. At the age of 48 he was about to receive the post his father had held at the Kamo Shrine, but at the last moment the position was given to someone else, who had better connections with the government. Go-Toba wanted to create a position for Chōmei by reclassifying the Kamo Shrine into a higher rank and enlarging the staff, but Chōmei had suddenly lost interest in such a career.

At the age of 53 Chōmei officially renounced the world and became a Buddhist monk. At first he lived in a small mansion in the Ohara mountains, but a few years later he built his famous ten-foot square hut on Mount Hino where he wanted to spend the rest of his life. He left his retreat only once to visit Kamakura upon the invitation of the Shōgun Sanetomo. He died in his little hut on Mount Hino in 1216.

Kamo no Chōmei's major works are the Hōjōki (Accounts of my Ten-foot Square Hut), the Mumyōshō (Nameless Essay) and the collection of his poetry. The Hōjōki was written during the last four years of his life; the date of the Mumyōshō cannot be determined with certainty, but judging from the variety of experiences described and his detached attitude towards the world it must have been written fairly late in his life. There exists another karon work of Chōmei, the Eigyoku-shū, which is short and unfinished but shows his thoughts about poetry with clarity. He collected, probably after the Hōjōki, anecdotes of Buddhist faith and conversion under the name of Hosshin-shu. Another work of his, the Iseki (Accounts of Ise), a travelogue, has been lost.

Kamo no Chōmei was a social oddity: he moved in the highest aristocratic circles where he was accepted almost, but not quite, as an equal insofar as poetry was concerned. Only as a poet was he permitted to participate in the Court life; he was excluded from all other activities, perhaps even the polite games, in which the Court ladies had to take the social status of their partners into consideration. It

should not have taken him long to realize that he did not really miss much, considering the shallowness of Court life. When he was personally involved in the corruption at Court, which even affected the poetic world he loved, he developed a contempt for the society and its conventions which produced such evils. Kamo no Chōmei had no family life. He did not associate with his relatives and remained unmarried. As he says of himself in the Hōjōki, there was nothing to tie him to this world, neither possessions nor personal affiliations, and he was not sorry for it; possessions are only a burden and cause resentment among those who have less. From the few relatives he had he was separated through his life at Court, and this fact soon widened the intellectual and emotional gap between him and the world to which he belonged by birth. He was a lonely man long before his retirement to the mountains. When he took the tonsure he tried to escape the only world he knew, the Kyōto Court and its literary tradition. He hoped to find an absolute value in Buddhism, but even this Buddhism was part of the Heian culture, including the style of his hermit life. Reading the Mumyōshō one cannot fail to understand the basic problem of Chōmei: how to reconcile himself to the artificial world in which he lived.

In order to judge the literary importance of Kamo no Chōmei it is necessary to take all his work into consideration. This task has however often been neglected, for the fame he received through the Hōjōki has overshadowed his other achievements as a poet and thinker.

The qualities for which the Hōjōki has been appreciated, are also inherent in the Mumyōshō -- his skill in handling the language, an excellent gift of perception, an objective approach to the subject; and of course in addition to this we learn in the Mumyōshō about his artistic taste and ideas about poetry.

Chōmei thought of himself as a poet, and his contemporaries must have appreciated his poetry, otherwise he would never have made his way into the highest aristocratic circles. Whether he was a first-rate poet or not, he certainly developed his talent for writing while he was engaged in the business of composing poems. The Hōjōki was the culmination of his life as a poet. He could never have denounced the world so passionately if he had not once loved and accepted it.

THE MUMYŌSHŌ

The Mumyōshō consists of 78 chapters of varying length and content. All of them concern the uta: anecdotes dealing with old customs and incidents out of the lives of poets; knowledge of technical and historical details; discussions of poems and styles of poetry on the basis of the esthetic ideals of the author and theoretical elaboration of his ideas on poetry.

The Mumyōshō is written from the point of view of an observer who watches with detached interest and draws rational conclusions. Only occasionally does the author betray his personal concern directly, mainly on matters dealing with the decline of the esthetic world and the deterioration of the character of its supporters, or in passages depicting his own position as a poet at Court. Chapters like 'Disorderliness at Poetry Contests in Recent Years', which are a sweeping condemnation of the superficiality of the aristocratic society with regard to practices concerning the uta, have a strong resemblance to the Hōjōki in subject-matter, style and manner of presentation. Apart from such passionate outbursts the author shows remarkable consistency in his apparently objective approach. Needless to say, Kamo no Chōmei, like every writer, used this objectivity to give his own personal opinion the backing of a kind of scientific truth, and he had to use his own judgment in the selection of the anecdotes and opinions he wanted to describe for some reason or another.

The Mumyōshō is not constructed in any logical order, but seems to follow the author's psychological associations of ideas and words. There are usually groups of chapters with related subject matter, connected loosely with one another. Each chapter is however carefully designed to bring together all the facts related to the title of the chapter, a habit which Chōmei has adapted from the rules of the composition of poetry. In cases where all the author knows about the title can be said in one sentence, the chapter consists of just one sentence. Other chapters, especially theoretical passages, cover several pages.

Chōmei wrote the Mumyōshō in the conversational style typical of the karon writing of the late Heian period. The matter-of-fact tone gives the reader the feeling of being taken into the author's confidence. This is not peculiar to Chōmei's style, but is characteristic of the whole genre of karon, which is in theory written for the benefit of disciples who were personally very close to the author. It seems that Chōmei chose his words with great care, in accordance with the principles he accepted for poetry. His dislike for pomposity and rhetorical tricks and his love for natural, clear language qualifies the Mumyōshō as excellent lucid prose. In this respect Chōmei is much more effective in conveying his ideas clearly than his predecessors were.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MUMYŌSHŌ AS THEORETICAL ANALYSIS
OF POETRY

Kamo no Chōmei's Theory of the History of the Uta

In the Mumyōshō Kamo no Chōmei tries to explain the historical evolution of styles in the Japanese poem. He follows in the footsteps of Fujiwara Toshinari, whose ideas on the subject he systematizes and elaborates. Chōmei's explanation of the evolution of poetic styles may be considered the most comprehensive among all the karon works up to his time and it has not lost its validity even today.

The Ancient Period

For Kamo no Chōmei Japanese literature starts with the Manyō-shū. He has no interest in Shinto mythology or primitive songs and never refers to such things in the Mumyōshō. Even the Manyō-shū, which had been often highly appreciated before him, is acceptable to him only with some of its best poems. He characterizes the literary period of the Manyō-shū as belonging to a distant past, when the hearts of the people were pure. It was this purity of heart that permitted the poets to communicate their intimate feelings without restraint, an ability which was of such value in itself that shortcomings in formal aspects could be overlooked. The poems of the Manyō-shū can be admired but not imitated, for all the conditions have changed since then and one cannot go back in time. The Manyō-shū should be studied in order to extend one's knowledge of literature and to elaborate one's taste and perception.

Chōmei sees the time of the Kokin-shū as the golden age of Japanese poetry. Its value lies in the extraordinary wealth of good poems of various kind, including even comic poems. In the Kokin-shū there is for the first time in Japanese poetry a differentiation of styles which initiated the development of critical writing about poetry on the basis of analysis of the elements of poetry, such as, for instance, sugata (form) and kokoro (heart), or ka (blossom) and jitsu (fruit) (34). Chōmei advocates extensive study of the Kokin-shū as the source of any style a poet might wish to learn, and as a standard by which one might measure one's own product.

The anthology following the Kokin-shū, the Gosen-shū, suffered in Kamo no Chōmei's opinion from lack of good poems. The Kokin-shū had used up all the creative forces and the compilers were forced to accept mediocre poems that lacked either kokoro or good form. Since in the Kokin-shū kokoro had been emphasized, the compilers of the Gosen-shū thought it best to follow this attitude and less attention was paid to good form. The Gosen-shū did not contribute anything new.

By the term 'ancient period' Chōmei means a time which was emotionally and intellectually inaccessible to the people of the late Heian period, a time whose poets were almost legendary figures, some being already worshipped as gods.

The Middle Period

The period following the 'ancient period' Kamo no Chōmei calls 'middle period'. It is characterized by the style established by Kintō in his Shūi-shū, a style which was faithfully followed by the later anthologies. Poets tried to compose in accordance with the ideals of the Shūi-shū and thus subject-matter and expression did not change with the times. Anything outside the scope of the Shūi-shū was considered vulgar and unacceptable for poetry. The same expressions were used over again and lost their freshness. Poets were anxious to create something but afraid to leave the beaten path, and the result was that poems that aimed to be original sounded merely pompous and strained.

By the time of the Kinyō-shū poems had become more and more superficial, their main concern being to attract attention. It looked as if all the possibilities of the thirty-one syllable poem, restricted by the rules of the Shūi-shū, had been exhausted. Conventional phrases were repeated and rearranged and one could predict from one verse what the other would be. It was very easy to become a poet just by learning the conventional phrases and the rules about composition, but it was extremely difficult to produce a good poem. Chōmei mentions Kiyosuke, Yorimasa, his own teacher Shune, and Tōren as exponents of this style whose creativity was not obstructed by its formalism, and he sees this as a proof of the fact that true genius will make its way whatever the circumstances might be.

There is no clear division between the style of the 'middle period' and that of the 'final period' because non-conformists have existed already for a long time and the controversy over styles was not a sudden occurrence.

The 'Final Period' and the 'Contemporary Style'

Many poets became conscious of the stagnation caused by the exclusion of other styles during the 'middle period' and they tried to find a way out. They turned again to the sources of the 'ancient period' and discovered in the Kokin-shū the ideal of depth of feeling and the meaning that reaches beyond what words can say, the ideal called yūgen, and they elaborated it into a yūgen style. This style represents to Kamo no Chōmei the most characteristic element of the 'contemporary style'.

Chōmei's discussion of yūgen is, as he says, a cautious attempt to do what nobody had done so far and he emphasizes the difficulties of trying to say in words what cannot be said. He discusses yūgen in connection with the character of the poet -- he must be an extremely cultured and sensitive person in the right state of mind -- and describes the atmosphere, which facilitates the growth of yūgen. In a word, he talks about everything around it, but does not define it, true to his preliminary statement that yūgen cannot be stated in words, but will emerge naturally if certain conditions are fulfilled.

Because of this elusive quality of yūgen the contemporary style presents great difficulties for the student who wants to learn it, but if he masters that style, he possesses an excellent means to produce good poetry. Yūgen permits many possibilities of interpretation and may thus be the device to break the stagnation of the middle period. It also presents in itself an absolute value, for through it the reality of daily life, whether it be beautiful or ugly, dignified or vulgar, is transformed into poetry.

Kamo no Chōmei is concerned about the hatred that had developed out of the controversy over the style of the 'middle period' and the 'contemporary style', and his purpose is to end the quarrel. He therefore maintains that the two styles are not at all ~~two~~ contrary things, but actually have much in common, namely the same literary source, the Kokin-shū. The 'middle period' was a consequence of the Kokin-shū and the 'contemporary style' developed out of the 'middle period'. In Chōmei's opinion there is no point in arguing whether the one or the other style is better, or whether the new is better or worse than the old, for what really counts is the quality of a poem, in whatever way it may have been created.

Chomei's Ideas about Poetry

Kamo no Chōmei's ideas about poetry develop from his theory of the historical evolution of the uta. Poetry must fulfill two basic requirements: to communicate an experience, an idea, a feeling; and to please the audience. In order to fulfill these requirements the poem -- with very few exceptions -- has to be the product of a cultured and trained poet who is of course the product of his time. The poem thus reveals the poet's feeling and taste which is closely linked to the reality of the world in which he lives. He cannot escape his own background through his will power, nor can he deny tradition. The most important ideals of poetry 'to emphasize what is rational and to sound familiar to the ear' can only be achieved when the poem is truly a product of its time, and they make sense only if the poem is presented to and judged by the audience of the time.

Chōmei defines poetry not only with regard to its purpose and its historical significance, but also as one of the forms of literature opposed to kanbun literature and ordinary descriptive prose.

Among the literary forms that are written on the basis of the Japanese language, that is to say, using the kana syllabary, the Mumyōshō quotes four, beside the uta: prefaces in kana to poetry, of which the Kokin-shū preface is the best; diaries, which may be modelled after the Ōkagami (35); introductory words to poems after the style of the Ise monogatari and Gosen-shū; and monogatari, among which the Genji monogatari is unsurpassed. In all these literary forms the kana

script is of the utmost importance because it follows the natural development of ideas and language of the society and does not, like the mana (36) script force the writers to accept the limited scope of classical Chinese. The use of the kana script makes it possible to bring literature close to the realities of Japanese life. The writers should be aware of this and should discard together with the Chinese language also the elements characteristic of Chinese style, such as pair phrases, pompous words (in fact all words of Chinese origin wherever possible) and subject-matter that is removed from the setting of Japanese life. Chōmei is thus aware of the flexibility of language in its function as means of communication and the importance of the ^{literary} ~~written~~ language's relation to it.

What distinguishes poetry from descriptive prose is depicted in the Mumyōshō from the point of view of communication between the poet and the audience and from the point of view of verbal technique which results from the shortness of the poem.

In a poem the poet stimulates the curiosity and imagination of the audience through suggestions and not fully formulated ideas. The personality of the poet does not impose itself on the audience, thus allowing everybody to interpret the poem according to his own inclination. In prose, experiences are described as faithfully as possible, leaving nothing to the imagination of the reader, who is always aware of the writer. The poem originates out of the most intimate personal

experiences, moods, feelings, and should give the impression to the audience of being most objective and universally valid. Prose, however, convinces through arguments, stated in blunt words.

The uta, being confined to thirty-one syllables, is a difficult means of communication. Chōmei stresses this point. The restriction of words forces the poem to develop its own techniques, different from those of prose, which Chōmei regards as the most important part of the discipline, or 'way', of the uta. In an uta the meaning has to be revealed in very few words; therefore the poet has to abstract his ideas and be very careful in the selection of his words. Furthermore the word chosen has to accord with the esthetic principles of the time; that is to say, it should not be obsolete and sound strange, and it must be in harmony with the other words used in the poem. Each word in a poem thus carries much weight, but should sound as light and natural as possible. In prose there is not so much need for abstraction; the process of thinking and the feelings can be described and explained; the single word has not much importance.

How to Become a Poet

Chōmei holds basically the same opinion on this subject as Fujiwara Sadaie, who wrote his Maigetsu-shō a few years after Chōmei's death. Chōmei is however not so strict about the disciplining of the poet as Sadaie; he is much more willing to put up with minor shortcomings than his arrogant aristocratic colleague. This is how Chōmei approaches and analyses the problem:

Good poetry may be the result of either a strong emotional experience of any sensitive person, or the conscious act of a master-poet. Poems of the first type are few and since they are completely subjective and unpredictable, they can be enjoyed but not analyzed, and therefore are uninteresting from the point of view of the theoretician. It is the second type which is important, because it can be studied and understood and because it constitutes the greater part of all poetry.

To become a master-poet a long period of apprenticeship is necessary. The young poet has to select a master with whom he enters ^{an} 'alliance', and the opinion of the master, as well as of other authorities, should be respected, not so much as an absolute truth, but as the point of departure for the young poet to develop his own taste and ideas. 'There is always something in what old people say'. Since knowledge of the discipline of the uta is transmitted orally from the older to the younger generation of poets, respect for the old masters implies respect for the discipline, and this is of course an important requirement of a poet.

The disciplining of a poet consists of the study of literature in order to acquire knowledge and taste, to realize his own limitations and possibilities and find his own way into the literary world; it consists of practice in composition and the adaptation of the whole personality of the poet to the esthetic principles of poetry. The accumulation of knowledge is a pre-requisite for the composition of acceptable poetry, because it functions as a means to keep the poem within the realm of human experience. For this reason no pains should be spared to increase one's knowledge about poetry itself and also about everything concerned with it.

After the period of apprenticeship the poet may participate in official contests, but he should be careful not to exhaust his talent or fall victim to flattery. He should stick to the discipline and check his own poems over again, when his sound judgment is not impaired by the excitement and splendour of official contests. In order to prepare himself for a contest, the poet must live enveloped in the poetic atmosphere that will agree with his own poetry. If he cannot get into the right mood, he may start practicing with colourful sequences of words, rearrangements of old poems, until ideas come naturally to the mind and the words flow with ease. All the pre-requisites for the composition of an excellent poem are thus fulfilled.

Good Poets and Society

Kamo no Chōmei cites several cases where outstanding poets suffered neglect during their lifetime because of their social standing or because they did not conform to the moral standard of their time. In one chapter he passionately defends the cause of ^{the poetess} Izumi Shikibu, whom he considers one of the greatest geniuses of the uta whose outstanding talent had not been recognized by the judges and the audience of the time because their judgment was impaired by moral considerations. Chōmei admires her for her rich imagination and the beauty of her language, which she put to use so well in creating interesting associations of ideas. He also mentions the case of Sone no Yoshitada who had a difficult start as a poet because of his social background -- he belonged to the lower aristocracy -- and whose unconventional poetry worried the public.

The genius of both poets was recognized by later generations and Chōmei illustrates with these examples and some accounts of his own experiences, what difficulties he himself had to overcome and how he was still hampered in his artistic career by his social status.

In Chōmei's view the reason why it is so important that the best poets should be recognized during their lifetime is that only the very best are qualified to judge over others. If taste is dictated by mediocre conceited aristocrats, this will definitely lead to a decline of the uta. Chōmei reveals in several passages the inadequacy of the judges and the corruption that brought the poetry contests into disrepute and he puts the blame on the aristocratic society which had lost its ethical standards.

Chōmei admits, however, that poetry contests, especially good ones, ~~do~~ still function to create an average standard of good poetry. Since good poetry, in Chōmei's opinion, is not the work of a genius but of a professional poet, the contest is a workshop for good poetry by professionals. The poet needs an audience, and the more critical the audience, the better the poet can develop his skill. Honest and fair criticism is necessary to keep the intellect of the poet alive and to enlarge his vision of the world.

The Good Poem

According to Kamo no Chōmei there is no absolute standard of good and bad in poetry, for the elements of poetry (kokoro and sugata) may be realized more or less successfully in the poem and those two elements are also made up of various components. Moreover, since the evaluation of the poem depends on the taste and knowledge of the judge, the judgment must necessarily be arbitrary and good and bad are thus relative. Chōmei stresses the need of a personal approach to poetry because of this lack of an absolute standard of quality and because of the inadequacy of most of the judges at that time.

A good poem can only be achieved when the discipline of the uta is respected, when the poet has accumulated knowledge and can free himself from the influence of tradition and authority of the Court, which directed all the activities of the poets, and can find his own way, relying on his own judgment.

The ideal of a good poem is best described in Chōmei's own words:

'Only when many ideas are compressed in one expression, when one's intention is exhausted in all its depth, yet is not conspicuous, when an unseen world is floating in the atmosphere, when commonplace things are used to give realization to graceful beauty, when a charming idea is developed to the fullest extent in a style of surface simplicity, when the situation is beyond the limits of understanding and verbal expression, only then should you reveal yourself by this means, whose power, confined in only thirty-one syllables, moves Heaven and Earth and can stir the hearts of the demons.I

Notes to the Introduction

1. Systematic studies of the karon have been undertaken even by Japanese scholars themselves only in the last 50 years. Outside Japan the pioneer work in the field has so far been done by Oscar Benl in his work Die Entwicklung der japanischen Poetik bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, Hamburg 1951. There exists thus far no complete translation of any karon text. Yet the karon has the longest history of all Japanese theoretical writings on literature and art and may be one of the richest sources for the study of Japanese esthetic conceptions, which constitute one of the important parts of Japanese culture in general.
2. The rengaron mainly concentrated on technical problems of language and form, in particular the linking of the poems. Representative works in the field are Nijō Yoshimoto's (1320-1388) Tsukuba-mondō and Kyūshū-mondō, Shinkei's (1406-1475) Sasamegoto and Iio Sōgi's (1421-1502) Azuma-mondō. (See Oscar Benl, Das japanische Ketten-gedicht, Wiesbaden 1954).
3. garan (essays on painting), chadōron (essays on 'tea'), teienron (essays on garden architecture).
4. This means realism in the sense defined here, not in the sense of the 19th century Western European literary realism.
5. 'Defects in poems' were classified in China since the 5th century, see appendix, table I, IV, V, VIII, IX, XIV for their adaptation into Japanese karon.
6. A comprehensive study of this work was undertaken by Günther Debon, Ts'ang-Lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung, ein Beitrag zur chinesischen Poetik, Wiesbaden 1962.
7. The karon of Kamo no Chōmei and Fujiwara Sadaie.
8. See translation note 283.
9. For an illuminating picture of Heian society see G.B. Sansom, A History of Japan, Stanford 1958, Vol 1, Chapter VI-XVII; for a study of Heian Court poetry see Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, London 1962.

10. Oldest Japanese private collection of poetry, compiled after 759.
See also translation note 6.
11. Collection of poems in Chinese, compiled in 751, containing 120 poems, whose authors were princes, high officials, scholars of Chinese and monks. None of the poems are anonymous. The subject matter, in contrast to the Manyō-shū, is ceremonial and on the whole removed from daily life. Taoist, Buddhist and Confucianist motives appear frequently in the Kaifūsō, but are rare in the Manyō-shū. Some of the poems of the Kaifūsō appear in Japanese version in the Manyō-shū.
12. See appendix, table I.
13. See appendix, table II, III, IV.
14. Chinese written by Japanese.
15. See translation note 6.
16. See appendix, table V.
17. tanka: poem of five lines, five, seven, five, seven, seven syllables respectively.
18. satai, see appendix, table VI.
19. gatai, see appendix, table VII.
20. See appendix, table I.
21. See appendix, table VIII.
22. See appendix, table IX.
23. wakadokoro, see also translation note 219.
24. rikugi, see appendix, table X. For a translation of the prefaces, see E. B. Ceadel, The Two Prefaces of the Kokinshu, Asia Major, 1927.
25. See appendix, table XI.
26. Epitheton ornans (makurakotoba, pillow word, and jo, introductory word) and word-plays (kakekotoba, word with two meanings connecting with the preceding and succeeding phrase, and engo, word association).
27. In his Waka-jittai, see appendix, table XII.
28. See translation chapter 68 and translation note 250.

29. See appendix, table XIII.
30. See appendix, table XIV.
31. See translation note 6.
32. The Genji monogatari itself contains several passages explaining the nature and purpose of prose fiction (see for example A Wreath of Cloud, translation of A. Waley, pp. 253 -). There is however no theoretical elaboration of thoughts.
33. The kokugaku scholars stressed the value of indigenous Japanese literature in order to explain what they considered to be the cultural superiority of the Japanese. They started the extensive study of Japanese literature, especially of periods which were relatively free of Chinese influence, as a reaction to the neo-Confusianism of the Tokugawa period. One of the most outstanding scholars of Japanese literature was Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) who worked on the Kojiki and discussed the meaning and importance of the esthetic notions of the Heian period. (See Horst Hammitzsch, Kangaku und Kokugaku, in Monumenta Nipponica II, 1)
34. See translation note 249.
35. See translation note 284.
36. See translation note 283.

Note on the Translation

The text used for this complete translation is

'Mumyōshō' edited and ^{annotated}~~commented~~ by Hisamatsu Senjichi, in
Karon-shū, Nōgakuron-shū, Nihon Koten-bungaku Taikei,

Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1961. pp. 37-98.

This original text is based on the manuscript 'Mumyōshō' of ^{the}Seikadō
 Library and supplemented by the manuscript 'Mumyōshō' of ^{the}Shoryōbu
 (Kunaishō). Both manuscripts are, according to the editor, copies of
 the early Edo period.

