

POEM 1

aki no ta no
kari-ho no iho no
toma wo arami
wa ga koromo-de ha
tsuyu ni nuretsutsu¹

In the autumn fields
the hut, the temporary hut,
its thatch is rough
and so the sleeves of my robe
are dampened night by night with dew.

Emperor Tenji

Tenji Tennō (626–671) ruled 668–671; he is numbered as the thirty-eighth emperor. Son of Emperor Jōmei and Empress Kōgyoku (also known as Empress Saimei), he was also called “Prince Katsuragi” and “Prince Naka no Ōe.” Together with Nakatomi no Kamatari (614–669) he destroyed the power of the Soga clan in 644–645 by assassinating Soga no Iruka. As crown prince he took part in the Taika Reform; as emperor he published a legal code called the *Ōmi-ryō*. Since the time of Emperor Kōnin (r. 770–781), Tenji has been revered as the progenitor of the imperial line. He gave Kamatari the surname Fujiwara in 669. Tenji has four poems in the first book of the *Man'yō Shū*, including a “long poem” (*chōka*) on the Three Mountains of Yamato (see Poem 2). He is credited



with two more poems in later imperial anthologies, including the poem collected in the *One Hundred Poets*, but the attributions are considered dubious.

Commentary

This poem appears in the *Gosenshū* (Autumn 2): 302. However, Mabuchi argued that this poem was no more than a reworking of *Man'yō Shū* 10: 2174 (anon.), which must have originally been some sort of folk song:

<i>aki-ta karu</i>	I build a temporary hut
<i>kari-ho wo tsukuri</i>	to reap the autumn fields
<i>ware woreba</i>	and as I keep watch
<i>koromo-de samuku</i>	at night, my sleeves are so cold
<i>tsuyu zo okinikeru</i>	that the dew settles on them.

This same poem appears as *ShinKokinshū* (Autumn 2): 454, but with the first line *aki-ta moru*, “to guard the autumn fields.” Its inclusion in the *ShinKokinshū* suggests that Teika viewed it and the *One Hundred Poets* verse as two separate poems.

Kari-ho is a contraction of *kari-iho* (“temporary hut”). However, some commentators see it as a pivot word (*kake-kotoba*) also meaning “reaped ears [of grain]” (*kari-ho*). While there is no evidence that the word had this second meaning in the *Man'yō* period, Teika’s father, Shunzei (Poem 83), composed the following poem on the accession of Emperor Rokujō (1165):

<i>kazu shirazu</i>	It is because it gathers
<i>aki no kari-ho wo</i>	the reaped ears of autumns
<i>tsumite koso</i>	beyond all number
<i>ohokura-yama no</i>	that it bears the name
<i>na ni ha ohikere²</i>	“Great Storehouse Mountain.”

Here *kari-ho* clearly means “reaped ears,” so Teika may well have considered it a pivot word in Tenji’s poem.

A poem of similar grammatical structure to the one in the *Man'yō Shū* is also credited to Tenji and included in the *ShinKokinshū* (Misc. 1): 1687:

<i>asakura ya</i>	Asakura!
<i>ki no maru-dono ni</i>	when I am here
<i>wa ga woreba</i>	in the hall of unbarked logs,
<i>na-nori wo shitsutsu</i>	whose child is that,
<i>iku ha taga ko zo</i>	who passes by, announcing his name?

Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104–1177) attributed this poem to Tenji in his *Ōgi Shō*. Asakura was where Tenji’s mother, Empress Saimei, died while she and Tenji were leading an army to Korea to aid the kingdoms of Koma and Kudara. Some commentators (*Yoritaka-bon*) argued that the *One Hundred Poets* poem too was composed while Tenji was at Asakura or, more particularly, that it was a song of mourning over his mother’s death there (*Yūsai Shō*). The *Yoritaka-bon* identifies the poem as a *jukkai no mi-uta*, or poem “expressing personal grievances.”³ While the *Yoritaka-bon* interprets the poem as a complaint about being away from the capital, that is, a complaint about homesickness, most commentaries that see the poem as a *jukkai* (such as *Ōei Shō*) believe that Tenji is lamenting the decline of imperial authority. However, the generally accepted interpretation is that Teika saw this as a poem expressing an emperor’s compassion for the lot of the peasants and that he regarded Tenji as a model emperor. This, of course, makes the poem eminently well suited to begin the anthology. Moreover, it was Tenji who bestowed the surname “Fujiwara” on Teika’s ancestors, marking in a sense their own beginning as well.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album shows in its upper register a simple hut and autumn fields. The *Zōsanshō* [Figure 10] shows peasants reaping, clearly representing the pivot word *kari-ho*, even though the accompanying commentary by Yūsai rejects this interpretation not once but three times.⁴ In the Kyoto version [1-1], the *Zōsanshō*'s ill-thatched hut has been transformed into a residence worthy of sheltering the emperor, who is presumably looking out on the scene below him. Moreover, the earlier scrawny and withered tree has been replaced by an auspicious pine, symbol of longevity.

The picture reproduced in Porter [1-2] is a markedly different composition, far more elegiac than pastoral. The low mountains in the background might be taken to suggest the poem on the Three Mountains of Yamato for which Tenji was best known as a poet (see Poem 2). Finally, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [1-3] converts the poem into a celebration of the harvest with the Chinese character for “ripening” (*minori*) superimposed on sheaves of grain, based on the earlier *Hyakushu Hinagata* pattern book.



1-1



1-2



1-3

POEM 2

haru sugite
natsu kinikerashi
shiro-tahe no
koromo hosu tefu
ama no kagu-yama⁵

Spring has passed, and
summer has arrived, it seems.
Heavenly Mount Kagu
where, it is said, they dry robes
of the whitest mulberry!

Empress Jitō

Jitō Tennō (645–702), ruled 687–696 and is counted as the forty-first sovereign. She was the second daughter of Emperor Tenji (Poem 1); her mother was the daughter of Soga no Ochi and empress to Emperor Tenmu. She marched with Tenmu during the Jinshin Disturbance (672) and succeeded him at the age of forty-two, moving the court to Fujiwara no Miya. After eleven years she abdicated in favor of her nephew Monmu. The *Man'yō Shū* includes two *chōka* (one on the death of Tenmu) and five *tanka* by her, including this one. She made many tours, or “imperial progresses,” which provided Hitomaro (Poem 3) an opportunity for some of his finest *chōka*. She has one poem each in the *ShinKokinshū* and *ShinChokusenshū*, but the latter is not considered authentic.



Commentary

This poem originally appears as *Man'yō Shū* 1:28, attributed to Jitō:

haru sugite
natsu kitarurashi
shiro-tahe no
koromo hoshitari
ame no kagu-yama

Spring has passed
and summer has come, it appears,
for they are drying robes
of the whitest mulberry
on heavenly Mount Kagu.

The original *man'yō-gana* transcription gave rise to many different readings in the Heian period, such as *koromo hoshitaru* and *koromo kawakasu*, so that the *ShinKokinshū* editors had to choose one from several possible readings. It is generally agreed that the version they chose is not as forceful as the original, *kinikerashi* contrasting with the more definite *kitarurashi*. Yet the biggest problem is in the fourth line: *koromo hosu tefu*, “they dry robes, it is said,” contrasting with the original’s simple “they dry robes.” The original poem is presumed to

have been written from Jitō's palace, the Fujiwara no Miya, which is only about one mile to the northwest of Mount Kagu—in other words, the empress is writing about a scene before her eyes. The *tefu* of the *ShinKokinshū* version makes it a matter of hearsay, not direct observation. The confusion this change entailed is seen clearly in the commentary to this poem in the *Hyakunin Isshu Hitoyogatari* of 1833:

In the *ShinKokinshū* version it is hard to know whether the words were corrected to conform to the writing of the period [the *ShinKokin* era], or whether there was an error made during the transmission and they were written this way. . . . While there are many complicated explanations found in the many commentaries to the *Hyakunin Isshu*, one finds none that can clearly explain the matter.

(See Chapter 2.) Far more time, however, has been spent disputing the meaning of *shiro-tahe*. While it is clear that in the original poem this meant white clothes made out of *tahe*, a kind of paper mulberry, with the exception of the *Keikō Shō* all commentators have taken this expression to be a metaphor. The question then becomes just what it is meant to be a metaphor for.

The interpretation of the *Ōei Shō*, Yūsai, and others is reflected in Kitamura Kigin's mid-Edo-period commentary in the *Hachidaishū Shō*:

Ama no Kaguyama during spring is completely hidden by mist (*kasumi*) and cannot be seen; but when summer comes the mist rises and is dispelled and in the early summer weather, this mountain can be clearly seen—this is called “drying the white robes” (*shiro-tahe no koromo hosu*). “To dry” is a word association (*engo*) with “robe.” Summer comes and strips off the garment of mist, and the mountain becomes clearly visible, so the poet sings of this by the phrase *shiro-tahe no koromo hosu*.⁶

Contrarily, the *Yoritaka-bon* argues that the phrase means *covering* by mist. Shimazu, following the *Kamijō-hon* (mid-Muromachi), argues that *shiro-tahe* was understood by Teika as a metaphor for *unohana*, or deutzia. As evidence he cites the following poem from Teika's own collected poems, the *Shūi Gusō*:

<i>shiro-tahe no</i>	They dry the robes
<i>koromo hosu tefu</i>	of white mulberry, it is said,
<i>natsu no kite</i>	when summer comes,
<i>kaki-ne mo tawa ni</i>	and even the fence bends under their
	weight—
<i>sakeru unohana</i>	the deutzia in bloom.

Yet Katagiri cites a poem by GoToba, *ShinKokinshū* (Spring 1): 2, as evidence that Mount Kagu was also associated with mist in Teika's day. In any event, the *One Hundred Poets* poem is placed at the beginning of the summer section of the *ShinKokinshū* and was no doubt taken to refer to the seasonal changing of clothes. Finally, as Katagiri notes, Mount Kagu was used in poems celebrating the sovereign's longevity, as in this poem from the imperial anthology that preceded the *ShinKokinshū*, the *Senzaishū* (Felicitations): 608 (presented 1188):

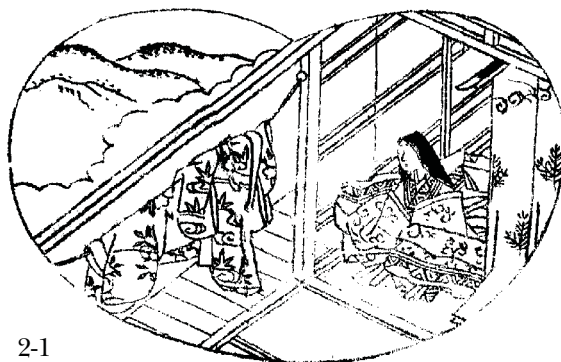
*kimi ga yo ha
ama no kago-yama
idzuru hi no
teramu kagiri ha
tsukiji to zo omofu*

During my lord's reign
I pray there be no limit
to the shining of the sun
that emerges from
Heavenly Mount Kago!

The reason for this association is that Mount Kagu was the location of the stone door that Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess and ancestor of the imperial line, closed behind her when she withheld her light from the world; thus these poems make a specific link between the light of the Sun Goddess and the rays of beneficent rule of her earthly descendant, the mikado. Likewise, Teika's placement of this poem in the *One Hundred Poets* may well have been meant to suggest such celebratory poems. Moreover, Emperor Tenji was best-known as a poet for his *chōka* on the Three Mountains of Yamato, of which Kagu-yama was one.⁷ Finally, by choosing the daughter of the first poet in the collection, Teika is asserting the hereditary nature of poetry, something he mirrors in the relationship of the last two poems in this anthology, by GoToba and his son Juntoku.

The Pictures

Artists made various attempts to represent what they understood to be the metaphorical meaning of the phrase “dry robes of the whitest mulberry.” This was generally understood by commentators to be a metaphor for spring mist, as seen in the Porter pictorialization [2-2], though we are unable to tell whether the mist is coming or going. That it is rising to reveal Mount Kagu is clearer in the *Shūgyoku Hyakunin Isshu-kan* of 1836 [2-3], where the clouds are completely above the mountain. Yet Moronobu and others after him included the metaphoric image as well, the robe floating in the sky [2-4]. Such pictorializations seem to have been suggested by the popular association between this poem and the *Hagoromo* legend (mentioned explicitly in the *Sugata-e* commentary). The floating robe motif is marvelously transformed in the *Hyakushu Hinagata* [2-5], where we see the trailing skirts of the rising heavenly maiden disappearing over the right shoulder. (The butterflies, or *chō*, are meant to represent the words *tefu*, pronounced /*chō*/.) Other illustrators, such as Hasegawa [2-1], emphasize the seasonal airing of robes, despite the illogical nature of this interpretation as pointed out in the *Hyakunin Isshu Hitoyo-gatari*.



2-1



2-2



2-3



2-4



2-5

POEM 3

ashi-biki no
yama-dori no wo no
shidari-wo no
naga-nagashi yo wo
hitori kamo nemu⁸

Must I sleep alone
through the long autumn nights,
long like the dragging tail
of the mountain pheasant
separated from his dove?

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro

Hitomaro (dates unknown) was a court poet under Empress Jitō (Poem 2) and Emperor Monmu (r. 697–707). He served as a low-ranking official and is said to have died (ca. 707–708) while posted to Iwami province (modern Shimane prefecture). The representative *Man'yō Shū* poet, with eighteen *chōka* and sixty-seven *tanka*, he was venerated and worshiped as the saint of poetry since the middle ages. *The Collected Poems of Kakinomoto (Kakinomoto Shū)* is a posthumous collection. Some 248 poems attributed to him appear in the *Kokinshū* and later imperial anthologies, but as these are all drawn from the *Kakinomoto Shū*, their authenticity is dubious. Hitomaro is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals (*sanjūrokkasen*).



Commentary

Teika drew this poem from the *Shūishū* (13 [Love 3]:778). Its original appearance in the *Man'yō Shū* (anon. 2802), however, is a good example of how much two poems could differ and still be thought of as “the same” poem by early Japanese editors. The *Man'yō Shū* text reads:

omohedomo
omohi no kanetsu
ashi-hiki no
yama-dori no wo no
nagaki kono yo wo

Even though I vow not to think of her
I cannot help but think of her
all through this night, long
like the tail of the mountain-pheasant
in the foot-wearing mountains.

We, however, shall concern ourselves only with the version found in the *Shūishū*.

The first problem for the Western translator is the first line: *ashi-hiki no*. This is a *makura-kotoba*, or “pillow word,” a conventional epithet that modifies the first word of the following line, in this case “mountain” (*yama*). Pillow words are characteristic of *Man'yō Shū* period poetry and many, such as the one under consideration, are of unknown meaning. In the *Man'yō Shū* this phrase is also written with the Chinese characters that mean, literally, “foot-cypress-’s.” Dickins argued that the “least unacceptable explanation seems to be *ikashi-hi-ki*, flourishing or abundant *hi* (*chamaecyparis*) trees.”⁹ Medieval poets, however, seem to have taken *ashi* to mean “reed.”¹⁰ In any event, the most commonly used characters were those that signified “foot-pull,” and since the nineteenth century it has been the practice of English scholars to translate the phrase as “foot-dragging,” “foot-wearing,” or some such. Modern Japanese paraphrases either omit the phrase or leave it untranslated.

Not only does this poem give an example of an unambiguous pillow word (unlike *shiro-take no* in Poem 2), it also gives a fine example of a *jo*, or “preface.” This is “a section of unspecified length that precedes the main statement in the poem and is joined to it by wordplay, similarity of sound, or an implied rhetorical relationship.”¹¹ In this poem the entire first three lines serve only as a preface for the adjective *naga-nagashi* (“long”). If this preface is seen as connected only to the immediately succeeding word, then the preface would be considered *mushin*, or minimally motivated. The *ushin*, or fully motivated, interpretation notes that the long-tailed mountain pheasant was believed to part from its mate at night to sleep in separate ravines, a belief attested to in *Toshiyori’s Poetic Essentials* (*Toshiyori Zuinō*, ca. 1111) and suggested as early as *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon* (*Makura no Sōshi*) (and thus leading to the translation with “separated from his dove” given above).¹² The poem comes from a group of poems in the *Man'yō Shū* called *kibutsu-chinshika*, or “pathetic fallacy poems,” while in the *Shūishū* it was grouped with a set of poems all starting with the pillow word *ashi-hiki no*. In Teika’s day, technical appreciation focused on the repetition of the syllable *no* to suggest the long night.¹³

The Pictures

While the figure of Hitomaro in the Tan’yū album clearly follows the standard iconography, seen also in the Satake-bon, the face has a decidedly Chinese cast, for the poet’s beard is longer and wispier.¹⁴ This beard style is kept in the *Zōsanshō kasen-e* where, however, the poet is portrayed as much older—a characterization that is then utilized in Moronobu’s *Sugata-e*, where the poet, being led to bed by both a young woman and young man, is most clearly not sleeping alone. In terms of the poem’s pictorialization, the *Zōsanshō* figure is fairly straightforward [3–1]. Both it and the Kyoto artist [3–2] seem to disregard the sense of the poem by having both a male and female pheasant—no doubt influenced by the convention of bird-and-flower paintings (*kachōga*) popular at the time (though the *Hyakushū Hinagata* uses only the male pheasant). The Kyoto artist adds autumn leaves to indicate the season with the longest nights of the year, as well as grasses or reeds with dew-

drops on them—whether the flora is meant to suggest *ashi*, or the dew “beads” (*tama*), an *engo* for *hiku*, is unclear. Both the Porter artist and the *Eiga* [3-3] give only one bird, but the setting is not a ravine as in the other pictures and the latter has added a river. The *Kangyoku* [3-4] shows the lonely poet in bed.



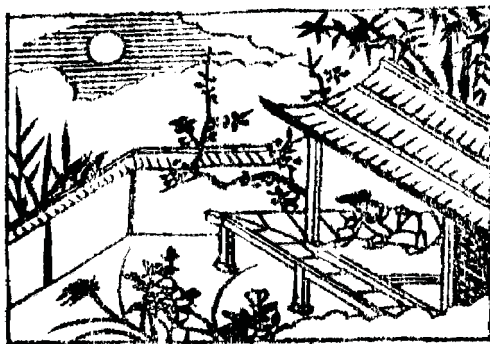
3-1



3-2



3-3



3-4

POEM 4

tago no ura ni
uchi-idete mireba
shiro-tahe no
fuji no taka-ne ni
yuki ha furitsutsu¹⁵

As I set out on
the beach of Tago, and look,
I see the snow constantly falling
on the high peak of Fuji,
white as mulberry cloth.

Yamabe no Akahito

Akahito (dates unknown) was an early Nara-period (646–794) court poet and a contemporary of Hitomaro (Poem 3), with whom he is ranked in the *Kokinshū* preface. One of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, he has thirteen *chōka* and thirty-seven *tanka* included in the *Man'yō Shū*, all composed during the reign of Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–749), including poems composed for Shōmu's visits to Yoshino, Naniwa, and Kii. He has about forty-six poems in the imperial anthologies, starting with the *Gosenshū*, though all are of doubtful authenticity. *The Collected Poems of Akahito (Akahito Shū)* is a later compilation.

Commentary

The original poem appears as an envoi (*hanka*) to a *chōka*, *Man'yō Shū* 3:317, with a headnote (*kotoba-gaki*):

Poem on viewing Mount Fuji by Yamabe Akahito, with *tanka*:

tago no ura ya
uchi-idete mireba
mashiro ni zo
fuji no taka-ne ni
yuki ha furikeru

Coming out
from Tago's nestled cove,
I gaze:
white, pure white
the snow has fallen
on Fuji's lofty peak.¹⁶

Like Poem 2 by Empress Jitō, there appear to have been many different readings of the *Man'yō* script of this poem in the Heian period. Of the three differences between the *Man'yō Shū* source poem and the *One Hundred Poets* version, two have received attention. The *One Hundred Poets* version has the first line



reading *tago no ura ni*, that is, “at/on Tago no Ura,” which in turn forces the *uchi-idete* to mean “setting out on,” while the original clearly has “coming out of/from (*yu*) Tago no Ura,” with *uchi-idete* then meaning “coming out (from the shadow).” Thus Tago no Ura itself was at the time some spot in mountain shadow where Fuji could not be seen, probably somewhere around present-day Yubi, Nishi Kurazawa, or Mount Satsuta.¹⁷ Under the influence of the *One Hundred Poets* reading of this poem, the location of Tago no Ura was relocated to a place where Fuji could in fact be seen, with *ura* being translated as “beach” rather than “bay.” Despite its changed wording, both the “bay” and the “beach” interpretations were followed in the early Edo period.

The second problem is the last line, where *One Hundred Poets* has *furi-tsutsu* for the original’s *furikeru*. The latter simply means “the snow is falling (and has been falling, but I just became able to see it),” while the former’s *-tsutsu* indicates the repetition of an action (as in Poem 1’s “my sleeve keeps getting wetted *repeatedly* by the dew”). Yet if Akahito is speeding through Tago Bay and seeing Fuji for the first time, he is not present long enough to be able to assert that the snow “keeps” falling.¹⁸

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* picture [4-2] clearly follows the “beach” interpretation, while the 1746 Kyoto illustrator [4-3] has adapted the “bay” interpretation. Hasegawa’s fan [4-1] is distinctive in its emphasis of the coldness, with Akahito’s hands in his sleeves and snow on the bamboo grass beside him, suggesting a plaint about the cold (perhaps suggested by the poem’s similarity to Poem 1, both with the suffix *-tsutsu*) rather than a celebration of natural beauty. Contrarily, in Moronobu’s *Sugata-e* [4-4], the poet looks very comfortable indeed (and on the beach, despite the accompanying commentary’s specific explanation of the poet going out in a boat). The *Hyakushū Hinagata* has a bay full of boat sails, as well as snowflakes bearing words of the poem falling onto an outline of Mount Fuji.



4-1



4-2



4-3



4-4

POEM 5

oku-yama ni
momijhi fumi-wake
naku shika no
kove kiku toki zo
aki ha kanashiki¹⁹

When I hear the voice
of the stag crying for his mate
stepping through the fallen leaves
deep in the mountains—then is the time
that autumn is saddest.



Senior Assistant Minister Sarumaru

Absolutely nothing is known about Sarumaru-Dayū (also read “Sarumaru Taifu”). In the Chinese preface (*manajo*) to the *Kokinshū*, Ōtomo no Kuronushi (830?–923?) is described as the stylistic inheritor of the “Illustrious Sarumaru,”²⁰ on the basis of which Sarumaru is assumed to be a real person who lived sometime prior to the latter half of the eighth century. *The Collected Poems of Senior Assistant Minister Sarumaru (Sarumaru-Dayū Shū)* is a later compilation, and the poems in it are of dubious authenticity. Besides this poem none of his poems are included in any imperial anthologies. In fact, this poem is listed as anonymous in the *Kokinshū* (Autumn 4:215), and simply labeled as composed for a poetry contest sponsored by Prince Koresada in 893. It is also included in the personal (Japanese) poetry collection of Michizane, casting further doubt on the authorship of this poem. Mention of Sarumaru’s grave is found in Kamo no Chōmei’s *Account of a Ten-Foot-Square Hut (Hōjō Ki)* and his *Untitled Treatise (Mu’myō Shō)*. Given that so little is known of him, and that *saru* means “monkey,” many portraits portray the poet as monkey-faced. He is included among Kintō’s Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

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Commentary

For such a beautifully simple poem, the problems of interpretation it has engendered are legion. The first question is: *who* is stepping on the leaves—the poet or the deer? Although it appears in the *Sarumaru Shū* as *shika no naku wo kikite* (“when I listen to the crying of the deer”), Mabuchi in his *Kokin Waka Shū Uchi-giki* of 1789 claimed that it is the poet who is walking though the leaves—an interpretation seconded by modern editors of the *Kokinshū*.²¹ Historically, however, this has been a minority view. Rather, the poet has been understood to

be in or near the hills of a village (*toyama* or *hayama* in contrast to *okuyama*) where he hears the stag's cry coming from deep within the mountains. This interpretation is further reinforced by the poem's position in the *Kokinshū*, where it is the second in a group of five poems on deer. In fact, the placement of the poem in both the *Kokinshū* and in Teika's *Nishidai Shū* (compiled in 1234–1235) tells us a great deal about how the reading of this poem changed over three hundred years.

