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Fujiwara Teika's

Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era

by ROBERT H. BROWER

Introduction

I. Foreword¹

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

The 'Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shōji Era', or *Shōji hyakushu*⁴—the set of a hundred poems we *are* dealing with here—is a sequence of Teika's own composition written in 1200 (the second year of the Shōji era) by command of Ex-Emperor Go-Toba.⁵ This was a little more than two years after the young

¹ I wish to express thanks for invaluable assistance from the late Professor Mizukami Kashizō 水上甲子三 (1924–1975), who devoted much of his waning strength during the spring and early summer of 1975 to my problems in revising my manuscript. His premature death has deprived me of a cherished friend and irreplaceable counselor of many years. I am also indebted, as usual, to the teacher of us both, Professor Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, who allowed me precious hours of time despite his many other commitments and heavy administrative duties at Tsukuba National

University. His special contribution is acknowledged separately below. An early draft of the translation was presented before the Colloquium of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, in May 1973. A grant from the Center for Japanese Studies of the University of Michigan enabled me to revise and complete the study.

² 藤原定家, 1162–1241.

³ 百人一首

⁴ 正治百首

⁵ 後鳥羽, 1180–1239; r. 1183–98.

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

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

II. The Development of Poetic Sequences

SETS by single poets consisting of five, ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, fifty, or a hundred poems became increasingly common from the tenth century. The popularity

⁶ 俊成, 1114–1204.

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

⁸ Of special value have been the following Japanese secondary works: the pages devoted to the *Shōji hyakushu* in Ishida Yoshisada 石田吉貞, *Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū* 藤原定家の研究 (Bungadō Shoten, 1957); Ishida's collabora-

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

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

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

The freshness of the Horikawa sequences—the feature that endowed them with instant popularity and an influence that lasted for centuries—was that within the general categories of spring, summer, autumn, winter, love, and miscellaneous, each poem was on a set topic prescribed in advance. To take the twenty spring poems as an example, the topics were: The Beginning of Spring, The First Day of the Rat, Spring Haze, The Warbler, Young Shoots, Remaining Snow, Plum Blossoms, Willows, Fern Shoots, Cherry Blossoms, Spring Rain, Spring Foals, Geese Returning North, The Cuckoo (*yobukodori*), Rice Seedlings, Violets, Iris, Wisteria, The Yellow Rose, and The Last Day of the Third Month (i.e., the last day of spring). It was not the newness of the Horikawa topics themselves that gave the sequences such interest, even though

⁹ 歌合

¹⁰ 題詠

¹¹ 百首歌, 百首の歌

¹² 源重之, d. ?1000.

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

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

¹⁴ 古今集, 905.

¹⁵ 雑歌

¹⁶ 堀河百首

some of them appear to have been used for the first time in formal poetry on this occasion. Nor was the ordering of the spring and other seasonal poems according to the natural progression of nature any new thing, for we find this principle already in the *Kokinshū* and repeated in the three subsequent imperial anthologies that had been compiled by Horikawa's time. Rather, it was the novelty of a specific topic for each poem. Such an exercise appealed to the virtuoso inclinations of the court poets more than being told simply to compose twenty poems on Spring, say, and the Horikawa precedent immediately became a standard pattern for hundred-poem sequences on set topics, called *kumidai hyakushu*.¹⁷ The Horikawa topical pattern was repeated and imitated for formal and informal occasions, and virtually every serious poet set it for himself over and again as a practice exercise.

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

That the hundred-poem length was considered standard and the Horikawa topics provided a new point of departure is not to imply that thenceforth every sequence was of a hundred poems and the topics always on the Horikawa model. Rather, the variations in numbers of poems in a sequence and the number and kinds of topics proliferated during the following century, resulting in many curious combinations and hybrids. The sequences were, indeed, given as many manipulations and variations as were assayed in the poetry contests—those poetic occasions *par excellence* which became during the twelfth century the principal means short of an imperial anthology for serious poets to 'publish' their work. And there was considerable interaction between the two genres: for by Teika's time, poets produced sequences of fifty or a hundred poems, say, expressly to be arranged into the 'rounds' (*ban*)¹⁹ of a semi-fictitious poetry contest conducted by a group of officials 'on paper', as it were. The best known and grandest of such occasions was the 'Poetry Contest in 1,500 Rounds' (*Sen-gohyakuban utaawase*)²⁰ commissioned by Go-Toba in 1201, the year after the Shōji sequences.²¹

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

17 組題百首

18 結題

19 番

20 千五百番歌合

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

detail by Professor Konishi.²² However, for our purposes they may be briefly summarized here.