In translating I have tried to be as literal as possible. So far as
 the technical terms on poetry are concerned, I have followed the practice
 that each English term should refer to one corresponding Japanese word
 and vice versa, with a few inevitable exceptions. In translating uta,
 the order of the Japanese five lines is almost always followed. This
 seemed to me necessary for the translation of this kind of analytical
 text, which often discusses one or two separate lines of a poem.

In a few passages I have indicated that the text is unclear and possibly
 corrupt.

TRANSLATION OF THE MUMYŌSHŌ

1.) IMPLICATIONS OF THE TITLE (1)

When we are concerned with an uta (2) it is necessary to keep in mind the implications of its title. This has been pointed out in the Toshiyori Zuinō (3). There are two types of title-ideographs: one, which should definitely be rendered in the poem in paraphrase, the other, which would sound rather awkward if not explicitly inserted in the poem. There are also those title-ideographs, which, even if not expressed in full, are understood naturally. Examples are:

Gyōten no rakka	At dawn the falling blossoms
Unkan no kakkō	In the clouds the cuckoo
Kaijō no meigetsu	Over the sea the clear moon

In such cases the second ideograph need not necessarily appear in the poem, because it is expressed through the latter part of the title (4). There are also ideographs which are elusive but graceful. All this is not just a matter of teaching and learning. When you have mastered it, it will be self-evident as soon as you see the title. Another imperative is that the uta with a title must give thorough expression to the implications. For instance in the case of a title of the category 'felicitations' (5) you express in the poem a feeling of the unlimited, everlasting; in the case of a 'love' poem you render in words an emotion that has depth and defies rational thought; the case where someone has formed an attachment to the cherry blossoms, ready to sacrifice his life for it, or someone loses the way home pursuing the trails of coloured maple leaves should be rendered in the poem so that the implications are thoroughly expressed. If some poems of old anthologies (6) did not conform to this principle it was

on account of their perfect formal aspects that those defects were tolerated. It is quite common that such a point of view permits the selection of defective uta for anthologies, but those poems should not be taken as models. At poetry contests (7) in particular, where there are poems of almost equal standing, the one which shows a little more consideration of the title will be decided as the better one. A poet functions like a man who is preaching, bending in submission to the Buddha and singing his praise (8)

Now as to the title itself, it should be treated with care and those matters that have not previously been taken up in poetry should be kept in mind. For instance, if we are concerned with the cuckoo, we express in the poem the mind of one who is searching the fields for the sound of its voice. We do describe the feeling of waiting for the bush warbler but not that we go out in search for its voice (9); and although we speak in poetry of the feeling of pitiful loneliness that moves our hearts when we hear the voice of a deer, we certainly never imply that we would wait for it. Misuse of such matters should by all means be avoided unless a particularly brilliant phrase (10) would justify it. Then again we go out to see the cherry trees but not the willows, we make poems about waiting for the first snow, and not the drizzle or hail; and although we may speak of our passionate attachment to the cherry blossoms for which we are ready to sacrifice our lives, we are not that much attached to the coloured maple leaves. Not to know these things means that one does not recognize traditional practice and therefore it is necessary to comprehend old poems and to compose according to the nature of the poem itself.

2.) GOOD AND BAD ASPECTS IN THE SUCCESSION OF WORDS

In an uta an expression may be good or bad according to its application and its combination with other words. In one of Tomonori's (11) poems we find the lines:

Tomo madowaseru Strayed away from its friends

Chidori naku nari A plover is crying (12)

This sounds beautiful. In the same Kokin-shū (13) there is a love poem:

Koishiki ni When sick with longing

Wabite tamashii This tortured soul of mine

Madoinaba Strayed away from me (14)

and furthermore:

Mi no madou dani And even that it strayed away

Shirarezaruran I consciously conceive no more (15)

which are both using the same expression, but they sound pompous. This has to do with the combination of words. Thus it ought to depend on the formal aspects of an old poem, whether or not it can be drawn upon as a proof for the acceptability of a certain expression. Therefore good or bad should be decided in each case individually. In Sone no Yoshitada's (16) poem:

Harima naru In Harima

Shikama ni somuru There, in Shikama, cloth is dyed,

Anagachi ni Violently (in 'kachi' colour)

Hito o koishi to I have fallen in love with

Omou koro kana Someone, alas, in these days (17)

there is the expression 'anagachi ni' which would normally be used in poetry, but in connection with 'shikama ni somuru' it is particularly beautiful and sounds graceful. From the Kokin-shū:

Haru kasumi	The mist of spring
Tateru ya izuko	Is rising? But tell me where.
Mi-Yoshino no	At Yoshino
Yoshino no yama ni	On the Yoshino mountains
Yuki wa furitsutsu	Snow was constantly falling (18)

This is an excellent poem, in which the expression 'tateru ya izuko' is very good and sounds graceful. On the other hand someone has made a poem to the title 'chrysanthemum at the shrine':

Kami kaki ni	Near the shrine
Tateru ya kiku no	Rising chrysanthemum, stems
Eda tawa ni	Bent under blossoms;
Ta ga tamuketaru	Who has offered to the gods
Hana no shirayū	This flowery white cotton? (19)

in this poem the same 'tateru ya' is used, but it is ineffective here and clumsy.

3.) LOVE SEPARATED BY THE SEA

It was at a poetry contest at some place, when the title 'love separated by the sea' came up and the circle censured a poem - I forget how it went - which dealt with loving someone who lives in Tsukushi (20).

"Of course", they argued, "being cut off from Tsukushi by the sea, one may well be yearning for someone there, but a person who takes the land route walks over fields and mountains until he gets to the barrier-gate at Moji (21) from where there is only a narrow strip of sea to be crossed. In that case the original implication of the title is not expressed and the point is lost. For instance can you imagine that just by making a poem about your love for someone in Michinokuni (22) you are doing justice to the titles 'love separated by the fields, or by mountains' or 'love separated by villages, or by rivers'? An uta with a title must correspond with the title in order to be good. That poem takes too much liberty". Other people countered this argument: "But in the case of an uta one does compose in that way. As long as the sea has in fact to be crossed, is it necessary at all that you are actually looking at the shore that bears your beloved? Your criticism is going too far". There was a great dispute, the many experts present at the meeting divided up into groups; many of the respectable people, however, decided that the critical discussion had added to knowledge.

4.) THE USE OF THE FIRST PERSON IN POETRY

At the same place the late Lady Inaba (23) composed to the title of 'the promised rendez-vous in the summer':

Oshimubeki	A source of pleasure,
Haru o ba hito ni	Springtime, but for one girl
Itowasete	A loathsome burden
Soradanome ni ya	Hoping against hope, alas
Naran to suran	Wondering if that is all (24)

This poem met with approval when someone raised a point. "'Haru o ba hito ni'", he said, "is perhaps a little obscure. But 'haru o ba ware ni' (25) would no doubt be better." Many agreed with him, but Shune (26) who heard it said: "This argument is even worse than one might have expected. Would you seriously think that 'hito ni' designates anyone but the author? Whereas 'ware ni' sounds very much as if the poem were not of higher rank. In an uta exquisite beauty is the first requirement. I don't know about other people but as for myself, I think that even if it has disadvantages, 'hito ni' should be used here."

5.) ON THE MATTER OF HAVING HARE-NO-UTA (27) LOOKED THROUGH BY SOMEONE

It is absolutely necessary to have a hare-no-uta looked through by someone. If one relies entirely on one's own opinion there may be mistakes. On the occasion of a chrysanthemum contest (28) in the northern part of the residence of the Cloistered Empress Takamatsu (29) I composed a love poem:

Seki kanuru	No barrier can halt
Namida no kawa no	My tears' torrential stream;
Se o hayami	Ever faster it flows
Kuzure ni keru na	Tearing down the protective wall
Hitome-zutsumi wa	That guarded my privacy

As I was not yet accustomed to hare-no-uta I had the Lay Priest Shōmei (30) look at it. "This poem contains a grave mistake", he said. "We use the word 'hōzu' (31) when we refer to the death of an Emperor of Empress. You are using here the same ideograph reading 'kuzuru'; how can you put it into a poem that is intended for recitation at the residence of a Cloistered Empress." Upon this reprimand I finally replaced this poem with another which I presented. Soon afterwards the Cloistered Empress died. Had I presented the other poem, it might have been rumoured that it was predicting her death.

6.) THE NAMELESS GENERAL

When the Kujōdono (32) was still Minister of the Right, he at times ordered people to compose a hundred poems at a time. Quite outstanding poets at that occasion committed errors in their compositions and finally they ended up having nicknames attached to them. Recently the Minister of the Left Tokudaiji (33) has read the expression 'mumyō no sake' (34) as 'na mo naki sake' (35) and has therefore been called the 'nameless General'; the Lay Priest Gojō Sammi (36), although he was a leading authority on the discipline of uta, misread 'Fuji no narusawa' (37)

as 'Fuji no narusa' (38) and so the two were paired as 'the nameless General' and 'the rumbling Lay Priest' and the people had a good laugh. It was a very deplorable matter in this discipline [of uta composition]. They should have known such elementary things. Indeed a slip of memory.

7.) NAKATSUNA'S (39) POETIC EXPRESSION

At the same Hundred-Poem contest the Governor of Izu, Nakatsuna, used the expression 'narawashigao' (40) in a poem (41). When the Lay Priest Daini (42) heard it he said: "How can anyone who makes use of such expressions be called a poet, even if he made thousands of agreeable poems. It is utterly vulgar." Those were his words. All such faults could be avoided if the poem were looked over by someone.

8.) YORIMASA (43) AND SHUNE MAKE A CHOICE

For the poetry contest at the Court of Kenshun Monin (44) Lord Yorimasa composed a poem to the title of 'the fallen leaves on the route to the barrier-gate:

Miyako ni wa	In the capital
Mada aoba ni te	The leaves were still green
Mishikadomo	When I saw them
Momiji chiri shiku	But scattered lie the scarlet leaves
Shirakawa no seki	At the gate ^{barrier-gate} of Shirakawa (45)

He had been preparing many poems to that title at the time and had been worrying about it up to the day of the meeting, so he had called on

Shune and had him look it over. Shune said: "This poem resembles that uta by Nōin (46) which goes:

Akikaze zo fuku	But autumn winds have risen
Shirakawa no seki	At Shirakawa barrier-gate (47)

Your poem, however, should have a brilliant effect on presentation.

Even if it is not up to the standard of Nōin's poem, it shows that the subject might be treated in such a manner and you have succeeded in the attempt. The fact that it resembles another is not a deficiency."

After Shune had thus revealed his thought, Yorimasa had his carriage draw near and stepping into it he said: "I trust your judgment and will present this poem. If it provokes criticism it shall be your responsibility."

With this he drove away. When the poem, as expected, had a brilliant effect on presentation and won, he returned and happily reported to Shune who promptly said: "Although I have given you my advice thinking that the poem had something to it, I was beside myself with anxiety as long as there was no news about the results, but hearing now that it was highly acclaimed I think my opinion was justified."

9.) THE NEST OF THE DABCHICK

At the same occasion Yorimasa made a poem to the title of 'water-birds, tame and close to human beings':

Ko o omou	With a mother's care
Nio no ukisu no	A dabchick follows the floating nest
Yurare kite	Drifting up to me.
Suteji to sure ya	Determined not to lose its young
Migakure mo senu	It does not shy away from me. (48)

This poem won, being acclaimed as 'unusual'. The Monk Yūsei (49) criticized it very harshly when he had a chance to look at it. "This is all due to ignorance about the phenomenon of the floating nest of the dabchick," he said. "That floating nest is not something that can 'drift up'. The dabchick, knowing that the tide might be higher or lower, builds its nest loosely around a stalk of reed so that it can move up and down, following the high and low tide. If it were just simply drifting around, who knows where the wind might carry it, it would be smashed by the big waves and stolen by human beings. But of course it is no use my saying so now, since the poem has already been made a winner because no one at the meeting knew this."

10.) ABOUT 'KONOMO KANOMO' (50)

When the Nijōin (51) took a fancy to the Japanese-style poetry and the Sammi of Okazaki (52) was engaged as his tutor, Lord Kiyosuke (53) was summoned to appear before his Highness, because his fame in this field was widely recognized. The following remarkable event deserves mentioning: at a certain poetry contest (54) Kiyosuke used the term

'konomo kanomo' in connection with some mountain and the Sammi criticized him, saying: "The term 'konomo kanomo' is only applicable to Mount Tsukuba (55). It should not be used for each and every mountain." Kiyosuke muttered to himself: "It is certainly not used for Mount Tsukuba only and can indeed be applied to rivers and things like that." The Sammi laughed scornfully and said: "Show me an old poem to prove it." Kiyosuke replied: "When Mitsune (56) wrote his preface at the Ōigawa contest he employed the phrase 'Ōigawa konomo kanomo ni', there is no doubt about it." With this argument everybody was silenced and the matter was left at that. One should not criticize things when one has only vague ideas about them.

11.) ABOUT THE 'SEMI' RIVULET

At Mitsuyuki's (57) poetry contest at the Kamo shrine I composed a poem of the [category] 'moon':

Ishikawa ya	In Ishikawa
Semi no ogawa no	The little rivulet Semi
Kiyokereba	It was so clear,
Tsuki mo nagare o	The moon himself came round
Tazunete zo sumu	To dwell in its shining surface (58)

This was proclaimed a failure by the Lay Priest Moromitsu (59), the judge, with the explanation that such a river probably did not exist. I had given much thought to the composition of this poem and could not reconcile

myself to this outcome, and as I felt that there had been many incomprehensible things in the judgment that day, I had it judged again by Monk Kenshō (60) who said in connection with his judgment: "I have never heard about this rivulet Semi in Ishikawa, but the following phrases connect well. I wonder if such a river may not exist. We should decide after consultation with people of that region." With this he left the matter undecided. Later, when I visited Kenshō, I turned the conversation to this subject and said: "That very word is a synonym of 'Kamogawa', it is recorded in the annals of that shrine of ours (61)". Kenshō was stunned. "Wisely", he said, "I have refrained from criticizing it, although I did have the feeling that I might argue the point, considering it unlikely that there was a famous place of which none of us had heard the name. I had no idea who the poet was. As the form of the uta was pleasing I did not want to insist on the matter of place names. This is already the prudence of old age." Those were his words.

Later on, when the Negi Sukekane (62) heard about this, he reprimanded me. "Something of this quality", he said, "ought to be recited at an important contest at Court or before the Emperor or high ministers. To present it at such a minor occasion will be a cause of bitter regret." And it was not long before Lord Takanobu (63) used this river in his poem, of course, and Monk Kenshō, too, at the occasion of the Hundred-Poem contest (64) at the residence of the General of the Left. Sukekane said in this connection: "There you have it. This was an excellent poetic idea when it was first composed. But how should posterity know which one

is the original poem? Finally all poems of this kind will somehow be mixed up." Thus he argued, but when it came to the selection of poems for the Shinkokin-shū, this one was taken. There must certainly have been people who appreciated this poem which mentioned the unknown rivulet. In all, ten of my poems were taken into that collection of poetry. While it has been an honour which I do not deserve, the inclusion of this poem in the anthology has given me great happiness such as might persist even after my death. Ah, the futility of the whole affair.

12.) ABOUT THE SENZAI-SHŪ (65)

One of my poems was included in the Senzai-shū. "I do not come from a family with literary tradition and my powers of expression are not outstanding. Furthermore at this time people do not consider me a man of letters. Even though I have had the honour to have one of my poems accepted in the anthology." I was thus expressing my joy, when the late Chikushu (66) heard about this and said: "While I was thinking that you were just nonchalant with your remarks, you seem to be making them rather frequently. Should you be serious about it? If this is the case you will certainly not fail to have good fortune on your side in this discipline. The reason is that although the theory would be thus, there are hardly any people who think along this line. In this collection there are many cases of people without any particular merit having ten, seven, eight, four, five poems included. I can imagine how you must resent seeing them, so it is much to your credit that you are able to take pleasure from this. Respect for the discipline manifests itself above all in the process

of beautifying your mind. No one is like this nowadays. People don't know their own limitations, they are conceited, make a lot of fuss, harbour anger and often make mistakes. Mark my words." This was what he said. And indeed my success in this discipline was much greater than my capability warranted. There certainly is something in what old people say.

13.) THE RULE OF NOT TRYING TO ESTABLISH YOURSELF AS A GENIUS OF POETRY

It was the same person who used to instruct me: "Never try to make a profession of poetry. The uta is a discipline that has to be mastered. For someone like myself, who has already settled in a secure position, there would be no danger of being ruined, no matter what I do. But in your case, you were born into an old family of Shintō priests and became an orphan early. Even if you have no employment, you should at least be determined in your mind and make efforts to build up your career. However, when you show talent in the discipline of the uta you will probably be urged to participate on occasions here and there. Then you might produce some good poems which will give you 'face' and establish your reputation. And if you go around many places, flattering people and submitting to their ways, you will become famous in connection with the uta, and yet this very fact will certainly become an impediment to your advance. Someone like you, even if he is not at all known, might profit most, if on public appearance people were wondering who you are, and were eager to find out something more about you. Whatever you get

involved in, if you excel in the discipline your ability will not remain unnoticed *) , there will be reports about it and you will be able to attend to meetings in appropriate places and probably be seated even among the nobility; and this means advancement in the discipline. Why should you want to become known, meeting with unimportant people here and there? Even if to your mind something seems interesting and you feel that you would like to follow it up, you should certainly be careful about choosing the places where you appear , so that you will be considered arrogant."

Thinking over this now, after all my experiences, I feel that I am indebted to him. Knowledge concerning such precious things is not easily transmitted even to a son. But he may have been wishing that I was not going to be counted as much of a poet by the public - probably because I should succeed him in the discipline of music - and that must have been the reason why he passed on his knowledge to me with such frankness. In quiet reminiscence I feel deeply touched.

14.) THE PLOVER WEARING THE CRANE'S FEATHERDRESS

When Monk Shune's residence became known under the name Karinen (67) monthly meetings were held there. Monk Yūsei was one of the participants and he composed to the title of 'the plover in the cold night':

Chidori mo kikeri	The plover also wears it,
Tsuru no kegoromo	The featherdress of the crane (68)

*) Literally: the gimlet will not be retained in the bag

People found it most unusual and Sōkaku (69) frequently recited it, saying that he thought it was interesting, but that the size might not be quite right. Thereupon there was an outburst of laughter and a flurry of voices, finally the interest in the matter subsided. "It is a very brilliant phrase", said Yūsei, "but if it turns out like this the whole point is lost."

I don't understand all this. Since birds are creatures clad in featherdress, why should the plover not have one accordingly? It need not borrow one of which the size is different. The old poem 'When even the featherdress of the crane is getting old' (70) indicates that there ought to be no objection to the use of the word featherdress for any bird. At the aforementioned Court poetry contest of Kenshun Monin the phrase: 'The ducks in their featherdress' (71) was used in a poem. Some people were sceptical about it but the judge assured them that there was nothing wrong with it. "But", people said, "the featherdress of the crane does not mean just an ordinary featherdress, but something more which only cranes have." We have however no proof for this yet and ought to find out about it from someone of wide knowledge.

15.) HOW THE UTA RESEMBLES THE DOCTRINE OF CHŪIN (72)

Monk Yūsei said: "In the explanation of the miracle of the two sons of the noble king Myōshō (73) the ordinary saying goes: 'When they take the form of great bodies they fill the sky; when they take the form of small bodies they find room in a mustard seed.' The doctrine

of that Chūin however says: 'When they take the form of great bodies they cover up the sky; when they take the form of small bodies there is still room left in a mustard seed.' This represents very well the atmosphere of the waka. The uta should be understood in this way: old things should be treated in an interesting manner by adding new flavour to them. Why have so much of the new flavour? It should be easy to compose [such poems]."

16.) ABOUT MASUHO NO SUSUKI (74)

One rainy day there was a gathering of interested people at someone's residence and in the course of a discussion of old things the conversation turned to the question of what kind of susuki 'masuho no susuki' was. One old man said: "I have heard that at a place called Watanobe there is a monk who knows about this." He was thus making vague indications while Monk Tōren (75) who was in the party became taciturn upon hearing this and without further questions said to the master of the house: "Lend me a strawcoat and a rainhat for a while." The master of the house brought forth the items, wondering about the matter, and Monk Tōren, breaking up the talk, put on the strawcoat, slipped into the strawshoes and departed in haste. When people full of surprise asked him the reason for his action he said: "I am off to Watanobe. I have heard that there exists a man who knows what has been bothering my thought for years. How can I refrain from visiting him." People were stunned and tried to persuade him to depart after the rain had stopped, but he left with the words: "What idle talk. My life as well as that man's, does it give

us the time to wait for the clearing of the rain? Everything shall be settled presently." This was a man extremely devoted to his art. In accordance with his original intention he has gone to see that man, posed his question and received the answer, keeping it a very precious secret treasure.

This matter has been transmitted to a disciple of his third generation. There are several kinds of this susuki, namely the three types called masuho, masō and masū. Masuho no susuki has a long ear about one foot high. It should be understood as related to the fact that in the Manyō-shū 'masu-kagami' has been written 'ten-sun-mirror' (76). Masō no susuki contains the meaning 'pure linen'. This appears in a poem by Lord Toshiyori (77). It is said to run 'Like the thread of pure linen draws the lover close' (78); it looks like dishevelled threads. Masū no susuki means 'truly dark red' and is an abbreviation for what should be called 'masuhō'. It should be a name indicating deep coloured susuki. We can not tell for sure whether this has appeared in the Kokin-shū, but in the discipline of the waka the use of such old things is commonplace. People generally are ignorant about it. Don't treat it carelessly.

17. THE COLTSFEET AND FROGS OF IDE

Someone said: "It was by some coincidence that I once went to a place called Ide and took up lodging there for a night. The appearance of the place, the aspect of the flowing river was beyond anything imaginable. It is understandable that we have traces of that Minister of Ide (79) living there: at the river there were stones standing in a row which

continued for about 10 chō and - as if it could not have been otherwise - each stone looked like something that should not be trifled with but rather had been put there on purpose. At that place I talked with an old man and in the course of questioning him about old things I asked him: "What is widely known in the world by the name 'yellow rose of Ide' I cannot see at all; where is it?" To this he answered: "This is how it is: the palace of that Minister of Ide burnt down last year. Prior to it enormously big coltsfeet were seen growing, bushel after bushel. Their flowers, of the size of a small earthenware pot, reproduced themselves in many layers of petals. Maybe this is meant by that term. They grew at the water's edge of the Ide river, leaving no bare spot and when they were in blossom it was as if dykes of gold were erected alongside. No place could match its beauty. Thus it is difficult to decide which of the two aspects is meant by that term. The local people unfortunately did not preserve the place with the famous plant, but saying that in making rice fields the rice grew well when that plant was mixed into the soil they just cut down the plant so that now no traces of it are left. By the way, there exist many interpretations of what is called 'kawazu of Ide' (80). It seems that the common people think all frogs are 'kawazu'. This may not be untrue, but the frog which is called 'kawazu' is not found anywhere else, it exists only in the Ide river. It is rather dark coloured, not very big, it does not hop around openly on land like common frogs, but usually lives in the water and when it cries in the deep of night its voice sounds plaintive and soothing to the heart. You should be there without fail in the spring or summer and listen to it." This was the tale of the old

man. I, however, was taken up by other matters afterwards and have not yet visited the place."

This matter has impressed me and I felt it was important but it is now three years that I have not done anything about it. I am getting on in years, walking is becoming a problem and I still have not heard that voice while I am thinking of it all the time. I am no match for Tōren who hastily departed in the middle of the rain. Come to think of it, there may be few who, in later days, even if they happen to have an occasion to go to that place and investigate it, will be prepared to listen to the sounds attentively. This is because people who are devoted to their art and have fine sensibility are becoming fewer and fewer with the passing of time.