As Ariyoshi has pointed out, in the *Kokinshū* this poem appears just after the midpoint of Autumn Book 1, the second poem in a group of five on deer. The next three poems are on deer and bush clover (*hagi*). Clearly the poem is set in midautumn and the word *momijhi* (“autumn leaves”) refers to the yellowing leaves of the bush clover that the deer or poet is passing through. (In the version of this poem that appears in the *Shinsen Man'yō Shū*, *momijhi* is written with characters that mean “yellow leaves,” rather than the “scarlet leaves” used for the maple, or *kaede*.) Yet in his *Nishidai Shū* collection Teika placed the poem in a group of late autumn poems. In the *Ōei Commentary* we learn that it was believed that the leaves changed in the villages before they changed in the fastness of the mountains, and several commentaries point to the following poem by Priest Shun'e (Poem 85) (*SKKS* Autumn 2:451):

<i>tatsuta-yama</i>	Mount Tatsuta:
<i>kozuwe mabara ni</i>	as the treetops
<i>naru mama ni</i>	become thinner,
<i>fukaku mo shika no</i>	deeper still the deer go
<i>soyogu naru kana</i>	into the mountain, crying!

Accordingly, the *One Hundred Poets* poem was believed in the medieval and early modern periods to be set in late autumn and the *momijhi* to refer to fallen maple leaves.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album depicts an aged Sarumaru, with a single stag in low hills covered with autumn leaves of yellow and red. The *Zōsanshō* [5–1] has two deer, male and female, deep within a mountain ravine, accompanied by maple leaves. The *Sugata-e* [5–2] suggests a combination of the Tan'yū album and *Zōsanshō*, while in front the relaxed poet seems to be receiving a massage from a young woman.²² In all of these the leaves, whether maple or not, are clearly on the trees rather than fallen to the ground, a feature preserved by the Porter artist as well [5–3]. Nonetheless, the *Sugata-e* commentary clearly indicates that the poem was read as set in late autumn, with fallen leaves. The *Shūgyoku* of 1836 [5–4] is clearly related to the Porter version, but the artist has added fallen leaves for the deer to track through, perhaps showing the influence of Shun'e's poem with its *soyogu*. Both these latter two versions also seem to suggest that the deer are *entering* the mountain.



5-1



5-2



5-3



5-4

POEM 6

*kasasagi no
wataseru hashi ni
oku shimo no
shiroki wo mireba
yo zo fukenikeru*²³

When I see the whiteness
of the frost that lies
on the bridge the magpies spread,
then do I know, indeed,
that the night has deepened.

Middle Counselor Yakamochi

Chūnagon Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718–785), best known as the final editor of the *Man'yō Shū* (ca. 759), which includes many of his poems: over forty *chōka* and close to four hundred *tanka*. He is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. *The Collected Poems of Yakamochi* (*Yakamochi Shū*) is by a later compiler. With poems first included in the *Shūishū* (ca. 1005–1011), Yakamochi has sixty-two poems included in imperial anthologies.²⁴

Commentary

This poem is taken from the *Yakamochi Shū* but does not appear in the *Man'yō Shū*; in fact, the expression “magpie bridge” appears nowhere in the entire collection, suggesting that this poem is a creation of the early Heian period, rather



than the late Nara period when Yakamochi lived. The understanding of the phrase *kasasagi no wataseru hashi* has divided interpretations into two camps. One camp understands the poem as having been composed when the poet was looking at the stars sparkling coldly in the winter sky and, seeing the whiteness of the heavens filled with frost, was reminded of the autumn night of Tanabata, when frost lays on the bridge of magpies spread across the River of Heaven, allowing the Ox Herd (the constellation Aquila) to make his yearly visit to the Weaver Maid (Vega). However, the evidence from the *Tales of Yamato* (*Yamato Monogatari*) makes it quite clear that in the Heian period “the magpie’s bridge” referred to bridges or stairs that led up to the palace.²⁵ In such a case, the poet is keeping nightwatch in the palace and sees actual frost on an actual bridge.

Poems by Teika's contemporaries, however, indicate that poets of the thirteenth century onward understood this poem to be alluding to the Tanabata legend.²⁶

The Pictures

While the Tan'yū album shows a frosty streak in the sky (see Figure 42), the Tanabata interpretation is used in the *Zōsanshō* [6-2]. This is made the upper-register inset in the *Sugata-e*, (see Figure 40) where the foreground presents the thoroughly contemporary image of a playboy being led back from an evening in the Yoshiwara brothel district. The *Sugata-e* commentary glosses *kasasagi* as “crows” (*karasu*), suggesting that the meaning of the former term was not commonly known; it is taken for a kind of heron (*sagi*) by both the *Hyakushū Hina-gata* kimono design [6-3] and the *Shikishi Moyō* [6-4], which allows the transformation of black birds into auspicious white ones. In the former pattern book the characters for *oku shimo* are drawn in archaic Chinese script (this poem was long believed by many commentators to be based on a famous Chinese verse), while Tanabata is indicated by the bamboo-stalks from which Tanabata poems were typically hung. The *Shikishi Moyō* [6-4] frees the cranes from the bridge format and dispenses with the character for *oku* (“to fall” in relation to dew but meaning more literally “to place”) with the character for “frost” (*shimo*) set on a bridge. As noted above, however, the original poem has nothing to do with the Tanabata legend, and in the Heian period the “magpie bridge” referred to bridges leading up to the imperial palace, as illustrated by Kuniyoshi and Kunisada in their 1849 edition (see Plate 3). Nonetheless, this scholarly interpretive advance was generally ignored—most readers *wanted* this poem to refer to the Tanabata legend, as seen most clearly in the Porter illustration [6-1].



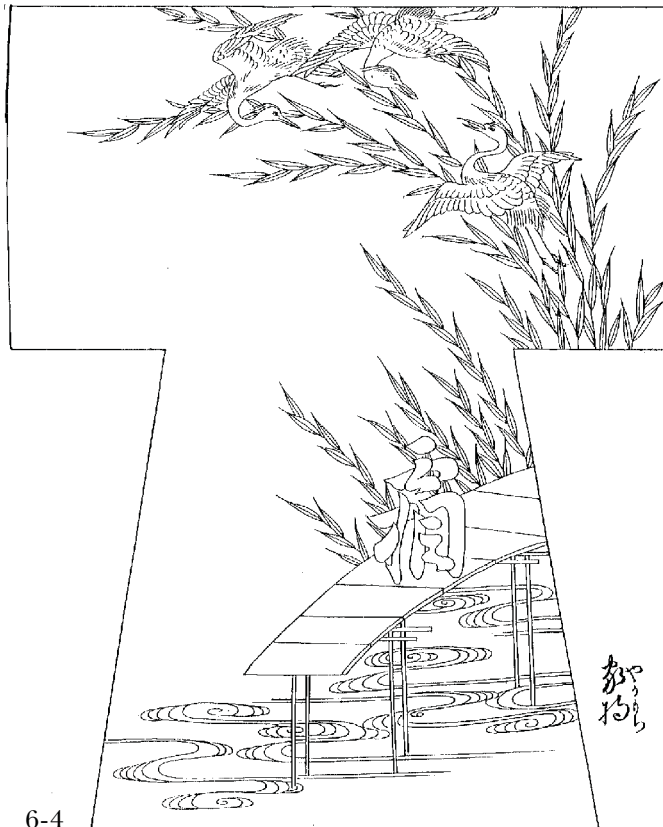
6-1



6-2



6-3



6-4

POEM 7

ama no hara
furi-sake-mireba
kasuga naru
mikasa no yama ni
ideshi tsuki kamo²⁷

As I gaze out, far
across the plain of heaven,
ah, at Kasuga,
from behind Mount Mikasa,
it's the same moon that came out then!

Abe no Nakamaro

At the age of sixteen, Nakamaro (701–770) went with the priest Genbō and Kibi no Makibi to study in China.²⁸ He rose to high position in the service of the T'ang emperor Hsüan-tsung and became friends with such famous poets as Li Po and Wang Wei. In 753 he set out to return to Japan with Fujiwara no Kiyokawa, but they were shipwrecked off the coast of Annam in Southeast Asia. He returned to China, where he died at the age of seventy. He has one poem in the *Kokinshū* and one in the *ShokuKokinshū*.



Commentary

This poem is Nakamaro's sole inclusion in the *Kokinshū*, but it is set as the first poem in the "Travel" section, a place of honor. To it is appended the following story:

Long ago, Nakamaro was sent to study in China. After he had had to stay for many years, there was an opportunity for him to take passage home with a returning Japanese embassy. He set out, and a group of Chinese held a farewell party for him on the beach at a place called Mingzhou. This poem is said to have been composed after nightfall, when Nakamaro noticed that an extraordinarily beautiful moon had risen.²⁹

A longer and more romanticized account is found in Tsurayuki's *Tosa Diary* (ca. 935):

The Twentieth-night moon appeared. With no mountain rim from which to emerge, it seemed to rise out of the sea. Just such a sight must have greeted the eyes of Abe no Nakamaro when he prepared to return home from China long ago. At the place where he was to board ship, the Chinese gave him a farewell party, lamenting the separation and composing poems in their language. As they lingered there, seemingly reluctant to let him go, the Twenti-

eth-night moon rose from the sea. Nakamaro recited a composition in Japanese, remarking, “Such poems have been composed by the gods in our country ever since the divine age. Nowadays people of all classes compose them when they regret the necessity of parting, as we are doing, or when they feel joy or sorrow:”

<i>aounabara</i>	When I gaze far out
<i>furi-sake-mireba</i>	across the blue-green sea plain,
<i>kasuga naru</i>	I see the same moon
<i>mikasa no yama ni</i>	that came up over the hill
<i>ideshi tsuki kamo</i>	of Mikasa at Kasuga.

Although Nakamaro had feared that the poem would be unintelligible to the Chinese, he wrote down the gist in characters and explained it to someone who understood our language, and then it received unexpectedly warm praise. They must have been able to appreciate his emotions, after all. Although China and this country use different languages, moonlight must look the same in both places, evoking the same human feelings.³⁰

Commentaries on this poem concerned themselves with chiefly two points: whether this poem was in fact composed on the occasion described in the *Kokinshū* (though debate on this point only starts with the *Iken* in 1815); and the interpretation of the second line, *furi-sake-mireba*. Only the latter point need concern us here. *Sake* means “to remove,” “to release,” or “distant.” The whole phrase *ama no hara furi-sake-mireba* is in fact found in three other *Man'yō Shū* poems, including 3:317 by Akahito, to which Poem 4 originally served as an envoi.³¹ The *Ōei Commentary* and the *Minō Commentary*, however, read the main verb as *sage* (“to carry in one’s hand”); the latter text paraphrases the whole line as “seeing it as if one had taken it in one’s hands.”

The point of the poem has frequently been missed by English translators. As Ogawa Masao has pointed out in his edition of the *Kokinshū*, Kasuga Shrine was where envoys such as Nakamaro prayed for safe return before setting out to China. Thus Nakamaro is not comparing the moon he sees in China to the moon that rises over Kasuga (to the detriment of the former, as the chauvinistic *Kamijō-bon* would have it), but to the moon that rose (*ideshi*) the night he prayed there.

The poem was included in the *Wakan Rōei Shū* and universally admired as *take-takashi, yosei kagiri nashi* (as it says in the *Ōei Shō*), or “vast in scale and limitless in resonance.” The resonance, of course, was due more to the story surrounding the poem than anything inherent in the verse itself.

Like the phrase *ama no hara furi-sake-mireba*, the lines *kasuga naru mikasa yama ni* also appear in other *Man'yō Shū* poems (7:1295; 10:1887). Modern commentators also point out that the expletive *kamo* marks this as a Nara-period poem. This poem is, in fact, the oldest datable poem in the *Kokinshū*, and thus the image of Nakamaro gazing wistfully toward Japan serves as a fine bridge to the next section of poems, drawn from the *Kokinshū* era itself, with its distinctively different poetic style.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [7-2] has Nakamaro sitting with a figure that calls to mind such images as the Chinese poet depicted in the twelfth century *Tōji Landscape Screen* (*Tōji Senzui Byōbu*)—most likely we are to take the figure specifically as a poet, perhaps Li Po or Wang Wei. The 1749 Kyoto artist [7-3] may be depicting the *sage* reading, with the poet's hand outstretched; Moronobu uses a somewhat similar gesture in his *Sugata-e* (see Figure 41). The Kyoto drawing presents the poem as a soliloquy, following just the headnote of the *Kokinshū*, or, rather, not incorporating the appended story into the pictorialization. By contrast the Porter artist [7-1] alludes clearly to the banquet occasion, and his fantastic rocks and creeper-hung tree present a distinctly “Chinese” setting. The possibility for a chauvinistic interpretation of this poem, as seen in the *Kamijō-bon* commentary, is fully realized in Hokusai's rendition (see Plate 5), where the Chinese are kowtowing to an elevated Nakamaro.



7-1



7-2



7-3

POEM 8

wa ga iho ha
miyako no tatsu-mi
shika zo sumu
yo wo ujhi-yama to
hito ha ifu nari³²

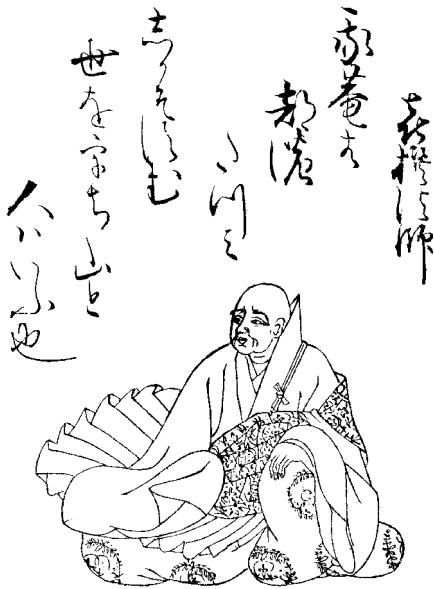
My hut is to
the capital's southeast
and thus I live. But
people call it "Uji, hill
of one weary of the world," I hear.

Master of the Law Kisen

Kisen Hōshi (mid-ninth century) is a legendary figure. He is mentioned in the Japanese preface of the *Kokinshū* (and hence counted among the Six Poetic Immortals), but otherwise he is unknown. The preface states:

The poetry of Priest Kisen of Mount Uji is vague, and the logic does not run smoothly from beginning to end. Reading his poems is like looking at the autumn moon only to have it obscured by the clouds of dawn. Since few of his poems are known, we cannot make comparisons and come to understand them.³³

In fact, this is the only poem of his in the *Kokinshū* and the only one that can be firmly attributed to him.



Commentary

As discussed in Chapter 1, this poem is based on a pivot word place-name (*utamakura*): the lines *yo wo ujhi-yama to / hito ha ifu nari* contain two sentences: *yo wo u* (“the world is bitter”) and *ujhi-yama to hito ha ifu nari* (“I hear people call it Uji Mountain”), which are joined only by the “pivoting” syllable *u*, which is part of both sentences. Both Uji Mountain and Uji River became associated with gloom.

The third line of this poem reads literally: “Thus [or “like this”], indeed, I live.” The question then becomes to what “thus” or “like this” refers—like *what*? One interpretation has it referring to the second hemistich, yielding a meaning such as: “people say the world is full of grief and call this place ‘Grief Mountain,’ and I, too, thinking that way, live here.” The other interpretation (which

includes all of the old commentaries) sees the *ha* of *hito ha* as contrastive (“people say . . . but *I* say . . .”), yielding: “although [other] people call it Grief Mountain, *I* live here thus [contentedly].” The *Kokin Roku-jō* has the last line as *ifu ramu* (“they say, it seems”), which would support this latter interpretation. *Nari* also serves here to indicate hearsay.³⁴

The Pictures

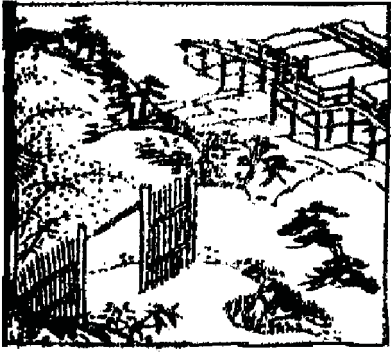
As noted in Part One (pp. 125–126), premodern commentaries made much of the potential wordplay on *shika*, meaning both “thus” and “deer,” but standard pictorializations, such as the *Zōsanshō* [8–1], have no deer. The Kyoto artist [8–2] emphasizes the natural feature for which Uji had become most famous since *The Tale of Genji*—its river—to which the *Kangyoku* [8–3] adds its equally famous bridge. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [8–4] includes characters for the place-name “Uji”; but rather than using any images associated with that place, it links the “u” of “Uji” with the *unohana* (an unconventional association), or deutzia, a flower associated with early summer, thus avoiding any suggestion of *ushi*, or “weariness.”



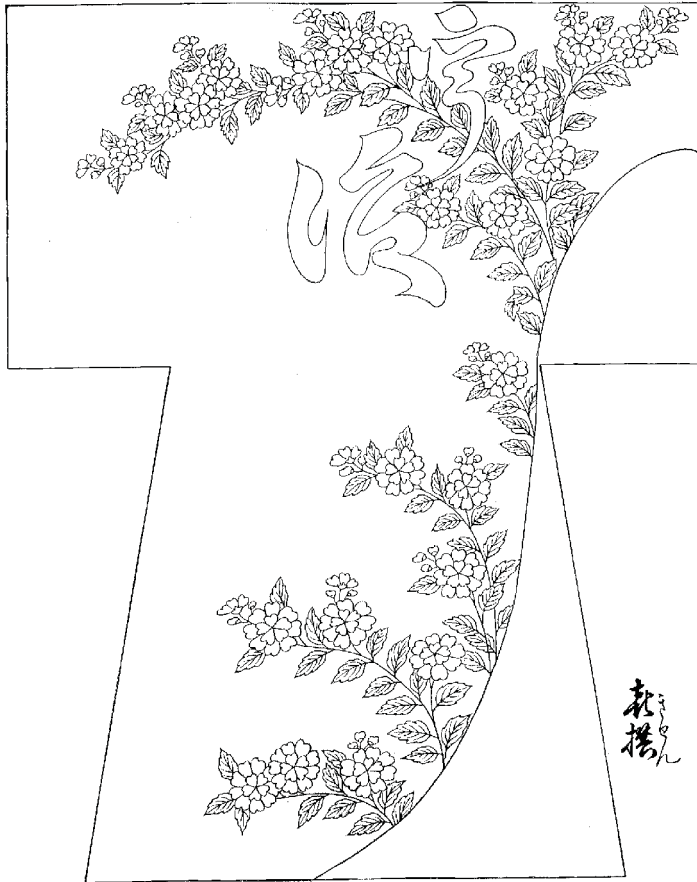
8-1



8-2



8-3

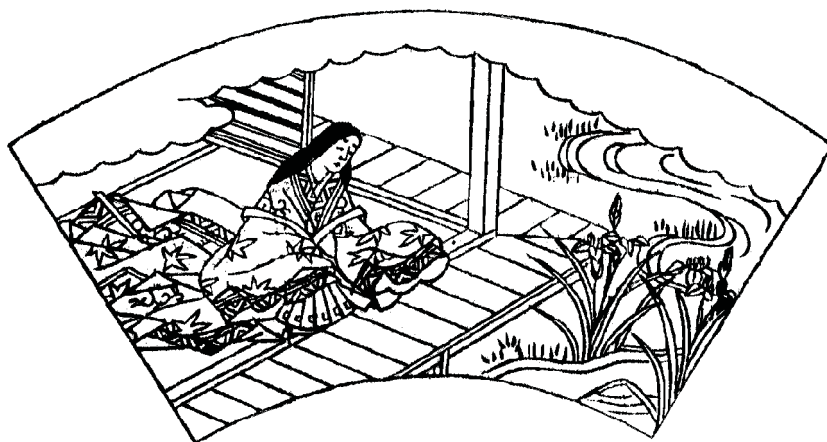


8-4

Komachi's poem is a technical tour-de-force. The third-line adverb "in vain/uselessly (*itadzura ni*)" can be seen to modify either the lines above, or below, or both. The second half of the poem is built around the pivot words *furu* and *nagame*. The latter means both "to gaze pensively, lost in thought," and "long rains (*naga-ame*)." *Furu* can mean (1) "to fall (as in rain)," (2) "to pass (time), elapse, experience," and (3) "to grow old." In the age of the *Kokinshū* apparently the pun was understood to entail meanings 1 and 3 (thus yielding a translation of the fourth line something like "have I grown old in this world"), while Teika probably understood the pun to entail meanings 1 and 2.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album has the poet sitting under a weeping cherry with just the fewest of blossoms remaining among its new leaves. The *Zōsanshō*'s standard iconography [9–2] presents us with the poet leaning on an armrest, gazing out at the cherry blossoms just past full bloom and starting to put forth leaves. The blossoms are shown still on the tree, although the poem is drawn from a section of the *Kokinshū* on "fallen blossoms." Moronobu makes the association between the woman and the flowers explicit in his *Sugata-e* [9–3] by decorating her robe with a cherry-blossom motif (an interpretation made explicit in the accompanying commentary). She is also rearranging her collar, a conventional gesture used to indicate primping or concern over one's appearance. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [9–4] includes a rope that binds the cherry trees as if to hold them back and forms a dam across a stream (seen in many versions, and perhaps meant to suggest *nagareru*, "to flow," and the passage of time), as if to block the drifting blossoms. The character for *yomu*, or "to compose a poem" is inscribed above. Curiously, many artists change the type of flower depicted: the Porter artist uses what appears to be azaleas, while Hasegawa [9–1] shows the poet in a maple-leaf patterned robe, gazing at *ayame* (translated as "sweet-flag" or "iris"), perhaps meant to suggest the phrase *aya nashi*, or "in vain."



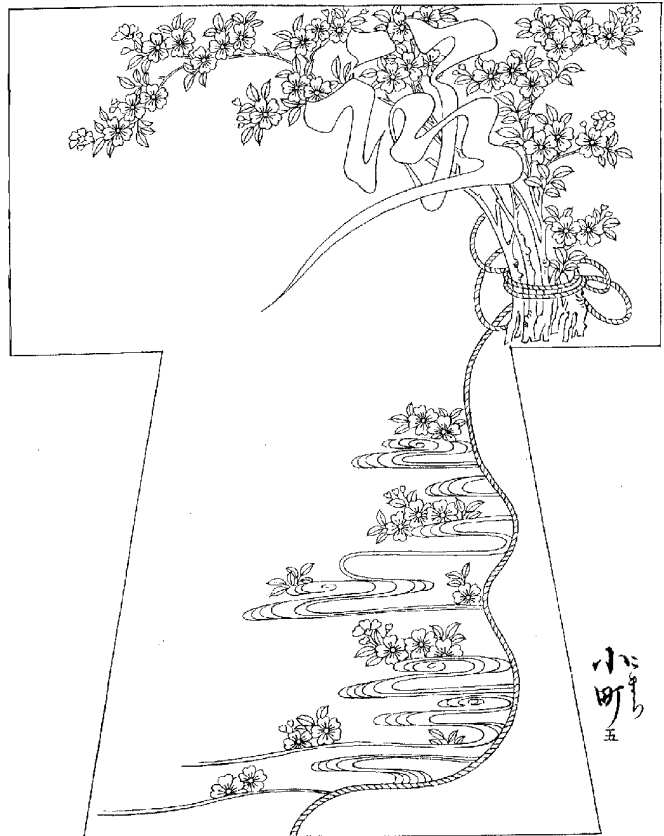
9-1



9-2



9-3



9-4

小町
五

POEM 10

kore ya kono
yuku mo kaheru mo
wakaretsutsu
shiru mo shiranu mo
afusaka no seki³⁶

This it is! That
going, too, and coming, too,
continually separating,
those known and those unknown,
meet at the Barrier of Ōsaka.

Semimaru

Absolutely nothing is known of Semimaru, if in fact he ever existed. Mid-Tokugawa-period documents in Satsuma claim he was the fourth leader of a *mōsō* (“blind priest”) tradition based in Ōmi province. *Mōsō*, or *biwa hōshi*, accompanied the chanting of sutras with the lute-like instrument called *biwa* to placate local dieties. The *Tales of Times Now Past Collection* (*Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, ca. 1100) records Semimaru as a former servant of Prince Atsumi, a son of Emperor Uda, who, blinded, built a hut near Ōsaka Barrier and became a famous *biwa* player. Kamo no Chōmei claims in his *Mu'myō Shō* that Semimaru became the tutelary diety of Ōsaka Pass. By at least 1242, as recorded in the *Tōkan Kikō*, he was identified as a son of Emperor Daigo, abandoned because of his blindness.