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

Of these two principles, association offered more complexities and possibilities. Obvious (though extremely effective) connections were links from poem to poem of the same or related images, such as mountains leading to clouds, leading to cherry blossoms. Less immediate relationships between successive poems might involve suggesting by juxtaposition a common allusion to an older poem or poetic precedent. The responses of the aristocratic readers were shaped and guided by their intimate experience of one common tradition, and by well-established conventions of poetic treatment whereby dew, for example, traditionally suggested tears, cherry blossoms the fragility and evanescence of love and life.

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

Although practice varies with individual poets, we find that in most cases the same poet has composed some sequences in which no attempt at association is made and others in which the poems are linked through deliberate associations of imagery. There is, however, one significant exception—the

²² See n. 13, above.

²³ Konishi, 'Association', p. 103; JCP, pp.

322–29.

²⁴ 新古今集, 新古今時代

work of the Ex-Emperor Go-Toba. In all of his extant sequences, each successive poem is linked with the preceding one through association of images. This fact seems of particular importance because of Go-Toba's relation to the *Shinkokinshū*: although this anthology was nominally compiled by a group of five courtiers headed by Fujiwara Teika, their function was in reality only that of assistants or advisers to Go-Toba, and it was the Ex-Emperor himself who was the chief compiler and had the final say in the selection or rejection of poems. Therefore we may conclude that the application of techniques of association in such thorough fashion in the *Shinkokinshū* was a reflection of Go-Toba's own taste and preference for these techniques.²⁵

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

Because the hundred-poem sequence was intended to be appreciated as a single artistic whole, the overall effect of harmony and balance, variety, and contrast was therefore of greatest importance. In producing the desired impression, a conscious effort was made to vary the pace and avoid monotony within the progression by creating a certain number of high and low points. The high points were individual poems which were striking or remarkable for technical or other reasons, and the effect of such poems might be considered to last longer in the minds of the audience if they were placed next to more mediocre poems which would create no strong impression. In other words, the poet would deliberately include a certain number of bland or 'easy' poems at crucial points in his sequence so as to enhance the effect of the more interesting ones and create a general impression of sinuous, undulating flow. By analogy with a piece of woven material, the 'easy' verses were called *jī no uta*²⁶ or 'background poems,' and the more striking ones were known as *mon no uta*,²⁷ or 'design poems': just as the effect of beauty in a piece of material is made more striking when a pattern is contrasted against a plain or neutral background, so with a sequence of poems.²⁸

As Professor Konishi goes on to observe, we do not know exactly when the esthetic principle of *jī* and *mon* was first applied to the hundred-poem sequences, but in his poetic treatise known as *Go-Toba no In gokuden*, Ex-Emperor Go-Toba uses the term *jī no uta* as a matter of course, evidently expecting it and the principle behind it to be perfectly familiar to his readers. Writing, it must be admitted, some years after the Shōji sequences and the *Shinkokinshū*, Go-Toba

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

²⁶ 地の歌

²⁷ 文の歌

²⁸ Konishi, 'Association', p. 111.

remarks about the poetry of the talented Go-Kyōgoku Yoshitsune²⁹ that, 'he might well have been criticized for including too few background poems in his hundred-poem sequences.'³⁰

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

In composing a hundred-poem sequence, a person ought to distribute through it a certain number of what are called 'background poems,' that is, poems which are in a familiar and commonplace style, and with these as a basis, particular thought should be given to the topics which seem to call for poems with more striking or ingenious effects. It is useless to fret and worry over each single one. Since the fine poems will tend to come to mind spontaneously, for such an extended form as a hundred-poem sequence, a person should not think too deeply upon every last poem. On the other hand, for sequences of twenty or thirty poems, each composition should be carefully thought out, and there should be no admixture of background poems.³³

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

Now *Kirihioke* is a patent forgery, spuriously attributed to Teika, but possibly by his descendant Nijō Tamezane,³⁵ and admittedly a forgery is a poor foundation for any hypothesis. Nevertheless, spurious though it may be, *Kirihioke* is

²⁹ 後京極良経, 1169–1206.

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

³¹ 為家, 1198–1275.