18.) THE 'SHIMIZU' (81) OF THE BARRIER-GATE

Someone said: "It is generally understood that what is called the 'shimizu' of Ōsaka barrier-gate is the same as the Hashiri well. This is not so. The 'shimizu' is at a different place. Now that there is no water there people don't even know that the 'shimizu' was there. Only one man knew the place, an old monk, the Ācārya Enjitsubō (82) at Miidera. However there was no one who came to him for this knowledge of his. When I heard that he had said on meeting an acquaintance that after his death this matter would be lost because there was no one else who knew about it, I got a note of introduction from a man who knew that Ācārya and in the first year of Kenryaku (83), the 20th day of the 10th month I went to Miidera. The Ācārya met me personally and said: "It is a rare pleasure

for me, considering how difficult it is to find someone who wishes to hear such old things. How can I not lead you to it." With those words he accompanied me. From Sekidera we went two or three chō (84) to the west and at a place on a slight elevation to the north of the path there was a stone tower, one jō in height. From that tower descending about three dan (85) to the east in a hollow there were the remains of the former 'shimizu' of the barrier-gate. It is only three dan off the road. Now it is at the back of a small house and at present it carries no water, so there is nothing there worth seeing, but the old remains stimulated my imagination and I thought it was beautiful. The Ācārya told me: "Facing this 'shimizu' to the north there has been until recently a house with a thin cypress bark thatched roof. I don't know whose residence it was but it can't have been the dwelling place of just a common man." This was what he said."

19.) THE HOUSE OF KI NO TSURAYUKI (86)

Someone said: "The remains of the house in which Tsurayuki used to live for years are in a corner to the north of Kade and to the east of Tomi lane. (87)

20.) THE HOUSE OF NARIHIRA (88)

Narihira Chūjō's house until recently faced Takakura lane at the intersection of the 3rd street. (89) Its pillars were not like ordinary pillars but of the kind called 'chimaki' (90) - I don't know at what era

they were produced - later to be fashioned into the ordinary shape of pillars. The edges of the 'nageshi' (91) were also made well rounded and smooth; it really looked like an ancient place. As long as the protective power of Seimei (92) was active it was not destroyed by fire and its eaves endured, but in this world of misery it was all in vain - a year ago it burnt to the ground.

21.) THE HOUSE OF THE SUHŌ NAISHI (93)

The house of Lady Suhō Naishi, about which she has made the poem

Ware sae noki no Under these eaves of mine, where

Shinobūgusa Weeds of longing grow (94)

is in the northwestern corner of the intersection of Reizen and Horikawa (95).

22.) ABOUT THE ASAMOGAWA MYŌJIN (96)

In the Yosa district of Tango country there is a deity called Asamogawa Myōjin. It is a deity important enough to be visited by the governor of the country on pilgrimages at which he performs the rituals of presenting offerings. It has been stated that this was the old man of Urashima (97) turned into a deity. Despite the fact that he was so intent on opening the boxes in haste, he has been preserved as a deity. This must be an indication that he may have been an incarnation of Buddha.

23.) THE MYŌJIN OF THE BARRIER-GATE

The Myōjin of the Ōsaka barrier-gate was the Semimaru (98) of olden times. Preserving the remains of that famous straw hut (99) he dwelt there as a deity. Even now it seems that, on passing by, the image comes to the mind: Yoshimine no Munesada (100), during the reign of Fukakusa, under the Emperor's order, frequenting that house under the name of Ryōshosho to learn the Japanese koto. It is very interesting.

24.) THE ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE KOTO

Someone said: "In connection with the origin of the Japanese koto there was the case of six bows which were stretched and plucked. When this was used for kagura (101) it was considered complicated and transformed by later generations into the koto. In an old notebook of the country of Kazusa the 'six bows' were mentioned and in the annotations they were said to be 'for the use of okagura' (102)" This is very interesting.

25.) THE ESTATE OF THE CHŪJŌ (103)

In the famous Ise monogatari it is stated that the Zai no Chūjō used to frequent a place in the country of Kawachi, district of Takagusa. However, nobody knows where the remains are, although according to the opinion of the inhabitants of that region the remains are certainly in existence. So that is what is now designated as 'the estate of the Chūjō.

26.) THE TOMB OF HITOMARO (104)

The tomb of Hitomaro is in the country of Yamato. It is on the way to the Hatsuse temple. If you try to find it asking for the tomb of Hitomaro no one knows it. At that place it is known by the name 'Utazuka' (105).

27.) TSURAYUKI VERSUS MITSUNE

The Monk Shune told the following story:

When the Sanjō no Daishōkoku (106) was known as the police commissioner, he, together with the Nijō no Sochi (107) was asked to decide between Tsurayuki and Mitsune. The two had been discussing until all their arguments were exhausted, but no conclusion could be reached. The Sochi wanted to settle the matter and declaring that it should be decided by the word of the Court who was superior, they went to have audience with Ex-Emperor Shirakawa (108) who said: "How can I decide this? You had better ask someone like Toshiyori." The two of them had to wait two or three days for an occasion until they proceeded to Toshiyori's place. The Sochi told him the story from the beginning of the quarrel to the words of the Ex-Emperor. Toshiyori listened and nodded from time to time, then he said: "Don't treat Mitsune lightly." The Sochi was surprised. "Then", he said, "Tsurayuki is inferior? This would settle the matter." Thus he was trying to press for a final decision when Toshiyori said in the same manner: "Don't treat Mitsune lightly." The Sochi said:

"I have about understood the implications of the matter. My cause has been defeated." It was a bitter experience for him. In reality Mitsune was without equal in the depth of the emotions he expressed.

28.) TOSHIYORI'S UTA RECITED BY THE KUGUTSU (109)

The day when Lord Toshiyori was staying at Fuke no Nyūdō's (110) residence, kugutsu from Kagami came and among the poems they were reciting was one kami-uta (111):

Yo no naka wa	This worldly being
Uki mi ni soeru	To my troubled self it clings
Kage nare ya	Shadow that it is;
Omoi sutsuredo	Though I long to throw it off
Hanarezarikeri	It has not yet abandoned me.

They were reciting the poem and he himself was there, saying "Toshiyori, you have reached the goal." - an interesting situation.

Eien Sōjō (112) heard this and was envious. He talked with some Biwa Hōshi (113), let them take some presents and told them to recite his uta:

Itsumo hatsune no	As if it were the first time
Kokochi koso sure	My feeling responds to it (114)

from place to place. People at the time said that he was a man devoted to his art as you will seldom find.

The now Lay Priest Atsuyori (115) heard of this and, feeling envious, harassed blind people forcing them to recite his poetry, without giving them a thing. He became the laughing stock of the world.

29.) USING THE SYLLABLES OF ONE'S OWN NAME IN A POEM

When there was a poetry contest at the Hōjōjidono's (116) residence, Toshiyori attended. The reciter Kanemasa (117) was given the poems to read, when in one of Toshiyori's poems the name was not stated. He turned to Toshiyori and clearing his throat said secretly: "What about the name?" The other said: "Just read it!" upon which he read the uta as follows:

U no hana no	The bean curd blossoms
Mi no shira ga tomo	Like that snowwhite hair of mine
Miyuru kana	They look, alas!
Shizu ga kakine mo	And my humble quickset hedge
Toshiyori ni keri	Is advancing too in years. (118)

Kanemasa, trying to restrain his sobs, nodded eagerly and admired it enthusiastically. The master of the house was told about it and asked to see it. He showed great interest in it. It was even a little superior to that poem that was made with the intention of combining three titles in one uta. (119)

30.) THE LAY PRIEST SANMI (120) AS DISCIPLE OF MOTOTOSHI (121)

The Lay Priest Gojō⁶ Sanmi told the following story:

When I reached my 25th year I wanted to become disciple of Mototoshi, and with the former Governor of Izumi, the Lay Priest Michitsune (122) as mediator, I took a carriage together with him and set out towards the residence of Mototoshi, who was at that time 85. That night was moreover

the 15th night of the 8th month and therefore the host was in the right mood and made the first part of a poem:

Naka no aki	When in the eighth month
Tōka itsuka no	On the fifteenth day
Tsuki o mite	We look at the moon

He was reciting this in a serious pose, so I continued

Kimi ga yado nite	Yours is the house at which
Kimi to akasan	You and I shall spend the night

There was nothing at all particularly interesting in this, but he was very impressed. Then he was talking in a calm voice: "I have been living in seclusion for a long time", he said, "I have not been able to get acquainted with the fashion of my contemporaries. Have you recently talked to someone on this matter who is knowledgeable?" To this I answered: "The Kujō Dainagon (123), the Chuin Daijin (124) for instance whom I consider very refined gentlemen." "How very nice", he said and slapped his knees, his fan whizzing through the air. Thus we have established our teacher - disciple relationship but as far as poetic composition was concerned he could not compete with Toshiyori. Toshiyori was a man of extraordinary ability.

31.) TOSHIYORI AND MOTOTOSHI DEFYING EACH OTHER

Someone said: "Mototoshi said of Toshiyori that he was an ignorant man. "He is so famous", he said, "but just goes on the beaten path."

This came in turn to Toshiyori's ears who said: "He makes no fine poetry like Fumitoki and Asatsuna (125) and produces none of the excellent phrases that Mitsune and Tsurayuki used to make."

32.) ABOUT ENDING THE THIRD LINE WITH 'TE'

At an other occasion that same man said:

"At the place of the Sage of the Kumogodera (126) Lord Toshiyori composed to the title: 'the feeling of late autumn'

Akenu to mo	Winter breaking in
Nao aki kaze no	Yet the autumn wind may still
Otozurete	Pay us frequent calls.
Nobe no keshiki yo	Oh scenery around the fields,
Omogawari su na	Do not change your appearance (127)

The name was concealed, but Mototoshi, who held a grudge against Toshiyori recognized it as his poem and criticized it saying: "You must admit that in the case of an uta if you place 'te' at the end of the third line there is no fragrance. This is disturbing and sounds bad." This was criticism that defied any further comments. Toshiyori said nothing at all. At that meeting the Lord of Ise, Rinken (128) was present and he spoke up and said: "I remember an example of an uta of that strange kind", and when Mototoshi said "Well now, let's hear! It can never be a good poem!" Rinken recited:

Sakura chiru Scattering blossoms
Ko no shita kaze wa Under the cherry trees the breeze
Samukarade Feels no longer cold (129)

He was dwelling for a while on the final 'de', then Mototoshi's face turned all pale, he looked at the floor without uttering another word. Lord Toshiyori was laughing secretly."

33.) RINKEN TRAPPING MOTOTOSHI

Somehow or other Rinken was not on good terms with Mototoshi and therefore he wanted to catch him in a trap. At one time he selected twenty love poems from the Gosen-shū, poems which were not well known and which would sound unfamiliar, wrote them up in pairs and took them to Mototoshi, saying: "Here people have made a poetry contest in an unusual fashion. I would like to know which side is better and ask you to put down comments." He presented the poems and after the other had looked at them and, unaware that they were from the Gosen-shū had freely put down his criticism as he thought fit, he went around with them everywhere, slandering Mototoshi, saying: "As against the Saemon no Suke (130) the design of the five men of the Pear-Jar Room (131) bears no weight. I say he is a genius who surpasses those of ancient times. Just look at this!" The people who saw it had a good laugh. When it came to Mototoshi's ears he felt ill at ease but there was nothing he could do.

34.) MOTOTOSHI'S MISTAKEN CRITICISM

Shune said:

"At the poetry contest under the auspices of the master of the Hōjōji (132) both Toshiyori and Mototoshi were judges. It was a meeting with names concealed. A poem by Toshiyori was:

Kuchi oshi ya	Is it not unfair?
Kumoi gakure ni	In their hiding place of clouds
Sumu tatsu mo	The tatsu (133) have their home,
Omou hito ni wa	When you turned your heart to them
Miekeru mono o	They did reveal themselves to you (134)

Mototoshi, understanding 'tatsu' as 'cranes of the field' criticized it saying: "The cranes of the field live in swamps, how could they have their home hidden in clouds." And with this the poem lost. Toshiyori, on his part, did not say a word in that session. When the Prince then said: "Write up the judges' statements of this evening" Lord Toshiyori wrote: "Those were not cranes, but dragons. A certain person wanted so much to see a dragon that one appeared for him. (135) This was used in the poem." Mototoshi was indeed a man of talent, yet he was forgetful (136). He had a habit of criticizing people on matters which he had not carefully considered, and therefore he often was mistaken later on."

35.) ABOUT OLD POEMS IN LOVE LETTERS

Someone received a letter from a lady. There were two poems in the letter and a request to send back an answer. The two poems, however, were love poems from the Kokin-shū. There was nothing he could say in return. He turned over in his mind what to do; then he taught her a lesson by writing up just two old poems which were suitable for what he had in mind. When this came to the ears of a certain old man, he expressed his admiration, saying: "This was well done. In olden times men of taste did these things deliberately. Although you were not aware of it your guess was in accord with the tradition. It turned out beautifully."

36.) WHEN LADIES APPROACH YOU WITH A POEM

Shōmei said:

"At appropriate places where you might expect it there are lighthearted Court Ladies who approach you with a poem which may often take you by surprise. In such a situation you may rely on traditional practices. First you pretend that you could not grasp what she said and ask several times. Then she may feel awkward and not speak up clearly. You carry on in this way and if you can think of the answer, you say it; if you can't, you draw back with some vague excuse. This is the first method. There are also ladies who are loosely connected with some duty at Court. Coquettish, as they may be, they expose you to what they call 'making cracks', approaching you with one or two lines of a poem which you don't know. If you happen to know it, you should recite it by all means.

If you don't know it, you just say 'Oh, you can't mean that!' The words need not change whatever the meaning of her lines may be. This will quite naturally carry you through, whether she implied that she is deeply in love with you, or whether she had sadness and misery in mind. And if she had wanted to express her dissatisfaction with you, this may well be your retort, which will turn the whole affair into nothing but a practical joke."

37.) THE TOMB OF MASTER SARUMARU (137)

Someone said:

"In lower Tanakami there is a place called Sotsuka. There Sarumaru has his tomb. It is at the borderline of that Shōen (138) where it is written down on an official notice board; therefore everybody knows it."

38.) KURONUSHI (139) BECOMES A GOD

He also said:

"In the district of Shiga a little off the highway at the edge of a mountain there exists a god called Kuronushi no Myōjin. It is the former Kuronushi who has become a god."

39.) KISEN'S (140) LODGE

Again he said:

"In the interior of Mimurōdo, if you enter just about 20 chō into the mountains, there are the traces of the place where Kisen of Ujiyama used to dwell. There is no house there, but the stone foundation of the house is quite recognizable. These places are certainly worth a visit."

40.) THE ENOHA WELL (141)

Someone said:

"The Kunaikyo Lord Arikata (142) happened to travel together with seven or eight courtiers to Kazuraki in Yamato. At that time they saw at some place what looked like a big imposing abandoned temple. Strangely enough none of the people whom they met and asked for the name, knew it. In the meantime an old man with unusually white hair had come up. They thought that he looked like the right person and asked him the question to which he answered: "This here is the Toyoradera.(143)" The people of the group were deeply impressed and full of admiration and they asked whether there might not be a well called Enoha in the neighbourhood. The old man said: "It has all dried up and there is no water left now, but some traces of it still exist." He showed them a place just a few steps to the west from the temple and their spirit roused they grouped themselves on the spot and sang the Kazuraki song (144) dozens of times, then they took some of their attire and made it a gift to the old man who was very pleased at this unexpected event and accepting it gratefully went away.

Recently when there were monthly gatherings of Eigu (145) at the residence of the Tsuchimikado Naidaijin (146), the Emperor (147) occasionally attended incognito. At one meeting compositions were made to the title 'the moon and the old temple', one of which was:

Furinikeru	Aged through countless years
Toyora no tera no	The Toyora temple at
Enoha i ni	The Enoha well --
Nao shiratama o	Glittering pearls resembling
Nokosu tsukikage	Moonlight is all that is left. (148)

When the Gojō Sammi Nyūdō (149) heard it he said: "This has indeed been handled gracefully. I myself have at occasions as there might be thought of taking up this image, but unfortunately you have done it ahead of me!" and he approved of it enthusiastically. Included in the text for a Saibara (150) these words are known to everybody, but I have not previously seen them used in poetry. These words have however appeared later in one of the Reizei Chūjō Sadaie's (151) poems."

41.) THE 'HAMPI NO KU' (152) OF AN UTA

Shune said to me in the course of a conversation:

"There is an uta by Sōjō Henjō (153):

Tarachine wa	My gentle mother,
Kakare tote shimo	Could she have foreseen this plight?
Mubatama no	When the shiny flow
Waga kurokami o	Of my raven black hair
Nadezu ya ariken	She stroked with tenderness (154)

Tell me frankly which expression in this poem is in your opinion particularly excellent." I answered: "What I consider particularly successful is that after 'kakare tote shimo' (155) there is a relaxing break in the expression 'mubatama no'." "Yes, yes, that's it", he said, "as far as the uta is concerned you have already reached masterhood. This is what a poet should be like. And by the way, it is customary to put 'hisakata' (156) before you say 'moon' and 'ashihiki' (157) before 'mountain'. If you place these expressions in the first line, there is no point to it;

if, however, you put it into the third line as a relaxing break, which leads well into the following, you produce a poem that would qualify for superior rank while you have at the same time a decorative effect. The people of old time called this 'hampi no ku'. The hampi has no particular purpose, as a garment it gives a decorative effect. In the 31 syllables of the uta, in order to express completely what you have in mind in such a few words, you should not add even one empty expression, but this hampi no ku without fail qualifies the poem for superior rank and the form receives decoration. When in form exquisite beauty is carried to the utmost limit, *yojō* (158) emerges automatically. To comprehend this means to have attained masterhood. Consider that poem with understanding. The important thing is the four syllables 'tote shimo'. It seems that without this the hampi no ku would have no effect."

42.) THE FORM OF SOGŌ (159)

In the court music there is a piece called 'sogō'. This is how it is danced: the five parts of the introduction are danced one after the other; after this the 'break' is danced; upon this the finale follows in principle without pause; its first part is however not actually danced, only the steps are made according to the rule with the beat of the drum, and after this short pause one begins to dance beautifully from the second part. This way of doing it fulfills the same purpose as a proper 'hampi no ku'. Poetry and music are different disciplines, but in successful works they have corresponding elements. How can people who don't know of this correspondence fully understand the discipline?

This is the factor one must bear in mind in order to understand both disciplines as well as the uta (160). Thus we may call the sogō a dance with a hampi no ku, and as far as the appearance of the uta is concerned, one may call it the sogō form.

43.) GOOD POEMS WITH BADLY CONCEIVED FIRST PHRASES

Shune said:

"Although you may have thought out a brilliant phrase for an uta, there is the problem of fitting it to the preceding or following phrase. The Gotokudaiji Safu (161) in an uta:

Nago no umi no	^{In bay} The sea of Nago;
Kasumi no ma yori	Through the clearings in the fog
Nagamureba	Behold the view how
Irihi o arau	The evening sun seems to be washed
Okitsu shiranami	By the white waves in the distance (162)

And Lord Yorimasa in an uta:

Sumiyoshi no	At Sumiyoshi
Matsu no ko ma yori	Through clearings in the pine groves
hagum Nagamureba	Behold the view how
Tsuki ochikakaru	The moon seems to be falling
Awaji shima yama	Into the hills of Awaji (163)

In both poems the first part is badly conceived. The expressions 'irihi o arau' and 'tsuki ochikakaru' are excellent, but unfortunately they do not accord with the second and third line."

44.) UNNECESSARY WORDS IN THE UTA

The Nijō Chūjō Masatsune (164) said in a conversation:

"In the uta I think there are certain words which one should not use, as for instance in a poem by Kanesuke (165):

Tsuki ya shiru ya	The moon, is he aware
Ukiyo no naka no	Of our transient world's
Hakanasa o	Fleeting existence?
Nagamete mo mata	Watching it, can he proceed
Iku meguri to wa	With his innumerable rounds? (166)

As for good composition the two syllables 'naka' (167) of 'yo no naka' are bad. It should read 'ukiyo no hakanasa o'. Also in Lord Yorimasa's uta:

Sumi noboru	As he climbs up the sky
Tsuki no hikari ni	The moon sheds silently his light;
Yokogirite	Across his rays
Wataru akisa no	Sails a flight of Akisa birds;
Oto no samukesa	Oh, the coldness of the sound (168)

Here, too, the three syllables 'hikari' (169) are bad. If you say 'tsuki ni yokogirite' it sounds a little more striking. Such expressions should be considered as a flaw in the poem. This cannot easily be understood by people who have no deep conception of poetry."

45.) READJUSTMENT WHICH MAKES A POEM WORSE

The Monk Kakusei (170) said:

"There is one formal aspect of the uta, which is crude and seems to be hard to prevent. Namely, when you give too much attention to technical

details, you will eventually lose even the special points which you may have had in mind. The poem will inevitably become insignificant."

This is very true. There is Suetsune's (171) poem:

Toshi o hete	Many years have passed
Kaeshi mo yaranu	Since I failed to pay my debts
Koyamata ni	In Koyamata
Tane kasu hito mo	Someone who will lend me seeds,
Araji to zo omou	I believe, does not exist (172)

This uta has no beauty, but seemed to convey an idea with a certain style. Years later I came across the poem in his personal collection of poetry:

Shizu no o ga	Oh you lowly man
Kaeshi mo yaranu	Since you did not till the fields
Koyamata ni	In Koyamata
Sa nomi wa ikaga	Why should you be so concerned
Tane o kasubeki	Trying still to borrow seeds? (173)

This is perhaps the former poem readjusted, and it looks very inferior. We should bear this in mind.

46.) A POET WHO IS NOT EQUAL TO HIS OWN BRILLIANT PHRASE

There is a poem by a person called Engen Ajari (174):

Yūgure ni	In the evening light
Naniwa no ura o	At the bay of Naniwa
Nagamureba	Oh behold the sight
Kasumi ni ukabu	Floating calmly through the mist
Oki no tsuribune	Far away, a fisher boat (175)

This poem is graceful, but it reveals the inadequacy of the poet. The reason is this: having thought of an *imcomparable* image like 'kasumi ni ukabu oki no tsuribune', how can one make a first part like 'yūgure ni Naniwa no ura o nagamureba'! (176) This is really an inconsiderate pointless continuation of expressions. Even with 'bay' and 'evening light' an interesting original composition should be possible. I can't imagine how someone who is so clumsy could have hit upon such a good second part.

47.) TOO MUCH EFFORT IN PLANNING CAUSES DEFECTS

A poem of my own collection runs:

Shigure ni wa	By the autumn rains
Tsurenaku moreshi	Left unaffected and keeping fresh
Matsu no iro o	The green of the pines;
Furikaetekeri	What a different sight this morning
Kesa no hatsuyuki	In the first snow of the year. (177)

Shune criticized it, saying: "You should only have said 'tsurenaku mieshi' (178). When you are over-anxious to get your idea across, it sounds quite contrary to your intention, grinding to the ear. At a poetry contest some place Shune composed to 'mist':

Yūnagi ni	In the evening calm
Yura no to wataru	Crossing the straits of Yura
Ama obune	One small fisherboat;
Kasumi no naka ni	In the impermeable mist
Kogi zo irinuru	It has rowing disappeared (179)

At that meeting when Lord Kiyosuke made something along the same lines he used the expression 'kasumi no soko' (180), which people criticized saying that one got the feeling that it was concerned with an inlet of the sea. When you have a place of modest beauty you should let your words follow the flow of the common language, for when you try too much to think out something, you get on the contrary expressions that sound conspicuous. This is like twining a thread; when trying to twine it neatly, you overdo the job, you get a knot. Someone who can size this up well is skillful. Atmosphere is something that develops of itself, and yet it is necessary to make an effort to achieve it according to the occasion; if you are skillful in this you will be able to see the distinction. So, in the brilliant phrases of bad poets many shortcomings are bound to arise.