As such he became the subject of various plays, including Zeami's *nō*, *Semimaru*. Four poems are attributed to him in the *Gosen-shū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

In most editions of the *One Hundred Poets*, the third line is given as *wakarete ha*. In the *Gosenshū*, however, it appears as *wakaretsutsu* (compare Poem 1 and Poem 4). It also appears this way in Teika's other anthologies, such as the *Kindai Shūka*. The change appears to have taken place through the process of transmission since the time of the *Ōei Shō*.³⁷

The headnote to this poem reads: "On seeing people coming to and fro, when living in a hut he had built at the Barrier of Ōsaka." The Barrier of Ōsaka, or *afusaka no seki*, has long served as an *uta-makura* ("poem-pillow") and famous place-name because *afu* (modern *au*) can also mean "to meet." (This is not the modern Osaka, which was known in earlier days as Naniwa.) The name is frequently translated as "Barrier at Meeting Hill." The folklorist Origuchi Shinobu has drawn attention to two other poems that start with the words *kore ya kono*, one in the *Tales of Ise* (*Ise Monogatari*, episode 62) and one in the *Tales of Times Now Past*. Both these poems come from the area of Ōmi province, and Origuchi "conjectures that this line may have been a phrase of invocation to summon Sakagami, the god of Ausaka [Ōsaka] Pass, to hear supplicant travelers' pleas for safe passage." Susan Matisoff, in her study on Semimaru, notes that:

These poems share with the Semimaru poem more than just the opening invocatory line and the puns on "meeting." Each has for its third line a verb in the continuative *-tsutsu* form . . . it may be that the common features of these three poems are remnants of a regional song style associated with the Ausaka-Ōmi area. If so, the Semimaru poem in the *Gosenshū* would, in its day, have been immediately identifiable from the opening line as a song from the Ausaka area.³⁸

Like Poem 9 by Ono no Komachi, differences of interpretation surrounding this poem center on how symbolically it is to be read. Katagiri suggests that in the era of the *Gosenshū*, the poem was seen as simply a poem about the Ōsaka Barrier. But by the middle ages, this poem had taken on a profoundly Buddhist cast and was read as a comment on the transitory nature of life, along the lines of the expression "all who meet must part (*esha jōri*)."³⁹ Clearly this is the way Teika read this poem, perhaps influenced by the kind of story about Semimaru that appears in the *Tales of Times Now Past*: "The Story of How Lord Minamoto no Hiromasa Went to the Blind Man's Place at Ōsaka."⁴⁰ One of the poems in that tale also appears in a set of three anonymous poems in the *Kokinshū*. In the *ShinKokinshū*, Teika and the other editors attributed all three to Semimaru.

The only other interpretive debate surrounds the lines *yuku mo kaheru mo*. Some suggest that this should be understood to mean not "those that go [to the East] and those who return [from the East]," but rather "those who go [to the East] and those who [see them off and then] return [to the capital]." They point to the fact that this poem appears in the *Collected Poems of Sosei* (*Sosei Shū*), but with the second and third lines reading *yuku mo tomaru mo wakarete ha*, "those who go and those who *stay*." Historically, however, such an interpretation has not been followed.

The Pictures

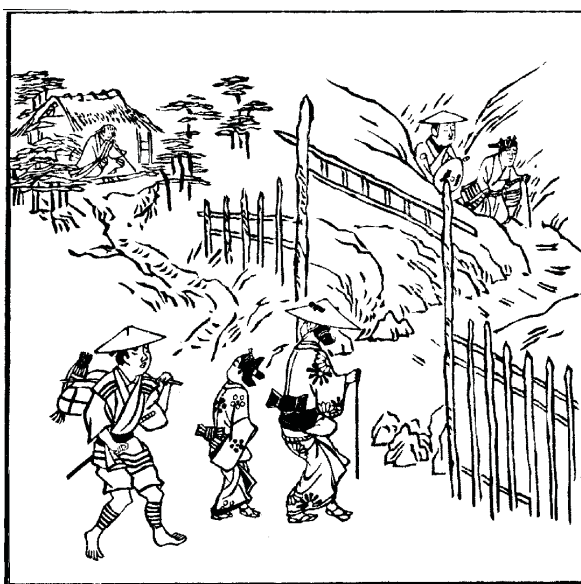
The *Zōsanshō* [10-1] has the travelers in Edo-period costume, with Semimaru's presence indicated only by the hut (compare Poem 1). This poem is alluded to by Saikaku in his *Eternal Storehouse of Japan* when describing an enterprising peddler:

He crossed the Osaka Barrier, where people leaving the capital pass those who return, and thrust his wares “on people who knew each other and those who were strangers.” Even sharp needle peddlars and men who sold writing brushes, accustomed though they were to the wiles of itinerant salesmen, were tricked by Shinroku's deception.⁴¹

Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [10-2] is much the same, except that the travelers now seem of a higher class and include women. Semimaru himself is included this time, though without any musical instrument. The lute is a prominent feature of the *Hyakushu Hinagata* design [10-3], however, and is added to the Kyoto composition as well. The Tan'yū album gives us both the actual figure of Semimaru and his lute in the same composition, also seen in the *Eiga* [10-4].



10-1



10-2

POEM 11

wata no hara
yaso shima kakete
kogi-idenu to
hito ni ha tsugeyo
ama no tsuri-bune⁴²

O tell her, at least,
that I've rowed out, heading towards
the innumerable isles
of the ocean's wide plain,
you fishing boats of the sea-folk!



Consultant Takamura

Sangi Ono no Takamura (802–852), though little of his poetry is extant, was considered the leading Chinese poet of his day, thought to rival Po Chū-i himself. He is best known for being exiled to Oki Island for refusing to join the A.D. 837 embassy to T'ang China; he was granted clemency after only a year. He was also known in his youth for his love of archery and horsemanship, which may explain his military image in the accompanying *kasen-e*. He has six poems in the *Kokinshū* and six more in later imperial anthologies. His Chinese verse is included in the *Wakan Rōei Shū* and other collections. He became a frequent figure in popular tales, and a short romance about his love life is still extant.⁴³

Commentary

In the *Kokinshū* the headnote to this poem reads: “Sent to the home of someone in the capital, as [Takamura’s] boat was setting out, when he was going into exile on Oki Island.” The poem follows directly after Nakamaro’s poem (see Poem 7), which opens the “Travel” section.

The phrase *yaso shima kakete* has caused some confusion. Modern commentators parse it either as “aiming or heading toward the innumerable islands” (*kazu-ōku no shima-jima no hō o me-zashite*) or “passing or threading through innumerable islands” (*kazu-ōku no shima no aida o nuu yō ni shite*). Shimazu is the only critic to offer evidence for his reading along the lines of the former (*Man'yō Shū* 998):

mayu no goto
kumowi ni miyuru
aha no yama
kakete kogu fune
tomari-shirazu mo

The Mountain of Awa,
seen among the clouds
that look like its eyebrows—
the boats that row out, heading there,
have no idea where they will rest.

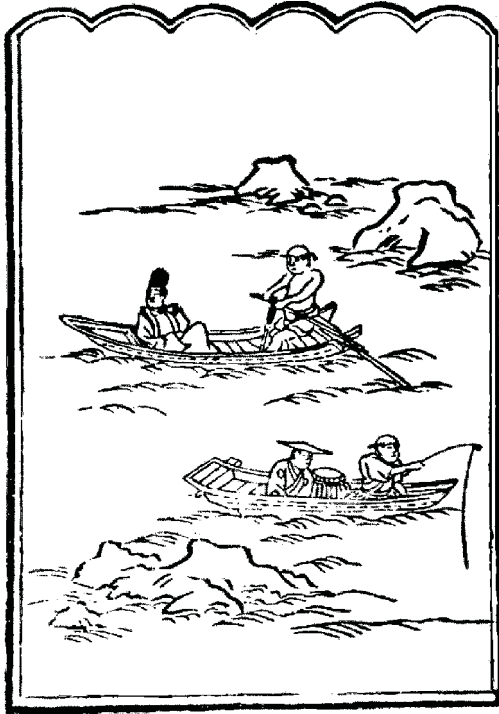
Another issue is the identity of the “person in the capital.” The *ha* is contrastive: “if not everyone, at least tell the one for whom I long.” Some suggest that this person might be an aged mother, but as early as the *Chōkyō Shō* (dated 1487) we find the suggestion that Takamura was exiled when he was discovered to be having an affair with a woman at court. Otherwise, the main point of contention is whether the poet personifies the boats in an ironic fashion, knowing that his plea will fall on the deaf ears of inanimate objects, or whether the poet is comparing his messenger to these small craft returning to their harbor, a return denied the poet himself.

The Pictures

The Tan’yū album has a very sinified (and not at all martial-looking) Takamura raising his hand to his hat as if setting off; in the background is a ship under full sail and a smaller skiff beside it. The *Zōsanshō* [11–2] has Takamura being rowed out from between large rocks, well illustrating the phrase *yaso shima kakete*; the other boat seems to hold Edo-period samurai out on a fishing trip. In fact, Moronobu’s *Sugata-e* [11–3] is less historically anachronistic in its rendering of the boats and focuses on the poet’s address to the fishing boats—leaving out the rocks entirely. The two main figures show that the “person in the capital” is a young lady. The accompanying commentary explains that it is the fishermen who are “insensitive” (rather than the boats)—a thought commonly found in *nō* plays as well. The Kyoto illustrator [11–4] has a messenger waiting on the shore—following interpretations found in the *Kaikan Shō* and *Uimanabi*. (Interestingly, the posture of the figure on the shore duplicates that of Nakamaro [7–3].) Finally, Hasegawa’s fan format [11–1] has Takamura already on the shore, addressing himself to an oblivious fisherman and utilizing many of the motifs also seen in the *Hyakushu Hinagata* design.



11-1



11-2



11-3



11-4

POEM 12

amatsu kaze
kumo no kayohi-jhi
fuki-tojhiyo
wotome no sugata
shibashi todomemu⁴⁴

O heavenly breeze,
blow so as to block
their path back through the clouds!
For I would, if but for a moment,
detain these maidens' forms.

Archbishop Henjō

Sōjō Henjō (816–890), born Yoshimine no Munesada, served Emperor Ninmyō, taking vows upon the latter's death in 849. He is counted among both the Six and the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. He has thirty-five poems in the *Kokinshū* and later anthologies. A *Collected Poems of Henjō* (*Henjō Shū*) is extant.

Commentary

In the *Kokinshū*, the headnote to this poem reads: “Composed on seeing Gosechi dancers”; the author is also listed as “Yoshimine no Munesada,” indicating that this poem was composed sometime between 844, when the poet entered into Emperor Ninmyō’s service, and Ninmyō’s death five years later. The Gosechi dance celebrated the harvest in the Eleventh Month and was performed by four or five



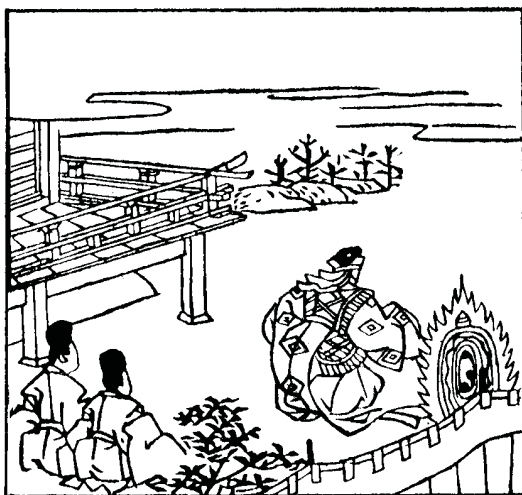
young unmarried women chosen from aristocratic households. The dance was believed to have originated when Emperor Tenmu (r. 673–686, brother of Tenji, Poem 1) was on an excursion to Mount Yoshino. As night fell and the emperor played the koto, heavenly maidens were seen to be dancing in the sky above. Henjō likens the real dancing maidens before his eyes to their heavenly predecessors and, by extension, Emperor Ninmyō’s reign to that of the famous Tenmu. Teika most certainly read the poem through its legendary subtext.

The Pictures

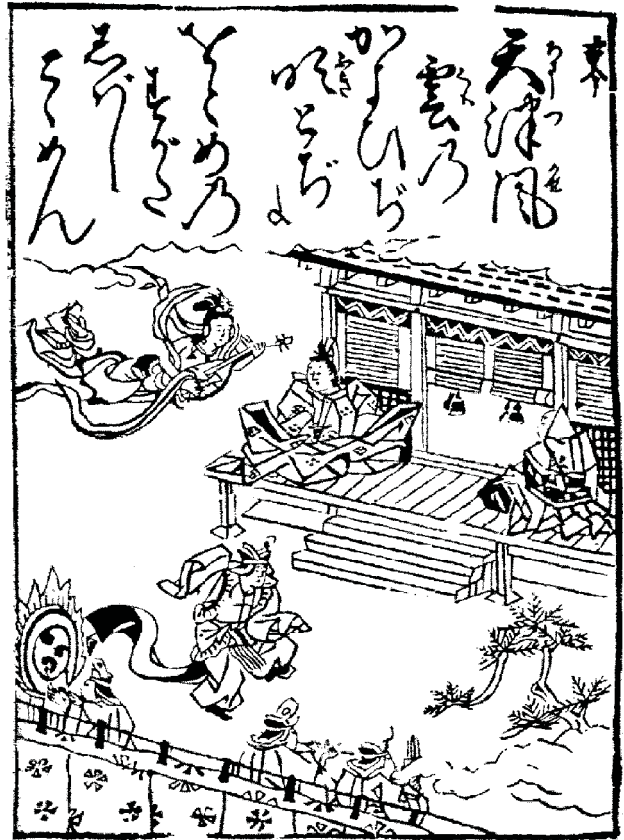
The *Zōsanshō* [12-1] seems to be representing the actual circumstances of the poem's composition, as Henjō and another courtier observe the Gosechi dance in the emperor's presence. (The latter is presumed to be inside the blinds looking out.) For historical accuracy the poet should be presented in secular dress, however, as the poem was composed before he became a monk (a fact noted in the *Yūsai Shō* and other commentaries). Only Porter's artist seems to make this historical correction [12-2], presenting the poet as a courtier. This picture, too, is the only one to give a sense of the dancer's departure and a suggestion of the clouds that might block her way. The Kyoto illustrator [12-3] presents both the actual dancer and her heavenly counterpart, while Hasegawa [12-4] and the *Eiga* eliminate the real dancer altogether. Note that in this last rendition the heavenly maiden is no longer holding a musical instrument, but rather a lotus, and Henjō is actually fingering a rosary, giving the poem a more religious feeling—purple clouds and heavenly beings were thought to appear just before a believer entered the western paradise of the Buddha Amida. In fact, the *Kangyoku* (1804) closely resembles a *raigo-zu*, or picture of Amida descending to take up the faithful. The Hasegawa image can be traced in connection with the poem as far back as the *One Hundred Warrior Poets*, where a poem by Minamoto no Yoshi'uji that alludes to Henjō's is illustrated by the same lotus-bearing angel. The angel's appearance in Moronobu's *Sugata-e* with its comparison to a young man, is presumably humorous.



12-1



12-2



12-3



12-4

POEM 13

*tsukuba-ne no
mine yori otsuru
mina no kaha
kohi zo tsumorite
fuchi to narinuru*⁴⁵

Like the Mina River
that falls from the peak
of Mount Tsukuba,
so my longing has collected
and turned into deep pools.

Retired Emperor Yōzei

Yōzei In (868–949) reigned from 876 to 884, as the fifty-seventh sovereign. He ascended the throne at the age of nine but showed signs of mental instability, and was forced to abdicate after eight years by Regent Fujiwara no Mototsune (836–891). He was replaced by Emperor Kōkō (Poem 15), a son of Emperor Ninmyō (r. 833–850). After his abdication, Yōzei sponsored a number of poetry contests. He is represented in the imperial anthologies by this sole poem.



Commentary

In the *Gosenshū*, the headnote to this poem reads: “Sent to the princess of the Tsuridono.” The Tsuridono was Kōkō’s palace and the princess was his daughter Suishi (Yasuko), who did at some point enter Yōzei’s household. Mount Tsukuba was often mentioned in love poems because *tsuku* means “to stick to,” suggesting something like the English idiom “I’m stuck on you.” The peak itself is divided into two parts, Nantai (“The Man”) on the West and Jotai (“The Woman”) on the East. Mina-no-gawa, curiously, is usually written with Chinese characters that mean “Waterless River,” but the characters meaning “Man-Woman River” are also used. Many versions of this poem (as, for instance, in the *Kokin Roku-jō*) have the last line as *fuchi to narikeru* (*-keru* suggesting some surprise on the speaker’s part), but the *One Hundred Poets* version, with the perfective *-nuru*, gives a stronger feeling and a greater sense of time having passed.

Perhaps simply because the author was an emperor, medieval commentators (such as the *Komezawa-bon*) tended to dismiss the obvious interpretation of this as a love poem and read it instead politically: the emperor’s concern for his people flowed down to them, forming deep, tranquil pools of blessings. A similar conception can be found in the Japanese preface to the *Kokinshū* in praise of Emperor Daigo: “The boundless waves of his benevolence flow beyond the

boundaries of the Eight Islands [Japan]; his broad compassion provides a deeper shade than Mount Tsukuba."⁴⁶

Given Yōzei's meager reputation as both a poet and an emperor, we must ask why Teika chose to include him in his *One Hundred Poets*. The most likely answer seems to be that Yōzei was included because he was the father of Prince Motoyoshi, a famous poet represented by Poem 20. Here again, as in the selection of the father-daughter team Tenji and Jitō (Poems 1 and 2), Teika is underscoring the hereditary nature of the poetic tradition.

The Pictures

This poem is most typically represented by a pure landscape design. The *Zōsan-shō* [13-1] depicts Mount Tsukuba with the Mina River flowing down between Nantai and Jotai; the foregrounded trees also suggest autumn as the season. This rendition is then placed in the background of Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [13-3], where we see two lovers mirroring the shapes of the two peaks.

As early as the *Ōei Shō*, commentators paraphrase this poem by speaking of a love that starts like weak trickles dripping down from on high, gradually joining together into several streams, and finally all flowing down into a deep pool. Such an interpretation is certainly suggested by the Kyoto illustrator [13-2] with his many streams and mighty flow at the bottom. Rather than a slow accumulation, both Hasegawa and the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono artist [13-4] use the image of a plunging waterfall to suggest the poet's passion.



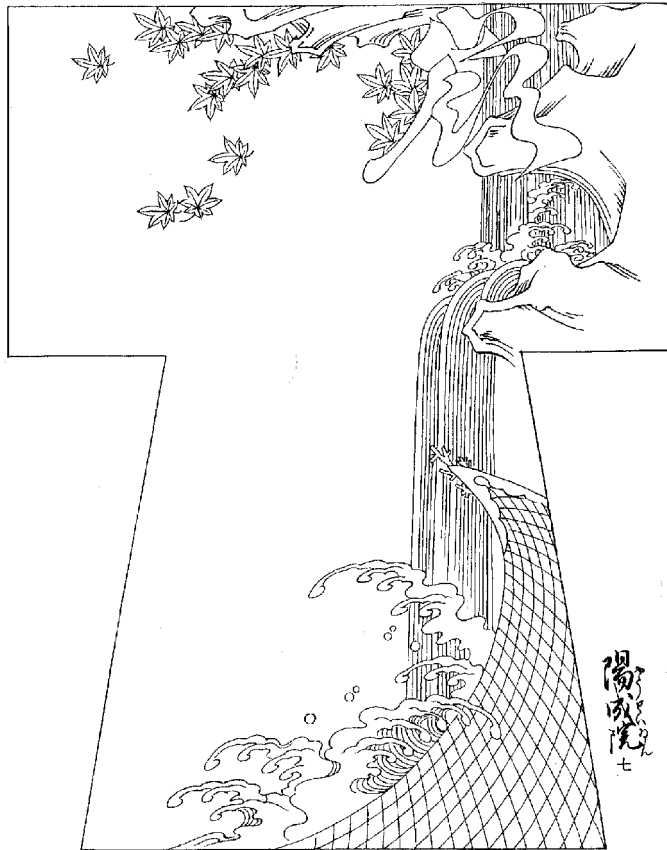
13-1



13-2



13-3



13-4

POEM 14

*michinoku no
shinobu mojhi-zuri
tare yuwe ni
midare-somenishi
ware naranaku ni*⁴⁷

Whose fault is it
that my feelings have begun to tangle
like the tangle-patterned prints
of Shinobu from the distant north?
Since it is not mine, it must be . . .

The Riverbank Minister of the Left

Kawara Sadaijin—Minamoto no Tōru (822–895)—was the son of Emperor Saga (r. 809–823). His sobriquet comes from the grand mansion he built on the west bank (*kawara*) of the Kamo River, where he hosted gatherings of the most famous poets of his day, such as Tsurayuki (Poem 35), Mitsune (Poem 29), Egyō (Poem 47), and Motosuke (Poem 42). He is considered the very epitome of courtly elegance (*fūryū*) and may have served as a partial model for the hero of Murasaki Shikibu's *Tale of Genji*. He is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and has two poems in both the *Kokinshū* and *Gosenshū*.



Commentary

No information about the circumstances of the poem's composition is provided in the *Kokinshū*, where this poem appears as “occasion unknown” (*dai shirazu*). *Michinoku* refers to the northeastern area of the principal Japanese island. *Shinobu mojhi-zuri* originally referred to cloth that had been imprinted (*zuri*) with the design of the moss fern (*shinobu*; *Davallia bullata*). *Shinobu* is a pivot word: it is both the name of the fern and a verb meaning “to love secretly.” Based on the *Toshiyori Zuinō*, or *Toshiyori's Poetic Essentials* (?1115), however, we know that by the mid-Heian period it was thought that *shinobu* also referred to the village of Shinobu in Iwashiro (present-day Fukushima). In any case, the phrase *michinoku no/shinobu mojhi-zuri* serves as a preface (*jo*) for the word *midare*, or “disordered.”

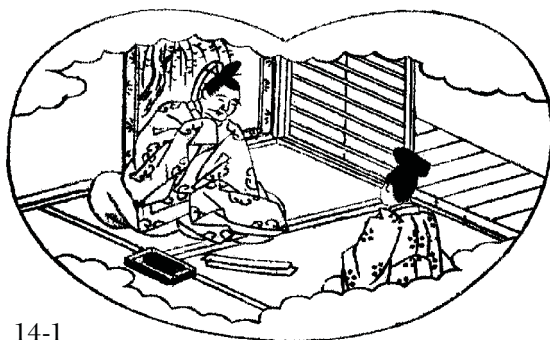
In the *Kokinshū*, the fourth line reads *midaremu to omofu*, and the last two lines could then be translated as “since I am not one who thinks to have his feelings disordered by anyone else.” The four books of love poems in the *Kokinshū* are often read in order so as to suggest the progress of a love affair. Placed in the fourth book, this poem suggests that the man, suspected of being

unfaithful, is earnestly protesting his fidelity. In the *One Hundred Poets*, however, this fourth line reads *midare-somenishi*, the same form that appears in the first episode of the *Tales of Ise*. Here *some* serves as another pivot word, meaning both “to dye” and “to begin,” the former providing word association (*engo*) back to *shinobu* and hence alluding to “hidden love” (*shinobu koi*). In this reading, the poem changes from the defense of a rebuked lover to a complaint of secret love—that is, the poet is saying that it is not his fault that he has fallen into a forbidden love, but the fault of the lovely lady herself. In contrast, then, to Teika’s *One Hundred Poets* reading, the *Kokinshū* interpretation of this poem would read:

Please believe: I am not one
 who thinks to have his feelings stirred,
 like cloth imprinted with moss fern
 from the deep north of Michinoku,
 by anyone but you.