³² 詠歌一休, 八雲口伝

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

³⁴ 桐火桶

³⁵ 二条為実, 1266–1333.

not without value as a reflection of conservative poetic standards of a period not so very much later than the Age of the *Shinkokinshū*, and it is worth quoting for this reason. ‘In a hundred-poem sequence,’ writes the supposed Teika, ‘the way to proceed is first to do all the background poems, quickly, smoothly, and with no special elegancies; then to compose a few striking verses, putting them in here and there among the others. Seven or eight, but no more than ten of these in a sequence will give the effect of a brocade of different colors woven in with the rest. Such were the instructions imparted to me by his lordship, my late father Shunzei.’³⁶

III. The *Shōji hyakushu*

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

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

Although Go-Toba’s command first went out to a score of outstanding poets, the final list of participants for the first set numbered twenty-three.⁴² Behind this

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

³⁷ 後鳥羽院初度百首

³⁸ 正治二年初度百首

³⁹ 正治二年院御百首

⁴⁰ 正治初度百首

⁴¹ 太郎, 次郎

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

p. 794). On the other hand, Ariyoshi believes the sequence attributed to Nobuhiro to have been a later accretion to the text, for it comes at the very end of the complete version in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* [ZGR] 続群書類従, Book 382 (xivb, pp. 568–629), even though Nobuhiro’s name appears fifth in the list of participants at the beginning (see Ariyoshi, *Kenkyū*, pp. 76–78). In short, either a single individual composed two sequences, one under a pseudonym, or the actual number of both participants and sequences was originally twenty-two, with the twenty-third a later addition.

seemingly slight change lies a fascinating episode of political and poetic intrigue involving Shunzei, Teika, and their Mikohidari⁴³ family and poetic faction on the one side, and their arch-enemies, the Rokujō⁴⁴ family of poets and their adherents and political patrons on the other. In brief, despite an effort by the Rokujō leader Suetsune⁴⁵ and his helper Tsuneie⁴⁶ to exclude Teika and certain other of the younger and more gifted Mikohidari poets, a last-minute plea by Shunzei seems to have moved Go-Toba to overrule his advisers and add Teika, Ietaka,⁴⁷ and Takafusa⁴⁸ to the list. The decision was vital to the position and future status of Teika in particular, affording an opportunity to establish contact and ingratiate himself with the powerful ex-sovereign and to demonstrate his poetic prowess to the discomfiture of his enemies. One hesitates to make such a sweeping statement as that the course of Japanese classical poetry would have been forever altered had Teika been shunted aside at this juncture to eke out the remainder of his days in wretched obscurity. On the other hand, his dramatic rise to favor, though far from guaranteeing this temperamentally discontented poet a lifetime of happiness and contentment, did enable him to consolidate his position as poetic heir apparent. It also rang a knell for the last faint hopes of the Rokujō faction, who had, indeed, never fully recovered from the defeat handed them by the soft-spoken but relentless Shunzei as judge of the 'Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds' (*Roppyakuban utaawase*)⁴⁹ of 1193. And when one considers that Teika's hegemony was perpetuated in the hereditary monopolies over traditional court poetry exercised by his grandchildren, their allies and disciples, one may be excused for thinking his inclusion in the Shōji sequences more than a mere ripple on the surface of Japanese literary history.

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

43 御子左

44 六条

45 季經, 1131–1221.

46 經家, fl. ca. 1200.

47 家隆, 1158–1237.

48 隆房, 1148–1209.

49 六百番歌合

50 式子内親王, ?1151–1201.

51 讃岐, 1141–ca. 1217.

52 小侍従, fl. ca. 1200.

53 丹後, fl. ca. 1200.

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

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

56 範光, 1155–1213.

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

The topics for the two sets were not identical. Those for the first, or *Shodo hyakushu*, adhered to the general classical structure of a miniature imperial anthology, but allowed considerable variation under the principal categories: twenty poems each on Spring and Autumn; fifteen each on Summer and Winter; ten poems on Love; five on Travel; five on A Mountain Dwelling; five on Birds; and five on Celebrations. These last twenty poems together obviously represent the familiar *zō*, or Miscellaneous category. The topics for the *Saido hyakushu* were more prescribed, with five poems each assigned to the following topics: Haze, The Warbler, Cherry Blossoms (Spring); The Wood Thrush, The Rains of the Fifth Month (Summer); Fall Flowers and Grasses, The Moon, Crimson Leaves (Autumn); Snow, Ice (Winter); Shinto, Buddhism, Dawn, Dusk, A Mountain Path, The Seaside, The Imperial Palace, Entertainments and Banquets; Ceremonials, Celebrations (Miscellaneous). It can be seen that the second series, its basic structure little different from the first, is closer to the Horikawa pattern in its more detailed designation of specific topics.⁶⁶

⁵⁷ 鴨長明, 1155–1216.