48.) JŌEN'S (181) SHALLOW POEM

The Monk Jōen said of his own accord about the uta:

"	"Shika no ne o	The plaintive belling
	Kiku ni ware sae	Of the deer, reaching my ears
	Nakarenuru	Made even me cry;
	Tani no ihori wa	That cottage in the canyon
	Sumi ukarikeri	What a heart-rending abode (182)

This is how I have treated the subject. What do you think of it?"

I said: "It is good. Only the expression 'nakarenuru' (183) is too shallow. I wonder how you feel about it." Jōen answered: "Since it

is precisely this expression that constitutes the essence of the poem I find your criticism strange!" and he left, giving the impression that he considered my criticism very bad. I was thinking that it was regrettable that I had expressed my unfavourable opinion without reserve on a matter which I should have considered carefully, when -- not more than ten days later -- he came again and said: "Your criticism the other day -- I won't try to conceal this -- was incomprehensible to me and I wanted to get the matter clarified; so, anyhow, I went to the Taiyukyo (184) to find out whether I had been wrong or whether the criticism was bad, and in this way I hoped to settle the matter. What he told me after I had explained the situation was this: 'How can Your Reverence make such a shallow poem? What is 'nakarenuru'? It's vile!' Thus he reprimanded me. Your criticism then was right and the misunderstanding was on my side. I have come to offer my apologies." With these words he went home. It is indeed rare to find purity of heart.

49.) GOOD LOVE POEMS FROM DIFFERENT TIMES

Shune said:

"The late Sakyō Taiyu Akisuke (185) said in the course of a conversation:

"In the Goshūi-shū (186) there is a love poem:

Yūgure wa	Those many evenings
Matareshi mono o	Wasted in waiting for him!
Ima wa tada	Now all I can do;
Yukuran kata o	Wonder where else he may go,
Omoi koso yare	And follow him with my thoughts (187)

This is considered a representative love poem. In the Kinyō-shū (188):

Machishi yo no	That night of waiting
Fukeshi o nani ni	Growing late, why should I be
Nagekiken	Overwhelmed with grief,
Omoi taete mo	Did I not renounce our love
Ararekeru mi o	Myself -- and yet survive? (189)

This is an excellent love poem. In the Shika-shū (190) which I compiled there is a poem:

Wasuraruru	Forsaken am I
Hitome bakari o	Exposed to the spite of the world
Nageki nite	And wretched with grief;
Koishiki koto no	This love that tortures me still,
Nakaramashikaba	Oh that it had never been! (191)

This poem seems to be of that category. It is not very inferior to those others and certainly is not bad." Those were his words. Now as to myself, there is a poem included in my Kaenshō: (192)

Hito yo tote	Just this night, he said,
Yogareshi toko no	But he never joined me
Omushiro ni	On my mat of straw
Yagate mo chiri no	Beside the bed, the dust
Tsumorinuru kana	Was soon gathering. (193)

This I would consider a representative uta. What do you think?" Thus he ended. Now, bearing this in mind, I looked through the Shinkokin-shū and found three poems which to me seemed excellent. It is difficult to

decide which is best; posterity will have to settle this..

Kakute sa wa	Things such as they are,
Inochi ya kagiri	And my life so near the end,
Itazura ni	Aimlessly I watch
Nenu yo no tsuki no	In this sleepless night only
Kage o nomi mite	Dancing shadows of the moon (194)

Nobe no tsuyu wa	The dew on the field
Iro mo nakute ya	It is translucent and white
Koboretsuru	And constantly soaked
Sode yori suguru	Are my sleeves, through which passes
Ogi no uwakaze	The wind that has brushed the reeds. (195)

Kaeru sa no	On his homeward way
Mono to ya hito no	Might it be the same moon
Nagamuran	Which my lover watches?
Matsu yo nagara no	After the night of waiting
Ariake no tsuki	For me it is the moon of dawn. (196)

50.) TOSHIYORI PRAISES AKISUKE'S LOVE POEMS

Shune said:

"Lord Akisuke's poem:

Au to mite	Seeing our reunion
Utsutsu no kai wa	In reality there was
Nakaredomo	Nothing I could hope,
Hakanaki yume zo	But that fleeting dream I had
Inochi narikeri	Filled me with life again. (197)

won the admiration of Lord Toshiyori, who said: "This uta seems to give one a good scrub and draws the oil from the nose. An ordinary man would certainly have composed it as:

Utsutsu no kai wa	In reality there was
Nakeredomo	Nothing we could hope,
Hakanaki yume zo	But that fleeting dream I had
Ureshikarikeru	Filled me with happiness (198)

Who composes like this?" Thus he praised it.

51.) A POET SHOULD NOT THINK THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING IS PERFECT

After Shune and I had entered our teacher - disciple alliance in the field of waka his first words were: "The uta relies on very important traditional practices. If you want to find in me a genuine teacher, you should not disagree on this matter. I tell you this because you yourself, being for sure on the way to become a genius, have entered this alliance with me. Never, never indeed should you, even if you had such a degree of public recognition, become a poet who carries his nose in the air and thinks that his understanding is perfect. This you have to avoid by all means. The Otodo Gotokudaiji (199) used to be exceptionally skillful as a poet, but what with his lack of respect for traditional practices his poetry has become second-rate. If he were now as he was when he was still known as the Ex-Dainagon (200), sticking to the discipline, respecting the public and refining his style, there would now be few who could compete with him. The

poems he composes nowadays, thinking that he has reached masterhood, show no sensitivity at all and are interspersed with words that are not quite adequate -- how can he be expected to produce good poetry? And because he has no masterpiece to show, he does not play an important role in public. A poem may sound good or bad at the time of presentation, depending on the personality of the poet, but only the poem which after being re-read quietly the next morning still keeps its atmosphere and whose formal aspect is genuine, will be appreciated for a long time. Odd though it may sound, I, Shune, still compose my poems with the same thoughtfulness as when I was a beginner. Also I hold back my own opinion and accept the praise and criticism of others even if they seem doubtful. This has been the teaching of people of olden times. You may regard it as a proof of the fact that I upheld these principles, when in spite of my old age you will find no one indeed who says of Shune that he cannot express himself. This is really due to the fact that I have never violated the traditional practices.

52.) WITHOUT BEING A GENIUS ONE MAY CRITICIZE A POEM

Because the composition of an uta is a discipline that emphasizes what is rational and what sounds familiar to the ear, even a person of undefined position may have a sense for what is good and bad, although he may not be a famous poet. Nagamori (201) once said: "Among the many poems which reveal my thought I made a humorous poem:

Hi okosanu	The fire extinct
Natsu no subitsu no	In summer, the brazier
Kokochi shite	Expresses my feelings:
Hito mo susamezu	When everyone ignores me
Susamaji no mi ya	How I hate my existence (202)

A girl of twelve heard this and said: "In winter the brazier without fire would suggest a more hateful existence. Why didn't you put it in that way?" To my distress I knew nothing to say to her criticism." Those were his words and I think they are revealing. Very interesting!

53.) TO MAKE A POEM SPONTANEOUSLY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF STRONG EMOTION

If one has become very much emotionally involved in something, a poem may be composed spontaneously. The next poem, whose author is unknown, is said to be found in the Kinyō-shū:

Mi no usa o	My doomed existence --
Omoishi tokeba	Grasped in its reality,
Fuyu no yo mo	In winter even
Todo kōranu wa	There is no night so cold
Namida narikeri	As to freeze my tears. (203)

This poem, was made by some Court Lady who took up her duties for the first time with the younger sister of Awaji no Ajari of the Ninnaji (204), when she was deeply pessimistic about the world. Because she was not a poetess originally, there is no other poem of hers. This one she expressed spontaneously under the influence of strong emotion.

54.) THE EXCELLENT STYLE OF MEETINGS AT NORIKANE'S RESIDENCE

Shune said:

"As for the style of waka-meetings there is none equal in beauty and proper handling to the one recently held at the residence of Lord Norikane, as will be demonstrated by the following: the master of the house was a fine person, his arrangements were excellent and all matters were treated with greatest care; he was humble and respectful of the discipline, he expressed his admiration for what was laudable and criticized what deserved blame; he did everything well and there was never an instance of confusion, the people who attended all followed his attitude and tried to discover the best way of composing. Thus good poems were produced and even if they were slightly superficial and relied on the appeal of the unusual, they gave the impression of having a sound basis and showed a vigorous spirit. At the meetings, where titles had been given out beforehand, all had their poems in their pockets and in the proceedings of that day no time was wasted unnecessarily. At the meetings of improvised compositions it looked as elegant as one might wish, even at times when each one withdrew to some corner, anxious to get his poems ready; therefore even poems that had no particular point sounded well with all these things providing decor."

55.) DISORDERLINESS AT POETRY CONTESTS IN RECENT YEARS

When attending poetry contests of various people in these days, it becomes evident that, starting with the set-up of the meeting place, down to careless habits about proper clothing, there is no limit to the growing disorder in appearance and form. Although titles may be announced as long as ten or twenty days before the day of the meeting, people -- I really can't imagine what they are doing all day -- prepare their poems at the meeting, thus idling away the time until very late in the night, spoiling the pleasure; they disregard the regulations about discussion periods and chatter, each about his own private affairs, they have no sense of shame towards the great experts and quite openly give themselves extremely exalted airs as if they knew everything. There is no one who gives praises and reprimands on the basis of profound knowledge of what the uta should be. And even people of the older generation, when they from time to time decide about good and bad in poems, take care not to hurt anybody's feelings; they give priority to their favourites; thus it becomes uninteresting to devote much thought to the composition of poems and to bring forth a good poem is like wearing embroidered silk on a dark night. They think that it is a good thing to recite at the top of their voices and they stretch their necks and strain their voices; it is quite horrible. In all this there is a lot of noise but no dignity and what was meant to be graceful just looks artificial. The reason for this is that they don't feel any real attachment from the bottom of their hearts, but want to get understanding of the way of the uta by sheer imitation.

56.) WHAT THE LAY PRIEST TOSHINARI SAID

The Lay Priest Gojō Sammi said: "Shune is a virtuoso among the contemporaries. But even for him it is difficult to reach Toshiyori's level. Toshiyori expresses his mind perfectly without leaving any vacuum and his poems are many-sided. In this Shune can't compete with him. In these days it is Yorimasa who shows exceptional skill. If he appears in a meeting he is the center of attention and everybody has the feeling that his presence carries great weight."

57.) YORIMASA'S GREAT DEVOTION TO THE UTA

Shune remarked as follows:

"Lord Yorimasa is a great genius of poetry. His whole being is adjusted harmoniously to the uta, he never forgets about it, but keeps his mind fixed on it; the twitter of a bird, the gentle blowing of the wind, and of course the scattering of the cherry blossoms, the falling leaves, the rising and setting of the moon, the falling of rain or snow, this is the atmosphere which surrounds him, whether he is on his feet or resting, awake or asleep. This certainly accounts for the emergence of his fine poetry. Similarly, the poems which have made a name on appropriate occasions were -- it is said -- mostly prepared in advance. Generally speaking, when he participates in a poetry contest and contributes a poem, the effectiveness of his reasoning about what is good and bad seems to be enhanced by his profound knowledge. In a meeting where he is present, everything appears endowed with splendour."

58.) KIYOSUKE'S EXTENSIVE TALENT

Shōmei said:

"There is no one to reach the greatness of Lord Kiyosuke's talent in poetry. If you approach him with a question about something that you deliberately searched for and thought out, in the belief that he certainly could not have encountered it before, it always turns out to be something that he has already long ago investigated. When he attempts to make poems for Court recitation, he again and again reads through the Manyō-shū, saying that on important matters the old anthologies should be consulted."

59.) TOSHINARI EVALUATES HIS OWN POEMS

Shune said:

"In the course of a visit at Toshinari's place I asked him and said: "Which of your poems do you regard as the best? Other people have decided in various ways, but what they say need not be an acceptable opinion. I would like to find out from you." To this he gave the following poem:

Yū sareba	When the evening falls
Nobe no akikaze	The autumn wind from the fields
Mi ni shimite	Penetrates all of me;
Uzura naku nari	The quails start their plaintive songs
Fukakusa no sato	In the village of Deepgrass (205)

and he said that this was the one which he regarded as most representative of his poems. I told him that people generally cited the following as his best:

Omokage ni	It was but a vision
Hana no sugata o	The shape of the cherry blossoms
Sakidatete	Floating before me;
Ikue koekinu	Coming across many ranges
Mine no shirakumo	Of mountains, white clouds of the peaks (206)

I asked him what he thought about it. "Well," he said, "other people may hold this view, I don't know. I still think that it does not compare with the previous one." Those were his words. When he talked with me privately about this he said: "I think that poem is very weak in the third verse 'mi ni shimite'. A poem of that kind would sound subtle and graceful if it depicted the landscape and atmosphere with fluency, just indicating by suggestion to the reader that the author had felt the autumn wind penetrating him. When everything is stated bluntly and the feeling, which is to be the major point of the poem, appears in actual words, it gives an extremely shallow impression." And then he added: "If I had to name one of my poems as representative, this would be my choice:

Mi-Yoshino no	In our Yoshino
Yama kaki kumori	The mountain tops are clouded in
Yuki fureba	Thick with falling snow,
Fumoto no sato wa	While in the village down the vale
Uchi shiguretsutsu	The autumn rains continue (207)

If the coming generations should have doubts about this matter, tell them that this is what I said myself."

60.) THE PARTIALITY OF THE JUDGES TOSHINARI AND KIYOSUKE

Kenshō said:

"In these days the judging of the Japanese poem is exercised with great authority by Lord Toshinari and Lord Kiyosuke. Both are partial judges, but their partiality takes different forms. Lord Toshinari, showing some awareness of his own unfairness usually did not argue much but said: "Since we have a convention, why should we not conform with it?" Lord Kiyosuke, whose outward appearance seemed very genuine and correct, never betrayed his partiality by his attitude. When anyone dared to raise a question, his face turned pale and he retorted so vehemently, that people who knew this refrained from expressing their views a second time.

61.) THE CONCEALMENT OF THE AUTHOR

Generally speaking, in judging of an uta the name of the poet is supposed to be concealed, but it might have serious consequences if one has no idea at all who he is. On the other hand, the public announcement of the name also causes inconvenience; there would be many instances where the judge is obliged to fail some people in public. Thus it is best for the judge to look as if he were unaware of the author's name, having his own private opinion as a clue to who he might be.

62.) THE LAY PRIEST DŌIN AND HIS DEVOTION TO THE UTA

In his devotion to the discipline of the uta there was none to match the Lay Priest Dōin (208). Until his eighties he went every month on foot to the shrine of Sumiyoshi, praying to the gods that they might help him compose fine poems. He deserves praise for this. At one poetry contest, with Kiyosuke as judge, one of Dōin's poems lost; obtrusively Dōin made his way to the judge, real tears rolling down his cheeks, and he complained with sobs. Kiyosuke did not know what to say. When he told of the incident later, he said that he had never experienced a matter of such extent. When Dōin reached his nineties, probably because he could not hear well, he, at occasions of poetry contests, drew close to the seat of the judge and stuck by his side. The appearance of this old man who listened so intently was an unusually impressive sight. The compilation of the Senzai-shū was undertaken after the death of this Lay Priest. Even after he had passed away, the memory of his particular devotion to the discipline of the uta was so alive that 18 of his poems were graciously accepted for this anthology, and when he was seen in a dream, expressing his joy with tears in his eyes, it was so moving that another two poems were added, which makes now twenty altogether. This is how it must have happened.

63.) THE 'PAIR' TAKANOBU (209) AND SADANAGA (210)

Some time ago Takanobu and Sadanaga have been considered by the public as a pair which had shown equal talent since their youth. It happened once at the residence of Shune, that a hundred poems were divided among ten poets, ten for each of them, which was called the 'Hundred Poems of the Ten'. Each of the competitors did his utmost, so that none was inferior to the other. Even against the 'Ten Poem Meeting' (211) of Lord Toshinari they competed well with excellent poems, so that the Lord said: "I have heard people say that they were a pair of poets and thought that it could not be true, but with these ten poems I feel obliged to alter my opinion to the general view."

However, when the Kujōdono (212) was called Minister of the Right, he summoned people for a 'Hundred Poem' contest. Takanobu was among the poets, but because some public business had taken up much of his time and he had been under great pressure, none of his poems were good. At that time Sadanaga, having become a monk, had a lot of time and composed with great leisure, producing a hundred well polished poems without title, which he presented. They proved to be infinitely superior and from that time the word spread round that Jakuren was without rival. I heard that Ex-Emperor Go-Toba went to far as to say: "Who was so foolish as to make a pair of the two, putting them on one level?" Later Takanobu was heart-broken. "I wish I had died earlier," he said, "I might have ended as quite a genius. But prolonging a useless life, my disgrace will thus be exposed to the public."

64.) THE TAYŪ (213) AND THE KOJIJŪ (214) AS A PAIR

Recently the Tayū and the Kojijū have been mentioned as a pair with some apparent differences. The Tayū⁶ was quite knowledgeable and showed extraordinary persistence in her poetry-making. Kojijū had a splendid way of accurately expressing matters which strike one as astonishing. She is said to have surpassed all others in the art of poetic replies. Monk Shune said of her: "There is no one to compete with her in the way she grasps the major point of the poem sent to her and designs her reply."

65.) LORD TOSHINARI'S DAUGHTER (215) AND THE KUNAIKYŌ (216) WORKING

AT THE ELABORATION OF THEIR POEMS

During the reign of the present emperor there are two ladies, one known as Lord Toshinari's daughter, the other as the Kunaikyō, who possess such skill in composition that they need not shun comparison with the masters of old times. Their attitudes to the composition of poems follows very unusual patterns. About Lord Toshinari's daughter the people told the following story: when she composes for Court recitation she goes through different anthologies a few days before the event, reading them with care again and again, and when she feels that she had read enough, she puts everything aside, dims her lamp and, shutting herself off from other people, puts her mind to work. The Kunaikyō keeps books and scrolls open around her from beginning to end, uses a shortened lamp stand to have the light close and works at

her poems day and night without a break. This lady has become sick because of excessive concentration on the composition of poetry and has once been on the verge of death. Her father the Zenmon (217) warned her and said: "Everything depends on your being alive. How can you be so absorbed in your poetry that you become sick!" But she did not listen to his advice, and it is probably for such reasons that she died rather early.

Jakuren appreciated this very much and despised her brother, the Shosho Soechika (218), who certainly showed no eagerness in the matter of uta. He expressed his regret about it, saying: "How could anyone with such an attitude have been promoted? When I occasionally visit his chamber of night duty at the palace, even when there is an official gathering of poets, he scatters bows and whistling arrows around, having the marksmen sit before him, and he cares nothing about the poetry contest."

66.) TO COMPOSE POEMS IN DIFFERENT FORMS IN A MEETING

When I used to spend all my time at the palace (219) there was a strange meeting (220), which had no resemblance to the ordinary. We were told to make six poems each, using different forms: spring and summer would have to be weighty and large, autumn and winter slender and barren, love and travel should be luxurious and graceful; we should say so if we could not succeed, and all this was to see to what extent we understood the forms of poetry. This was an enormous task. Sojō

people withdrew, and anyway, people lacking in spirit had not been invited. Under those circumstances there were only six who participated: His Highness (221), the Daisōjō Gobo (222), Sadaie, Ietaka (223), Jakuren and myself. Here are the two poems I composed in the category 'weighty and large':

Kumo sasou	Those clouds, brought along
Amatsu haru kaze	By the spring wind from the sky
Kaoru nari	Full of fragrance,
Takama no yama no	They are Mount Takama's
Hanazakari kamo	Cherry blossoms in bloom.
Uchi habuki	Oh that it were flapping
Ima mo nakanan	Its wings and singing right now,
Hototogisu	The cuckoo,
Unohana tsuki yo	When this moonlit night of April
Sakari fuke yuku	Is passing into dawn (224)

Of the category 'slender and barren':

Yoi no ma no	At the break of night
Tsuki no katsura no	The Katsura tree in the moon,
Usu momiji	The pale maple leaves,
Teru to shimo naki	They are not shining in brightness
Hatsuaki no sora	With the early autumn sky

Sabishisa wa	The loneliness
Nao nokorikeru	Is still in the air:
Ato tayuru	Where life has ceased
Ochiha ga ue ni	Rests on the fallen leaves
Kesa wa hatsuyuki	The first snow this morning

Of the category 'luxurious and graceful':

Shinobazu yo	It must be revealed
Shibori kanetsu to	The sleeves can be wrung no more.
Katare hito	Tell him! I am yearning
Mono omou sode no	For him, while those sleeves of mine
Kuchihatenu ma ni	Have not yet rotted away
Tabigoromo	My travel costume
Tatsu akatsuki no	From the time when at dawn
Wakare yori	I bade you farewell
Shioreshi hate ya	Still wet -- and now it is soaked with
Miyagino no tsuyu	The dews of the Miyagi fields

In these categories I composed a number of poems of spring, and when I showed them to the Lay Priest Jakuren, he particularly liked that poem of Mount Takama and awarded it high marks; that is why I have written it down for Court presentation. When I heard this poem recited at the time of discussion, a poem by this Lay Priest was brought up, exactly the same as mine, based on the cherry blossoms of Mount Takama.

It has been very kind of him that he has not even tried to make me change my poem because of its resemblance to his, but judged it in its own right. And this he did in spite of his reputation, which did not give him much credit for integrity of mind; but as regards the discipline in which he excelled, his mind seemed to have been somewhat better.

Years ago I made an uta at a meeting in connection with the flower-offering ceremony ^{of} ~~at~~ Senyōmonin. ^(224a) The title was: 'the eternal pledge for the summer!', and it contained the phrase:

Ugoki naki yo no	The world's unmoving	Unchangeable in this world
Yama-to nadeshiki ko	Mountains and carnations	The lovely Yamato girl (225)

When I had composed it, one great master saw it and told me in a forceful manner: "This resembles my poem. Change it!" whereupon I had to submit to his will and change it. I felt wretched.

While intending to pay homage to the virtues of other people, I have written at considerable length about occasions in which I myself was honoured, which may seem rather odd, but a little self homage, mixed into this essay to my own benefit, will surely do no harm.

676) COMPARING SHIKIBU (226) AND AKAZOME (227)

Someone said:

"According to the 'Toshiyori Zuinō' the Chūnagon Sadayori (228) asked the Dainagon Kintō (229), which of the two, Shikibu or Akazome, he preferred. The Dainagon said: "Shikibu is the lady who has composed

the poem:

Koya to mo hito o To my hut oh come, my love,

Yūbeki ni I should have said (230)

Her name should not be pronounced in the same breath with Akazome."

The Chūnagon replied: "People say that among Shikibu's poems the best one is:

Haruka ni terase Shed your light into the distance

Yama no ha no tsuki Oh moon over the mountain rim." (231)

The Dainagon said: "This just shows the ignorance of the people.

The phrase 'from darkness to enter an even darker path' is taken from a sutra (232) and need not be repeated, and the latter part of the poem, drawing from the first, is simple to produce. But ordinary people would not even be able to imagine a follow-up like 'alas, the tight-thatched roof of reeds leaves me no crack of space to call' on the phrase 'to my hut oh come, my love, I should have said'".