The Pictures

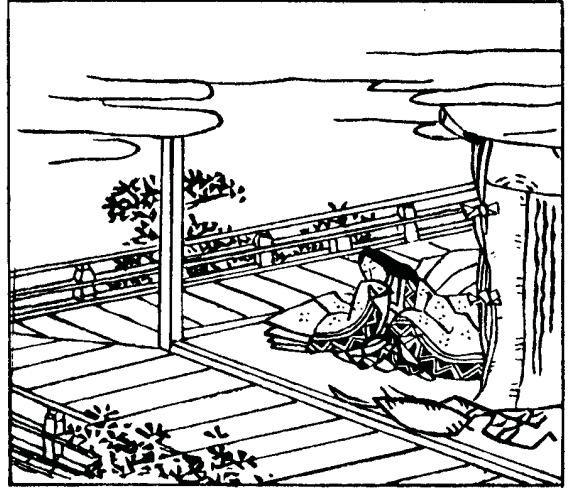
Like the interpretations of the poem itself, pictorializations of it fall essentially into two groups, though within these groups there is an unusual degree of diversity. One rendition, as in the *Zōsanshō* [14–2], shows the poet examining cloth dyed with what is to be taken as a *shinobu moji-zuri* pattern. The other tradition shows the speaker of the poem with a sleeve to his or her face, a standard posture used to indicate crying and thus suggesting the topic of “hidden love.” Tōru is often shown with a sleeve to his face as depicted in *kasen-e*, and Hasegawa simply transfers that figure to his fan [14–1], though writing utensils are added. Writing brushes and folded love letters are the major motifs, along with *shinobu* ferns, in the *Hyakushu Hinagata*. The Porter illustrator, curiously, depicts a woman [14–3]. Although this might be thought to suggest that the speaker of the poem was understood as a woman, another contemporaneous version, closely resembling the Porter edition, presents the same woman but this time with a male courtier showing her a roll of *shinobu* cloth.⁴⁸ The *Shūgyoku* [14–4] actually shows two lovers, suggesting a dispute, though this may be a composition that derives from Moronobu’s *Sugata-e*. The Tan’yū album shows *shinobu* fern hidden by grasses and mist, also emphasizing the “hidden love” interpretation.



14-1



14-2



14-3



14-4

POEM 15

kimi ga tame
haru no no ni idete
waka-na tsumu
wa ga koromo-de ni
yuki ha furitsutsu⁴⁹

For my lord's sake
I went out into the fields of spring
to pick young greens
while on my robe-sleeves
the snow kept falling and falling.

Emperor Kōkō

Kōkō Tennō (830–887, r. 884–887), counted as the fifty-eighth sovereign, was the third son of Emperor Ninmyō (r. 833–850); he was placed on the throne by Regent Fujiwara no Mototsune at the age of fifty-five, replacing the deranged Emperor Yōzei (Poem 13). A collection of his poems, the *Ninna GyoShū*, is extant, and he has fourteen poems in imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem in the *Kokinshū* reads: “A poem sent together with young greens to someone when the Ninna Emperor [Kōkō] was still a prince.” Young greens (*waka-na*) were gathered and eaten as part of the new year festivities. This poem was written to accompany a gift of

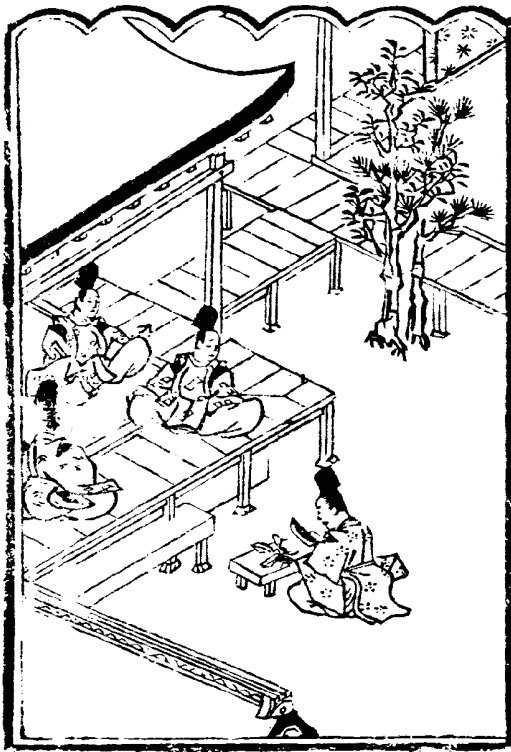
such greens, as a kind of new year's greeting. Since the poem was written by an emperor, medieval commentators read it metaphorically—that is, as a poem in which the emperor sympathizes with the hardships of his subjects. The *Komezawa-bon*, for instance, says: “the same topic as at the beginning,” that is, Emperor Tenji's poem (Poem 1). This is not how the poem was originally interpreted, nor is it likely how Teika read it. Nonetheless, the verbal similarities between this poem and Poems 1 and 4 are conspicuous.

The Pictures

The political interpretations of this poem seem to have had little impact on its visualizations. The two approaches either show an aristocrat (presumably “my lord”) receiving the greens that are being cut by a courtier, as in the *Zōsanshō* [15–1], or they show a high-ranking courtier (presumably the prince) directing the gathering of the greens, as in Hasegawa [15–3] and the *Kangyoku* [15–2]—



the latter interpretation is somewhat closer to the poem's original context. The Tan'yū album has Kōkō as emperor with young greens on a presentation stand before him, making it seem as if the greens were offered to Kōkō rather than by him. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [15-4] shows the edible greens and pine saplings and has the repeated character for "snow" (*yuki*) drifting across to the sleeve and written in a gradually more cursive style, as if to represent the melting of the snowflake.



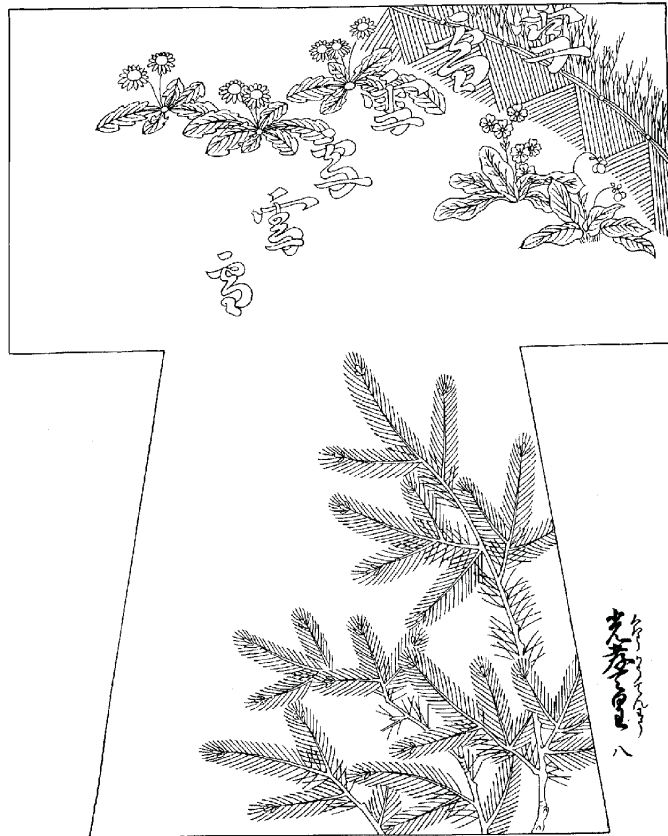
15-1



15-2



15-3



15-4

POEM 16

tachi-wakare
inaba no yama no
mine ni ofuru
matsu to shi kikaba
ima kaheri-komu⁵⁰

Even if I depart
and go to Inaba Mountain,
on whose peak grow
pines, if I hear you pine for me,
I will return straightway to you.

Middle Counselor Yukihiro

Chūnagon Yukihiro—Ariwara no Yukihiro (818–893)—is the older brother of Narihira (Poem 17). He is mentioned in the Chinese preface to the *Kokinshū* for his skill in Chinese verse, and four of his Japanese poems are included in the same anthology. While altogether he has eleven poems in imperial anthologies, only the four in the *Kokinshū* and four in the *Gosenshū* can be considered authentic.

Commentary

Inaba no yama is a specific mountain in Inaba province, north of Kyoto on the Sea of Japan, where Yukihiro went to serve as governor in 855. (Commentators such as Mabuchi mistakenly believed that the term was not a proper noun but simply meant “mountains of Inaba.”) The name also serves as a pivot word, since



inaba can mean “(even) if I leave.” The entire first three lines serve as a preface (*jo*) for the word *matsu*. This word too is a pivot word, meaning both “to wait” and “pine tree,” much like the English word “pine.”

Yukihiro is best known for his exile to Suma, mentioned in *Kokinshū* 18 (Misc. 2): 962, and providing precedent for Genji’s exile there in *The Tale of Genji*. Stories around this incident in turn led to the *nō* play *Matsukaze*, or “Pining Wind,” in which we are told of the love affair between Yukihiro and two fisher girls of Suma, Matsukaze and her sister Murasame (“Autumn Rain”), who wait in vain for Yukihiro to visit them after he returns to the capital.⁵¹ This legend and play seem to have in turn influenced the interpretation of the *One Hundred Poets* poem (owing perhaps to the prominence of the word *matsu*); thus although the poem’s grammar makes it clear that the poet is leaving *for* Inaba, both the *Keikō Shō* and *Kamijō-bon* interpret the poet as leaving *from* Inaba.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album has a background of several hills with pine trees on them. By contrast the *Zōsanshō* [16-1] shows only one pine on a peak, with a figure of the poet making his way down a path. The Kyoto illustrator repeats this picture but removes the poet and the path. The lone pine tree on a crag also appears in the *Sugata-e* [16-2], to which Moronobu adds an obvious reference to the *nō* play *Matsukaze*, showing two sisters in tears over a departing young aristocrat.⁵² Hasegawa's fan [16-3] is the most accurate interpretation, showing Yukihiro on someone's veranda, making his farewells, and looking at a pine tree. Commentators spent much time imagining to whom this poem was addressed: his mother, his wife, his mistress? The Porter illustrator seems to reject all of these possibilities and shows the poet leaving from a pair of men [16-4], reflecting the same commentary contained (but ignored) in the *Sugata-e*—that this poem was composed during a farewell party hosted by Yukihiro's friends (*"tomodachi uma no hanamuke ni idashi toshi"*).



16-1



16-2



16-3



16-4

POEM 17

chihayaburu
kami-yo mo kikazu
tatsuta-gaha
kara-kurenawi ni
midzu kuguru to ha⁵³

Unheard of
even in the legendary age
of the awesome gods:
Tatsuta River in scarlet
and the water flowing under it.



of the Wardrobe of the Spring Palace [that is, mother of the crown prince].” The original poem could be translated as:

Unheard of
even in the legendary age
of the awesome gods:
Tatsuta River, tie-dyed
the deepest Chinese scarlet!

Lord Ariwara no Narihira

Ariwara no Narihira Ason (825–880), younger brother to Yukihiro (Poem 16), is one of the Six and one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. He was generally understood to be the protagonist of the mid-tenth-century *Tales of Ise* (in which this poem also appears), which seems to have formed itself around a collection of his poems. He has almost ninety poems in the various imperial anthologies.

Commentary

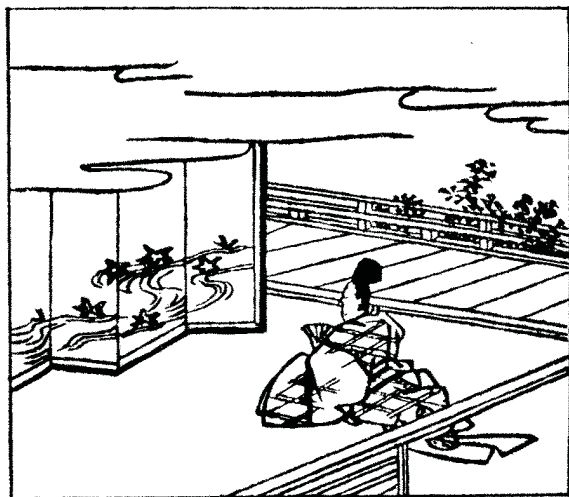
The headnote to this poem in the *Kokinshū* reads: “Composed on the topic of autumn leaves flowing down Tatsuta River, as painted on a screen belonging to the Second Ward Empress [Fujiwara no Kōshi] when she was still called the Lady

The original point of the poem was to compare the surface of the Tatsuta River, with red autumn leaves floating here and there on it, to a band of blue cloth tie-dyed with scarlet. Teika, however, followed the interpretation of this poem promoted by Kenshō (1130–1209), who read the last verb not as *kukuru* (“to tie-dye”) but as *kuguru*, meaning “to pass under” and yielding the translation

seen above—that is, an image of blue water flowing under the river’s surface, which has been completely covered by scarlet leaves.

The Pictures

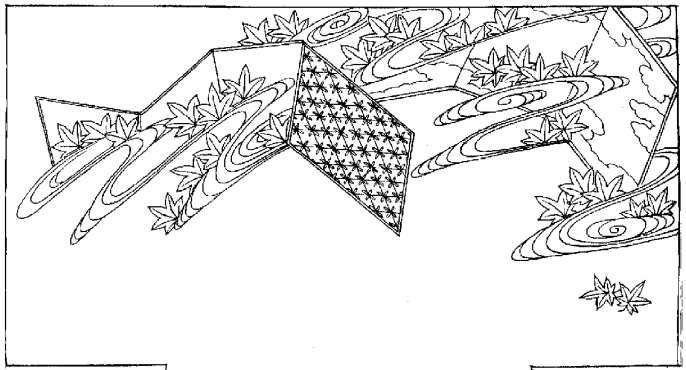
Starting with the Tan’yū album, most artists show the poet in front of a screen—for example, Porter [17-1]—reflecting the circumstance of the poem’s composition as described in the *Kokinshū*. The Kyoto illustrator also adds a river outside [17-4]. A woman is shown, as well, and perhaps she is meant to be identified as Kōshi, with whom Narihira was reputed to have had a love affair. In fact, the *Shisetsu Shō* (1658) claims that the hidden meaning of the poem is that Narihira is praising Kōshi’s good fortune by likening it to the unchanging nature of the screen picture. In Hasegawa [17-2] we see the poet looking at the river itself, rather than a painting of it, which follows the setting of the poem found in the *Tales of Ise* (Episode 106). The usually reliable Kunisada/Kuniyoshi booklet also follows this reading. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono designer [17-3] gives in the top half a lovely image of the river and leaves flowing in and out, off and onto, the screens; in the lower half the artist adds bird-clappers to reinforce the autumnal season of this poem.



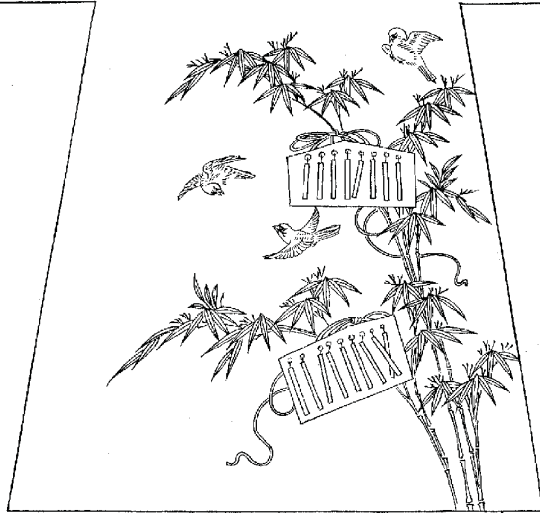
17-1



17-2



17-3



葉平九



17-4

POEM 18

suminoe no
kishi ni yoru nami
yoru sahe ya
yume no kayohi-jhi
hitome yokuramu⁵⁴

Must you so avoid others' eyes
that not even at night,
along the road of dreams,
will you draw nigh like the waves
to the shore of Sumi-no-e Bay?

Lord Fujiwara no Toshiyuki

Fujiwara no Toshiyuki Ason (d. 901) participated in many poetry contests during the reigns of the four emperors he served, from Seiwa (r. 858–876) through Uda (r. 887–897). He is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and was also famous as a calligrapher. He has twenty-eight poems in the various imperial anthologies, and a collection of his poems, the *Toshiyuki Shū*, is extant.

Commentary

This poem's headnote in the *Kokinshū* indicates that this poem was used in what is known as "the Empress' Poetry Contest [held] during the Kanpyō Era (953)" (Kanpyō no ŌnToki Kisai no Miya no Uta-awase). Sumi-no-e is another name for



Sumiyoshi Bay (Sumiyoshi no Ura), site of a famous shrine originally built to the god of the sea. Even today it is a popular spot known for its distinctive bridge.

Rather than pivot words (one word used in two different meanings), Toshiyuki's poem uses a kind of sound repetition and association: *kishi ni yoru nami* means "the waves that approach (*yoru*) the shore," while *yoru sahe* means "even at night (*yoru*)." Thus, the first two lines serve as a "preface" (*jo-kotoba*)—essentially an ornament—to the word *yoru* in the third line.

It was widely believed that those truly in love would visit their lover in their dreams. Interpretive controversy centers on the subject of the final verb: is it the poet's lover who does not visit the poet, or is it the poet himself who does not go to her in his dreams? The latter interpretation suggests that the poet is examining his own feelings, but it is the former interpretation that is generally followed.

The Pictures

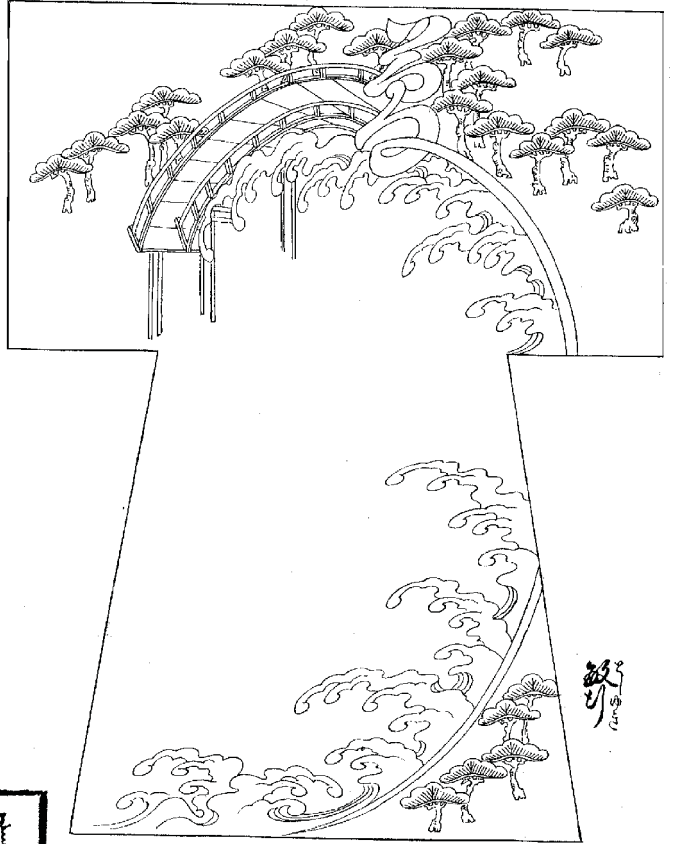
The *Zōsanshō* rendition [18-1] shows the poet watching the waves roll in at Sumiyoshi, indicated by its bridge and pine-trees on the shore. The same motifs are used in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [18-2], linked by the trailing stoke of the character for “dream” (*yume*), perhaps suggesting a road or path along the shore. Moronobu’s *Sugata-e* [18-3] actually shows the poet bedding down for the night under the kind of heavy robe that served as bedcovers; the poet’s reproach may be addressed to the woman sitting nearby, but this is unclear. The Kyoto illustrator [18-4] shows the poet in his house with wild waves crashing on the shore nearby. Although the waves may be meant to suggest the poet’s passion, they may also be meant to conform to the accompanying interpretation by Yūsai—that the poet cannot see his love in his dreams because the noise of the waves keeps him awake.



18-1



18-2



18-3



18-4

POEM 19

naniha-gata
mijikaki ashi no
fushi no ma mo
ahade kono yo wo
sugushiteyo to ya⁵⁵

To go through this life, not meeting
for even as short a time as the space
between two nodes of a reed
in Naniwa Inlet—
is that what you are telling me?

Ise

Also called Ise no Go or Ise no Miyasudokoro (ca. 875–ca. 938), she was the daughter of Fujiwara no Tsugukage (sometimes read “Tsugikage”), governor of Ise (whence her sobriquet). The storylike beginning section of her collected poems, the *Ise Shū*, relates her love affairs with the brothers Fujiwara no Nakahira and Tokihira, as well as her pregnancy by Emperor Uda. She is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and has 22 poems in the *Kokinshū* alone, with more than 170 poems in all the imperial anthologies combined.



Commentary

In the *Ise Shū* this poem is given with three others under the heading: “Around Autumn, when he had spoken cruelly” (*aki-goro, utate hito no mono-ihikeru ni*). In the *ShinKokinshū* it is given as “topic unknown” (*dai shirazu*) and placed among poems on “hidden love” (*shinobikohi*), which changes its interpretation considerably—from a poem sent to an unfeeling lover to a private complaint about being unable to reveal one’s love.

Naniwa has long been associated with reeds. A *-gata* (or *kata*) is the beach revealed at low tide (see Poem 92). *Yo*, as in *kono yo*, “this life,” is also the word for a segment of a reed and thus is synonymous with the expression “space between the nodes of a reed” (*ashi no fushi no ma*), but commentators consider this a case of word association (*engo*) rather than punning (*kake-kotoba*).

The Pictures

Although practically all the commentators state that this poem was written to be sent to a cruel lover and was not composed as a soliloquy (*doku’ei*), Ise is shown in all pictorializations as addressing herself to reeds, as seen in the *Zōsanshō* [19–1]. Howard Link notes that the figure of Ise in the *Sugata-e* [19–2] “comes close to the famous *Mikaeri Bijin* painting signed Moronobu in the

Tokyo National Museum.”⁵⁶ The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono designer [19-4] has added fishing nets, appropriate to Naniwa Bay, but also perhaps reinforcing the interpretation of withheld or constrained love. Finally, Kubota suggests that the word *fushi* may also serve as a pivot word—meaning both “nodes” of the reeds and “to fall over [easily]” as reeds do—thus creating some association between the reeds and the supine woman. No artist shows Ise as actually prostrate, however, and the reeds, as in Moronobu, usually stand quite straight and tall—the Kyoto illustrator [19-3] represents something of an exception.



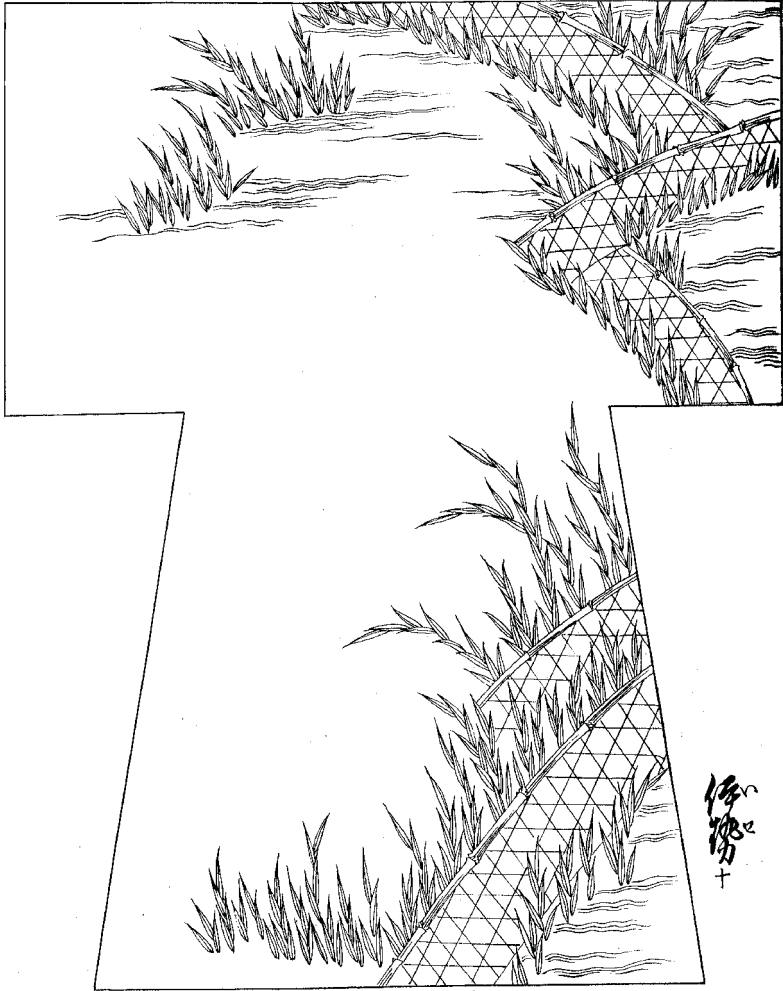
19-1



19-2



19-3



19-4

POEM 20

wabinureba
 ima hata onaji
 naniha naru
 miwotsukushite mo
 ahamu to zo omofu⁵⁷

Miserable,
 now, it is all the same.
 Channel-markers at Naniwa—
 even if it costs my life,
 I will see you again!