⁵⁸ 方丈記

⁵⁹ See n. 8, above.

⁶⁰ 正治二年院二度百首

⁶¹ 正治再度百首

⁶² 後鳥羽院再度百首

⁶³ 宮内卿, d. ca. 1205.

⁶⁴ 守覚法親王, 1150–1202.

⁶⁵ 源 (土御門) 通親, 1149–1202.

⁶⁶ Text printed in *Gunsho ruijū* [GR] 群書類從, Book 170 (xi, pp. 238–266).



Tokyo National Museum

Fujiwara Teika, 1162–1241

(from *Jidai Fudō Utaawase* scroll, attributed to Teika's son, Tameie, 1198–1275.)

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

IV. Teika and the *Shōji hyakushu*

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

With such seemingly abysmal prospects in 1200, what reason, then, had Teika for hope? First, Shunzei's prestige as arbiter of poetry was above all politics and

⁶⁷ 九条

⁶⁸ 丹後局, d. 1216.

⁶⁹ 後白河, 1127–92; r. 1155–58.

⁷⁰ 承仁法親王, 1169–97.

⁷¹ 在子, 承明門院, 1171–1257.

⁷² 土御門, 1195–1231; r. 1198–1210.

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

⁷⁴ 兼実, 1149–1207.

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

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

Finally, Shunzei himself entered the fray, asking the good offices of Michichika's son Michitomo,⁸¹ who also happened to be one of the revered poet's numerous sons-in-law (Shunzei had some twenty children by his several ladies). But Michichika turned a deaf ear even to Michitomo's request. Finally, as a last resort, Shunzei addressed directly to Go-Toba his famous letter known as the *Waji sōjō*⁸² or 'Appeal in Japanese' (substituting Japanese for the official but stilted Chinese to demonstrate his deep sincerity). In the letter he stressed that a choice of only senior poets was unprecedented for a set of hundred-poem sequences, and

⁷⁵ Ishida, *Fujiwara Teika*, p. 328.

⁷⁶ 西園寺公経, 1171–1244.

⁷⁷ 明月記. All references are to the printed text (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911, 3 vols.), as follows: era name and year; equivalent year (in parentheses) in the Western calendar, followed by month and day; volume and page numbers in the printed text, in parentheses. For example: *Meigetsuki*, Shōji 1 (1199)/8/16 (I, p. 110).

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

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

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

⁸¹ 通具, 1171–1227.

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

leveled a barrage of miscellaneous criticism at the heads of the Rokujō faction.⁸³

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

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

During the next fortnight, Teika applied himself to preparing his poems. Ever a perfectionist, for whom writing poetry was a slow, excruciating, exhausting labor, he worked day and night. On the nineteenth he wrote in his diary, 'Having extreme difficulty composing my poems. Remained shut up at home.' But on the twenty-third came a message from the ex-sovereign's secretary that his sequence was due on the following day. In consternation Teika went to see Shunzei: 'Twenty poems still unwritten. Submitted the finished ones to my father's inspection. He said there was nothing wrong with them and that I should make haste and submit the completed sequence.'⁸⁶

The next day Teika dashed off more poems, taking them this time to Kanezane, but on the twenty-fifth, already a day late, he was still in a frenzy. Then he carried his sequence to Yoshitsune for advice, only to be told that his patron was not

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

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

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

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

quite satisfied with some three of the poems. 'Though unable to think of anything better, I wrote out another one or two and sent them in for his inspection. A lady-in-waiting brought out word that they were acceptable. Then, having offered suggestions about his lordship's own sequence, I withdrew, finally arriving at the Ex-Emperor's palace after dark to submit my poems. They told me Takafusa had appeared with his about the same time.'⁸⁷

The effect of Teika's contribution was all he could have hoped. Go-Toba had evidently been on the watch for Teika's sequence, and read it almost immediately. He responded warmly to the work as a whole, to the beauties of individual poems, and to those features calculated to arouse his personal sympathy. As a result, Go-Toba sent one of his secretaries on the following morning to tell of his pleasure and to announce that Teika had been granted access to the ex-sovereign's court. On the twenty-sixth of the eighth month, the elated poet wrote in his diary—not without disingenuousness, for he had really been burning to be admitted to Go-Toba's entourage: 'This was quite unexpected. I had made no request for the privilege recently, and so it was a complete surprise. Could it be that the Ex-Emperor was suddenly moved to pity by one of last night's poems in which I complained of being excluded from his palace?⁸⁸ On the other hand, it is not surprising after all that I should be admitted to the palace at this point, nor is it anything I had my heart set upon. But that the privilege should be conferred on the basis of my hundred-poem sequence—this is a great honor for the Art of Poetry and a beautiful and inspiring story to pass on to future generations. My gratification is unbounded. This incident shows better than anything else that a revival of poetry has taken place.'⁸⁹