Two things seem somewhat doubtful here. One is that Shikibu was ranked above Akazome, but when we investigate the records of distinguished poetry contests, we find often appreciative mentioning of Akazome, while on most occasions there is no word of Shikibu. The other is concerned with the two poems by Shikibu. The poem 'shed your light into the distance' shows extraordinary dignity in expression and formal aspects, and it has atmosphere. How is it that the Dainagon judged it thus? This is not clear in many points."

I will try to give an interpretation. Shikibu's superiority over Akazome is not a matter of the Dainagon's judgment alone. Everybody in Court gives her priority now. But among one's contemporaries literary achievement is valued secondary to one's character. So far as the skill in the composition of uta was concerned, Shikibu was incomparable, but her personal behaviour and her temper could hardly have been up to Akazome's high standard. In the diary of Murasaki Shikibu (233) we find the following passage: 'There is a bizarre quality to Izumi Shikibu's personality. When she jots down phrases on informal occasions, her talent in the art of poetry becomes apparent by the way in which she manages to add lustre to the most common words. Her poems, however, do not reveal a true poetess. Composing to her means providing whatever happens to come to her mind with an interesting phrase that attracts attention. When however she explains her criticism of other people's poetry, she does not seem to have enough understanding at all. Her compositions are based on random ideas. I don't think that we need feel inferior to her as poets. The wife of the Governor of Tamba (234) is known in Court by the name Masahira Emon (235). She is not particularly excellent, but she has truly engaging qualities. She does not spread herself thin by composing on each and every subject, but when she applies herself to something, her expression even on the commonest matters is such as might put anyone to shame.' Thus Izumi Shikibu suffered neglect during her lifetime because of her character; her

uta were not held in esteem as they deserved, but as she was really talented and produced a number of fine poems, composing on several occasions, many of her poems were after all selected for anthologies.

Sone no Yoshitada did not count for much in his time, and when he made his way into the New Year's Picnic Party of Enyuin (236) he was called a blockhead; but now there is no end of admiration for his poems. When Kōshi (237) recorded the flourishing of the various art forms during the reign of Ichijōin (238), he mentioned seven as the best poets: Michinobu (239), Sanekata (240), Nagayoshi (241), Sukechika (242), Shikibu (243), Emon, and Sone no Yoshitada. He, too, must have been disregarded during his lifetime because of his behaviour.

Now, whether or not Shikibu was an excellent poetess was neither decided by the reasoning Lord Kintō gave, nor by my possibly unjustified doubts. This we must carefully distinguish. It happens sometimes, that a poem, well constructed and with excellent skill, does not receive full appreciation for its superior rank; And also it may be that the original idea is quite commonplace, but the poem sounds dignified and beautiful and brings out the atmosphere. Therefore it is possible after all, to use the poem 'oh come, my love' as a standard to decide the quality of the poetess, and the poem 'shed your light into the distance' to single out the best among her poems. For instance, even if you find it by chance in the street, gold should be a treasure, and although they may be produced with the greatest skill, things like combs and needles

are not to be regarded as treasures. Talking of a person's ability, to find gold by chance in the street is not at all a brilliant individual achievement, but we must admit that a thing like a needle, although it is not a treasure, is the product of a talented person. The Dainagon seems to have been concerned with the ability of a poet. And also, the standard of good and bad is subject to change according to the time, and thus the poem 'oh come, my love' might well have been best in its time, a fact which people in general tend to overlook. Posterity will have to decide this matter.

68.) THE STYLE OF CONTEMPORARY UTA

Question:

The opinion of the contemporary poets with regard to the style of the uta is divided into two sections. Those who favour the style of the middle period regard the uta of our days as perfunctory. They deride and ridicule it, calling it 'Dharma-school' (245). On the other hand, those who adhere to modern forms leathe the style of the middle period, calling it vulgar and pointless. This controversy seems to develop into something like a religious debate (246) which never reaches a conclusion. For the immature student it must be disconcerting to look for a valid standard. How should we take this?

Answer:

As this is a matter of bitter controversy among the great authorities, how should a conclusion be easily reached? However this had a bearing on our understanding of the mores of society, our grasp of the movement of the moon and the stars and our speculations about the nature of the deities, so I will try to do the best I can, even if much remains doubtful, and you may use your own judgment about it. Generally speaking it seems to me unreasonable to think of this matter as composed of two opposing elements, like water and fire. The style of poetry changes with the times. In olden times the number of characters in a poem was not fixed; words poured forth unrestrained at the poet's will. From the time of the poem known as 'Izumi yaegaki' (247), five lines, thirty ^{syllables} ~~characters~~ (248) have been made the rule. It seems that until the time of the Manyō-shū poets expressed only their own intimate feeling and did not give much thought to the choice of formal aspects and expression. But later, when the Kokin-shū was compiled, 'ka-jitsu' (249) was added and the style became differentiated. For the Gosen-shū, which suffered from lack of good poems due to the fact that it was compiled shortly after the Kokin-shū had used up all the good poems, the selection was made with a view to the content rather than the formal aspects. From the time of the Shūi-shū onwards, the style became quite close to that of our present time, and poems which expressed their ideas to the full extent in pure and simple form were regarded as good.

Later, at the time of the Goshūi-shū, the style became even softer and the old styles fell into oblivion. One old master told me that people of the older generations probably were unable to accept this and that what they called 'Goshūi-form' was a matter of great distress to them. In the Kinyō-shū there were many superficial poems which aimed laboriously at attracting attention. The Shika-shū and Senzai-shū on the whole adhere to the style of the Goshūi. This is how poems have been transmitted to us from ancient times. Thus it is already a long time since the Shūi-shū has initiated the one generally accepted style of uta; therefore the creative forces have gradually been exhausted; from generation to generation words were losing their freshness, the discipline decayed with the passage of time. In the old times interest was aroused by comparing the cherry blossoms with the clouds and associating the moon and the ice, the maple leaves and the brocade, but now all those ideas have been fully expressed and what people are looking for are clouds of different kinds, unusual ideas that could be attributed to ice, phrases that make no use of brocade; and because the poets are struggling with this task, devoting much effort and thought to it, it has become difficult to get a really interesting atmosphere, and even if this is achieved occasionally, it looks vulgar and out of proportion in its vain attempt to match the old poems. Needless to say, when we come to the matter of expression, this has been entirely exhausted; there are no more rare words, nor phrases

to attract attention. This has come so far that, unless we are dealing with an unusually fine poem, we can easily predict the fourth and fifth line of a poem after we have read the first part of it. This being so, people now realized that the styles of poems, exploited from generation to generation, have lost their freshness. So they turned again to the form of *yūgen* (250). This was a general tendency. It came as a shock to those who had been following the line of the middle period and they expressed their contempt and scorn. However there is only one true purpose to poetry, and this accounts for the fact that talented poets and good poems of both groups find appreciation. For instance, creations of people like Kiyosuke, Yorimasa, Shune, Tōren would not be discarded by anyone even today. As for contemporary poems, of they are well done, the critics will be silent. And bad poems are bad, whatever the style may be. If a just ordinary poem of the middle period is put side by side with some of our days, it is as if a plain, unadorned face were among people with perfect make-up. Of the contemporary poems, too, those which are not well finished either completely evade our comprehension or are odious in the extreme. So you should not attach yourself too fervently to one side.

Question:

Would it be false to think that the modern style is thus a new creation?

(251)

Answer:

There is no point in this argument. Something may be a new creation and need not necessarily be inferior. In China, literary styles, though limited in number, have changed from generation to generation. It seems to me that in this country, being small, people have a foolish disposition and therefore are anxious that things should not be different from olden times. Now the uta in particular expresses ideas and is intended to be pleasing to the ear. What could be better than that the people of the time enjoy them? Besides, it has not been worked out just now. It is a long way back to the Manyō-shū. This kind of argument is typical for people who are not sure in their appreciation of the Kokin-shū. In that anthology one finds a variety of styles, and from it developed the poetic styles of the middle period as well as the present yūgen style. Even if the present formal aspects should become exhausted and we should enter a new period, an anthology like the Kokin-shū, which has taken everything into its collection, including even comic poems, will probably not be surpassed. When people reject our contemporary style, regarding it simply as obsolete, it means that they can't disengage themselves from the poetic forms of the middle period.

Question:

Which of the two styles provides more facilities for the composition of poetry in general and for the accomplishment of good poems in particular?

Answer:

The style of the middle period is easier to learn, but good poems are harder to achieve through it. This is because the expressions have lost their freshness and the atmosphere is all-important. The contemporary style is difficult to learn, but once you have mastered it, composing is easy, because the style is new and therefore both form and content can be interesting.

Question:

If, as you have just pointed out, good poems are good and bad poems are bad anyway, why do scholars, each one advancing his own, contend with each other, and how can we know who is inferior and superior?

Answer:

Is it necessary to decide? What is important is, that you recognize a good poem as such, irrespective of its authorship. In this connection a statement of the Lay Priest Jakuren: "There is an easy way to put an end to these conflicts. As an example I refer to the learning of calligraphy, where the saying goes that it is easy to imitate the ideographs of someone inferior, but hard to get close to the handwriting of someone superior. Thus, if I were to tell people like Lord Suetsune or Monk Kenshō to compose poems in my way, they would labour at it for days and still not be able to do it. But if I wanted to compose like them, all I need do is to moisten my brush and just keep writing. Thus all would be accomplished." This is what he said. I don't know

how other people might think about this, but as for me, when I was attending poetry contests in which many partisans of the style of the middle period were assembled, the poems which came to my ears were very rarely above my capacity in producing atmosphere. It happened sometimes that I had the feeling that my poem was weaker than the one preceding it, but there was none at all which I could not have thought out myself. However, when I served at a meeting at the palace, every single participant presented poems that were far above me and it inspired me with awe to think that this discipline really knew no boundaries of time and scope. Thus mastery in this style must definitely come after a person who has the skill has entered the realm of virtuosity and actually reached the summit. Even those people, when they have a bad day, make very bad poems. How ridiculous, when people, who have not yet refined their sensibility to the atmosphere and have not reached the summit, expect that by random guesswork they might approximate this style. It is as if a lowly woman, thinking that it is the make-up that counts, were smearing powder carelessly all over her face. Those people do not create anything themselves, but just pick up words that others have used occasionally in poetry, and try to come close to the appearance of their model. For example, phrases like 'loneliness and dew', 'wind and night are blowing away', 'the depth of the heart', 'to be deeply moved', 'the dawn of the moon', 'the evening with a breeze', 'the home country in spring' may have been good when

newly created, but when they are reproduced in a second version, the result is nothing but an insignificant mimicry of someone else's personal habits of speech. Or else someone might test himself in a poem of obscure content but overflowing with feeling, but finally realizes that he himself has lost the thread and does not know where it is leading to. This kind of poem is not within the realm of yūgen, but ought to be classified as 'dharma-uta'.

Question:

I have followed your line of explanation so far, but when it comes to the so-called style of yūgen, I find it very difficult to know just how to go about it. I would like you to teach me.

Answer:

Every formal aspect of poetry is difficult to understand. The old collections of oral traditions and guides to composition, although they teach the reader thoroughly in difficult points by leading him along, when it comes to formal aspects we find nothing at all precise. This is all the more true of the style of yūgen, whose very name is enough to confuse one. Since I do not understand it very well myself, I am at a loss as to how to describe it in a satisfactory manner, but according to the views of those who have penetrated into the realm of yūgen, the importance lies in overtones, that do not appear in words and an atmosphere that is not visible in the formal aspects of the poem. When the content rests on a sound basis and the expression

excells in lavish beauty, these other virtues will be supplied naturally. On an autumn evening, for example, there is no colour in the sky, nor any sound, and although we cannot give any definite reason for it, we are somehow moved to tears. A person lacking in sensitivity finds nothing particular in such a sight, he just admires the cherry blossoms and scarlet autumn leaves that he can see with his own eyes. Again it may be likened to the appearance of a fine lady who has cause for resentment, but does not express herself in words, suffering secretly and giving only a faint clue as to her situation, which has a stronger appeal to one's compassion than if she were exhausting her vocabulary with complaints and making a show of herself wringing out her sleeves. A child, for instance -- how could it understand this just by her appearance, unless it is explained in detail in proper words. By these two analogies it should be evident that this is a matter impossible to understand for people of little sensibility and shallow heart. Again I would like to liken this style to the speech of a lovely child, awkward and without clear perception, but lovable in all its helplessness and worth listening to. How can such things be easily learned or expressed precisely in words? You can only comprehend them for yourself. Again, if one looks at the autumn hills half concealed by a curtain of mist, trying to figure out freely in one's imagination how pleasing it might be to see the whole of those scarlet leaves is almost better than seeing it clearly.

To express one's feeling in words, to say of the moon that it is bright, or to praise the cherry blossoms by declaring that they are pretty, how can that be difficult? What superiority would such a poem have over mere ordinary prose? Only when many ideas are compressed in one expression, when one's intention is exhausted in all its depth, yet is not conspicuous, when an unseen world is floating in the atmosphere, when commonplace things are used to give realization to graceful beauty, when a charming idea is developed to the fullest extent in a style of surface simplicity, when the situation is beyond the limits of understanding and verbal expression, only then should you reveal yourself by this means, whose power, confined in only thirty-one syllables, moves Heaven and Earth and can stir the hearts of the demons. (252)

69.) THE STYLE ESTABLISHED BY SHUNE

Shune said:

"A poem which is good in an ordinary way is like a piece of cloth of which the pattern is tightly woven. A poem which excels in refined beauty resembles a piece of cloth woven in a way so as to make the pattern emerge on the surface. Its atmosphere is somehow in the air.

Honobono to	A dim image --
Akashi no ura no	The Bay of Akashi
Asagiri ni	In the morning mist
Shimagakure yuku	Behind the isles vanishes
Fune o shi zo omou	A boat, followed by my thoughts (253)
Tsuki ya aranu	The moon is not the same;
Haru ya mukashi no	The spring, it is no more
Haru naranu	The spring of old.
Waga mi hitotsu wa	Nothing but my own existence
Moto no mi ni shite	Resembles that of former days. (254)

Those poems contain unexpressed sentiment and their atmosphere is somehow in the air. Even if there is no particular atmosphere, when the words follow upon each other in good style, this in itself makes for decorative effect and can have merit as such. The poem by Muku no Kami (255):

Uzura naku	The quails are singing
Mano no irie no	Around the creek of Mano
Hamakaze ni	Where in the shore-winds
Obana nami yoru	The shear-grass moves in waves;
Aki no yūgure	Evening in the autumn. (256)

may also be considered as having an emerging pattern.

When proper words are used to follow upon each other, but it looks as if the poet had searched for them, it is a failure. Someone has made the poem:

Tsuki sayuru	Under the clear moon
Kōri no ue ni	There is ice upon which
Arare furi	Hail is falling.
Kokoro kudakuru	It is my heart which breaks
Tamagawa no sato	In the village Tamagawa (257)

This can be likened to a man who cannot get a good stone for his garden and gathers small stones which he piles up for construction, but which are very inferior to the proper stone. The fault lies in the artificial make-up."

At another occasion Shune said:

"There is a poem by Lord Tadafusa:

Shirakumo to	What looks like white clouds,
Miyuru ni shirushi	It is a sign to indicate:
Mi-Yoshino no	In our Yoshino
Yoshino no yama no	On the mountains of Yoshino
Hanazakari kamo	The cherry trees must be in bloom. (258)

I consider this indeed the model of a good poem. It has no particular brilliant phrase, no decorative words, the flow of words makes for a form of beauty and clarity, it has dignity and greatness. It can be

likened to the white colour, which, although it permits no gradation of colour shades, is the best of all colours. The very highest quality of all things lies in their lack of pretension and particular attraction. This style seems easy but is really extremely difficult. If even one syllable does not fit, the poem is thrown out of balance. It cannot be composed at all if the poet has not entered the realm of masterhood."

Again he said:

"Kokoro aran	To a man of taste
Hito ni misebaya	I want so much to show it;
Tsu no kuni no	In the country of Tsu
Naniwa watari no	Around the region of Naniwa
Naru no keshiki o	The landscape of spring. (259)

This poem has none of the infinite greatness of the former poem, but it is graceful and delicate. It is like 'kana' written by a great calligrapher. There are no extra points added, there is no display of strokes, but it is admirable, evoking nothing but lightness, using very little material."

Again he said:

"Omoikane	Yielding to my longing
Imogari yukeba	I'm on the way to my love,
Fuyu no yo no	While in the wintry
Kawa kaze samumi	Cold of the river wind
Chidori naku nari	The plovers are crying. (260)

There is no poem that evokes images as well as this one. Someone has said: "Even the 26th day of the 6th month, the day of Kanzan (261) becomes cold when you recite this poem". Generally speaking, even if content and expression are graceful, but look as if the poet had searched for them intentionally, the poem should be regarded as a failure. A good poem is one that describes without exaggeration what comes to the mind naturally, as flowers of various colours naturally appear in spring and autumn on unbound branches in the mountains (262), between the leaves and grasses of the fields, which are not dyed."

70.) STYLES FOLLOWING TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

With regard to the uta there exist styles that follow traditional practices. At times when you cannot create the right atmosphere, you practice making poetry through the skill of the mind. For one thing, it sounds well if you make just a colourful sequence of words, even without any particular significance.

Kaze no ne ni	By the sound of the wind
Aki no yo fukaku	Deep in the autumn night
Nezame shite	I wake up from my sleep
Mihatenu yume no	The dream which has not ended,
Nagori o zo omou	Its sequel occupies my thoughts. (263)

Also it is interesting to take up just ordinary words of old poems and use them in a pleasing way:

Waga seko o	For my beloved
Kata matsu yoi no	A night of intent waiting;
Aki kaze wa	Would that the autumn wind
Hagi no ueha o	The Hagi's rustling foliage
Yokite fukahana	May leave untouched on its path. (264)

Karibito no	When the hunters
Asa fumu nobe no	Walk the fields in the morning
Kusa wakami	And the grasses are young,
Kakuroe kanete	Unable to find a hiding
Kigisu nakunari	The pheasants cry in anguish. (265)

Also it may turn out a brilliant phrase, if words, that do not sound well, are continued in an interesting way:

Harima naru	In Harima
Shikama ni somuru	There, in Shikama, cloth is dyed
Anagachi ni	Violently (in 'kachi' colour)
Hito o koishi to	I have fallen in love with
Omou koro kana	Someone, alas, in these days. (266)
Omoigusa	Herb of love;
Hazue ni musubu	On the tip of its leave gather
Shiratsuyu no	White dew drops;
Tamatama kite wa	So rare is their (his) coming
Te ni mo tamarazu	That I cannot hold on to him (them) (267)

Another consideration is that although there may not be an excellent phrase, the poem would be worth while, if only the use of words is followed up in an interesting manner:

Asa de hosu	For the drying of hemp
Azuma otome no	The girl of the East Country
Kaya mushiro	Spreads out the straw mats;
Shiki shinobite mo	In constant longing for her
Sugusu koro kana	I am passing my time. (268)

Ashi no ya no	In the house of reeds
Shizu hata obi no	The belts of rustic woven cloth
Kata musubi	Are done up loosely
Kokoroyasuku mo	And she, with her carefree heart
Uchitokuru kana	Could be easily untied. (269)

Ima wa haya	Already it hastens
Ame no to wataru	Across the straits of the sky,
Tsuki no fune	The moonship;
Mata mura kumo ni	Don't let it hide again behind
Shimagakure su na	Islands of scattered clouds. (270)

Furthermore there is a traditional practice of dealing with place names. There are innumerable utamakura (271) referring to the various countries, but the place to be introduced must be in accordance with the formal aspects of the poem. For instance, just as you create a

setting by putting up rocks in the place where pine trees are to be planted in the construction of a landscape garden, or by erecting a mound at the place where a pond is to be dug for the supply of water, in the same way the name of a place should be understood as a decorative element with regard to the formal aspect of the poem. Those place names are part of important oral transmission of tradition. If it happens that the formal aspect of the poem and the place name do not go together, there is no harmony and even if there is great atmosphere, it sounds disrupted:

Yoso ni nomi	But from a distance
Mite ya yaminan	Watch her is all I can do,
Kazuraki ya	As in Kazuraki
Takama no yama no	We look at Mount Takama's
Mine no shirakumo	White clouds of the peak. (272)
Tomoshi suru	Hunting fires glow
Miyagi ga hara no	In the fields of Miyagi;
Shiratsuyu ni	Exposed to the bright dew
Hanazuri goromo	My hagi-patterned travel robe
Kawaku ma zo naki	Has not yet had a chance to dry. (273)
Azumaji o	When from the East Country
Asa tachi kureba	I started out in the morning
Katsushika no	In Katsushika
Mama no tsugihashi	The drawn-out bridge of Mama
Kasumi watareri	Was embedded all in haze. (274)

Yū sareba	When evening breaks in
Nobe no akikaze	The autumn wind from the fields
Mi ni shimite	Penetrates me,
Uzura naku nari	The quails start their plaintive songs
Fukakusa no sato	In the village of Fukakusa. (275)

In the case of the first poem, because its form has purity and greatness, 'Mount Takama' sounds particularly apt. The poem of the hunting fire handles the words gracefully and one can well imagine the fields of Miyagi. The style of the poem 'from the East Country' suggests an unusually strong emotion and therefore 'in Katsushika the drawn-out bridge of Mama' sounds appropriate. The poem of the 'autumn wind' with its formal aspect of sadness, shows indeed affinity to the village 'Deepgrass' (276). I cannot give you a complete account of this, you have to understand through these examples.

There is another point to consider: there is a certain way in which one can borrow from old poems. ^(276 a) You take from old poems interesting words such as you may find therein, which are to become a decorative element and you follow it up consistently. For example:

Natsu ka aki ka	Be it summer or autumn
Toedo shiratama	Heedlessly the foam of pearls
Iwa ne yori	From the edges of the rocks
Hanarete otsuru	Is lifting off, rushing down
Takikawa no mizu	The mountain river falls. (277)

This belongs to that style. It is however deplorable when people are aware of the custom of stealing from old poems and, without distinguishing between good and bad words, borrow indiscriminately and follow up in a clumsy way. The borrowing should by all means be done openly. To conceal it vaguely is very bad.

Also you should refrain from borrowing a particular brilliant phrase from an old poem. You must find out words that look somehow insignificant, but could be taken up in an interesting way. Someone has used the old expression:

Sora ni shirarenu In the skies it was as if

Yuki zo furikeru There were strange flurries of snow (278)

for a 'moon' poem which runs:

Mizu ni shirarenu In the water it was as if

Kōri narikeri Strange ice was forming. (279)

To this people said: "This is outright stealing. It conveys the image of a lady's sewing maid who is wearing for daily use a robe she has stolen.

At the poetry contest at the palace of His Excellency the following poem was made to the title 'the deer at dawn'

Ima kon to That she would be here

Tsuma ya chigiri shi The doe has promised for sure;

Nagatsuki no Now in the month of August

Ariake no tsuki Under the moonlight of dawn

Ojika naku nari The stag raises his plaintive cry. (280)

This poem won with the justification that the subject matter was graceful. Lord Sadaie however was present at the meeting and criticized it: "There are only two lines that are different from Sosei's (281) poem. In a case where so much of the poem is similar, it would be wise to change the position of the similar lines and to remodel it by placing the first part second, etc. This poem retains the order of the model poem and only replaces the second and the last line, a fact which ought to be criticized."