Prince Motoyoshi

Motoyoshi Shinnō (890–943), eldest son of Emperor Yōzei (Poem 13), was famous as a lover. He appears several times in the mid-tenth-century collection of poetic anecdotes, the *Tales of Yamato* (*Yamato Monogatari*). His poetry first appears in the *Gosenshū* (compiled 951), and he has twenty poems in it and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem's headnote in the *Gosenshū* reads: "Sent to the Kyōgoku Lady of the Wardrobe after their affair had come out." The lady in question was Fujiwara no Hōshi, daughter of Tokihira. Her father had planned to have her enter the reigning emperor's service, but Retired Emperor Uda insisted that she serve at



his residence—she bore him three princes. This, however, did not prevent an affair with Motoyoshi, which eventually became public knowledge. The poem centers on a pivot word: *miwotsukushi* was a kind of channel-marker used to indicate the waterway for boats—the phrase can also be read *mi wo tsukushite mo*, literally, “even if it consumes [my] body.”

Interpretations split into two equally represented camps, even among modern commentators, depending on what is understood to be “the same now.” One interpretation is that “even if it costs my life” (*mi wo tsukushite mo*), it is “now the same”—in other words, the poet is so miserable that it does not matter whether he lives or dies. The second interpretation understands the topic to be *na*, that is, “name” or reputation (understanding the place-name “Naniwa” as a pivot word). This can refer to either the poet’s or the couple’s reputation. While the first of these readings implies that it is other people who are keeping the lovers apart, and that the man will risk his life to see his lady again, the second can be understood to mean that the lady, worrying about further damage

to her reputation, is reluctant to see the man. This interpretation is closer to the anecdotes told about Prince Motoyoshi in the *Tales of Yamato*, and it also encourages identifying this scenario with the one in *The Tale of Genji* involving Genji and the emperor's lady, Fujitsubo. As noted here in the discussion of the pictures, it is the second interpretation that was most often followed and may well have been how Teika himself read the poem.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album shows the prince with paper and brush in hand, writing his poem to the lady he is unable to see, while in the background we see a marsh with channel-markers (Channel-markers are also a motif in the *Hyakushū Hinagata*, to which, curiously, cranes are added.) The depiction of the circumstances of the poem's composition (that is, as a letter), however, was not favored; it reappears only in the relatively late *Kangyoku* [20-1]. The standard presentation is shown in the *Zōsanshō* [20-2], where the poet pleads at the lady's blind. The Kyoto illustrator [20-4] adopts all of the *Zōsanshō* design but adds a channel-marker to the river to represent the pivot word. In the *Sugata-e* [20-3], Moronobu also includes a channel-marker, but the interest is clearly focused on the two adolescent samurai whose forms echo that of the marker. Practically all of the homoerotic stories in Saikaku's *Great Mirror of Male Love* (*Nanshoku Ōkagami*) end in one partner giving his life for the other, which may have encouraged Moronobu to illustrate this poem (with its phrase "even if it costs my life") with males.



20-1



20-2



20-3



20-4

POEM 21

*ima komu to
ihishi bakari ni
naga-tsuki no
ariake no tsuki wo
machi-idetsuru kana*⁵⁸

It was only because you said
you would come right away
that I have waited
these long months, till even
the wan morning moon has come out.

Master of the Law Sosei

Sosei Hōshi, born Yoshimine no Harutoshi, was a son of Henjō (Poem 12). He is the fourth-best-represented poet in the *Kokinshū* and has over sixty poems in the various imperial anthologies. He is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. His collected poems, the *Sosei Hōshi Shū*, are extant.

Commentary

Although given as “occasion unknown” (*dai shirazu*), this poem appears in the *Kokinshū* in a group of poems on the subject of “waiting love,” where it would be assumed that the speaker of the poem is a woman (since it was the men who visited the women’s houses rather than vice versa). The main difference in interpretation concerns *how long* the woman has been waiting. *Kokinshū* scholars agree for



the most part that the woman has waited one night, albeit a long autumn one. From the *Kenchū Mikkan*, a collection of commentaries on the *Kokinshū* edited by Teika in 1221, we know, however, that Teika probably read this poem more narratively, imagining that the woman had waited several months, as translated above. The *Kokinshū* interpretation would read:

It was only because you said
“I’ll come right away”
that I have ended up waiting
for nothing more than the wan moon
in the morning sky of this long, Ninth Month.

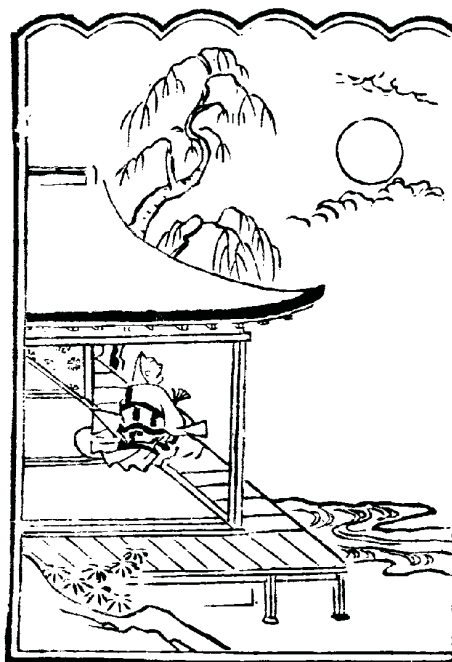
The Pictures

Although the speaker of Sosei’s poem is meant to be a woman, all pictures show the priestly Sosei himself as the speaker—as in the Porter version [21-1]—

watching the moon. Further, an *ariake no tsuki*, or “morning moon,” is a moon that rises late and can still be seen in the morning sky—something that occurs only after the twentieth day of the lunar month when the moon is waning. Yet all the illustrators, following the Tan’yū album and the *Zōsanshō* [21–2], show a full moon. Moronobu attempts to rationalize Sosei’s presence in his *Sugata-e* [21–3], where he shows the famous poet grading the poetic efforts of the anxious and waiting young man in front of him. Finally, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [21–4], following that of the *Hyakushu Hinagata*, superimposes the characters *ariake* over the branches of a willow (the willow does not appear in the earlier design and has probably been added to suggest the length of time passed), while autumn flowers, such as maiden-flowers (*ominaeshi*) and Chinese bellflowers (*kikyō*), bloom near a veranda.



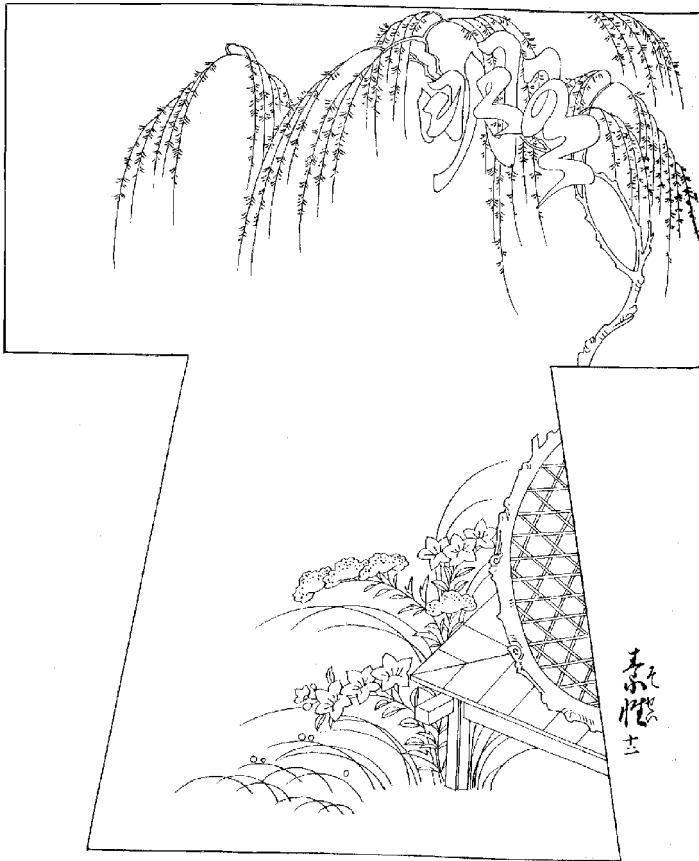
21-1



21-2



21-3



21-4

POEM 22

*fuku kara ni
aki no kusaki no
shiworureba
mube yama-kaze wo
arashi to ifuramu*⁵⁹

As soon as it blows,
the autumn trees and grasses
droop, and this must be why,
quite rightly, the mountain wind
is called “the ravager.”

Fun'ya no Yasuhide

Yasuhide's dates are unknown, but he was active around the same time as Narihira (Poem 17) and Sosei (Poem 21). One of the Six Poetic Immortals, he is mentioned in both the Japanese and Chinese prefaces to the *Kokinshū*. He is also counted among the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, though he has only five poems in the *Kokinshū* and one in the *Gosenshū*.

Commentary

This poem is a good example of the kind of witty verse written in the early Heian period under the influence of Chinese Six Dynasties “court-style” poetry. It is a kind of *ri'aishi*, or “reasoning poem,” that works in an oblique manner. The original point of the poem is that since the Chinese ideograph for the word



“storm” (*arashi*) is made up of the elements for “wind” and “mountain,” it is logical that mountain winds should be called “storms.” In other words, this poem relies on the elements of a word’s ideographs, in the fashion of a rebus. Such wittiness was not to the taste of later Japanese poets and readers, however, who expected a deeper seriousness from their writers. Accordingly, the earliest commentaries (and, presumably, Teika as well) vehemently reject the “ideograph-play” interpretation. Rather, they read the poem as one that evoked the forlorn feeling of windswept fields. Hence they understood the word *arashi* as no more than the nominalized form of the the verb *arasu*, “to ravage.”

The Pictures

One gets some idea whether the ideographic play was considered legitimate by the way the poem is inscribed on the picture: most artists, excepting Tan'yū

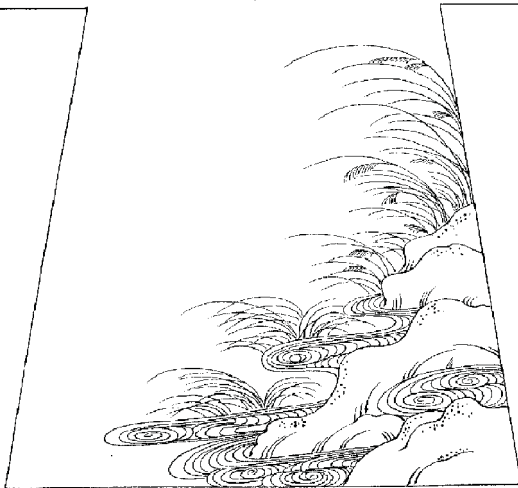
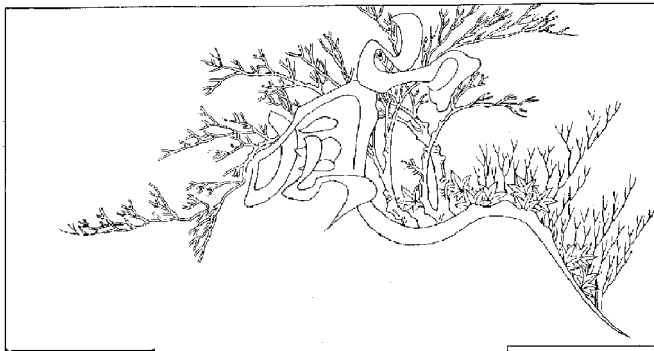
and the Kyoto illustrator [22-1], write the word *arashi* in *kana*, rather than with the Chinese ideograph. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [22-3] is ambiguous (intentionally, no doubt): the characters can be read either as *yama-kaze* or as *arashi*. The *Zōsanshō* interpretation [22-4] shows nothing more than a landscape of blasted foliage, while the *Kangyoku* artist [22-2] more successfully evokes, with the inclusion of a human figure, the poignant interpretation of this poem favored by Teika.



22-1



22-2



風
久
康
秀

22-3



22-4

POEM 23

tsuki mireba
chi-jhi ni mono koso
kanashikere
wa ga mi hitotsu no
aki ni ha aranedo⁶⁰

When I look at the moon
I am overcome by the sadness
of a thousand, thousand things—
even though it is not Fall
for me alone.

Ōe no Chisato

Chisato's dates are unknown; he flourished ca. 889–923. A nephew of Yukihiro (Poem 16) and Narihira (Poem 17), he is best known for his collection of poetry *Kudai Waka*, ordered by Emperor Uda in 894, where the poet composed 110 poems, each based on a line of Chinese poetry.⁶¹

Commentary

Historically this poem can be seen in relation to the previous poem by Yasuhide. Yasuhide's was a typical product of Six Dynasties wit, more Chinese in conception than Japanese. Chisato's poetry, by contrast, marks an important point in the assimilation and adaptation of Chinese poetry to native verse. The poem by Chisato chosen for the *One Hundred Poets* is



not drawn from his *Kudai Waka*, yet commentators early on linked it to lines by the Chinese poet Po Chū-i that are included in the *Wakan Rōei Shū* (no. 235):

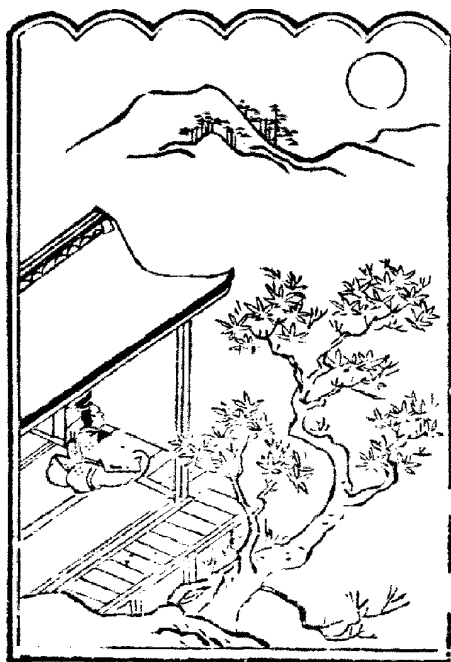
Within the Swallow Tower, the night's frosty moonlight:
Autumn has come—is it long for her alone?

This is from one of three poems written about the courtesan Men-men after her patron died. The line is also alluded to in the *Sagoromo Monogatari*.⁶² Presumably it was in such a narrative context that Teika interpreted the poem.

The Pictures

Since according to the *Kokinshū* the poem was originally composed for a poetry contest—and given its relation to the poem by Po Chū-i—it is likely that the poet intended the speaker of the poem to be a woman. Nonetheless, all illustrators show Chisato himself as the speaker, as we see in the *Zōsanshō* [23–1]. The *Sugata-e* [23–2] has the poet's legs being massaged by a *kaburo*, or young ser-

vant, who presumably has her own sorrows as well. Hasegawa [23-3] differs from all other artists by showing a crescent, rather than full, moon. There was, in fact, a fair amount of debate among commentators about the meaning of the expression *chi-jhi ni*. While it is now understood as “a thousand, thousand [things],” or “various and countless,” the *Keikō Shō* (1530) paraphrases it as *shidai ni*, or “gradually, little by little,” which might be suggested by a waxing moon (though Hasegawa’s is actually waning). The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [23-4] gives a sense of the limitless nature of the poet’s thoughts with the addition of spirals to the characters *chi-jhi* and the many leaves of the bush clover, a plant closely associated with longing.



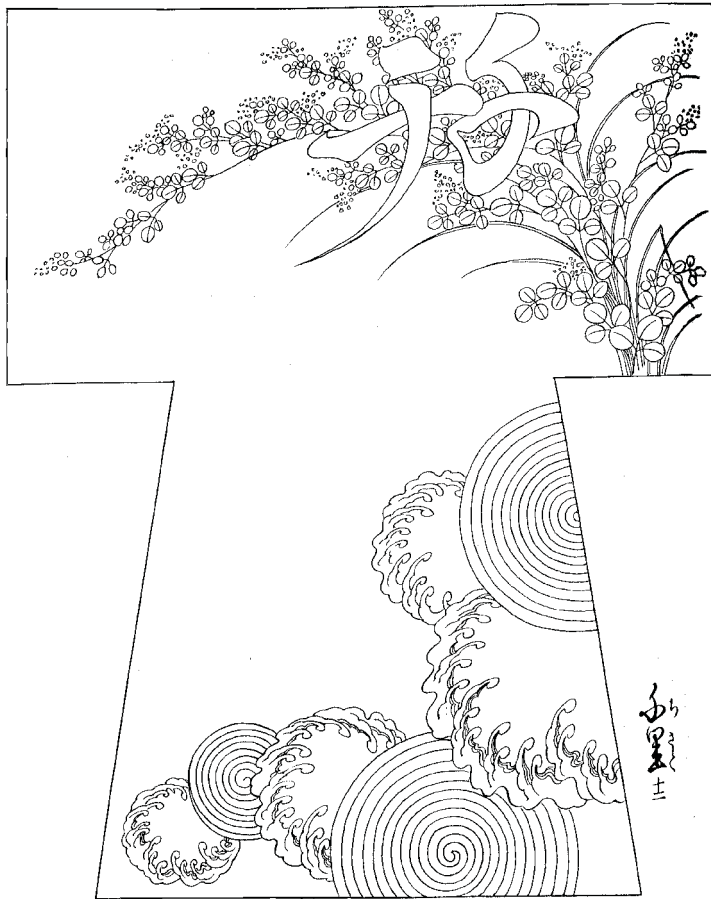
23-1



23-2



23-3



23-4

POEM 24

*kono tabi ha
nusa mo tori-aezu
tamuke-yama
momijhi no nishiki
kami no mani-mani*⁶³

This time around
I couldn't even bring sacred streamers
—Offering Hill—
but if this brocade of autumn leaves
is to the gods' liking . . .



Kanke

“Kanke” means literally “the Sugawara family” but refers here to Sugawara no Michizane (845–903). The term derives from the titles of the two collections containing Michizane’s Chinese works: the *Kanke Bunsō* (*The Sugawara Family Literary Drafts*) and the *Kanke Kōshū* (*The Later Sugawara Collection*), the former of which contains pieces not only by Michizane but also by his father and grandfather.

Michizane was a famous statesman and scholar. He was greatly promoted by Emperor Uda to act as a foil to the Fujiwara clan’s hegemony under Tokihira. In this both Michizane and Uda were ultimately unsuccessful, and Michizane died in exile. It was believed that his vengeful spirit was responsible for a variety of calamities, and he was posthumously pardoned, promoted, and finally deified as

Kitano Tenjin, still worshiped today as the god of learning. In addition to his two collections of Chinese poetry and prose, he edited two histories of Japan (again in Chinese), and is traditionally credited with editing an anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Shinsen Man’yō Shū*.⁶⁴

Commentary

This poem’s headnote in the *Kokinshū* reads: “Composed at Tamuke Yama (“Offering Hill”) when the Suzaku Retired Emperor [Uda] went to Nara.” This poem was composed during an elaborate twelve-day excursion Uda made to Nara and Sumiyoshi in 898.⁶⁵

Tabi functions as a pivot word meaning both “journey” and “occasion.” The location of Tamuke Yama is unclear, but it was somewhere on the road between the capital and Nara. It does not refer to the present Tamuke Yama in Nara near Tōdaiji. There is also a theory that *tamuke-yama* was actually a com-

mon noun referring to mountains where travelers made offerings to the gods for a safe journey; nonetheless, the *tamuke yama* in Nara between Yamashiro and Yamato provinces was particularly well known, and most commentators take the term's use here as a proper noun.

The major division in interpretations comes with the expression *tori-ahezu*, "to be unable to take properly."⁶⁶ While there is no debate that the poet is saying that he was unable to bring, as he should, sacred streamers to the mountain, commentators have been divided in their explanations as to *why* the poet was unable. Most medieval readers, including Teika, believed that the suddenness of Uda's excursion had caught Michizane unprepared. Given the elaborateness of this procession, however, this is hardly likely. The other explanation was that since the journey was a public one, centering on the retired emperor, Michizane was not able to take the occasion to make a private offering to the deities. In fact, Michizane's poem is just a typical *Kokinshū* witticism based on the punning potential of a place-name and the conceit of autumn leaves as brocade.

The Pictures

Most artists show Michizane directly addressing the shrine, though there is a difference in the formality of his dress: the *Zōsanshō* shows a relatively casual Michizane [24–2], while the *Kangyoku* has the poet in full formal robes [24–1]. A work called *Sugawara Jikki* (Edo period) has a depiction of Uda's journey, with Michizane's poem inscribed above the poet [24–3]; the only *One Hundred Poets* artist to use a similar conception is the Kyoto illustrator [24–4]. Yet the Kyoto illustration represents a very different reading: we are meant to imagine that it is Michizane, rather than the emperor, who is in the cart. The prominence of the ox calls to mind the episode in the *Kitano Tenjin Engi* that tells how the ox pulling the cart with Michizane's remains refused to move just outside of Dazaifu.⁶⁷ (To this day bulls are a frequent symbol at Tenjin shrines.) We next notice that the man behind the cart is an armed guard—the picture thus alludes to Michizane's exile. Whether the poem itself was interpreted to conform with this context is unclear.



24-1



POEM 25

na ni shi ohaba
afusaka-yama no
sanekadzura
hito ni shirarede
kuru yoshi mogana⁶⁸

If they bear such names:
the “come-sleep vine” of
“Meeting-Slope Hill”—
how I wish there was a way to come to you,
as if pulling in a vine, unknown to others.

The Third Ward Minister of the Right

Sanjō no Udaijin was born Fujiwara no Sadakata (873–932). His sobriquet comes from his residence in the capital’s Third Ward. He has one poem in the *Kokinshū*, nine in the *Gosenshū*, and nine in later imperial anthologies. He is the father of Asatada (Poem 44).

Commentary

This poem is a tour de force of pivot words: the place-name *afusaka* (pronounced “Ōsaka” but a different place from the modern city of that name), taken to mean “Meeting-Slope”; *sanekadzura*, a kind of vine whose name includes the phrase *sa ne*, or “Come, sleep!”; and the verb *kuru*, which means both “to come” and “to draw or reel in” (something ropelike, such as a vine). The headnote to this poem says: “Sent to a



woman’s house.” Most likely Sadakata attached his poem to an actual piece of vine. In the Heian period, men and women of the aristocracy tended to keep separate residences, and it was the man who would come to visit the woman rather than vice versa. Nonetheless, most medieval commentators took the last line in this poem to mean “how I wish there was a way to have you come to me, like drawing a vine in.”

The Pictures

Following the interpretation prevalent at the time, the *Zōsanshō* and the Kyoto illustrator [25–1] show the poet on his veranda beckoning for the woman to approach; the Kyoto illustrator simply adds *kadzura* vines to the earlier design.

Vine-covered hills are also shown in the *Sugata-e* [25-2], perhaps derived from the Tan'yū album. Moronobu shows the poet sitting dejectedly while a servant prepares to leave, perhaps to take his poem to his lover. The Porter illustrator [25-3] uses the same basic situation but places the two on a mountain path, perhaps to suggest the place-name "Meeting-Slope Hill." Only the *Kangyoku* [25-4] shows the poet going to the woman, representing what has become the standard interpretation of this poem.



25-1



25-2



25-3



25-4

POEM 26

wogura-yama
mine no momijhi-ba
kokoro araba
ima hito-tabi no
mi-yuki matanamu¹

O autumn leaves
on the peak of Ogura Hill,
if you have a heart,
I would that you would wait
for one more royal progress.

Lord Teishin

Teishinkō is Fujiwara no Tadahira (880–949). “Teishinkō” is his posthumous name; his sobriquet while alive was “the KoIchijō Chancellor.”² He was the fourth son of Mototsune and took control of both the Fujiwara clan and the country after the death of his eldest brother, Tokihira. It was his descendants who continued to monopolize political power: he was father to Morosuke, who was in turn the grandfather of Michinaga. Tadahira’s diary, the *Teishinkō Ki*, is extant. His poetry was first selected for the *Gosenshū*, in which he has seven poems; six more are included in later anthologies.