Thus began a period of close association between Teika and his young imperial patron. For the time being the two had an excellent effect upon each other. Go-Toba's favor and patronage temporarily lifted Teika's gloomy spirits, and this in turn had a palpable effect upon his poetic creativity and style. In return, Teika's judicious criticism, his control, discipline, and restraining hand were of undoubted benefit to the younger man.⁹⁰ It is too bad that the relationship began to deteriorate so soon. But that story need not concern us here,⁹¹ and we

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

⁸⁸ See poem No. 93, below, with commentary; also, 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', pp. 15–16.

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

⁹⁰ A number of examples could be adduced to show that Go-Toba's style was clearly influenced by Teika as soon as the two came into direct contact. For the *Shōji hyakushu* itself, for example, Go-Toba may well have read and studied Teika's sequence first before putting

the finishing touches upon his own. Indeed, the semi-final version in the Ex-Emperor's personal collection contains one poem so similar to Teika's No. 34 (see Translation, below), as to preclude coincidence. However, the retired sovereign evidently had second thoughts, for the poem does not appear in his final draft. See Kubota, *Kajin no kenkyū*, pp. 798–99; Ariyoshi, *Kiban to kōsei*, pp. 81–84.

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

may turn instead to Teika's own *Shōji hyakushu*, the sequence of a hundred poems that was of such importance to him.

V. Teika's Sequence

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

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

⁹² 達磨歌

⁹³ A good, brief account of Teika's *Daruma* styles may be found in Yasuda, *Fujiwara Teika*, pp. 72–82. More detailed and also excellent descriptions and analyses of his early styles

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

⁹⁴ 妖艶

⁹⁵ 幽玄

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

In modern times, largely because of the poems in the *Hyakunin isshu*, Teika has been taken to task for his taste for 'artifice'—by which seems to be meant an excessive dependence upon the 'great tradition' or 'Fujiwara style',⁹⁷ and a preoccupation with conventional rhetorical techniques, chiefly pivot words (*kakekotoba*)⁹⁸ and word associations (*engo*)⁹⁹ but also the older, semi-metaphorical 'preface' (*jo*, *joshi*, *jokotoba*),¹⁰⁰ and pillow word (*makurakotoba*).¹⁰¹ For the most part, critics since the Meiji period have admired instead the 'artless simplicity' of Japan's oldest songs and poems preserved in the eighth-century chronicles and the *Man'yōshū*.¹⁰² And whether it be the *Hyakunin isshu*—not Teika's poetry, we have pointed out, but his choices for a particular purpose—or his own work in the *Shōji hyakushu* and elsewhere, we cannot fail to see the 'artifice' and the rhetoric. But to say this is merely to attribute to Teika the concerns of his age and tradition—concerns which to the extent that they may be faults (or perhaps more accurately, inconsonant with modern taste), should be in some measure laid at the door of any other twelfth-century poet, not excepting that supposed paragon of artlessness and sincerity, the Priest Saigyō.¹⁰³ However, this is not the occasion to enter upon an elaborate defense of Teika. His fall from grace in modern times would probably not have been so precipitous had he not been virtually deified by his descendants, who cast his influence over the entire course of classical poetry for more than six hundred years after his death.¹⁰⁴ And at all events, he has begun to come into his own again in the critical esteem of Japanese literary scholars, if not of professional writers and poets.¹⁰⁵

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

⁹⁷ See JCP, pp. 220–21.