71.) THE 'KANA' PREFACE (282)

A man of olden time said: "When writing in 'kana' (283) in the case of a preface to a collection of poetry, you must take as a model the kana preface to the Kokin-shū. For a diary you should learn the mode of the Ōkagami (284), for introductory words to a poem you must study the introductory words to the poems in the Ise monogatari (285) and the Gosen-shū. On the subject of monogatari there is none to surpass the Genji monogatari. Keeping all these in mind you may write. In any case try not to use 'mana' (286). Do the utmost to keep in harmony with your language and only when it cannot be avoided write in 'mana'. Therefore syllables that are difficult to express in writing, like the final 'n' and the double consonant (287) are all omitted. In the Manyo-shū 'Shinra' (288) was written 'Shira'; in the preface to the Kokin-shū 'Kisen' (289) was written 'Kise'. All this can be used as evidence. Also in your writing you should not develop a passion for

contrast words in your endeavour to make your words decorative. Only write what comes naturally to the mind. If you often write contrast words, you evoke the feeling of 'mana' writing, which is averse to the principle of 'kana' writing. This is bad. In the preface to the Kokin-shū there is the phrase: hana ni naku uguisu (the nightingale singing in the flowers), mizu ni sumu kawazu (the frog living in the water). Only in such a case, where it is inevitable, is it desirable to have a natural colourful adornment. As for pillow words you should either take old ones or handle them in an interesting and skillful manner, like: suga no ne no nagaki hi (a day, long as the root of the suga rush (290)), Koyurugi no isogite (a 'Koyurugi' haste (291)), Iso no kami furinuru (old as 'Iso no kami' (292))."

Shōmei said: "In 'kana' writing Kiyosuke was very skillful. Among his work the diary to the occasion of the first ceremonial homage to Hitomaro is particularly well written. Of special value is something like: hana no moto ni hana no marōdo kitari, kaki no moto ni Kakinomoto no ei o kaketari (under the cherry blossoms distinguished guests assembled, under the kaki tree, Kakinomoto's portrait was put up). Contrast words in 'kana' should be written in this way."

72.) DIFFERENT NAMES OF WAVES

There are various names of waves. Someone told me that the Lay Priest Noritsuna (293) once said: "Onami, sanami, sasaranami, haranotekoshi, hamanarashi are all names of small waves." He did

not explain how to distinguish one from the other. This may have its cause in the fact that names are given differently according to the country and the place. They can not be found in poetry. Once I asked Kenshō and he said: "Onami, sasanami, sasaranami are all names of small waves. As this is a matter of word contractions, the words ought to be used according to the occasion." On the other hand there was someone who used to go to Shimato in the country Tsukushi and said among other things: "In the south of Tsushima somewhere in the region of Osumi and Satsuma there is a country -- I forget the name -- with a big harbour. Over there in the fourth and fifth month the sea is rough day and night and there is not a moment of calm. The waves of the fourth month are called unami, the waves of the fifth month sanami." I suppose those wave-names must have something to do with the fourth and fifth month. (294) Very interesting.

73.) ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ASARI AND ISARI (295)

Someone said:

"The words 'asari' and 'isari' refer to the same things. When it is done in the morning, it is called 'asari' and when it is done in the evening, it is called 'isari'. The fishermen of the East Country used to say so." This is very interesting indeed.

74.) TO DECORATE THE EAVES WITH KATSUMI (296) IN THE FIFTH MONTH

Someone said:

"When Tachibana no Tamenaka (297) went to Michinokuni as governor, he saw to his surprise that all the houses had their eaves decorated with komo (298) on the fifth day of the fifth month, and he inquired about it. The manager of the manor there told him the following:

"In this country people never used to know the present-day custom of decorating the eaves with iris. At the time of the late Chūjō Ontachi, however, he gave an order to decorate the eaves with iris on that day and to go and look for that plant. But the people said that in this country there was no iris to be found. Thereupon they were told that flowering katsumi of the lake Asaka might be available and could be used for decoration. With this they started to decorate in such a way. The person called Chūjō Ontachi was Lord Sanekata.

75.) TAMENAKA AND THE BUSH-CLOVER OF THE MIYAGI FIELDS

When Tamenaka after his service returned to Kyōto, he dug up bush-clover of the Miyagi fields, put it in twelve long cases and carried them along with him. People heard about this everywhere and on the day he entered the capital large crowds gathered in the 2nd street to get a glimpse of it; a great number of carts were standing there. This is what I have heard.

76.) YORIZANE'S (299) DEVOTION TO HIS ART

Saemon no Jō Kurōdo Yorizane was extremely devoted to his art. Particularly attached to the waka he made a prayer at Sumiyoshi, saying: "Five years of my life will I sacrifice to you. Oh help me to make some excellent poetry." Then, years later, a serious illness befell him and when he prayed for his life, a woman of his house was possessed by the Sumiyoshi Myōjin, who spoke thus: "Have you forgotten what you have been praying before?"

Ko no ha chiru	The drizzle of falling leaves
Yado wa kikiwaku	Upon the roof; by means of sound
Koto zo naki	There is no way to know:
Shigure suru yo mo	Is it an autumn shower
Shigure senu yo mo	In the night, or is it not? (300)

This poem I let you compose because you believed in me and showed devotion. Therefore this time you must not live any longer." Those were his words.

77.) LET US NOT CALL IT "ONO" (301)

Someone said:

"At the time when Empress Nijō (302) had not yet become member of the imperial family Lord Narihira seduced her and carried her off. It is said however that she was taken back by her brothers. This affair is also told in the Nihonki (303). The events took the course described in that monogatari (304): the brothers, winning her back by force, could not calm their anger and cut off Narihira's hair. Since this

was nobody else's business, nobody was to know about it. Considering it his very personal concern, Lord Narihira lived in hiding, waiting for his hair to grow, when he decided that he would visit places of utamakura (305), and he went to the East Country under the pretext of his great devotion to his art. When he arrived in Michinokuni and stayed one night at a place called Yasoshima, he heard in the field a voice reciting the first part of a poem, which went:

Akikaze no	The autumn wind
Fuku ni tsukete mo	Blowing, it gives me a pain
Ana me ana	In my eyes, ah, my eyes ...

Narihira found it strange and when he went in search of the voice there was no one at all. The only thing he found was the head of a dead person. When he looked at it again the next morning a susuki stem was growing out of the eye-holes of the skull. The sound of the susuki moving in the wind gave the illusion of those words. He thought it strange and inquired about the matter in the neighbourhood. Someone told him the following: "Ono no Komachi (306) came to this country and ended her life here. The skull must have been hers." Narihira heard this, thought it pitiful and sad, and holding back his tears, he composed the second part of the poem:

Ono to wa iwaji	'Ono' it must not be called,
Susuki oikeri	But just growing susuki.

That field is called Tamatsukuri no Ono."

This story has been told in connection with an argument that arose over the clarification of the question of whether or not Tamatsukuri no Komachi and Ono no Komachi were identical. (307)

78.) ABOUT 'TOKONE' (308)

Someone said: "At a certain poetry contest I composed to the title of 'rain in the fifth month'

Koya no tokone mo The cottage and the 'bedstead'

Ukinubeki kana Are bound to float away. (309)

Lord Kiyosuke who was judge declared that 'tokone' sounded bad and the poem lost. He is no doubt a master of this discipline, but on this matter he was not up to standard. In the Gosen-shū there is a poem:

Take chikaku Near the bamboo bush

Yo toko ne wa seji At night my bedstead shall not be;

Uguisu no For when the nightingale's

Naku koe kikeba Singing voice comes to my ears

Asai serarezu I get no sleep in the morning. (310)

He must have been ignorant about this poem."

This criticism is very poor. All this shows that this man does not know the style of the waka. The reason is thus: in the practice of the uta there are, according to the time, formal aspects which are acceptable and expressions which are plausible. Therefore not all the poems of old anthologies should be considered as well done. This does not mean that I am treating the poems of old anthologies lightly.

It is rather a matter of different fashions of the different eras. Now as for the old anthologies, there was no uniformity in the various forms and expressions. From among those we should consider what can be adapted to the style of our time and take it as a basis, learn its style as well as borrow its expressions. That poem of the Gosen-shū, if it were a creation of nowadays, it would not obtain a place in an anthology. In the first place, it is a great fault if the poem does not pay tribute to the title. Unless the poem is an extraordinary masterpiece, this cannot be tolerated. In the second place, the form and expression of the phrase 'yo toko ne wa seji' and 'asai serarezu' are not good. Under the circumstances it makes for really strange diction when an insignificant phrase like 'yo toko ne' is taken up and then the 'yo' is omitted to end up with 'tokone'. It clearly shows the man's ignorance of the discipline, when, relying upon the prestige of the Gosen-shū, he considered the criticism unjustified.

F O O T N O T E S

List of Abbreviations Used in Footnotes

- GR Gunsho-ruijū, edited by Hanawa Hokinoichi, Tōkyō, 1959 f.
- KT Kokka-taikan, compiled by Matsushita Daisaburo and Watanabe
Fumio, Tōkyō, 1958, 2 vols.
- NKBT Nihon-kotenbungaku-taikei, Iwanami-shoten, Tōkyō, 1957.
- NKT Nihon-kagaku-taikei, edited by Sasaki Nobutsuna, Tōkyō, 1941.
- ZKT Zoku Kokka-taikan, compiled by Matsushita Daisaburō, Tōkyō, 1958,
2 vols.

Footnotes to the translation

1. dai 題, as used in connection with Japanese poetry, covers a variety of meanings. It consists of one or more words, usually Chinese ideographs only, which suggest a topic that has to be rendered in the poem according to certain rules. These topics may be general, such as 'spring', 'love', 'felicitations', etc., which are used as subject-divisions in the compilation of anthologies, or they may be narrowed down, as was usually the case at poetry contests (see note 7). Chōmei is concerned with dai in this narrower sense, which I translate as 'title'; most of the poems he discusses are classified in anthologies according to the above-mentioned general topics. The poem thus has usually a topic which heads a group of poems in an anthology and is therefore not stated as a title before each individual poem, and a title which always precedes the poem and is very intricately linked with it.
2. uta 歌, 哥, meaning the Japanese short poem of 31 syllables in 5 lines: 5,7,5,7,7; it is also referred to as waka 和歌, (Japanese poem') as opposed to shi 詩 ('poem'), the Chinese poem or poem in Chinese language by a Japanese author. There exists no other word in the Japanese language of that time for poem or poetry in general, and uta is therefore also used in such a wider sense. The word uta originally meant 'song', and designated folk songs and poems, the origin of which could not be traced to foreign countries such as China. These poems were gradually elaborated and absorbed by the refined culture of Japanese Court society and the word uta came to refer to the kind of poem that was Japanese by choice rather than chance. The development of Japanese writings on poetics (karon) accompanied this process of Japanization of poetry.

3. Toshiyori Zuinō 俊頼髓脛 by Minamoto Toshiyori (?1060-1129) (see also introduction p. 19 and note 77); one of the standard works on Japanese poetics. Toshiyori also treats the subject of integrating the title ideographs into the poem.
4. The romaji rendering of the second ideograph is underlined in our text. In our translation 'ten' corresponds with 'at the sky of (dawn)', 'kan' with 'in', 'jō' with 'over'. We have here examples of the use of Chinese ideographs permitting the condensation of ideas and images in very few words. In each case the second ideograph may be omitted without changing the meaning of the word group, and therefore it may be neglected in the composition of the poem. This is an important technical device, because the title ideographs have to reappear in the poem and each ideograph is pronounced in Japanese in several syllables, which might take up too many of the 31 syllables of the uta.
5. One of the common general topics for the composition of poems (see note 1).
6. Apart from private anthologies imperial anthologies have been compiled by famous poets (see introduction pp. 11 - 15). Those anthologies reflect the taste of the individual compilers as well as the ideals of the time. The imperial anthologies up to Chōmei's time are:
 - 1.) Kokin-shū, completed ca. 905; 20 books; 1,111 poems. Ordered by Emperor Daigo (885-930; r. 897-930). Compiled by Ki no Tsurayuki, Ki no Tomonori, Ōshikōchi Mitsune, Mibu no Tadamine.
 - 2.) Gosen-shū, 20 books; 1,426 poems. Ordered in 951 by Emperor Murakami (926-967; r. 946-967). Compiled by the so-called Five Poets of the Pear-Jar Room: Ōnakatomi Yoshinobu, Kiyowara Motosuke, Minamoto Shitagao, Ki no Tokibumi, Sakano Mochiki.
 - 3.) Shūi-shū, 20 books; 1,351 poems. Ordered by Ex-Emperor Kazan (968-1008; r. 984-986). Compiled by Fujiwara Kintō.
 - 4.) Goshūi-shū, 20 books; 1,220 poems. Ordered in 1075 by Emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086). Compiled by Fujiwara Michitoshi.

- 5.) Kinyō-shū, 10 books; 716 poems. Ordered by Ex-Emperor Shirakawa. Compiled by Minamoto Toshiyori.
- 6.) Shika-shū, 10 books; 411 poems. Ordered in 1144 by Ex-Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164; r. 1123-1141). Compiled by Fujiwara Akisuke.
- 7.) Senzai-shū, 20 books; 1,285 poems. Ordered by Ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192; r. 1155-1158). Compiled by Fujiwara Toshinari.
- 8.) Shinkokin-shū, 20 books; 1,981 poems. Ordered by Ex-Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239; r. 1183-1198). Compiled by Fujiwara Sadaie, Fujiwara Ariie, Fujiwara Ietaka, the priest Jakuren, Minamoto Michitomo, Asukai Masatsune.

The oldest collection of poetry, the Manyō-shū (20 books, 4,506 poems) belongs to a different category of anthologies: it is a private collection of native poetry, containing many poems of rustic origin. In the treatment of subject matter and the form of expression there is a marked difference between the Manyō-shū and the later anthologies. Japanese poets, especially of the late Heian times, were aware of this difference and Fujiwara Toshinari (1114-1204) for instance saw the Manyō-shū as belonging with the poems from the era of the gods to a literary period which he called 'ancient period' (jōkō). The following period covering the Kokin-shū, Gosen-shū and Shūi-shū he called 'middle period' (chūkō), and the period up to his time he called 'final period' (matsu-dai). (See also introduction p. 20) Chōmei however uses the term 'ancient' for the Manyō-shū, Kokin-shū and Gosen-shū (see introduction pp. 35-39). It is therefore likely that he refers to those three anthologies when he uses the term 'old anthologies'.

7. uta-awase 蜀合, 'poetry contest'. A matching of poems composed on stated titles. These titles were either sent out in advance (kenjitsu 兼日) or were announced at the meeting (tōza 堂座). The poets were divided into two sides, left and right; the contest consisted of a stated number of rounds (ban), in which two poems were read, usually by a reciter (kōshi). One or more judges (hanja)

decided on win, lose and draw. The judges had to justify their decisions and when they did so in writing, records of their statements (hanshi) are available to us. Such meetings were at first held under the auspices of high Court nobles, the emperor himself, or famous poets. The oldest recorded poetry contest is the Sai-Minbukyō-ke-uta-awase of the era Ninwa (885-888), which was held at the residence of the Minbukyō Ariwara Yukihiro (see GR 8, p.435). The oldest poetry contest with justification of the judgments is the Teishi-in-uta-awase of the year 913. It was held at the palace Teishi-in of the Cloistered Emperor Uda (see GR 8, p. 446). Similar competitions were the e-awase (picture contest), the shi-awase (Chinese poem-contest), the shiika-awase (Chinese and Japanese poem contest), the jika-awase (one poet setting his own poems against each other) and contests of flowers, perfumes, roots, etc.

8. The title of the poem corresponds to the Buddha who preached the right doctrine; the man who preaches Buddha's word should devote himself to the task of getting as near as possible to the original doctrine of the Buddha.
9. The cuckoo is associated with summer in the countryside; the warbler is the herald of spring.
10. shūku 秀句, a group of words which makes particularly effective use of language.
11. Ki no Tomonori 紀友則 (?845-?905), famous poet, one of the 36 geniuses of the uta. One of the compilers of the Kokin-shū (see note 6).
12. The first part of the poem:

Yū sareba	When the evening falls
Saho no kawara no	From the Saho river banks
Kawagiri ni	In the rising mist

This poem by Ki no Tomonori is included in the Shūi-shū, KT Nos 238 and in the Ki-no-Tomonori-shū, ZKT p. 293, no. 19517.

13. See note 6

14. The second part of the poem:

Munashiki kara no In this barren empty case

Nani ya nokoran Of my body, what is left?

This anonymous poem is included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 571

15. The first part of the poem:

Hito o omou Longing for my love

Kokoro wa ware ni My heart, to my own body

Araneba ya It belongs no more

This anonymous poem is included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 513

16. Sone no Yoshitada 曾禰好忠, active around 985; a famous poet, one of the 36 geniuses of the uta.

17. Shikama is a place southwest of Himeji city, Hyōgo Prefecture; it was famous for cloth dyed in a certain indigo (kachi) blue. The first two lines of the poem introduce the third, which includes 'kachi' in the word 'anagachi' (violent). The poem is included in the Shika-shū, KT no. 229.

18. This anonymous poem is included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 3.

19. Unidentified poem.

20. Old name for Kyūshū.

21. Harbour in south-western Japan, opposite Shimonoseki.

22. Old name for Tōhoku.

23. Lady Inaba 因幡, may be identical with Lady Inaba who appears in the Nijūniban-uta-awase of 1178 (see GR 8, p. 711). Her biography is unknown.

24. Unidentified poem.

25. 'The spring, and yet, to me'.

26. Minamoto Shune 源俊恵, active between 1160 and 1180, son of Minamoto Toshiyori. He was famous as a poet but never acted as judge in poetry contests. He became a priest at Tōdaiji. His ideas about poetry were recorded by Kamo no Chōmei who was his disciple.

27. A poem intended for a poetry contest at Court.
28. One type of flower contest (see note 7) which also provided an occasion for poetry composing.
29. Takamatsu 高松, (1141-1176), daughter of Emperor Toba (1103-1158), married to Emperor Nijō (1143-1165).
30. Shōmei Nyūdō 勝命入道, (?1112-?); he was alive in 1182. His lay name was Fujiwara Chikashige (also called Norichika); he was a famous poet.
31. hōzu 崩す, 'to die' (used only for members of the imperial family).
32. Fujiwara Kanezane 藤原兼実 (1149-1207); a famous poet.
Kanezane became Regent; he was called after his residence Kujōdōrō, (Master of the 9th street); author of Gyokuyō, a diary, which deals with the period between 1164 and 1200.
33. Fujiwara Sanesada 藤原実定 (1139-1191); famous poet, nephew of Fujiwara Toshinari; his private collection of poems: Rinka-shū.
34. 無明の酒 'the wine of obscurity', buddhist term, paraphrase for worldly attachments through which man is prevented from attaining enlightenment.
35. 名もなき酒 'nameless wine'.
36. Fujiwara Toshinari 藤原俊成 (1114-1204), a famous poet, father of Sadaie. He compiled the Senzai-shū; his work on poetics: Kōrai-fūtaishō (see introduction pp.20-22); his private collection of poems: Chōshū-eisō. He held the Third Court Rank and became Lay Priest at the age of 62.
37. 富士の鵜澤 'the marshes of the Fuji'.
38. 富士のなるさ 'the rumbling noise of the Fuji'.
39. Minamoto Nakatsuna 源仲綱 (1126-1180), a famous poet;
He reached the Fifth Court Rank. He died together with his father Yorimasa in the battle against Taira no Kiyomori.
40. 'To show by one's facial expression that one is familiar with the matter.'

41. This may refer to a poem by Nakatsuna which is recorded in the poetry contest at the residence of the Minister of the Right Kanezane (Udaijin-ke-uta-awase, GR 8, p. 688) on the 10th day of the 10th month of the year 1175 and was composed to the title 'First snow':

Sabishisa wa	Scene of loneliness;
Kanete furi ni shi	Where it used to fall before
Yama sato ni	On the mountain village
Narawashigao no	Familiar with the place
Kesa no hatsuyuki	The first snow fell this morning

This however was not the Hundred-Poem contest which Chōmei mentions.

42. Fujiwara Shigeie 藤原重家 (1128-1180), famous poet; he reached the Third Court Rank and was Dazai no Daini (Vice-Chief of the Bureau of Administration of Kyūshū).
43. Minamoto Yorimasa 源頼政 (1105-1180), a famous poet; he reached the Third Court Rank. In his last years he held a post as Chief of the Department of Munitions. Discontented with the despotic rule of Taira no Kiyomori he raised an army to fight him, but failed. (See also note 39).
44. This contest (the Kenshun-Monin-hokumen-uta-awase) took place on the 16th day of the 10th month of the year 1170, (see GR 8, p.649).
45. This poem is included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 364 and in the Gen-Sanmi-Yorimasa-Kyō-kashū, ZKT p. 446, no.27699
46. Tachibana Nagayasu 橘永愷 (988-1050), famous poet, widely known as Lay Priest Nōin. His private collection of poems: Nōin-Hōshi-shū.
47. The first part of the poem:
- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Miyako o ba | From the capital |
| Kasumi to tomo ni | Together with the mist of spring |
| Tachishikado | I started coming up |
- This poem is included in the Goshūi-shū, KT no. 518, Kōrai-fūtaishō NKT 2, p.391 and 497.

48. This poem is included in the Gen-Sanmi-Yorimasa-Kyō-kashū, ZKT p. 446, no. 27700.
49. Minamoto Sukemori 源祐盛 (1118-?); he was alive at 77; a famous poet; son of Minamoto Toshiyori; he criticized his brother Shune's private collection of poems.
50. 'here and there'.
51. Crown Prince of Go-Shirakawa, (1143-1165); he ascended the throne in 1159 and abdicated in 1165
52. Fujiwara Norikane 藤原範兼 (1107-1165), a famous poet; he reached the Third Court Rank. Author of Wakadōmōshō and Godaishū-utamakura.
53. Fujiwara Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104-1177), a famous poet. He was ordered by Emperor Nijō to compile an imperial anthology (the Shokushika-shū) which was however not made official because of the death of the Emperor before its completion. He helped his father Akisuke with the compilation of the Shika-shū. He wrote three works on poetics of the uta, the Fukuro Sōshi, the Ōgishō and the Waka Shogakushō. He served as a judge in several poetry contests.
54. According to the Fukuro Sōshi the contest (the Goshō-uta-awase) was held on the 8th day of the 3rd month of the year 1162 (see NKT 2, p. 65).
55. This refers to:
- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| Tsukuba ne no | On Mount Tsukuba |
| KonKonomo kanomo ni | Wherever I turn my step (here and there) |
| Kage wa aredo | Shadows are forming; |
| Kimi ga mikage ni | But your exquisite shadow |
| Masu kage wa nashi | None of them can overshadow. |
- This anonymous poem is included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 1095.

56. Ōshikōchi Mitsune 凡河内躬恒, a famous poet of the 10th century. One of the compilers of the Kokin-shū.
57. Minamoto Mitsuyuki 源光行 (1163-1244), famous poet; he reached the Fifth Court Rank.
58. This poem is included in the Shinkokin-shū, KT no. 1894.
59. Minamoto Moromitsu 源師光, a poet of the 12th century. He served as judge at the Sengohyakuban contest in 1201; he reached the Fifth Court Rank.
60. Kenshō Hōshi 顯昭法師 of the Fujiwara; (?1130-?); he was alive in 1209. He wrote commentaries to the Manyō-shū and other imperial anthologies. His most important work is the Shūchūshō.
61. The Kamo Shrine was the seat of Chōmei's family.
62. Kamo no Sukekane was Negi (Shintō Priest of the Second Rank) of the Kamo Shrine. He was the son of Sukehide. His dates are unknown.
63. Fujiwara Takanobu 藤原隆信 (1142-1205); famous poet and painter of portraits; he reached the Fourth Court Rank and was a member of the Bureau of Japanese Poetry. His private collection of poems: Fujiwara-Takanobu-Ason-shū.
64. Usually known as the Roppyakuban contest in 1193.
65. See note 6.
66. Nakahara Ariyasu 中原有安, died in 1194; he was a poet and a musician; he reached the Fifth Court Rank.
67. Shune's residence as a monk in Kyōto, where he held open house for poets and often arranged poetry contests.
68. Unidentified poem. Matsuo Bashō refers to this poem in his Oku no Hosomichi, see NKBT 46, p. 83
69. Fujiwara Iemoto 藤原家基 cousin of Fujiwara Toshinari, alive in 1171.
70. Unidentified poem.