Commentary

In the *Shūishū*, the headnote to this poem reads:

Teiji In [Retired Emperor Uda] went on an excursion to the Ōi River, and when he said, “This is a place where the Emperor [Daigo, his son] should also make a royal outing,” [Tadahira] composed the following to convey the retired emperor’s will.

This occasion is also described in the *Tales of Yamato* (Episode 99), where it says that “this is how the traditional imperial visits to the Ōi River began.”³ It is also mentioned in the *Great Mirror (Ōkagami)*, where it is praised as “an elegant gesture.”⁴

Most medieval commentators followed the *Shūishū* headnote, and there was little disagreement over the basic interpretation of the poem. In the early modern period, attention turned to the question of during *which* of Uda’s trips to the Ōi River this poem was composed: in 898, 899, 907, or 926? Modern scholars, such as Ishida Yoshisada, have asked why Teika included this poem, suggesting that it was because the villas of both Teika and his father-in-law, Utsunomiya no Yoritsuna, were on Ogura. Shimazu points out that Tadahira’s poem follows the same conception as one by his grandfather, Yoshifusa, collected in the *Kokin Roku-jō*:



yoshino-yama
 kishi no momiji shi
 kokoro araba
 mare no mi-yuki wo
 iro kahede mate

O autumn leaves
 on the cliffs of the Yoshino mountains,
 if you have a heart,
 please wait, without changing your color,
 for a rare royal outing.

Moreover, the basic situation of Tadahira's poem is identical to that of Michizane's (Poem 24). Given that *mi-yuki*, or "royal outing," is also a chapter title from *The Tale of Genji*, Teika seems to be insisting on the regular, almost seasonal nature of royal outings accompanied by (hereditary) poets. Following Edward Kamens' work on Teika's involvement in the screen paintings and poems for Emperor GoToba's Saishō Shitennō In,⁵ a more political interpretation, emphasizing Teika's loyalty to the disenfranchised imperial family, might also be possible.

The Pictures

As noted above, the setting for Tadahira's poem is very similar to that of Michizane's (Poem 24); indeed, in the Kyoto illustration [26-1] only the addition of a river distinguishes the landscape from that for Michizane's poem [24-4]. The Kyoto artist closely follows the *Zōsanshō* here but has emphasized both the autumn leaves and the river. The *Hyakushu Hinagata* [26-2] has a mountain, inscribed "Ogura Yama," and a rushing stream that forces the fallen maple leaves through the weirs that would hold them back. Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [26-4] is a lyrical reinterpretation that depicts the poet as an old man with a cane asking for yet one more year in which to see the fall foliage. This more lyrical reading leads in turn to versions such as that in the *Kangyoku* [26-3].



26-1



26-2



26-3



26-4

POEM 27

*mika no hara
wakite nagaruru
idzumi-kaha
itsu miki tote ka
kohishikaruramu?*

Like Izumi River
that wells up and flows,
dividing the Moor of Urns—
when did I see her, I wonder,
that I should yearn for her so?

Middle Counselor Kanesuke

Chūnagon Fujiwara no Kanesuke (877–933), brother of Sadakata (Poem 25), was known as “the Counselor of the Levée” (Tsutsumi Chūnagon) after his mansion beside the dam of the Kamo River. His residence was a meeting place for literati such as Tsurayuki (Poem 35) and Mitsune (Poem 29), for whom he acted as patron. Not surprisingly, then, his poetry first appears in the *Kokinshū*. He is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and has some fifty-seven poems in the various imperial anthologies. A personal poetry collection is extant as well.



Commentary

This poem is also collected in the *Kokin Roku-jō*, where it is listed as anonymous; thus its attribution to Kanesuke in the *ShinKokinshū* is suspect. Medieval debate

centered on whether the poem exemplified the topic *ahite ahazaru koki*—that is, where the lovers have met and pledged their love once, only to be unable to meet again—or *ahazaru koki*, when the lovers have not yet actually met. Since the poem appears in the first book of love poems in the *ShinKokinshū*, it would appear that Teika followed the second interpretation.

The poem is a skillful example of the use of a “preface” (*jo*), poetic place-name (*uta-makura*), and pivot words (*kake-kotoba*). *Mika-no-Hara* is a place-name from the Kyoto area; *mika* literally means “jars” or “urns.” The verb *wakite* means both “to bubble up, spring, gush forth” and “to divide.” The poem is centered, however, on the pivot word *idzumi*. As a common noun, *idzumi* is a “spring,” thus connecting with the verb *wakite*. The Izumi River is an actual river, today called Kizu-gawa. The whole first three lines serve as a “preface” to *itsu miki*, “when did I see,” where “when see (*itsu mi*)” echoes “Izumi River.”

The Pictures

The fact that *mika* means “urn” is pointed out in the early *Keikō Shō* (1530). The *Zōsanshō* [27-1] and the Kyoto illustrator [27-2] place an urn in the middle of the river. The *Zōsanshō*, in particular, gives a wonderful sense of a plain or moor (*hara*) being intersected (*wakite*) by the river, barring the poet from seeing his lady. The Kyoto illustrator, by contrast, interprets *hara* to mean “wilderness,” placing the poet in a mountain setting. Both have the poet with hand to brow, miming “to see.” The Porter artist and the *Kangyoku* naturalize the scene by removing the urn or returning to the Tan’yū album’s more naturalistic interpretation. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono designer [27-4] takes advantage of the nonseasonal nature of the poem to embellish his design with blossoms, emblazoning the back with the ideograph for *idzumi*. The *Hyakushu Hinagata* [27-3] ignores conventional spelling of the place-name Mika-no-Hara and writes it with the ideographs for “Plain of Beautiful Fragrance,” not attested in any other source.



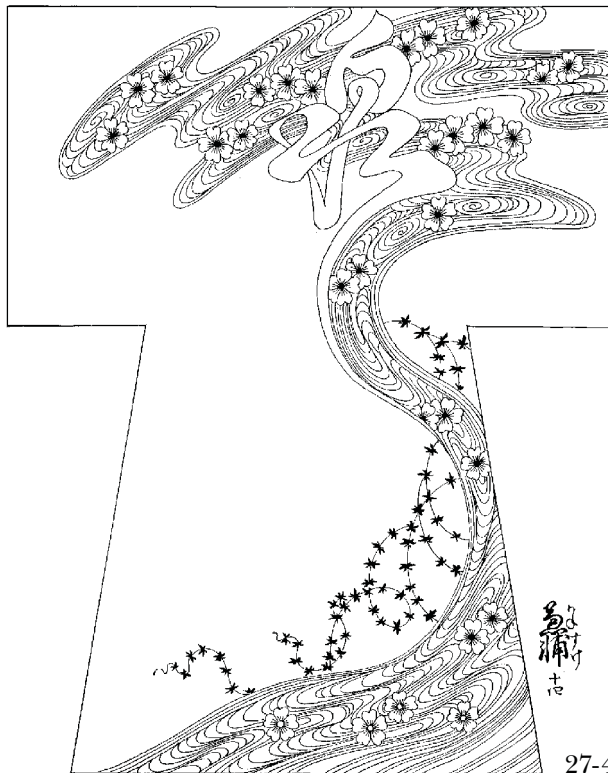
27-1



27-2



27-3



27-4

POEM 28

yama-zato ha
fuyu zo sabishisa
masarikeru
hito-me mo kusa mo
karenu to omoheba⁷

In the mountain village,
it is in winter that my loneliness
increases most,
when I think how both have dried up,
the grasses and people's visits.

Lord Minamoto no Muneyuki

Minamoto no Muneyuki Ason (d. 939) was a grandson of Emperor Kōkō (Poem 15). He participated in famous poetry contests and appears in the *Tales of Yamato*. His personal poetry collection contains many exchanges with Tsurayuki (Poem 35). He has six poems in the *Kokinshū*, three in the *Gosenshū*, and six in the remaining imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem appears in the *Kokinshū* with the headnote: “Composed as a winter poem.” In conception it is very similar to a poem in the “Prince Koresada Poetry Contest” (Koresada Shinnō no Ie no Uta-awase; 893), which involves an elegant debate on the issue of which season is sadder, autumn or winter. In other words, Muneyuki’s poem is written in



response to the assumption that autumn is saddest. Ariyoshi notes that while poets during Muneyuki’s time thought that mountain villages, removed from life at the capital, were sad and neglected during all four seasons,⁸ by Teika’s day aesthetic reclusion was viewed in a positive light and “mountain villages” became places to appreciate nature. The word *hito-me* (“people’s eyes”) is often used in the sense of “prying eyes” in secret love affairs; its use here to mean “people’s visits” is unusual. It allows the verb *kare*, however, to act as a pivot word meaning both “to wither” and “to avoid, keep away.”

The Pictures

Despite virtual unanimity among medieval commentators, the pictorializations of this poem show a surprising degree of diversity. The *Zōsanshō* [28–1] shows a snowbound mountain hut (similar to the *Hyakushu Hinagata* design), with Muneyuki seeming to gaze pensively at it from across his *kasen-e* frame. A similar landscape serves as the background for Moronobu’s clearly homosexual

interpretation in the *Sugata-e* [28-2], with the man looking out from under his bedclothes at the young man. The Kyoto artist [28-3] puts a courtier into the picture, but in a way which suggests that the poet is not the resident of the hut (Hasegawa, by contrast, has the poet on the veranda looking out at his gate)—his raised hand suggests “looking” and thus the “eyes” of the phrase *hito-me* (“people’s eyes,” meaning “people’s visits”). Most interestingly, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [28-4] has placed *ayame*, or sweetflag, at the bottom of the trailing character for “mountain” (*yama*, of “mountain village”), also picking up on the *me* of *hito-me*, though this gesture then transposes the poem from winter to the Fifth Month, that is, in Spring.

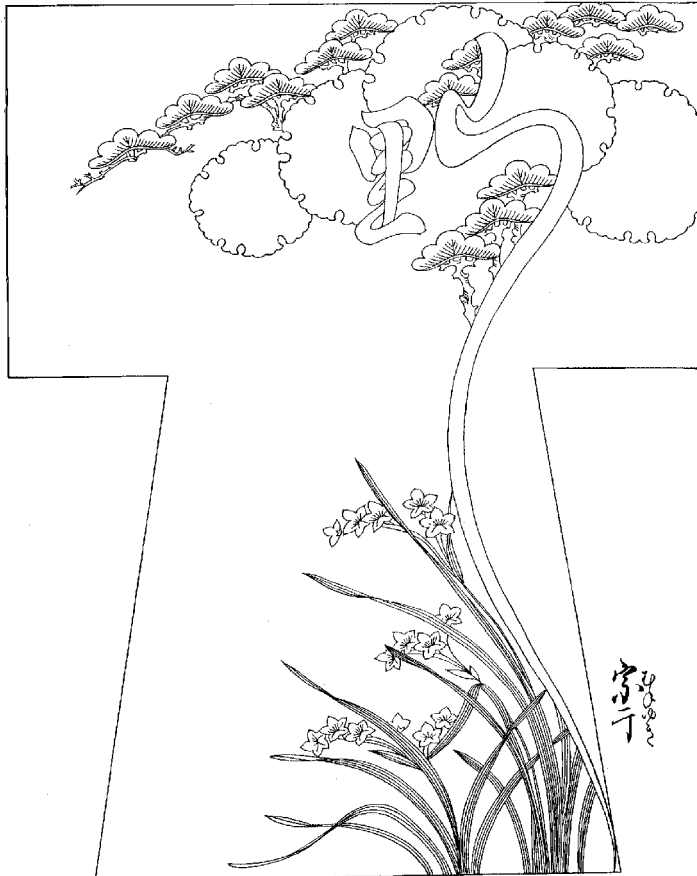




28-2



28-3



28-4

POEM 29

*kokoro-ate ni
woraba ya woramu
hatsu-shimo no
oki-madohaseru
shira-giku no hana*⁹

Must it be by chance,
if I am to pluck one, that I pluck it?—
white chrysanthemums
on which the first frost
lies bewilderingly.

Ōshikōchi no Mitsune

Mitsune (died ca. 925) was one of the compilers of the *Kokinshū* and a friend of Tsurayuki (Poem 35), with whom he frequented the mansion of Kanesuke (Poem 27). One of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, he has almost two hundred poems in post-*Kokinshū* imperial anthologies. His personal poetry collection contains a large number of poems from screens (*byōbu-uta*) and poetry contests (*uta-awase*).

Commentary

At least five distinct interpretations of this poem can be found, all centering on the second line, *woraba ya woramu*. The *Yoritaka-bon*, *Kamijō-bon*, and *Shūe Shō* believe this is simple word repetition (*kasane-kotoba*), meaning no more than “must I pluck one (by hazard)?” Other



interpretations focus on the *-baya* construction. The *Ōei Shō* and *Komezawa-bon* say that this indicates a wish on the speaker’s part (“O, if I could pluck one!”). The *Yoritaka-bon* says that it represents the speaker’s internal dialogue (“Shall I pluck one or shall I not?”). Kageki argues that the phrase simply represents an exclamation (*eitan*) (“Shall I pluck one!”). Ariyoshi, following the preponderance of remaining commentaries, sees the phrase as a rhetorical question (“Is it only by chance that I shall be able to pluck one?—Yes, I am unable to pluck one other than by chance”). Typical of this period of poetry, the poet has personified (*gijinka*) the frost, which camouflages the chrysanthemums. The poem’s attraction to Teika, however, no doubt lay in its white-on-white imagery.

The Pictures

Clearly the kinds of interpretive debate that occupied commentators could not be represented pictorially, and so, despite a wide variety of interpretations, the pictorializations show little difference. The *Zōsanshō* [29–1] remains the basic

model in all later illustrations. The *Sugata-e* [29-2] again gives an erotic interpretation: the older poetry master seems to be confused as to which to “pluck”—the boy or the girl—though the girl, with the chrysanthemum-patterned robe, is adjusting her collar in a self-conscious manner. Above them, the choice seems to be between chrysanthemums and maple leaves.¹⁰ Hasegawa [29-3] maintains the *Soan-bon* posture of the poet and places him on a veranda looking out to his garden in a somewhat awkward *contrapposto*. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono designer [29-4] superimposes the characters for “first frost” (*hatsu-shimo*) on clusters of chrysanthemums.



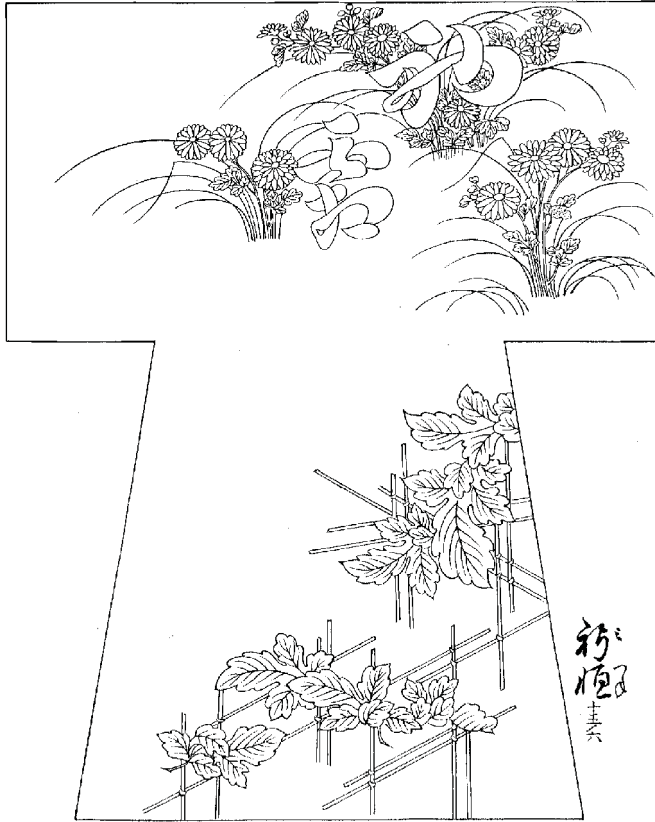
29-1



29-2



29-3



29-4

POEM 30

ariake no
tsurenaku mieshi
wakare yori
akatsuki bakari
uki mono ha nashi¹¹

There is nothing so depressing
as the break of day and
leaving you after
having seen the heartless
morning moon.

Mibu no Tadamine

Mibu no Tadamine (b. ca. 850), another of the *Kokinshū*'s compilers, is the father of Tadami (Poem 41). One of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, he has thirty-five poems in the *Kokinshū* and almost fifty in the remaining imperial anthologies. A personal poetry collection, the *Tadamine Shū*, and a poetic treatise, the *Tadamine Jittei*, are extant, though the latter is of dubious authenticity.

Commentary

Interpretations of this poem divide into two camps. The context originally imagined for this poem seems to have been a disappointed lover returning home after trying unsuccessfully all night to have his chosen lady receive him. Hence the poem makes a metaphorical comparison



between the cold lady and the cold moon. (*Ariake* refers to the late-rising moon in the latter half of the lunar month that is still visible in the sky at morning.) A translation following this interpretation might read:

Ever since that parting,
with its coldhearted-looking
morning moon,
there is nothing so depressing
as the hours before dawn.

Kenshō's and Teika's interpretation, however, is far happier: they read the poem as a morning-after poem (*kinu-ginu no uta*) sent by a still-unsated lover after dawn has forced him from his lady's side. Almost all medieval commentators follow the first interpretation, however.

The Pictures

While the *Shūgyoku* pictorialization has a man leaving a still-closed gate, early Edo-period artists, as seen in the *Zōsanshō* [30-1], by and large seem to have followed Teika's interpretation of this poem—showing the two lovers parting at dawn—perhaps because the context is then visually recognizable as romantic. Hasegawa's rendition [30-3] probably does not represent a different interpretation; most likely it is simply the result of his placing the *Soan-bon* figure in his usual veranda-plus-landscape format. The *Kangyoku* [30-2], on the other hand, seems to show some influence from the *Saga-bon* illustration for Episode 14 of *The Tales of Ise*, a well-known poem in which the woman curses the rooster for making her lover leave (see Poem 62), and a rooster and hen are also seen in the *Hyakushū Hinagata*. The Porter illustrator [30-4] seems to hedge his bets—there could be a woman sitting out of view behind the lattice. Yet other late-Edo illustrators also use this basic, poet-alone format (such as Kunisada and Kuniyoshi in the 1849 *Nishiki-e* edition), suggesting that the poem was read as the poet's reverie or recollection of an event in the distant past.



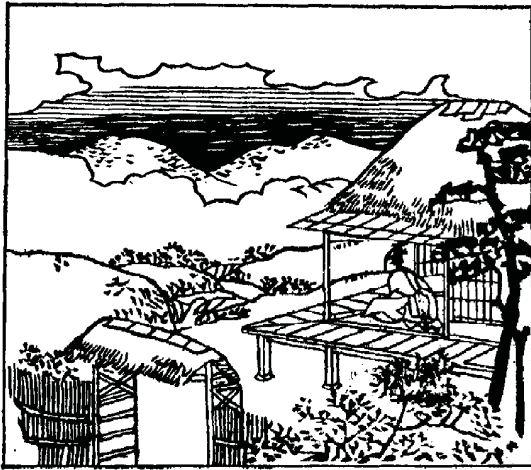
30-1



30-2



30-3



30-4

POEM 31

*asaborake
ariake no tsuki to
miru made ni
yoshino no sato ni
fureru shira-yuki*¹²

So that I thought it
the light of the lingering moon
at dawn—
the white snow that has fallen
on the village of Yoshino.

Sakanoue no Korenori

Korenori (dates uncertain) is a representative poet of the *Kokinshū* period and one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. He has eight poems in the *Kokinshū* and over thirty in later imperial anthologies. A personal poetry anthology is extant.

Commentary

This poem seems to treat a topic very similar to that of the immediately preceding poem by Tadamine. But whereas Tadamine's is clearly a love poem, Korenori's is seasonal: unlike *akatsuki*, which can be used to refer to "dawn" in any season, *asaborake* refers specifically to dawn in either autumn or winter. Commentaries such as the *Ōei Shō* thought of Korenori's poem as one of pure scenic description. But in fact the poem is in the conventional "elegant confusion" mode that harks back to Chinese poetry.

There has been little explicit disagreement over the meaning of the poem. Nevertheless, while most other commentators believed the scene to be one of light snow, Keichū argued that the position of the poem in the *Kokinshū* suggested deep snow instead. This poem has marked similarities with Poem 29 by Mitsune: both are "elegant confusion" poems based on conceits that derive from Chinese poetry, and both present the images of whiteness so treasured by Teika.

The Pictures

Here the Tan'yū album delivers one of its most sensitive renderings: an unhappy-looking Korenori gazing at a finely rendered mountain village, with bright white snow reflecting the moonlight off the thatched rooftops and surrounding hills. Korenori's expression is such to suggest that the artist has interpreted this poem as a lover's lament, along the same lines as the previous Poem



30. The standard interpretation shows the poet leaning on an armrest, gazing out from under his bedding, as in the *Zōsanshō* [31-1]. The Kyoto artist follows this design closely but removes the poet's hat and makes the snowfall heavier, perhaps following Keichū. The *Hyakushu Hinagata* [31-4] also presents heavily covered plants, but together with flowering cherries, indicating that it is a late snow. It is the "first snow" interpretation that is recorded in the *Sugata-e* [31-3] (*hatsu-yuki no usuku mo furitaru*) and thus rendered in the background. The way the old poet is gazing at the shaved pate of the young man suggests some kind of association between the first snow and the young man's first head-shaving. The *Hyakushu Hinagata*'s snow-encrusted bamboo reappears in Hasegawa [31-2], though in both cases the treatment is in fact anachronistic: Teika was once asked to find a poem to pair with a picture depicting the topic "snow on bamboo." While looking through his library, however, Teika discovered that the topic was actually a relatively new one and there were no examples of it before the *Horikawa Hyakushu* of 1105-1106. Hence it might be argued that it is inaccurate to show Korenori composing his poem while gazing at snow-clad bamboo.¹³



31-1



31-2



31-3



31-4

ing his hair dressed while a young woman stands before him. Just as in other pictures from this set, the young woman's outline vaguely echoes the shape of the rock in the landscape above. Presumably the man would "flow on" and away, but he finds himself held back by the young woman (or the two women, who seem to be exchanging glances), as if by a weir.



32-1



32-2



32-3



32-4

POEM 33

hisakata no
hikari nodokeki
haru no hi ni
shidzu-kokoro naku
hana no chiruramu¹⁵

In these spring days
with the tranquil light encompassing
the four directions
why should the blossoms scatter
with uneasy hearts?

Ki no Tomonori

An older cousin of Tsurayuki (Poem 35), Tomonori was also one of the compilers of the *Kokinshū* but died before its completion (died ca. 905 or 907). He is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and a collection of his poetry is extant. He has forty-six poems in the *Kokinshū*, and over twenty in the remaining imperial anthologies.

Commentary

In the *Kokinshū* the headnote to this poem reads: “Composed on the falling of the cherry blossoms.” One line of interpretation argues that it is not the flowers whose hearts are unquiet, but the hearts of those who watch them fall. The *Komezawa-bon*, however, gives an explicitly political reading: “When the august reign is tranquil like this, why are the flowers uneasy?”