⁹⁸ 懸詞, 掛詞

⁹⁹ 縁語

¹⁰⁰ 序, 序詞

¹⁰¹ 枕詞

¹⁰² 万葉集

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

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

¹⁰⁵ Witness the important scholarly writings about Teika mentioned in n. 8, above. In addition, Professor Yasuda—himself a *tanka* poet and leader of a poetic group—has recently published a short comparative study of Saigyō and Teika, entitled *Saigyō to Teika* 西行と定家

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

The technique is *honkadōri*,¹¹² 'allusive variation', or 'taking a foundation poem'—the neo-classical practice of allusion to a well-known older poem. Sometimes the allusion was an echoing of a recognizable few key words of the original composition, sometimes a famous poetic conceit or conception identified with a particular older poem. The result was a complex superposition of the new poem upon the old, so that the meaning and atmosphere of both were simultaneously apprehended, whether blended, harmonized, or contrasted. A *honka*,¹¹³ or 'foundation poem', might serve primarily as a precedent, or to help convey a sense of the past, as in some poems in the 'archaic style'. Sometimes—perhaps characteristically in the greatest poems of the *Shinkokin* age—the technique conveyed a sense of mystery and depth, of the passage of time from the age of the original poem to that of the new composition, and often a tone of poignant sad-

(Kōdansha, 1975). Further, Professor Kubota has been working on a complete annotated edition of Teika's personal collection, *Shūi gusō* 拾遺愚草 and its supplement *Shūi gusō ingai* 拾遺愚草貝外—a corpus of more than 4,500 poems. It has not yet been published as of this writing.

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

v, p. 314.

¹⁰⁷ 古歌体

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

¹⁰⁹ *Shinkokinshū*, I: 44.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I: 91.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI: 671.

¹¹² 本歌取

¹¹³ 本歌

ness and loss. In Teika's *Shōji hyakushu*, the technique is used to superb effect in those very poems just mentioned as chosen for the *Shinkokinshū*: the sensuous beauty of plum blossoms past and present contrasted with the passing of a season and the depredations of human suffering (No. 6); an evocation of a simpler, more idyllic past in an echoing of the *Man'yōshū* (No. 13); the contrast between the speaker's physical discomfort expressed in a *Man'yō* poem and the unutterable beauty and sadness in the scene of Teika's solitary traveler in the twilight snow at Sano (No. 67).

Along with *honkadōri* should also be included the parallel, though less common, technique called *honzetsu* or *honsetsu*.¹¹⁴ Meaning something like 'foundation story', the term indicated allusion to the prose context, real or fictitious, of an old poem instead of the poem itself, or allusion to a famous incident or situation in an old Chinese work or Japanese romance. Permitted at first almost exclusively for Chinese allusions, by the time of Shunzei and Teika the technique was tolerated increasingly for allusions to famous Japanese prose works, particularly the collections of *utamonogatari*,¹¹⁵ or 'tales of poems', *Ise monogatari* and *Yamato monogatari*,¹¹⁶ but also for other Heian works. The great *Tale of Genji* was the favorite, but other prose works and romances were alluded to as well, such as *Eiga monogatari*,¹¹⁷ *Sagoromo monogatari*,¹¹⁸ or *Matsura no miya monogatari*.¹¹⁹ Sometimes the allusion was very general—to a chapter, book, or section of a work rather than to any specific action or relationship, and in such a case it was the *omokage*¹²⁰—the 'vision' or 'atmosphere' of the older work—that was evoked.¹²¹ In his *Shōji* poem on the village of Uji (No. 88), Teika raises the *omokage* of the Uji chapters, the last part of *The Tale of Genji*, in just such a general tonal sense.

Thus much we know about some of the major poems in the *Shōji hyakushu*—poems which have been commented upon over and over again by generations of *Shinkokin* scholars and other traditional *waka* critics. But on the other hand, a serious limitation must also be admitted. That is, my translation and study of Teika's *Shōji hyakushu* have perforce been based upon no more than a completely bare, unannotated text of the poems. The reason is simply that, as of this writing, there exists no complete annotated version of Teika's personal collection, *Shūi gusō*, and its supplement, *Shūi gusō ingai*.¹²² I have made thorough use of those commentaries that do exist for the few poems taken into the *Shinkokinshū*, or that

¹¹⁴ 本説

¹¹⁵ 歌物語

¹¹⁶ 伊勢物語 and 大和物語—both works probably date from the tenth century.

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

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

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

¹²⁰ 面影, 倂

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

¹²² See n. 105, above.

have found their way into one or two modern selections of Teika's work, even if only sometimes to determine upon a perversely different interpretation.¹²³ The fact remains that Teika's Shōji sequence is found only in unannotated versions, of which heretofore the standard one has been the edition by his modern descendant, Reizei Tameomi, in his text of Teika's complete poems, *Fujiwara Teika zenkashū*.¹²⁴ But although based upon a precious holograph manuscript now unavailable to outsiders, the printed text is not without apparent errors and misprints, and it lacks the *nigori*, or diacritics, that differentiate a voiced consonant from its unvoiced counterpart. Sometimes such differences can be crucial (e.g., is it *mite*, 'seeing', or *mide*, 'not seeing'?), and compounded by possible errors of transcription, the pitfalls are practically unavoidable.