71. There are two poems recorded in the Kenshun Monin contest, both under the title 'tame waterbirds' (GR 8, p. 652 and 653), one by Fujiwara Sanekuni (1140-1183)

Koya no ike no	At the Koya pond
Tama mo karu o ni	To the woodcutter they are
Minarete ya	Perhaps accustomed
Oshi no kegoromo	The ducks in their featherdress
Tachi mo hanarenu	Do not shy away from me

the other by Fujiwara Morikata (1137-1178)

Nami makura	On the wavy cushion
Ukine no toko ni	Where they have their floating beds
Tachi yoreba	Drawing together
Sode o zo kawas	Amorously they join their sleeves
Oshi no kegoromo	The ducks in their featherdress

72. Chūin 忠胤 of the Fujiwara. He was a monk of the Eizan. His dates are unknown. His name appears in several works of the Kamakura period.
73. The legend of the King Myōshōgon 妙莊嚴, who was converted through the miracles of his two sons, appears in the Myōhō-rengkyō (Lotus Sutra), Chapter Myōshōgonō.
74. 'shear grass'.
75. Tōren Hōshi 登蓮法師, his family and dates are unknown. He was alive in 1178.
76. Masu-kagami 十寸鏡 The first character means ten, the second sun (unit of length; ten sun make one shaku = about one foot). This way of writing the word masu-kagami can however not be traced in the Manyō-shū. Masu-kagami is usually written 眞澄鏡 and used as makura-kotoba to introduce such words as 'to see', 'to shine', 'face', 'shadow', etc.
77. Minamoto Toshiyori 源俊賴 (?1060-1129); he was famous as a poet and critic (see introduction pp. 19-20); he reached the Fourth Court Rank; he was the compiler of the Kinyō-shū and author of the Toshiyori Zuinō (see note 3).

78. The poem, included in the Sanbokukika-shū, (GR 11, p.589) and in the Horikawa-In-Hyaku-shū contest, (GR 8, p.811) goes:

Hanasusuki	The lovely shear grass
Masuho no ito o	Like the thread of pure linen
Kurikakete	Draws the lover close
Taezu mo hito o	Endlessly it waves to you
Manekitsuru kana	Inviting you to approach

79. Tachibana Moroe 橘諸兄 (684-757); he was Minister of the Left and famous as a poet. He had a residence at Ide and it is suggested here that his refined artistic taste has led him to choose this place which was famous for its scenic beauty. He was therefore called 'Minister of Ide'.
80. A kind of frog.
81. 'fresh water'. The Ōsaka ('Hill of Meeting') east of Kyōto was often used as pivot word in poetry.
82. This person cannot be identified with certainty. He may be the son of Fujiwara Saneyoshi, who is known to have been at Miidera. Ajari (Sanskrit Āchārya) is the title of a high-ranking Buddhist Monk.
83. The year 1211.
84. 1 chō is about 119 yards. 1 jō is 10 shaku (about 10 feet).
85. 1 dan is about 35 feet.
86. Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (882-945); he is recognized as one of Japan's greatest poets. In his preface to the Kokin-shū, which he helped to compile he depicted the essence of Japanese poetry. (See also introduction pages 13-15).
87. In Kyōto.
88. Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880), a famous poet; he held the Fourth Court Rank. He is said to be the famous lover and hero of the Ise monogatari. The ^{private} collection of his poems: Narihira-shū.
89. In Kyōto.

90. A long, thin, round pillar.
91. Wooden frieze strip under the roof.
92. Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921-1005); he reached the Fourth Court Rank and was a master of divination (onyōji), especially versed in Yin-Yang.
93. Suhō Naiji 周防内侍 She died before 1111; she was the consort of Shirakawa and a famous poetess. Her private collection of poems: Suhō Naiji-shū.
94. This refers to one of her most famous poems, included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 628:
- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Sumiwabite | Tired of living |
| Ware sae noki no | Under these eaves of mine, where |
| Shinobugusa | Weeds of longing grow |
| Shinobu katagata | Where thousand precious memories |
| Shigeki yado kana | Have gathered - oh, my old lodge |
95. In Kyōto.
96. Shintōist deity.
97. This refers to a legendary figure, often appearing in Japanese chronicles and in literature, for example in the Tango Fudōki (see NKBT 2, p.470). He received boxes which he was not to open, but opened them, unable to restrain his curiosity, which is not considered a virtuous act; however, he was later worshipped as a deity. From Chōmei's point of view this deification could only be justified if the man himself had already been an incarnation of Buddha.
98. Semimaru 半丸, a legendary figure, said to be a son of Emperor Daigo (885-930); he was famous as a poet and musician.
99. A poem in the Shinkokin-shū (KT no. 1851) and a passage of the Heike monogatari (NKBT 33, p. 258) describe the episode.

100. Yoshimine no Munesada 良岑宗貞 (816-890); widely known under his monk's name Henjō; famous poet, one of the 6 and also of the 36 geniuses of the uta. His private collection of poems: Henjō-shū (ca. 890)
101. Ancient form of Japanese sacred music performed at Shintō festivals.
102. Synonym of 'kagura'.
103. Ariwara no Narihira.
104. Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麿, very famous poet of the 7th century, regarded widely as the best poet of the Manyō-shū.
105. 'uta mound'.
106. Fujiwara Saneyuki 藤原実行 (1080-1162); famous poet; he reached the First Court Rank and was Prime Minister.
107. Perhaps Fujiwara Toshitada 藤原俊忠 (1071-1123), or Fujiwara Nagasane 藤原長実 (1075-1133).
108. See note 6.
109. Group of wandering people, who, in the Heian and Kamakura period, entertained others by singing, reciting poetry and playing puppet plays; their women were regarded as prostitutes. (A comprehensive study of the kugutsu by H. Blau is in print in Studien zur Japanologie).
110. Fujiwara Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078-1162); he reached the First Court Rank and became Regent. He was also known as a poet.
111. This poem by Toshiyori is included in the Kinyō-shū, KT no. 633; Senzai-shū, KT No. 1158; Sanbokukika-shū, GR 11, p. 644; Horikawa-In-Ontoki-Hyaku-shū, GR 8, p. 106. Kami-uta means originally songs, used in connection with Shintōist rituals (Kami-asobi no uta, Kagura-uta etc.). Apparently it included later songs or poems with religious overtone.
112. Eien Sōjō 永縁僧正 of the Fujiwara (1048-1125), a famous poet. Sōjō (bishop) is the title of a high ranking Buddhist monk.

113. Wandering monks of the Heian and Kamakura period, who were usually blind and recited poems and stories, playing the biwa, a musical instrument with five strings.
114. The first part of the poem, included in the Kinyō-shū, KT no. 120:
- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| Kikutabi ni | Whenever I hear |
| Mezurashikereba | The unusually sounding |
| Hototogisu | Voice of the cuckoo |
115. Fujiwara Atsuyori 藤原敦頼 (1080-?); he was alive at 90. Usually known under his Lay-Priest name Dōin . He reached the Fifth Court Rank and was famous as a poet.
116. Fujiwara Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164); he reached the First Court Rank, was Regent and also known as a poet.
117. Minamoto Kanemasa 源兼昌 he was alive in 1128. He held the Fifth Court Rank and was famous as a poet.
118. The poem is included in the Sanbokukika-shū, GR 11, p. 580. 'Toshiyori' means 'advanced in years'.
119. There is no record of an uta of such a description.
120. Fujiwara Toshinari (see note 36).
121. Fujiwara Mototoshi 藤原基俊 (1106-1142); famous poet, one of the 6 geniuses of the middle period. He reached the Fifth Court Rank. His private collection of poems: Fujiwara Mototoshi-shū.
122. Fujiwara Michitsune 藤原道経 His dates are unknown; he reached the Fifth Court Rank and was Governor of Izumi.
123. Fujiwara Koremichi 藤原伊通 (1093-1165); he reached the Second Court Rank and became Prime Minister; he was also known as a poet.
124. Minamoto Masasada 源雅定 (1094-1162); he reached the Second Court Rank and became Minister of the Left; also known as a poet.
125. Both are famous poets of the 10th century.
126. Sensai 瞻西 His family background and dates are unknown; he was of the same generation as Toshiyori. He was Head of the Ugoji.

127. The poem is included in the Ungoji contest (see GR 10, p. 79);
in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 383, and in the Sanbokukika-shū, GR 11, p. 598.
128. Rinken 琳賢 of the Tachibana; his dates are unknown; he
was alive in 1134. He was a monk of the Eizan and a poet.
129. The second part of the poem by Ki no Tsurayuki:
Sora ni shirarenu In the skies it was as if
Yuki zo furikeru There were strange flurries of snow
It is included in the Shūi-shū, KT no. 64; Kokinwakaroku-jō
ZKT p. 556, no. 35025; Tsurayuki-shū, ZKT p. 264, no. 18009.
130. Mototoshi.
131. See note 6.
132. Fujiwara Tadamichi. The Naidaijin-ke contest was held in 1118.
133. 'dragon'.
134. The poem is included in the Naidaijin-ke contest GR 8, p. 532.
135. This story is to be found in Chuang-Tse's writing: a man who
desires very much to see a dragon called for it and it appeared.
136. Unclear passage; omoiwatari ni keru: omoiwasureru.
137. Sarumaru 猿丸; legendary poet of great fame; one of the
36 geniuses of the uta. His tomb is in Ōtsu city, Shiga prefecture.
138. Large private estate of aristocratic families, temples, etc., which
flourished in the Heian period.
139. Otomo no Kuronushi 大伴黒生; his dates are unknown; famous
poet of the early Heian period; one of the 6 geniuses of the uta;
his poems first appeared in the Kokin-shū.
140. Kisen 喜撰 9th century; his family background and dates are
unknown. His poems appeared in the Kokin-shū and Gyokuyō-shū.
One of the 6 geniuses of the uta. His retreat was in the Mimurōdo
temple near Uji city, Kyōto prefecture.
141. This well is unknown today. The episode of Sukemichi's trip to
this place under similar circumstances is told in the Kokonchomon-
shū, chapter 21. (See H. Eckardt. Das Kokonchomonshū des
Tachibana Narisue als musikgeschichtliche Quelle, Wiesbaden 1956).

142. Minamoto Arikata 源有賢 (1070-1139); he reached the Third Court Rank and was famous as an excellent musician.
143. The Toyoradera is unknown today.
144. Saibara, developed first at the end of the Nara, beginning of the Heian period; old folk songs with music of Chinese origin. The text of the Saibara; In front of the Kazuraki Temple / To the west of the Toyora Temple / At the Enoha Well / The white walls are immersed / Ōshitodo, oshitodo / This being so / May the Country flourish / May our houses prosper / Ōshitodo, toshitondo / Ōshitondo, toshitondo. (See NKBT 3, p. 401) The Kazuraki mountains are famous because of the legend of an old ascete, En no Gyōja, who lived there in the 7th century and acquired supernatural powers through Taoistic meditation. He was the founder of the Shūgendō sect. Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) wrote a play about him.
- 6 145. Meeting in memory of a famous poet, fashioned after the first of its kind, held in memory of Hitomaro. Hitomaro's portrait was hung up and poems were composed and sake was drunk. This took place on the 16th day of the 6th month of the year 1118 at the residence of Fujiwara Akisue.
146. Minamoto Michichika 源通親 (1149-1202); he reached the Second Court Rank, became Naidaijin and was also known as a poet.
147. Go-Toba-In (see note 6).
148. This poem is included in the Fubokushō and Karin-ryōzai-shū.
149. Fujiwara Toshinari (see note 36)
150. See note 142.
151. Fujiwara Sadaie 藤原定家 (1162-1241); he reached the Second Court Rank; he worked for the compilation of the Shinkokin-shū and the Shinchokusen-shū. He was more famous as a critic than as a poet. (See also introduction pp. 22-24. He was of the same generation as Chōmei, but survived him almost 30 years. His works are: Kindaishūka, Maigetsushō, Meigetsuki

- ((his diary) and his private collection of poems: Shūiguso.)
152. 'hampi' 半臂 a robe without sleeves, 'ku' 句 verse.
153. Yoshimine no Munesada (see note 100).
154. The poem is included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 1241.
155. 'kakare' means 'such a situation', 'tote shimo' has an emphatic function, the following 'mubatama', a pillow word, suggests the gently flowing shiny black hair, introducing 'kurokami', 'black hair' in the next line.
156. Pillow word for moon, light, sky, etc., meaning 'eternal'.
157. Pillow word for mountain, meaning 'dragging the feet along'.
158. Feeling that is suggested but not explicitly stated in the poem.
159. sogō 蘇合 or sogōkō 蘇合香 a kind of dance music of Indian origin; it consists of an introduction (jo), 5 parts, in simple rhythm, a break (ha), which has 20 beats of the drum (hyōshi) and is in long drawn-out, complicated rhythm, and a finale (kyū), which consists of 20 beats of the drum and is very fast. (See H. Eckardt, op. cit.)
160. 'as well as the uta' (uta no gotoku) is not clear and may be due to a mistake in the copying of the text.
161. Fujiwara Sanesada (see note 33)
162. The poem is included in the Shinkokin-shū, KT no. 35 and in the Rinka-shū.
163. The poem is included in the Gen-Sanmi-Yorimasa-Kyō-kashū ZKT p. 445, no. 27628 and in the Kasen Rakugaki GR 13, p. 309.
164. Fujiwara Masatsune 藤原雅経 (1170-1221); famous poet, one of the compilers of the Shinkokin-shū. He reached the Third Court Rank.
165. Kanesuke 兼資 This poet cannot be identified with certainty. He may be Minamoto Kanesuke, Governor of Iyo, a son of Suehiro of the Daigo-Genji.
166. Included in the Shinkokin-shū.

167. 'within'; it can be left out without any change of meaning.
168. The poem is included in the Gen-Sanmi-Yorimasa-Kyō-kashū, ZKT p. 446, no. 27686, under the title 'waterbirds in the moonshine'.
169. 'light', 'rays'; if it is left out, the image -- sailing across the moon -- will not change.
170. Kakusei Hōshi 覺盛法師, his dates are unknown, he was alive in 1200. He was a monk of the Eizan and a poet.
171. Fujiwara Suetsune 藤原季經 (1131-1221); famous poet; he reached the Third Court Rank.
172. Unidentified poem.
173. This poem is included in the Suetsune-Nyūdo-kashū.
174. Engen Ajari 圓玄阿闍梨 This person cannot be identified; probably a Minamoto
175. This poem is included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 1046 in a slight variation.
176. A very conventional phrase, almost a cliché.
177. Unidentified poem.
178. 'moreshi' means that the colour of the pines kept fresh while all other trees around changed colour, but this meaning is also in 'tsurenaku' (unaffected); 'mieshi' means 'appear, look', it is an unobtrusive word.
179. This poem is included in the Rinyō-shū, GR 12, p. 340.
180. 'The bottom of the mist'.
181. Jōen Hōshi 靜縁法師 His family and dates are unknown; he was alive in 1194. He was a monk of the Eizan and a poet.
182. Unidentified poem.
183. 'made me cry' is too direct an expression for poetry.
184. Shune, see note 26.
185. Fujiwara Akisuke 藤原顯輔 (1089-1155); famous poet; he reached the Third Court Rank; compiler of the Shika-shū.
186. See note 6.

187. This poem by Sagami, a poetess of the mid-Heian period, whose dates are unknown, is included in the Shika-shū, KT no. 269, and not (as Chōmei says) in the Goshūi-shū.
188. See note 6.
189. This poem is included in the Kinyō-shū, KT no. 428 in a slight variation, under the name of Shirakawa Nyōgo Etchū.
190. See note 6.
191. This poem is included in the Shika-shū, KT no. 270; anonymous.
192. Shune's private collection of poems, which is lost.
193. The poem by Nijō-In Sanuki is included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 878 and in the Nijō-In-Sanuki-shū ZKT p. 455, no. 28164. Nijō-In Sanuki was a daughter of Minamoto Yorimasa.
194. This poem cannot be found in the Shinkokin-shū. It may have been omitted in the course of compilation.
195. This poem by Jien is included in the Shinkokin-shū, KT no. 1338.
196. This poem by Sadaie is included in the Shinkokin-shū, KT no. 1206 and in the Shūigusō, ZKT p. 129, no. 8926.
197. This poem is included in the Kinyō-shū, KT no. 377 and in the Sakyo-Daifu-Akisuke-Kyō-shū, ZKT p. 414, no. 25843
198. This version would be conventional.
199. Sanesada, see note 33.
200. Sanesada resigned from this office in 1165, but resumed it in 1177.
201. Kamo no Nagamori 鴨長宇 His dates are unknown. Probably Chōmei's elder brother.
202. Unidentified poem.
203. This poem is included in the Kinyō-shū, KT no. 620; anonymous.
204. This person cannot be identified.
205. This poem is included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 258; Chōshū-eisō, ZKT p. 1, no. 38; Kyūan-Rokunen-Gohyaku-shū, GR 8, p. 153; Korai-fūtaishō, NKT 2, p. 253.
206. The poem is included in the Shinchokusen-shū, KT no. 57 and in the Chōshū-eisō, ZKT p. 4, no. 206.

207. This poem is included in the Shinkokin-shū, KT no. 588;
Gengyoku-shū, GR 7, p. 132.
208. Fujiwara Atsuyori, see note 115.
209. See note 63.
210. Fujiwara Sadanaga 藤原定長 (? -1202); he held the Fifth Court Rank; he was famous under his monk's name Jakuren as a poet and was one of the compilers of the Shinkokin-shū.
211. This meeting is supposed to have been held some time between the year 1169 and 1180.
212. Fujiwara Kanezane, see note 32.
213. Tayu 大輔 Poetess of the late 12th century; also called 'Tayu of 1000 poems'; she was a court lady attending Impu Mon-In; Her private collection of poems: Impu-Mon-In-Tayu-shū.
214. Kojijū 小侍従, poetess of the 12th century. She was about 80 in 1201; also called Matsuyoi no Kojijū; she was the daughter of Iwashimizu Hachiman Bettō Mitsukiyo; court lady to Empress (Fujiwara) Tako; the private collection of her poems: Kojijū-shū.
215. Lord Toshinari's daughter 俊成卿女 poetess and writer; (ca.1171-1254). She was really Toshinari's granddaughter whom he adopted as his daughter. Her father was the painter Fujiwara Takanobu (1142-1205); court lady to Go-Toba-In; also called Echigo Zenni or Nakano Zenni. Her private collection of poems: Shunzei-Kyō-no-jō-no-shū. On the authorship of the Mumyōzōshi see introduction.
216. Kunaikyō 宮内卿 poetess; she died young (1207); also called Wakakusa no Kunaikyō; daughter of Minamoto Moromitsu; court lady to Go-Toba-In.
217. Minamoto Moromitsu (see note 59); Zenmon = nyūdō (lay priest).

218. Minamoto Soechika 源具親 ; his dates are unknown; he was alive in 1262; held the Fourth Court Rank.
219. Chōmei was employed at the Bureau of Japanese poetry, which was situated at the time described here in the Sentō Palace of Go-Toba-In.
220. The contest was held on the 22nd day of the 3rd month of the year 1202.
221. Fujiwara Yoshitsune 藤原良経 (1169-1206); famous poet; held the First Court Rank and became Regent and Prime Minister; he was the author of a diary and the preface to the Shinkokin-shū; his private collection of poems: Akishino-Gessei-shū.
222. Jien 慈円 (1155-1225), son of Fujiwara Tadamichi; he was one of the leaders of the Tendai sect; author of the Gukanshō; was also famous as a poet; his private collection of poems: Shugyoku-shū and Mumyō-waka-shū.
223. Fujiwara Ietaka 藤原家隆 (1158-1237); famous poet; held the Second Court Rank; one of the compilers of the Shinkokin-shū; his private collection of poems: Mini-shū.
224. The cuckoo usually starts to sing in the fifth month, while the season of 'unohana' is in the fourth month.
- 224 a. The princess Kinshi (1181-1252) of Emperor Go-Shirakawa.
225. Unidentified poem.
226. Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 (?970-?1033); famous poetess; one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period. Her private collections of poems: Izumi-Shikibu-shū and Zoku-Izumi-Shikibu-shū. Author of the Izumi Shikibu Nikki (1003). She had the reputation of being a very passionate unconventional woman.
227. Akazome Emon 赤染衛門 (?957-?1045); famous poetess; one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period; said to be the daughter of Taira no Kanemori (?-990); married to Ōe no Masahira, governor of Tanba; her private collection of poems: Akazome-Emon-shū.
228. Fujiwara Sadayori 藤原定頼 (995-1045), famous poet, held the Second Court Rank; one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period; his private collection of poems: Gonchūnagon-Sadayori-Kyō-shū.

229. Fujiwara Kintō 藤原公任 (966-1041); famous poet; he was highly respected as a critic and his two karon works, Wakakubon and Shinzen-zuinō were fundamental for future development of poetics (see introduction pp.16-17); he compiled the Shūi-shū.
230. The whole poem, included in the Goshūi-shū, KT no. 691, and the Izumi-Shikibu-shū, ZKT p. 644, no. 40900:
- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Tsu no kuni no | To this place in Tsu |
| Koya to mo hito o | To my hut oh come, my love |
| Iubeki ni | I should have said. |
| Hima koso nakere | Alas the tight-thatched roof of reeds |
| Ashi no yaebuki | Leaves me no crack of space to call |
231. The first part of the poem, included in the Shūi-shū, KT no. 1342; Izumi-Shikibu-shū, ZKT p. 635, no. 40386 and Gengen-shū, GR 7, p. 458:
- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Kuraki yori | From darkness into |
| Kuraki michi ni zo | An even darker path |
| Irinubeki | I have to enter |
232. Lotus Sutra VII.
233. Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (978-1016); famous poetess and author of the Genji monogatari and the Murasaki Shikibu nikki.
234. Akazome, see note 227.
235. See note 227.
236. Enyūin 圓融院 (959-991); the fifth son of Murakami Tennō and a poet.
237. Ōe Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111); famous poet and scholar, he reached the Second Court Rank; author of Kōkeshidai, etc. the private collection of his poems: Kōshi-shū.
238. Ichijō-In 一條院 Under his reign (986-1011) the highest peak of the 'Fujiwara' culture was reached. Ichijō-In was himself a poet.