The Pictures

Every illustrator includes a human figure, making it impossible to tell whether it is the flowers whose hearts are unquiet, or the man who watches them fall. The prominence of the shining sun in the *Zōsanshō* [33-1], the Kyoto illustrator, and others, may suggest the political interpretation of the *Komezawa-bon*. No sun appears in the Porter illustration [33-2]. Nor does it appear in Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [33-3]: here it seems to have been transformed into the sunflowers (*hi-mawari*) on the woman's robe.¹⁶ Finally, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono designer [33-4] gives a weeping cherry (*shidare-zakura*) over which are superimposed the two ideographs for *hisakata*. The fallen petals seem to be held in place or restrained by the wickerwork below. The weeping cherry itself seems to be meant to function in a manner similar to the motif of cherry blossoms and

willows, seen at least as early as the *Illustrated Scroll of Lord Takafusa's Love Song* (*Takafusa-kyō Tsuya-kotoba Emaki*, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, National Museum of Japanese History, Chiba prefecture), and seeming to indicate, as does Tomonori's poem, the beauty of spring and the tranquility of a peaceful reign.¹⁷



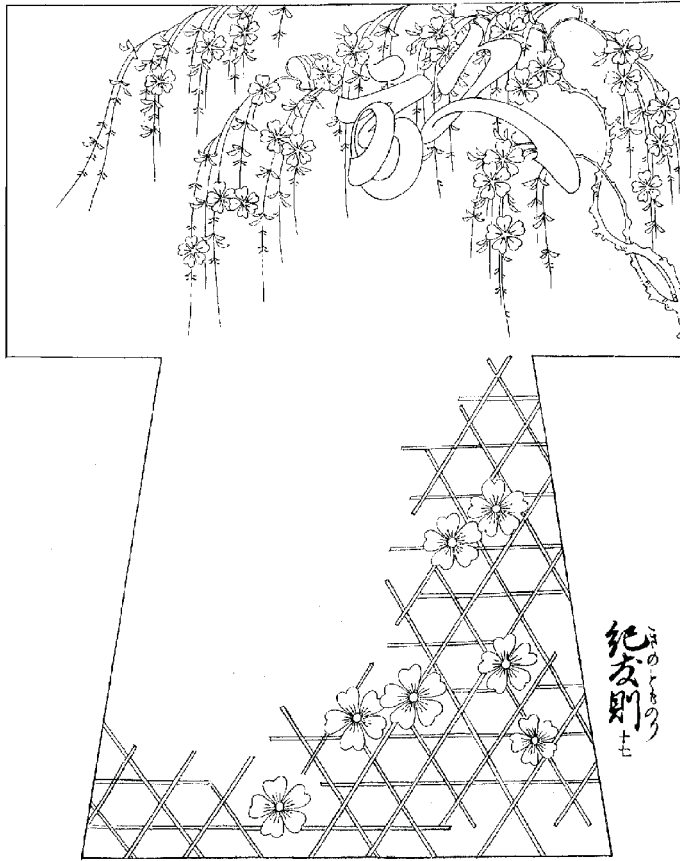
33-1



33-2



33-3



33-4

POEM 34

tare wo ka mo
shiru hito ni semu
takasago no
matsu mo mukashi no
tomo naranaku ni¹⁸

Whom, then, shall I have
as someone who knows me—
since even the ancient pines
of Takasago
are not friends from my past?

Fujiwara no Okikaze

Okikaze (dates uncertain) was an active participant in the poetry world around the time of the *Kokinshū*. One of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, he has seventeen poems in the *Kokinshū* and twenty-one in later imperial collections. A collection of his poems is also extant.

Commentary

This poem is specifically alluded to in Tsurayuki's Japanese preface to the *Kokinshū*, where he is enumerating occasions for poetry and says "the poet might . . . think of the pine trees of Takasago and Suminoe as having grown up with him [*ai'oi*]."¹⁹ Takasago is in Harima province (modern Hyōgo prefecture) on the west bank of the Kakogawa River and was long famous for its pine trees. How-



ever, *takasago* was also a common noun meaning a high dune or hill. Although the land around Takasago was quite flat, it was typically collocated with the word *wonohe* ("peak," from *KKS* 908) and depicted as a high bluff or hill. Moreover, by the medieval period the expression *ai'oi* was no longer understood to mean that the poet and pines had grown up together, but was taken to refer to a specific pine in Takasago and another in Sumi-no-e, which were understood as "paired," as husband and wife, and it is this understanding that is reflected in Zeami's highly influential *nō* play, *Takasago*.²⁰ Finally, *ai'oi* came to mean two tree trunks growing out of a single base and, in reference to Takasago, a black pine and red pine so joined within the Takasago Shrine precincts.

The basic sense of Okikaze's poem is clear: the speaker is an old man whose friends have all died. Even though the pines of Takasago are also long-lived, there is no way they can provide companionship to the man. Despite the clearness of the sentiment, commentators have exercised their imaginations in debate over why the pines cannot be the poet's friend. The *Tenri-bon Kiki-gaki* (1564) claims that the pines are too virtuous to befriend a human being. The

Shisetsu Shō (1658) claims that the pine is too long-lived to be able to commiserate with a human being, no matter how aged. Contrarily, the *ShinShō* (1804) claims that it is the pine which is too young to be the man's friend from the past. The other point of dispute was whether *takasago* was a place-name (as claimed at least as early as Keichū's commentary on the *Kokinshū*) or simply a common noun (as argued by Yūsai, Mabuchi, and others).

The Pictures

Tan'yū depicts two pine trees, joined at the base, growing on a bluff overlooking the ocean, reflecting the early modern understanding of the term *ai'oi*. Contrarily, the *Zōsanshō* [34-1] shows only one pine tree, which would seem to follow the *Kokinshū*-period understanding of the term. Yet again, both the *Kangyoku* [34-2] and the *Eiga* depict the pines (twinned in the former text) on a beach, reflecting the shrine's seaside location. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono designer [34-3] insists on the specificity of Takasago by including the word *wonohe*, which can also be understood as a place-name and appears in the poem that immediately precedes Okikaze's in the *Kokinshū*:

kakushitsutsu
yo wo ya tsukasamu
takasago no
wonohe ni tateru
matsu naranaku ni

Hiding myself away
 here I shall exhaust my days—
 even though I am not
 a pine that stands on O-no-e
 in Takasago.

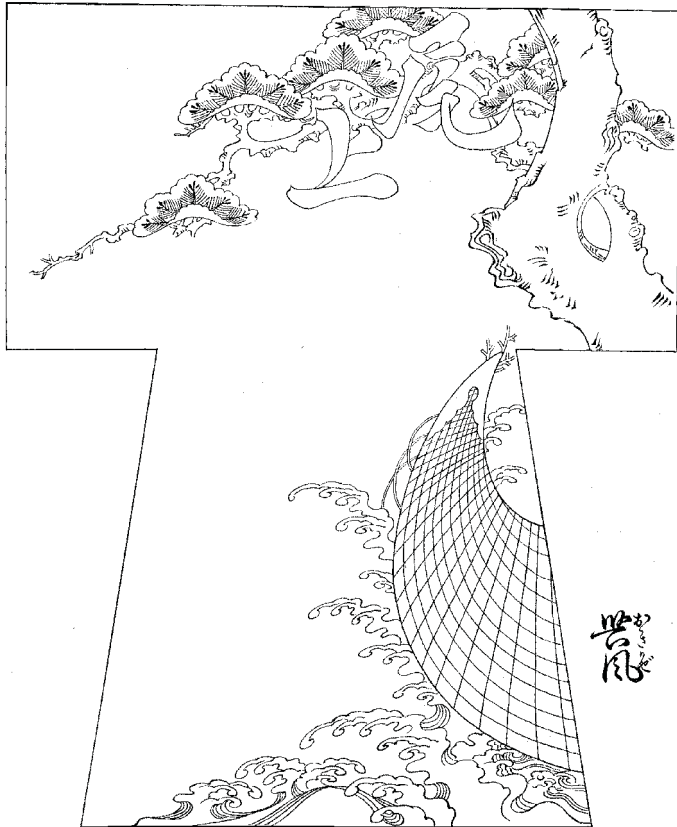
Moronobu's *Sugata-e* (see Figure 27) suggests a kind of *mitate* that would reappear in the work of such artists as Utamaro, where the Old Man and Old Woman of Zeami's play are transformed into contemporary lovers; the books may be meant to allude to the idea of "friends from the past."



34-1



34-2



34-3

POEM 35

hito ha isa
kokoro mo shirazu
furu-sato ha
hana zo mukashi no
ka ni nihohikeru²¹

With people, well,
you can never know their hearts;
but in my old village
the flowers brightly bloom with
the scent of the days of old.



Ki no Tsurayuki

Tsurayuki (ca. 868–945) was the chief editor of the *Kokinshū* and the author of its polemical Japanese preface. He led the battle to have Japanese verse accepted as the equal of Chinese. Besides the *Kokinshū*, his best-known work is the *Tosa Diary* (*Tosa Nikki*, ca. 935), a fictional travel account based on his own journey back from serving as governor of Tosa province in Shikoku. He has 202 poems in the *Kokinshū*, and more than 450 in all the imperial collections combined. A large personal poetry collection also survives.

Commentary

This poem is preceded by a lengthy head-note in the *Kokinshū*:

There was a house of someone with whom the poet stayed whenever he made a pilgrimage to Hatsuse. However, for a long time he did not have occasion to stay there. Time passed, and later, when he did finally visit again, the owner of the house sent out the following upon his arrival: “As you can see, there is always lodging for you!” Whereupon the poet broke off a branch of a plum that had been planted there and composed [the following].

In this context, the poem can be paraphrased as: “People’s hearts change easily, and I don’t know whether you feel about me the same way you did in the past. However, in this long-familiar village, the flowers at least are blooming with the same scent as always.” While one modern scholar has suggested that the owner was probably a woman, bitter at the man’s neglect of her, the poem has been traditionally understood to be addressed to another man. The idea that the poet can both know and rely on the plum is of course in marked contrast to the idea presented in the previous poem by Okikaze (Poem 34).

The Pictures

Although the headnote says that the owner “sent out word” (*ihidashi*), most illustrations show the poet and the host face to face, as in the *Zōsanshō* [35–1]. The *Kangyoku* [35–2] seems closest to the actual situation—interestingly, the host or his servant is depicted as a monk or recluse. Moronobu’s *Sugata-e* (see Figure 28) shows the poet perhaps critically comparing a young boy to the reliable plum; as discussed in Part One, this picture in particular seems to be a parody of the Tan’yū album. The comparison of boys to the plum is made explicit in the following passage of Saikaku’s *Great Mirror of Male Love* (*Nanshoku Ōkagami*) describing a lord’s first view of a young retainer: “When he appeared before the lord, his lordship was smitten immediately with the boy’s unadorned beauty . . . One by one his other qualities became apparent, from his nightingale voice to his gentle disposition, as obedient and true as a plum blossom.”²²

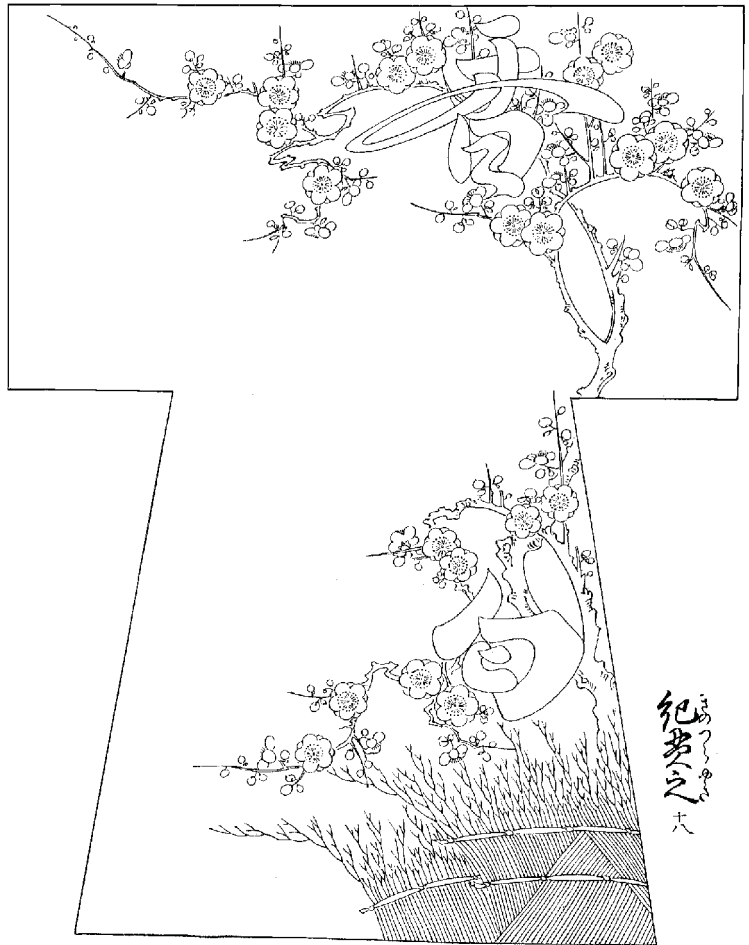
The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [35–3] has the plum depicted with the ideographs for both “scent” (*ka*) and “to bloom brightly” (*nihofu*, which can also mean “scent” or “perfume”); the roofed walls of the villa depicted in the earlier *Hyakushu Shikishi* (Part One, Figure 37) have been reduced to a brushwood fence.



35-1



35-2



35-3

POEM 36

*natsu no yo ha
mada yohi nagara
akenuru wo
kumo no idzuko ni
tsuki yadoruramu*²³

The short summer nights:
while it seems yet early evening,
it has already dawned, but
where in the clouds, then,
does the moon lodge, I wonder?

Kiyohara no Fukayabu

Fukayabu (dates uncertain) has seventeen poems in the *Kokinshū*, and his personal poetry collection seems to have been used in compiling this first imperial anthology. He is the grandfather of Moto-suke (Poem 42) and the great-grandfather of Sei Shōnagon (Poem 62).

Commentary

This poem presupposes a great deal of knowledge on the part of the reader—knowledge that was part of every poet’s cultural assumptions. The poem starts with the phrase “summer nights” (*natsu no yo ha*). One of the chief characteristics of summer nights, according to the poetic conventions of the time, was their brevity. Hence the first line of Fukayabu’s poem says that summer nights are so brief that day has already dawned while

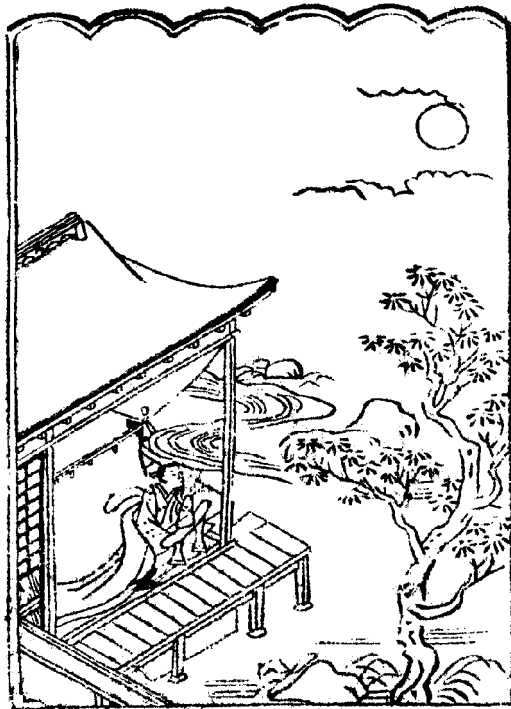


he thought that night had barely begun. The moon rises in the east and sets in the west. Yet the night has been so short that the poet does not see how the moon could have possibly already arrived at the edge of the western hills where it usually sets. Moreover, the poet cannot see the moon because of the clouds. Thus he asks himself where in the clouds the moon must be lodging, since the night was too short for it to have made its way across the sky to the western hills.

This poem was highly regarded during the *Kokinshū* era and was included in Tsurayuki’s *Shinsen Waka* and the *Kokin Roku-jō*. Fukayabu was not included by Kintō among the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, however, and his reputation suffered accordingly until Shunzei included this poem in his *Korai Fūtei Shō*. Thereafter this poem was used allusively by many *ShinKokinshū* period poets. This poem may have been linked to the previous poem in Teika’s mind by the use of the verb *yadoru* (“to lodge”), which also appears in the headnote to Tsurayuki’s verse (Poem 35).

The Pictures

It is not until the *Iken* (1823) that we find an interpretation suggesting that the poet is actually looking at the moon which remains in the morning sky. Rather, in the standard interpretation the moon is not visible to the poet. Nonetheless, only the *Kangyoku* [36–3] demonstrates such a reading—all other artists clearly show the moon, as in the *Zōsanshō* [36–1]. Moronobu’s *Sugata-e* (see Figure 29) shows a man having his hair dressed by a woman, which could be read as the man leaving after a very short night with his lover.²⁴ The commentary cited above specifically talks of the poet’s “bitterness” (*urami*) at no longer being able to see the moon (see also the next poem). Such a reading would help explain the inclusion of a bird, which could then be identified as a *hototogisu*, often used as a metaphor for a fickle male lover. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [36–2] has added the summer flora of irises (also seen in 36–3) and wisteria, over which the ideographs for “cloud” (*kumo*) and “moon” (*tsuki*) have been superimposed.



36-1



36-2



海
平
安



36-3

POEM 37

shira-tsuyu ni
kaze no fuki-shiku
aki no ta ha
tsuranuki-tomenu
tama zo chirikeru²⁵

In the autumn fields
where the wind blows repeatedly
on the white dewdrops,
the gems, not strung together,
do scatter about indeed.

Fun'ya no Asayasu

Almost nothing is known of this poet (read in some Edo texts as “Tomoyasu,” dates unknown) except that he was a son of Yasuhide (Poem 22), one of the Six Poetic Immortals. Moreover, only three of his poems are extant: one in the *Kokinshū* and this and one other in the *Gosenshū*.

Commentary

Although the headnote in the *Gosenshū* states that this poem was written during the reign of Emperor Daigo (r. 897–930), it is found in *The Empress' Poetry Contest of the Kanpyō Era* and in the *Shinsen Man'yō Shū* (both circa 893) and hence is clearly a product of Emperor Uda's reign (887–897).



The conceit of dew as gems was a common one in the period—with any number of poems written on it. Add to this the extremely minor reputation of Asayasu and one might be tempted to believe that Teika included this poem simply because of the parent-child relationship between Asayasu and Yasuhide (Poem 22). As the poem's frequent inclusion in his exemplary anthologies shows, however, Teika apparently thought this poem truly something remarkable. Its worth is perhaps less apparent today. Ariyoshi notes that while other poems of this type are concerned only with comparing the dewdrops to gems, Asayasu's poem concentrates on the sight of the dewdrops being scattered. He also suggests that this image of scattering dew may call to mind the transience of existence. Moreover, one notes that Asayasu describes the jewels as “not strung,” rather than suggesting that they have become somehow unstrung.

The Pictures

The dominant interpretation has this poem describing the beauty of an autumn scene with the dew falling. However, three commentaries, the *Yoritakabon* (Muromachi period), the *Minō Shō* (late Muromachi), and the *Komezawa-*

bon (1452), interpret the poet as complaining that even though the dewdrops are strung together (by the autumn grasses), still the wind scatters them. Only the Porter artist [37-2] manages to convey the sense of the standard interpretation: presenting the dewdrops as loose and unstrung. Other artists, such as the Kyoto artist [37-1] (as always, following the *Zōsanshō*), by picturing the dew aligned on the grasses, seem to suggest that the dewdrops have, in fact, been strung together. This idea of regret at the scattering dew—rather than the sense of celebratory description found in the standard interpretation—may be the basis for Moronobu’s *Sugata-e*, (see Figure 30) where the older man may be wishing that the boy’s forelocks will never be shaved off—a coming of age ritual that will make him a man and thus no longer a suitable object of the older man’s sexual attentions.²⁶ As in the previous poem, the accompanying commentary speaks of the poet’s feelings of “fondness and regret” (*mede-aharemu*). The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [37-3] has the usual autumnal flora—bush clover (*hagi*), aster (*kikyō*), field chrysanthemum (*no-giku*), and maiden-flowers (*ominaeshi*)—with the ideographs for “white dew” (*shira-tsuyu*) on top.



37-1



37-2



37-3

POEM 38

wasuraruru
mi woba omohazu
chikahiteshi
hito no inochi no
woshiku mo aru kana²⁷

Forgotten by him,
I do not think of myself.
But I can't help worry
about the life of the man who
swore so fervently before the gods!

Ukon

Ukon (dates uncertain) was the daughter of Lesser Captain of the Left Bodyguards (*ukon'e no shōshō*) Fujiwara no Suenawa (the infamous lover called “the Lesser Captain of Katano”). Her sobriquet comes from her father’s position. She was a lady-in-waiting to Emperor Daigo’s empress Onshi and is known to have had liaisons with Fujiwara no Atsutada, Morosuke, Asatada, and Minamoto no Shitagō. There is a set of five anecdotes about her (Episodes 81–85) in the mid-tenth-century *Tales of Yamato* (*Yamato Monogatari*). She was an active participant in poetry contests. She has five poems in the *Gosenshū*, three in the *Shūishū*, and one in the *Shin-Chokusenshū*.



Commentary

This poem first appears in the *Tales of Yamato* with the following introduction: “A certain gentleman promised Ukon time and again that he would never forget her. Nonetheless, he did forget her in time, and so Ukon wrote. . . . I do not know what his response was.”²⁸ From this it is clear that the poem was sent to the man. In such a case the most natural reading sees the poem as highly sarcastic. When this poem was anthologized in the *Shūishū*, however, the headnote listed it simply as “topic unknown.” In this context the poem was read, not as a letter, but as a private expression of grief (*doku'ei*). This approach in turn seems to neutralize the sarcastic reading: now the situation is one in which the woman truly gives no thought to herself and is concerned only for the man’s safety from the wrath of the gods. It is presumably this reading that Teika followed. While accepting this interpretation, the early modern nativist scholar Mabuchi criticized the idea of worrying about the life of someone who had betrayed one: this was simply a Confucian-inspired hypocrisy, he said, that is antithetical to the true Japanese spirit.

The Pictures

Both the *Zōsanshō* and the Kyoto artist [38-1] show a woman at home, sleeve held to tearful eyes, gazing at a shrine. In the *Sugata-e* upper register [38-2] we see a private house, with a figure of the poet, who has presumably been waiting all through the night, until the moon is about to sink behind the western hills. In the foreground we see another woman, sleeve to face, her robe decorated with *kemari* footballs (a sport exclusive to the court) and willow branches that suggest the length of her wait. The Porter illustrator [38-3] uses yet another building, this one resembling the famous Hase Temple, which is known for its peonies (*botan*), a traditional symbol of fidelity. These are included in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [38-4] in conjunction with folded paper, which could represent both love letters and written vows left at temples.



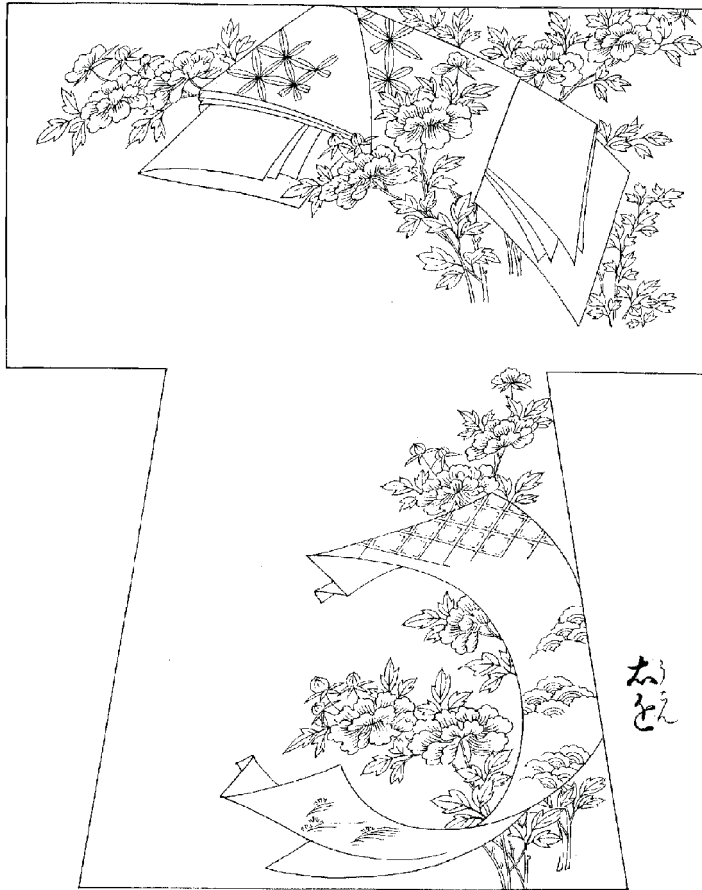
38-1



38-2



38-3



38-4

POEM 39

asajhifu no
ono no shinohara
shinoburedo
amarite nado ka
hito no kohishiki²⁹

Though I reveal my love
as sparingly as the sparse reeds
that grow in low bamboo fields,
it overwhelms me—why is it
that I must love her so?

Consultant Hitoshi

Sangi Minamoto no Hitoshi (880–951) held many provincial posts, but his career as a poet is not clear. He has only four anthologized poems, all collected in the *Gosenshū*.