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

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

¹²³ The principal modern selection from Teika, consisting of some 451 poems with exegetical notes and commentary, has long been Tani Kanae 谷鼎, *Teika kashū hyōshaku* 定家歌集評釈 (Meiji Shoin, 1930). This includes sixteen poems from the *Shōji hyakushū*: Nos. 17, 31, 34, 37, 38, 47, 56, 61, 62, 69, 72, 74, 78, 86, 88, & 90. Most recently, five poems from the sequence (Nos. 6, 7, 20, 21, & 67) appeared in Tsukamoto Kunio's 塚本邦雄 selection of seventy-seven of Teika's poems in *Nihon no koten* 日本の古典, Vol. 15 (Kawade Shobō

Shinsha, 1972). Professor Kubota's projected complete edition has been mentioned in n. 105, above.

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

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

lacking any reliable statement of his principles until at least nine or ten years later.¹²⁶

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

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

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

As for Teika's allusions in the *Shōji hyakushū*, to date I am aware of only one scholarly discussion of the subject—an article published by Professor Tsujimori

¹²⁶ Teika provided his classic prescriptions and 'rules' for *honkadōri* in the treatises *Kindai shūka* (Superior Poems of Our Time, 1209), *Maigetsushō* (Monthly Notes; see n. 108, above; treatise written ca. 1219), and *Eiga taigai* 詠歌大概 (General Principles of Poetic Composition, ca. 1222). The most circumstantial of these statements is in *Maigetsushō* (here quoted from Brower & Miner, *Teika's Superior Poems*, p. 46): 'In regard to the method of taking a foundation poem... it is only for the most accomplished poets to use a poem on cherry blossoms just as it is for one of their own on cherry blossoms, or a poem on the moon for one on the moon. Ordinarily, there should be some change—with a poem on spring used for one on autumn or winter, or a poem on love incorporated into one on a mixed or seasonal topic—yet done in such a way that it is clear that one has used the older poem. Taking too

many of the words of the foundation poem must be avoided. The proper method is perhaps to use two phrases or so that seem to be the very essence of the poem and space them out between the upper and lower verses of the new one. . . . I have been told that it is bad to use too many phrases that are so unusual and striking that they are the chief distinction of the foundation poem. On the other hand, since it is also said that nothing is accomplished by employing a poem in such an obscure way that it does not look as if one had used it at all, one must be sure to understand such matters when taking a foundation poem.'

Inconveniently for our purposes, Teika wrote these words nearly two decades after his *Shōji hyakushū*.

¹²⁷ *Shōji sōjō* in *Chūsei no bungaku: Karonshū*, 1, p. 273.

Shūei in 1960.¹²⁸ Comparing the extent of allusive variation by Teika, Yoshitsune, and Ietaka in several different sequences which they composed in the early 1200s, Tsujimori concludes with respect to the *Shōji hyakushu* that Teika's *honkadori* total twenty-one poems. This is surprisingly, or rather, disquietingly few considering Teika's concern with the technique and by comparison with Professor Tsujimori's figures of thirty-four for Yoshitsune and forty-three for Ietaka in their sequences for the same occasion.

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

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

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

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

¹³⁰ Widely circulated in collections such as the *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集, compiled by

Fujiwara no Kintō 公任, 966–1041; and *Shinsen rōeishū* 新撰朗詠集, compiled by Fujiwara no Mototoshi 基俊, ?1056–1142.

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

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

general I have attempted to combine caution with an openness to suggestive overtones and nuances, but occasionally in cases of disagreement with friends and counselors, have let my own stubbornness prevail. It clearly follows that all faults and mistakes in these pages are entirely my own.

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

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

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

¹³³ 里村紹巴, 1525–1602. In contrast to the almost exclusive concern of other *renga* masters with the linking of verse to verse, Jōha stressed the total effect of the *hyakuin* 百韻, the standard hundred-link form. See Kidō Saizō 木藤才藏, *Rengashi ronkō* 連歌史論考 (2 vols., Meiji Shoin, 1971–73), II, pp. 787–88. Jōha's best known

treatise, *Renga shihōshō* 連歌至宝抄, deals with such practical matters as the distinction between *waka* and *renga*, season words, and rules of various kinds. See also Shimazu Tadao 島津忠夫, *Rengashi no kenkyū* 連歌史の研究 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1969), pp. 186 ff.