239. Fujiwara Michinobu 藤原道信 (?-994); son of Tamemitsu, adopted son of Kaneie; famous poet, one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period. He reached the Fourth Court Rank. His private collection of poems: Michinobu-shū.
240. Fujiwara Sanekata 藤原実方 (?-998); famous poet; one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period; he reached the Fourth Court Rank. His private collection of poems: Sanekata-Ason-shū.
241. Fujiwara Nagayoshi 藤原長能 His dates are unknown; brother of the author of Kagerō nikki; one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period; he reached the Fifth Court Rank. His private collection of poems: Fujiwara Nagayoshi-shū.
242. Ōnakatomi Sukechika 大中臣輔親 (954-1038); famous poet; one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period; he reached the Third Court Rank; his private collection of poems: Saishu Sukechika-Kyō-shū.
243. Izumi Shikibu, see note 226.
244. See note 6.
245. Term of contempt (often translated as 'nonsense verse') derived from obscure and often absurd sayings of Bodhidharma -- a practice which the Zen sect in China and Japan elaborated. Since the principle of Zen is that enlightenment comes spontaneously to a person who practices the right methods and cannot be transmitted to others, it is futile to ask an enlightened person questions about the truth he has found. The absurd answer is to show the absurdity of the question.
246. Religious debates between the various Buddhist sects were frequent. It was commonly believed that such debates would never reach a conclusion.
247. This poem, attributed to Susanō-no-mikoto was traditionally regarded as the first tanka. It is included in the Kōjiki, NKBT 1, p. 89:
- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| Yakumo tatsu | In the land of clouds, |
| Izumo yaegaki | Izumo, my eight-fold fence, |
| Tsuma gomi ni | To enclose my wife, |
| Yaegaki tsukuru | I put up that eight-fold fence |
| Sono yaegaki o | Yes, indeed that eight-fold fence. |

248. Chōmei gives here a rough number of 30 syllables, but of course the tanka has 31 syllables. He is setting the tanka against the chōka and sedōka.
249. 'Ka-jitsu' 花実 literally means blossom and fruit. Ka is the beautiful outward appearance, jitsu is the substantial core. The expression ka-jitsu (also pronounced hana-mi) became a technical term later, standing for 'formal aspect' and 'content'.
250. 'yūgen' 幽玄 the first character means something that cannot be distinguished through the senses; also the dark, dim. The second character designates a reddish deep black, the colour of the universe, calm, deep. The word yūgen appears for the first time in Chinese Buddhist writing, where it meant the depth of the Buddhist doctrine. In Japan it was first used in Buddhist writing, and then in the Chinese preface to the Kokin-shū (see NKBT 8, p. 337), meaning something like 'mysterious'. Since then yūgen has been adopted into the Japanese language as a term flexible enough to suit almost any purpose. Mibu no Tadamine, Fujiwara Toshinari, Fujiwara Sadaie used the word yūgen in their theoretical writings as a notion somewhat close to yojō, an esthetic feeling not explicitly expressed. Later the development of the nō drama in connection with Zen added new dimensions to yūgen. (See O. Benl, Seami Motokiyo und der Geist des Nō-Schauspiels. Geheime kunst-kritische Schriften aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden 1953; W. Gundert, Über den Begriff "Yūgen" bei Seami, Festgabe K. Florenz, 1935, pp. 21-30)
251. Here 'new' is taken as non-authoritative, therefore almost as bad.
252. This refers to the preface of the Kokin-shū, see NKBT 8, p. 93.
253. This anonymous poem is included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 409.

254. This poem by Ariwara no Narihira is included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 747; Narihira-shū, ZKT p. 230, no. 16145; Kokinwakarokuchō, ZKT p. 539, no. 33750; Ise monogatari, NKBT 9, p. 113. The interpretation of the poem is problematic.
255. Minamoto Toshiyori, see note 77.
256. This poem is included in the Kinyō-shū, KT no. 254; Sanbokukika-shū, GR 11, p. 589; Korai-fūtaishō, NKT 2, p. 291.
257. This poem by Fujiwara Toshinari is included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 443.
258. This poem is included in the Shika-shū, KT no. 21; Eshi-shū; Kōyō-In-Shichiban contest, GR 8, p. 506.
259. This poem by Nōin is included in the Goshūi-shū, KT no. 43; Nōin Hōshi-shū (in a slight variation).
260. This poem by Ki no Tsurayuki is included in the Goshūi-shū, KT no. 2224; Kokinwakarokuchō, ZKT p. 559, no. 35304; Ki no Tsurayuki-shū, ZKT p. 257, no. 17555.
261. 'kanzan' ga hi, the day on which the priest Kansan (-?-) died.
262. Unclear passage.
263. This poem by Taira no Tadanori 平忠度 (1144-1184), the younger brother of the famous Kiyomori, is included in the Taira no Tadanori-shū, ZKT p. 464, no. 28625.
264. This poem, composed by Shune at the Kyosuke-Ason-ke contest (see GR 8, p. 588) in 1160 is included in the Shinchokusen-shū, KT no. 912; Zokushika-shū, GR 7, p. 94; Rinyō-shū, GR 12, p. 363.
265. This poem by Shune is included in the Fūga-shū, KT no. 116; Rinyō-shū, GR 12, p. 346.
266. See note 17.
267. In this poem by Toshiyori (included in the Kinyō-shū, KT no. 444; Sanbokukika-shū, GR 11, p. 629) the word 'tama' has a double meaning: 'jewel, pearl' for 'bright dew', and also 'seldom, rare' in the fourth line.

268. In this poem by Toshiyori (included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 788; Horikawa-In-Ontoki-Hyaku-shū, GR 8, p. 95) the word 'shiki' has two meanings: 'spread out' and 'constantly'.
269. In this poem by Toshiyori (included in the Shinkokin-shū, KT no. 1164; Sanbokukika-shū, GR 11, p. 620; Horikawa-In-Ontoki-Hyaku-shū GR 8, p. 95) the word 'uchitokuru' means 'to untie' and also 'to be at ease', 'openminded'.
270. This poem by Shune is included in the Rinyō-shū, GR 12, p. 356.
271. 'utamakura' (pillow for poems), places, whose names have been used in poetry in a certain connotation and have as such become famous.
272. This anonymous poem is included in the Shinkokin-shū, KT no. 990 in a slight variation.
273. This poem by Ōe Masafusa is included in the Senzai-shū, KT no. 194; Horikawa-In-Ontoki-Hyaku-shū, GR 8, p. 76.
274. This poem by Minamoto Yorimasa is included in the Udaijin-ke-uta-awase, GR 8, p. 717.
275. See note 205.
276. 'Fukakusa' means 'deep grass'.
- 276 a. This refers to the practice of honkadori (the composition of a poem utilizing lines taken from other poems).
277. This poem by Fujiwara Sadaie is included in the Shūigusō, ZKT p. 137, no. 9481.
278. See note 129.
279. This poem could not be identified.
280. Unidentified poem.
281. Sosei 素性, son of Priest Henjō; his dates are unknown; he was a famous poet; one of the 36 geniuses of the Heian period; his private collection of poems: Sosei-shū. The poem by Sosei, included in the Kokin-shū, KT no. 4:

Ina kon to	That she would be here
Iishi bakarini	She has promised, and therefore
Nagatsuki no	Now in the month of August
Ariake no tsuki o	Under the moonlight of dawn
Machi idetsuru kana	I am waiting for her outside

282. The preface to the Kokin-shū, Japanese version by Ki no Tsurayuki, see NKBT 8, p. 93.
283. In Japanese poetry there were two kinds of writing systems, mana (true characters), in which Chinese characters were used in their semantic values, and kana (modified characters), in which simple or modified Chinese characters were used as phonetic symbols for the Japanese syllabary. In the mana system certain characteristics of the Chinese language were retained, like, for example, the pairing of phrases.
284. Japanese historical narrative (rekishi monogatari) dealing with the time from 850 to 1025.
285. Poetic tale of the 10th century, attributed to Ariwara no Narihira, in which each story includes poems. (See F. Vos, A Study of the Ise-monogatari with the text according to the Den Teika-hippon, Gravenhage, 1957.)
286. See note 282.
287. The character 'tsu' ㇿ is used to shorten a consonant.
288. 'Shinra' 新羅 (Silla), one of the Korean kingdoms (668-935)
289. Kisen, see note 140.
290. 'suga', a Japanese rush whose roots are long and tangled.
291. 'Koyurugi', place name in Sagami; there was a village called 'Iso'. The word 'iso' introduces another word, 'isogi', which means 'haste'.
292. 'Iso no kami' was a place name in Yamato; there was a village called 'Furu', which can mean 'to get old', 'to fall' (of snow or rain), 'to tremble'.
293. Fujiwara Noritsuna 藤原範綱 his dates are unknown; he was alive in 1166. He was a famous poet.

294. The fourth month is called 'uzuki', the fifth 'satsuki'.
295. Both words, 'asari' and 'isari' mean 'fishing'.
296. Katsumi, or komo, or makomo; a sort of grain plant, whose dry, cut stalks can be used for thatching roofs, similar to straw.
297. Tachibana no Tamenaka 橘爲仲 (?-1085); poet; his private collection of poems: Tachibana no Tamenaka-Ason-shū.
298. See note 296.
299. Minamoto Yorizane 源頼実 His dates are unknown; he was alive in 1041; he held the Fifth Court Rank and was a famous poet.
300. This poem is included in the Goshūi-shū, KT no. 382.
301. 'Ono' refers to Ono no Komachi (see note 306).
302. Nijō no Kisaki 二條后 (842-910), called Takako, daughter of Fujiwara Nagayoshi, married to Emperor Seiwa.
303. 'Nihonki' 日本記 cannot mean 'Nihonshōki' 日本書紀 which does not mention this episode. The book cannot be identified.
304. 'That monogatari', the Ise monogatari, in which this episode is also told.
305. See note 271.
306. Ono no Komachi 小野小町 legendary figure, known as poetess of the early Heian period; one of the 6 geniuses as well as of the 36. She was a very beautiful woman and has been made the heroine of poems, nō plays, etc., (See Weber Schäfer, Ono no Komachi)
307. Tamatsukuri no Komachi 玉造りの小町 is the heroine of a work of fiction of the Heian period, the Tamatsukuri no Komachi-shi Sō-sui-sho.
308. 'The place where one sleeps'.
309. Unidentified poem.
310. This poem by Fujiwara Korehira is included in the Gosen-shū, KT no. 48.

A p p e n d i x

Table I

The main Chinese sources of the Bunkyo-hifu-ron by Kukai are:

- Lu Chi (261-303); he discusses form and content as the two main components of a poem; he uses the term yen (Jap. en) 艶 for 'beauty'
- Liu Hsieh (died 473); he wrote a history of Chinese poetry; he defined the term yu wei 餘味, 'aftertaste', which has been transformed into the Japanese amari no kokoro (see table XIII) and yojō (see table XII); he established 'Eight Styles of Poetry'.
- Chung Hung (active around 500); he established three classes of poetry;
hing (Jap. kyō) 興 allusion
fu (Jap. fu) 賦 description
pi (Jap. hi) 比 simile (see also table X)
- Shen Yo (441-513); he formulated poem-diseases for the first time.
- Ts'ui Jung (653-706); he established 'Ten Styles of Poetry'.
- Yin Fan (8th century); he developed the idea of 'Steps to Composition'.

Table II

The 'Six Styles of Poetry and Prose' of the Bunkyo-hifu-ron are:

- | | | |
|---|----|-------------------------|
| 1. <u>po ya</u> (Jap. <u>hakuga</u>) | 博雅 | universal and refined |
| 2. <u>ch'ing tien</u> (Jap. <u>seiten</u>) | 清典 | clear and solemn |
| 3. <u>ch'i li</u> (Jap. <u>kirei</u>) | 綺麗 | colourful and beautiful |
| 4. <u>hung chuang</u> (Jap. <u>kōsō</u>) | 宏壯 | large and vigorous |
| 5. <u>yao yūeh</u> (Jap. <u>yōyaku</u>) | 要約 | essential and brief |
| 6. <u>ch'iao-chih</u> (Jap. <u>kōshi</u>) | 巧至 | skilful and finished |

Table III

The 'Eight Steps' of the Bunkyo-hifu-ron are:

1. yung wu (Jap. eibutsu) 詠物 to sing about an object
2. tseng wu (Jap. zōbutsu) 贈物 to present an object
3. shu chih (Jap. jutsu-shi) 述志 to speak one's mind
4. hsieh hsin (Jap. shashin) 寫心 to convey one's feelings
5. fan chou (Jap. henshū) 返誦 to make a contrast of two phrases
6. tsan hui (Jap. sanki) 讚毀 to criticize one in order to praise another
7. yüan k'ua (Jap. enka) 援寡 to emphasize small things by the help of others
8. ho shih (Jap. washi) 和詩 to symbolize feelings through corresponding images

Table IV

The 'Eight Poem-diseases' of the Bunkyo-hifu-ron are:

1. - 4. are concerned with tone 平頭, 上尾, 蜂腰, 鶴膝
5. - 6. are concerned with rhyme 大韻, 小韻
7. is concerned with the consonant constituting the initial sound of a one-syllable Chinese word. 傍紐
8. forbids the use of two words of the same sound in one verse, even if the tone is different. 正紐

Table V

The 'Seven Poem-diseases' of the Kakyō-hyōshiki are:

1. tōbi 頭尾 same syllable at the end of the first and second line
2. kyōbi 胸尾 The same syllable as at the end of the first line appears as third or sixth syllable of the second line
3. yōbi 腰尾 the last syllable of the third line is identical with any other last syllable (except the fifth line, which ought to rhyme with the third)
4. enshi 獸子 the last syllable of the third and fifth line appears somewhere else in the poem; particularly bad if it appears twice
5. yūfū 遊風 the second syllable of any line appears as the last syllable of the same line (exceptions for proper names)
6. dōseiin 同聲韻 different syllables at the end of the third and last line
7. henshin 遍身 a syllable which stands at the end of any line except the third is repeated more than twice

Table VI

The 'Seven Styles' (satai) of the Kakyō-hyōshiki are:

- | | | |
|--------------------|------|--|
| 1. <u>rikai</u> | 離會 | the poem consists of unconnected words |
| 2. <u>enbi</u> | 猿尾 | two syllables lack at the end of the last line |
| 3. <u>mutōyūbi</u> | 無頭有尾 | the whole first line is missing |
| 4. <u>retsubi</u> | 歹尾 | the last line is one syllable too many |
| 5. <u>yūtōmubi</u> | 有頭無尾 | the last line is missing |
| 6. <u>chokugo</u> | 直語 | direct expression |
| 7. <u>riin</u> | 離韻 | the third and fifth line do not rhyme |

Table VII

The 'Ten Refined Styles' (gatai) of the Kakyō-hyōshiki are:

- | | | |
|----------------------|------|---|
| 1. <u>shūchō</u> | 聚蝶 | like a 'gathering of butterflies' same words or syllables accumulate in a poem |
| 2. <u>kenkei</u> | 譴警 | probably corrupt writing for beihi 迷警 (a riddle in illustration) |
| 3. <u>sōhon</u> | 雙本 | the <u>sedōka</u> with rhyming of the third and sixth line |
| 4. <u>tanka</u> | 短歌 | the <u>tanka</u> with rhyming of the third and fifth line |
| 5. <u>chōka</u> | 長歌 | the second, fourth, sixth etc. line rhyme |
| 6. <u>tōkoyōshin</u> | 頭古腰新 | the poem has used old idioms in the beginning but not in the third line |
| 7. <u>tōshinyōko</u> | 頭新腰古 | the poem uses contemporary language in the beginning but old idioms in the third line |
| 8. <u>tōkoyōko</u> | 頭古腰古 | the poem uses old idioms in the beginning and in the third line |
| 9. <u>kojii</u> | 古事意 | a poem in old style |
| 10. <u>shinitai</u> | 新意體 | a poem in new style |

Table VIII

The 'Four Poem-diseases' of the Kisen-saku-shiki and the Iwami-no-jo-shiki are:

1. ganju 岸樹 the same syllable appears at the beginning of the first and second line
2. fūshoku 風燭 the second and fourth syllable in any line are the same
3. rōsen 浪船 the last two syllables of any line are the same
4. rakka 落花 a syllable is repeated within one line

Table IX

The 'Eight Poem-diseases' of the Hikome-shiki are:

1. dōshin 同心 a word is repeated; this is a disease even if it is written by a different character
2. ranshi 亂思 the words are in confusion
3. ranchō 欄蝶 after a promising beginning there is nothing to follow
4. shokō 渚鴻 attention is paid to the content of the poem but not the expression
5. kakitsu 花橘 the poem contains direct and allegorical expression
6. rōfū 老楓 there is a hidden meaning behind the words
7. chuhō 中飽 there are 35 or 36 syllables instead of 31
8. kōkai 後悔 there is regret later because the poem has not been thought over well enough at first

Table X

The 'Six Principles' (rikugi) of the Kana Preface to the Kokin-shū are:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. soe-uta | the suggestive indirect expression of feeling |
| 2. kazoe-uta | the clear, direct expression |
| 3. nazurae-uta | the parabolic expression |
| 4. tatoe-uta | expression that hides a very strong emotion |
| 5. tadagoto-uta | the refined traditional expression |
| 6. iwai-uta | the poem expressing congratulation or praise |

<u>Chinese equivalent</u>	<u>translation of</u>	
	<u>Dickins</u>	<u>Revon</u>
1. <u>fū</u> 風	satirical	à sens caché
2. <u>fu</u> 賦	descriptive	à sens clair
3. <u>hi</u> 比	figurative	où l'on se compare à un objet
4. <u>kyō</u> 興	allusive	où l'on se compare à un phénomène de la nature
5. <u>ga</u> 雅	lyrical	fondé sur un hypothèse
6. <u>shō</u> 頌	congratulatory	de félicitations

Table XI

Critical evaluation of the 'rokkasen' in the Kana Preface of the Kokin-shū

Henjō: <u>sama wa etaredomo</u> <u>makoto sukunashi</u>	skilful in formal matters not enough sincerity
Narihira: <u>kokoro amarite</u> <u>kotoba tarazu</u>	more than enough <u>kokoro</u> not enough words
Yasuhide: <u>kotoba wa takumi ni</u> <u>sono sama mi ni owazu</u>	the words are skilful their form is not appropriate
Kisen: <u>kotoba kasuka ni</u> <u>hajime owari tashika narazu</u>	the words suggest depth beginning and end are incoherent
Komachi: <u>aware naru yō nite</u> <u>tsuyokarazu</u>	<u>aware</u> exists but there is no strength
Kuronushi: <u>kokoro okashikute</u> <u>sama iyashi</u>	<u>kokoro</u> is interesting the form is commonplace

Table XII

The 'Ten Styles of Poetry' of Mibu no Tadamine are:

1. koka-tai 古歌體 the style of old poems, which is often difficult to understand (not a style in the true sense of the word)
2. shimmyō-tai 神妙體 mysterious style
3. choku-tai 直體 the direct style
4. yojō-tai 餘情體 the feeling reaches beyond what is said
5. shashi-tai 寫思體 style which depicts truthfully the feeling of the heart
6. kōjō-tai 高情體 style of lofty feeling (the words are ordinary, the meaning reaches into the realm of yugen)
7. kiryō-tai 器量體 style of the extensive and powerful
8. hikō-tai 比興體 style which attracts attention
9. kaen-tai 華艷體 style of delicate flowery beauty
10. ryōhō-tai 兩方體 style of two-fold meaning

Table XIII

The 'Nine Steps of the Waka' of the Wakakubon are:

1. The words are delicate (tae ni), kokoro reaches beyond them (amari no kokoro)
2. The words have colourful beauty (uruwashiku), kokoro reaches beyond them (amari no kokoro)
3. The kokoro is not profound, but there is something interesting (omoshiroki tokoro aru)
4. The kokoro and the words are smooth (todokōrazu) and interesting
5. Nothing particularly good and nothing bad, a style which is according to the rules
6. There is some sympathetic understanding (sukoshi omoitaru tokoro aru)
7. The poem has at least some point (wazuka hitofushi aru)
8. The understanding for the heart of the matter concerned does not lack completely
9. The words are not smooth, there is nothing pleasing (okashiki tokoro naki)

Table XIV

The 'Poem-diseases' of the Shinsen-zuinō are:

Same syllables at the end of two subsequent lines

Same syllables at the end of one line and somewhere in the following line

Same word in a poem twice, unless the meaning is different

Words that sound different but mean the same thing

Bibliographical Notes

A. In Western Language

- 1.) Benl, Oscar. Die Entwicklung der japanischen Poetik bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Hamburg; Dram, De Gruyter & Co., 1951.
- 2.) Benl, Oscar. Fujiwara Kintō. Monumenta Nipponica 1941, Vol. LV, 2.
- 3.) Benl, Oscar und Horst Hammitzsch. Japanische Geisteswelt. Baden - Baden: Holle Verlag, 1956.
- 4.) Bonneau, Georges. Le Monument poétique de Heian: le Kokinshū. 3 vols. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guenther, 1933-35.
- 5.) Brower, Robert H. and Earl Miner. Japanese Court Poetry. London: The Cresset Press, 1962.
- 6.) Debon, Günther. Ts'ang-Lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung, ein Beitrag zur chinesischen Poetik. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962.
- 7.) Eckardt, Hans. Das Kokonchomonshū des Tachibana Narisue als musikgeschichtliche Quelle. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1956.
- 8.) Florenz, Karl. Geschichte der japanischen Literatur. Leipzig, 1909.
- 9.) Miyamori, Asataro. Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and Modern. Tokyo: Maruzen Co. Ltd., 1936.
- 10.) Reischauer, Edwin O., and Joseph K. Yamagiwa. Translations from Early Japanese Literature. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951.
- 11.) Sadler, A.L. The Ten Foot Square Hut and Tales of the Heike. Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd., 1928.
- 12.) Sansom, George. A History of Japan to 1334. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.
- 13.) Waley, Arthur. Japanese Poetry: The "Uta". Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.
- 14.) Waley, Arthur. The Tale of Genji. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1935.

B. In Japanese Language

Edited Texts:

- 1.) Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (Ed.). "Karon-shū" in Karon-shū, Nogakuron-shū, Nihon Kōten-bungaku Taikei, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1961. ('Mumyōshō').
- 2.) Sasaki Nobutsuna (Ed.). Nihon Kagaku Taikei, Vol. V. Tokyo: Bunmei-sha, 1941. ('Chōmei Mumyōshō' and 'Eigyoku-shū').
- 3.) Yanase Kazuo (Ed.). Kamo no Chōmei Zenshū, 2 vols. Tokyo: Fuzanbo, 1940.
- 4.) Yoshizawa Yoshinori (Ed.). Hōjōki Shoshō Taisei. Kyōto: Ritsumeikan Shuppanbu, 1933.

Books about Kamo no Chōmei

- 1.) Hasuda Yoshiaki. Kamo no Chōmei. Tokyo: Yakumo Shoten, 1943.
- 2.) Tokikura Tokujiro. Kamo no Chōmei. Tokyo: Seigodō, 1942.
- 3.) Yanase Kazuo. Kamo no Chōmei no shin-kenkyū. Tokyo: Chūbunkan, 1933.

There are many texts of the Hōjōki, besides the one mentioned above. Articles about Kamo no Chōmei are few; articles about the Mumyōshō seem to be even scarcer -- I have seen none.

All histories of Japanese literature mention Kamo no Chōmei and his Hōjōki, some refer briefly to the Mumyōshō and its chapter on yūgen. The histories (in Japanese) of karon generally discuss the Mumyōshō.

C. Other Reference Works

- 1.) Benl, Oscar. Seami Motokiyo und der Geist des Nō-Schauspiels, ("Akademie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Klasse der Literatur," Nr. 5) Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1953.
- 2.) Ceadel, E. B. The two prefaces of the Kokinshū. Asia Major 7, pt. 1-2, 1957.
- 3.) Gundert, W. Über den Begriff "Yugen" bei Seami. Festgabe K. Florenz, 1935. p. 21-30.
- 4.) Hammitzsch, Horst, Cha-do, Der Tee-Weg, München: Planegg Barth 1958.
- 5.) Hammitzsch, Horst. Kangaku und Kokugaku, in Monumenta Nipponica II, 1.
- 6.) Hora, Karel Jan. Notes on Kamo Chomei's life and work, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan Vol. XXXIV, 1, 1906, p.45-48.
- 7.) Hora, Karel, Jan. Kamo no Chomei's "Nameless selection", Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. XXIV, 4, 1907, p.81-98.
- 8.) Müller, Wolfram H. Das Mumyōzōshi und seine Kritik am Genji-Monogatari. Oriens Extremus 3, 1956, p. 205-214.
- 9.) Vos, Fritz. A study of the Ise-monogatari with the text according to the Den Teika-hippon. Gravenhage, Mouton, 1957.