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

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

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

Spring (20 poems): beginning of spring (1–3); change to spring clothing (4); plum blossoms (5–7); spring rain (8); haze (9); geese returning north (10); cherry blossoms (11–18); wisteria (19); end of spring (21).

Summer (15 poems): beginning of summer (21); summer grasses (22); deutzia flowers (23); Kamo festival (24); iris festival (25); wood thrush (26–29); summer rain (30); short summer night (31); hunting by flares (32); wind in the reeds (33); late summer (34); end of summer (35).

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

Winter (15 poems): falling leaves (56); winter drizzle (57); winter frost

¹³⁴ 文, 稍文, 地, 稍地. For an explanation of *ji* and *mon* in *renga* poetics, see Konishi Jin'ichi,

Sōgi 宗祇 (Chikuma Shobō, 1971), pp. 177 ff.
¹³⁵ 余情

(58–59); storm (60); hail (61); short winter day (62); ice (63); waterfowl and frost (64); plovers (65); snow (66–69); end of winter (70).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³⁶ 'Association and Progression', pp. 110–11.

Here was an area, indeed, where Teika and his royal patron seem to have clashed only a few years later, when the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū* was in progress.¹³⁷

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

In Teika's *Shōji hyakushu*, too, despite the great differences, we can sense an analogous effect. His sequence has its own character that distinguishes it from the others composed for the occasion, obviously, but it has a prevailing tone, as have the musical works of Mozart or Beethoven. Teika's tone is one of beauty and sadness—no unique effect in Japanese classical poetry, to be sure, but in this case a special mood which Teika creates by the overtones of love and of *jukkai*,¹³⁸ or 'personal grievances', running like leitmotifs through his sequence. Again and again his poems have the aura or possible implication of unhappy love. Poem No. 6, for example, ostensibly on spring plum blossoms, conveys the wistful melancholy of a romantic past. Among the summer poems, the wood thrush is personified as a lover abandoning his grieving mistress, the mountains (No. 26); and similarly in the autumn and winter sections are poems with at least potential overtones of love's sadness and loss (e.g., Nos. 37, 48, 65). The love sequence as such goes without saying, but again in the concluding sets of miscellaneous poems, the overtones persist, as in Nos. 81 and 84 of the travel poems, or No. 91 in the section on birds.

Along with the tonal effect of pathos which these overtones of love give Teika's sequence, there are the even more important points where he addresses himself directly to Go-Toba through the medium of *jukkai*, the 'personal grievance'. From informal beginnings as a poetic subject born from the very real frustrations and disappointments of court life, *jukkai* started by the early twelfth century to appear as a topic for formal poetry as well, and by Teika's time it was fully

¹³⁷ See *Superior Poems of Our Time*, p. 9, and 'Go-Toba's Secret Teachings', pp. 18–19.

¹³⁸ 述懐

established among those subjects, such as ‘secret love’¹³⁹ or ‘resentful love’,¹⁴⁰ which could be treated as either fact or fiction. The topic was also joined with other elements in compound topics, or *musubidai*, as in Shunzei’s *Jukkai hyakushu*¹⁴¹ composed in 1140 or 1141, where the then young poet combined it with the hundred Horikawa topics in a sequence probably designed to gain him Emperor Sutoku’s¹⁴² notice.

That Teika should have made use of *jukkai* in his Shōji sequence was to be expected, considering the specific occasion and purpose. The motif is first found in No. 8, a spring poem transformed into a lament upon the contrast between the speaker’s futile march towards old age and the happy birds’ unchanging song. Behind this generalized complaint, which could be taken as merely formal and conventional, lies the specific application to Teika’s personal circumstances. So with poem No. 70, which brings the winter section to a close by contrasting the speaker’s hopelessness with the approaching spring’s promise of hope and renewal.

Finally, we have the climax in Nos. 93 and 94 in the small sub-group of five poems on Birds. By placing these poems virtually at the end of his sequence, just before the final sub-group on Celebrations, Teika was able to point up the *jukkai* element with maximum effect, forcing Go-Toba’s attention to the contrast between his personal misery on the one hand and his prayers and auspicious words for the imperial family’s glory and prosperity on the other.

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

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

¹³⁹ *Shinoburu koi* 忍ぶる恋

¹⁴⁰ *Uramuru koi* 恨むる恋

¹⁴¹ 述懐百首

¹⁴² 崇徳, 1119–64; r. 1123–41.

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

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

(The concluding part of this article, containing the translation of the hundred-poem sequence, will appear in the next issue.)