Commentary

The first two lines are a common preface (*jo*) to the verb *shinobu* (“to love secretly”), due to the sound repetition *shinohara shinobu*. The idea of scarcity in “sparse reeds” and “low bamboo” is nicely reversed in the fourth line with *amarite* (“it overwhelms me”—literally, “it is too much”). The last line can be translated as “why is it / that I must love her so?” or “why is it / that I must love you so?” The headnote in the *Gosenshū* states that the poem was sent to the woman,



would suggest “you.” However, most medieval commentators since the *Oei Shō* read the poem as a soliloquy.

The Pictures

If we compare the *Zōsanshō* [39–1] and the Kyoto edition [39–2], we can see that the latter has added bamboo with dew (representing tears) and a few reeds and has Hitoshi’s sleeve to his face, indicating that he is crying. In other words, there seems to be almost nothing in the earlier rendition that is specifically connected to the poem. But the composition in both scenes—a figure seated in an interior—is often used to indicate that the poet has sent the poem as a letter (though the same composition is also used in the upper register of 40–4). Moronobu changes the conception entirely in his *Sugata-e* [39–3]—both in the foreground, where the object of the poet’s as yet unrevealed affections has

been changed into a young man, and in the upper register, where the original poem is set in the clouds and Hitoshi is shown on a sparse field. The model of the poet in a field is used by later artists, such as the *Kangyoku* and the Porter artists [39-4], though here the sense of “sparse reeds” seems to have been lost: the poet stands amidst a wild profusion, perhaps now meant to suggest the verb *amarite* (“to be profuse”).



39-1



39-2



39-3



39-4

POEM 40

shinoburedo
iro ni idenikeri
wa ga kohi ha
mono ya omofu to
*hito no tofu made*³⁰

Even though I hide it,
 it shows all over my face,
 such is my longing,
 so that people ask me
 “What *are* you thinking about?”

Taira no Kanemori

Kanemori (d. 990) was a descendant of Emperor Kōkō (Poem 15). He is a representative poet of the *Gosenshū* period, the second imperial anthology, ordered in 950. Three of his poems, although labeled “anonymous,” are in the *Gosen-shū*; he is credited with thirty-eight in the *Shūishū* and forty-six in the remaining imperial anthologies. He is counted as one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, and a collection of his poetry survives.

Commentary

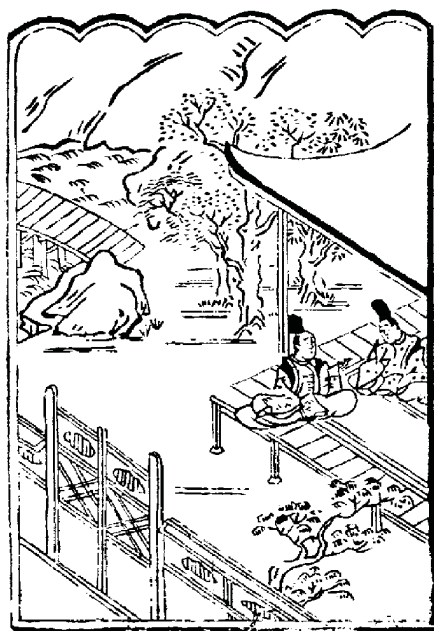
This poem and the next, by Mibu no Tadami (Poem 41) are presented together at the very beginning of the first book of love poems in the *Shūishū* with a headnote: “From a Poetry Contest of the Tenryaku Era.” This refers to the Palace Poetry Contest of 960 (*Tentoku Yonen*



Dairi Uta-awase) in twenty rounds. As related in a collection of anecdotes, the *Fukuro-Zōshi*, compiled by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104–1177), Kanemori’s and Tadami’s poems were pitted against each other in the last round, but the judge, Fujiwara no Saneyori, was unable to decide which was superior. He asked for the aid of Minamoto no Taka’akira, but he too was unable to decide. The case was brought to Emperor Murakami, who let his opinion be known by humming Kanemori’s verse under his breath. It was probably this story that appealed to Teika, as much as the poem itself, but the poem has also been highly prized for the conversational quality of its lower half. Thus although this poem repeats a line identical to the previous poem (*shinoburedo* in Poem 39), its conversational nature would have seemed a contrast to the internal monologue of the former.

The Pictures

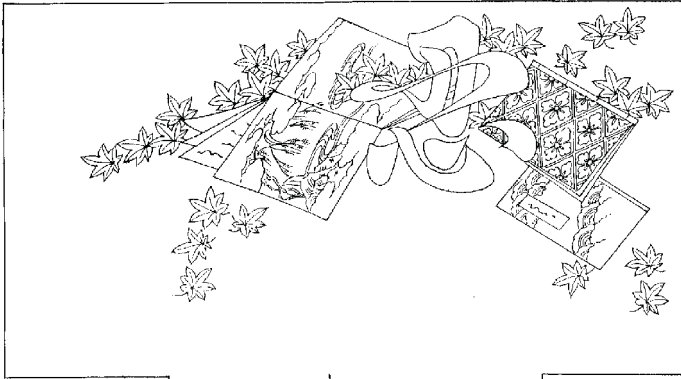
The Tan'yū album has Kanemori and Tadami facing each other in poses reminiscent of pictured poetry competitions, such as the *Jidai Fudō Uta-awase-e*.³¹ Often, however, as we see in the *Zōsanshō* [40-1], the poet is presented with his interlocutor while he attempts to cover his face. This idea of hiding his blushing face is even more explicit in the *Sugata-e* [40-4], where a shy samurai seems to be having some difficulty expressing himself to the prostitute in front of him. “Color” then leads to the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [40-3] with its crimson leaves and ideograph for “hidden love” (*shinobi*). The maple leaves appear on the poet’s robe in the imaginary portrait (*kasen-e*) in the *Zōsanshō*, as well as in Hasegawa’s fan [40-2]. The *Sugata-e* written commentary mentions an interpretation, attributed to the *renga* poet Sōchō, emphasizing the months and years that the poet has endured his secret love. This may explain the willowlike tree in the upper register of the *Sugata-e*, as well as the use of late wisteria, rather than autumn foliage, in the *Hyakushū Hinagata*.



40-1



40-2



40-3

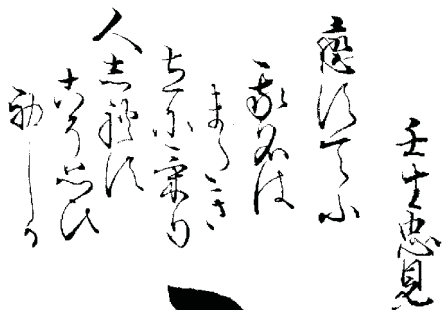


40-4

POEM 41

kohi su tefu
wa ga na ha madaki
tachinikeri
hito shirezu koso
omohi-someshika³²

My name already
is bandied about with
rumors I'm in love—
though, unknown to anyone, I thought,
I had only just begun to love her!



Mibu no Tadami

Tadami (dates uncertain) was a son of Mibu no Tadamine (Poem 30) and is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. A personal poetry collection survives, and he has one poem in the *Gosenshū*, fourteen in the *Shūishū*, and twenty-two in later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem was matched against that by Kanemori (Poem 40) in the Palace Poetry Contest of 960 and lost. As recorded in *The Collection of Sand and Pebbles* (*Shaseki Shū*, composed 1279–1283) by priest Mujū, legend had it that Tadami was so distraught that he stopped eating, sickened, and died as a result. His personal poetry collection makes it clear that in fact he lived on many years longer, practicing poetry all the while.

Indeed, although the “losing” poem, this verse was also highly regarded, as its placement in the *Shūishū* shows. While Muromachi-period commentators generally agreed in their reading of this poem, in the Edo period the last line became a point of disagreement. Rather than *omohi-someshika*, Yūsai and others insisted that the line should read *omohi-someshiga*, meaning “how I wish I could start to love with no one knowing!”

The Pictures

Both the *Zōsanshō* and the Kyoto illustrator [41–2] show the poet with the lady concerned. In conjunction with the Yūsai commentary that accompanies it, this would suggest that the poem was read to mean: “How I wish there was some way I could start loving you with no one knowing.” The plants in the gardens of both are meant to represent *shinobu-gusa* (see Poem 100). Moronobu gives the original setting as a soliloquy in the upper register of his *Sugata-e* [41–1], and the vine on the man’s robe again suggests hidden love (see Poem 25), while his

interlocutor has changed to a young man (see 43–1). The poem has no seasonal designation, but the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono designer [41–4] places it in early spring by presenting young greens (*wakana*), with patches of snow on them, placed on the bottom of the robe to correspond to the phrase “my name” (*wa ga na*) written above. On the other hand, the *Hyakushu Hinagata* [41–3] shows folded letters with *shinobu* ferns on them and the words *omohi-someshika* written above; the character for *kohi* (love) is written three times with butterflies nearby—the butterflies, called *chō*, are meant to represent the words *tefu* of the poem, which are also pronounced /chō/ (see Poem 2).



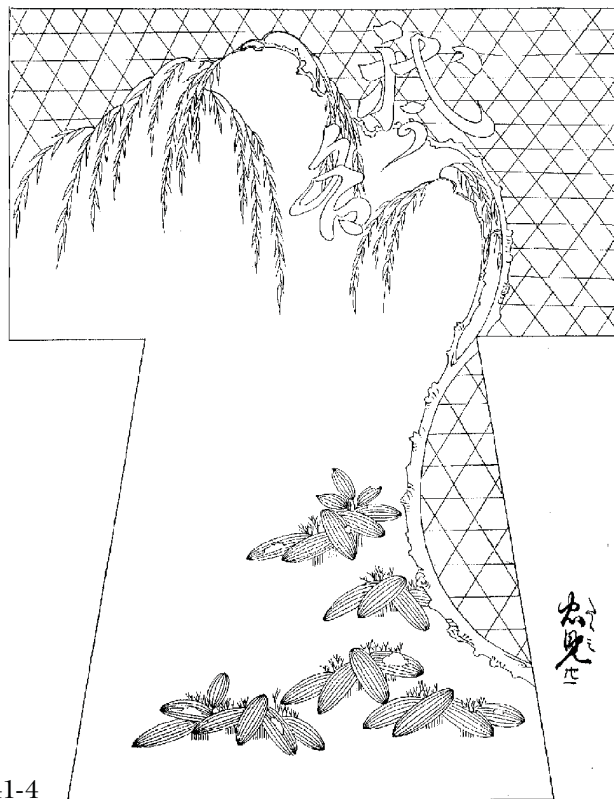
41-1



41-2



41-3



41-4

POEM 42

*chigiriki na
katami ni sode wo
shiboritsutsu
suwe no matsu-yama
nami kosaji to ha*³³

But we promised!
while wringing out the tears from
each other's sleeves,
that never would the waves wash over
Sue-no-Matsu Mountain.

Kiyohara no Motosuke

Motosuke (908–990) was the grandson of Fukayabu (Poem 36) and the father of Sei Shōnagon (Poem 62). One of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, he was also one of the editors of the second imperial anthology, the *Gosenshū* (ca. 951).

A collection of his poetry is extant. He has forty-eight poems in the *Shūishū* and fifty-eight in later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

This poem alludes to another famous verse recorded in the *Kokinshū* 20 (Court Poetry): 1093:

<i>kimi wo okite</i>	if ever I should
<i>adashi-gokoro wo</i>	change my mind
	and banish you
<i>wa ga motaba</i>	from my heart
	then would
<i>suwe no matsu yama</i>	great ocean waves
	rise and cross
<i>nami mo koenan</i>	Suenomatsu
	Mountain ³⁴

The headnote to Motosuke's poem in the *GoShūishū* reads: "To a woman whose feelings had changed, on behalf of someone else." In other words, Motosuke wrote this poem for a male friend whose lover's feelings had grown cold. The poem actually includes a direct quote of words exchanged by the lovers ("Never will the waves cross / Sue-no-matsu Mountain"), continuing the conversational aspect that runs through Poems 40 and 41, as well as the topos of broken pledges, seen also in Ukon's Poem 38.

The Pictures

Surprisingly, both the *Zōsanshō* [42–1] and the Kyoto illustrator depict the circumstances of the poem's composition and show two men, presumably the poet and the man for whom he writes the poem. The exact meaning of *suwe no matsu-yama* has long been debated.³⁵ The background landscape in the *Zōsan-*

shō is essentially identical to that in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [42-4], whereas Moronobu uses a much different conception in the *Sugata-e* [42-2], where we also see in the foreground the poet in the midst of writing his poem, obviously on his own behalf rather than for someone else. Later artists use yet another model, showing the poet on a seashore, as in the *Kangyoku* [42-3]. All, however, reflect the fact the *matsu-yama* can be understood to mean “pine-clad mountains.”



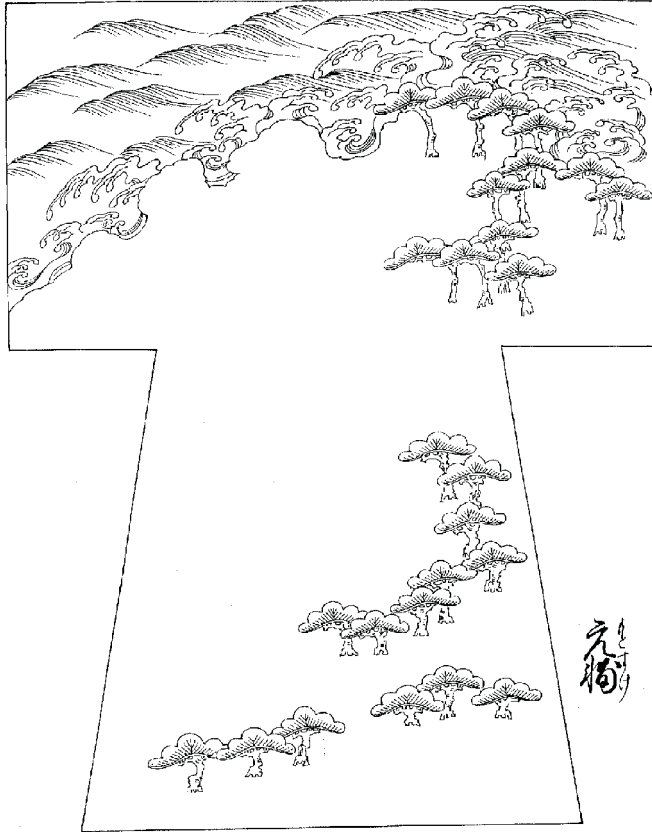
42-1



42-2



42-3



42-4

POEM 43

ahi-mite no
nochi no kokoro ni
kurabureba
mukashi ha mono wo
omohazarikeri³⁶

When compared to
the feelings in my heart
after we'd met and loved,
I realize that in the past
I had no cares at all.

Supernumerary Middle Counselor Atsutada

GonChūnagon Fujiwara no Atsutada (906–943) was the third son of the powerful minister Tokihira. He was renowned for his poetic ability and appears in episodes of the *Tales of Yamato* with other poets such as Ukon (Poem 38). He is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and has an extant personal poetry collection. He has ten poems in the *Gosenshū* and twenty in later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem appears in the *Shūishū* as “topic unknown.” In the earlier draft of this anthology, the *Shūishō*, however, the headnote reads: “Sent the next morning, after he had started visiting the woman.”



The poem is also included in the *Kokin*

Roku-jō in the “miscellaneous, morning” section. Accordingly, this was a “morning after” poem: the man has at last been able to meet the woman he has been wooing. Under such an interpretation, the last two lines of the poem could be translated as “I realize that in the past / I never loved at all.” In other words, since actually being with the woman, the poet’s love seems to have changed not only quantitatively but qualitatively. This conception is related to another *ahi-mite ha* poem, found in the *Man'yō Shū* (11: 2567):

ahi-mite ha
kohi-nagusamu to
hito ihedo
mite nochi ni somo
kohi-masarikeru

“Having met
your longing will be eased,”
people say, but
it is precisely after meeting
that my longing increases!

The explanatory headnote was removed in the *Shūishū*, however, and of course does not appear in the *One Hundred Poets* either. Accordingly, some medieval

commentators argued that this was not a poem of “love after first meeting” but rather one of “love unable to meet again” (*ahite ahazaru kohi*). This interpretation, offered by such commentaries as the *Chōkyō Shō* (1487), would yield a translation such as the one given here. Other commentaries, such as the *Ōei Shō* and the *Yoritaka-bon*, suggested that it was not that the lovers could not meet again, but that, having now pledged his love, the poet found himself assailed with worries about rumors starting or the woman’s affections changing. While it is not possible to firmly establish how Teika read the verse, his placement of it in the third book of love poems in his *Nishidai Shū* would suggest that he followed the second or third interpretation, and not that suggested by the *Shūishō*.

Finally, in the *Shūishū* and *Nishidai Shū* the fourth line appears as *mukashi ha mono mo*, but this somehow changed to the now-standard *One Hundred Poets* version during the course of the Muromachi period. The difference is minimal and need not be reflected in translation.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [43–2] shows the couple meeting, a situation that does not accord with any of the standard interpretations but is probably meant to emphasize the words “met and loved” of the poem. In the garden we see a cherry tree in bud next to some kind of evergreen—the implication is that the poet is concerned about the fleeting nature of human relationships. In the *Sugata-e* [43–1] we see a young retainer bringing his lord not cherry but plum, which symbolizes loyalty. It is plum that then replaces the cherry in the Kyoto artist’s redrawing of the *Zōsanshō* [43–3], emphasizing the man’s concerns over the woman’s fidelity. The motif becomes almost elegaic in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [43–4], where the ideograph for “the past” (*mukashi*) is surrounded by flowering plum.



43-1

POEM 44

*afu koto no
taete shi naku ha
naka-naka ni
hito wo mo mi wo mo
uramizaramashi*³⁷

If there were no such thing
as ever having met her, then,
contrary to all expectations,
neither her coldness nor my pain
would I have to resent!

Middle Counselor Asatada

Chūnagon Fujiwara no Asatada (910–966); (read “Tomotada” in many of the Edo-period editions) was the fifth son of Sadakata (Poem 25). One of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, he has four poems in the *Gosenshū* and seventeen more in the remaining imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem comes from the same poetry competition of A.D. 960 as Poems 40 and 41. It is included in the first book of love poems in the *Shūishū*, grouped among poems about “love before the first meeting” (*imada ahazaru koi*). In this context the poem might be translated: “If there were no such thing as a tryst at all, then, in fact, I’d have no cause to reproach either her or myself.” In other words, the



poet is complaining that the woman has not yet consented to let him come to her at night. Were there no such thing as “meeting” (that is, love), the poet declares, then he would, contrary to expectation, be happy and would neither resent her nor feel so sad. This poem is fashioned after a famous verse by Narihira (Poem 17), *Kokinshū* (Love 1): 53:

*yo no naka ni
taete sakura no
nakariseba
haru no kokoro ha
nodokekaramashi*

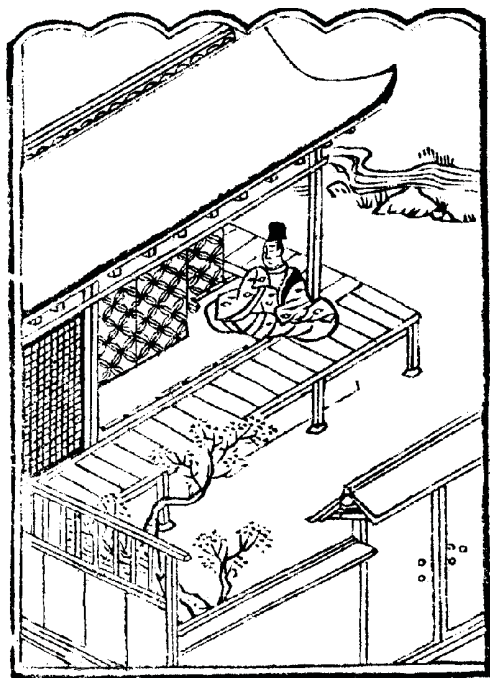
If a world where
there were no such thing as cherry blossoms
we were to imagine,
then how tranquil would be
our hearts in spring!

However, Teika placed Asatada’s poem in the third book of love poems in his *Nishidai Shū*, among poems on the topic of “love unable to meet again” (*ahite ahazaru koi*; see Poem 43). This placement transforms the poem’s meaning:

now the poet is complaining about a cold lady who will not see him again, no doubt due to the dangers and complications it would entail. It is the interpretation based on this more involved narrative that the first translation follows.

The Pictures

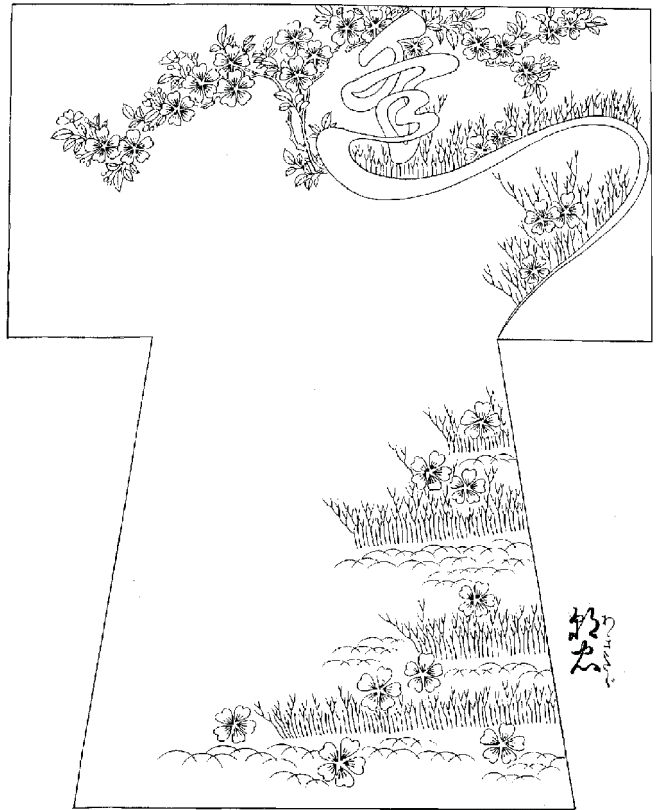
The *Zōsanshō* illustration [44-1] shows a man pleading his love to a woman hidden behind a curtain. Presumably they have already met, but the woman is refusing further (or renewed) intimacy (see Poem 20). Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [44-4] transposes the scene to a contemporary setting: the poet is forlornly holding a pillow, implying that while he can see the woman, literally, he is not "seeing" her. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [44-3] has the ideograph for *afu*, "to meet," but has made the cherry blossoms from Narihira's famous poem (also seen on the *Sugata-e* poet's robe) the main motif, hindered by fences. Later illustrators, such as the *Kangyoku* [44-2] and the Porter artist, show the poet looking backwards, activating a potential pun in *urami*, which means "to be resentful of" but can also be read as *ura-mi*, "to look behind." The *Hyakushu Hinagata* shows a veritable gauntlet of barriers: blinds, balustrade, and both brushwood and wooden fence, with the words *afu koto* emblazoned above, which no doubt served as a teasing enticement to admirers of the young woman who wore such a robe.



44-1



44-2



44-3



44-4

POEM 45

ahare to mo
ifu-beki hito ha
omohoede
mi no itadzura ni
narinu-beki kana³⁸

Not one person who would
call my plight pathetic
comes at all to mind,
and so, uselessly
I must surely die!

Lord Kentoku

Kentokukō—Fujiwara no Koremasa (also read “Koretada”, 924–972)—was the eldest son of Morosuke and regent (*sesshō*) from 970. He was involved in the planning of the second imperial anthology, the *Gosenshū*. He edited a collection of his own poetry into a poem-tale about a fictional character named Toyokage; it is now found in his larger personal poetry collection, *The Collected Poems of the First Ward Regent (Ichijō Sesshō GyoShū)*. He has thirty-seven poems in imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem appears in the *Shūishū* with the headnote: “When a woman he had been seeing later became cold and would not see him again.” The poem appears origi-

nally as the first in the “Collected Poems of Toyokage” (*Toyokage Shū*) with the following introduction:

Among the women he sent letters to, there was one who, although no different from him in rank, made no reply to his repeated letters, even after months and years. Thinking, “I will not be defeated!” he wrote the following.

Regardless of the difference between the two headnotes, the main point is that this poem was sent to a woman (who sent a reply). Medieval commentaries differed over how to interpret the *hito* of the poem: did it mean people in general or specifically the woman to whom the poem was addressed? In fact, it means both: the poet’s words are indirect; *hito* literally refers to people in general, but in the context of a letter to a woman *hito* obviously means her in particular.



The Pictures

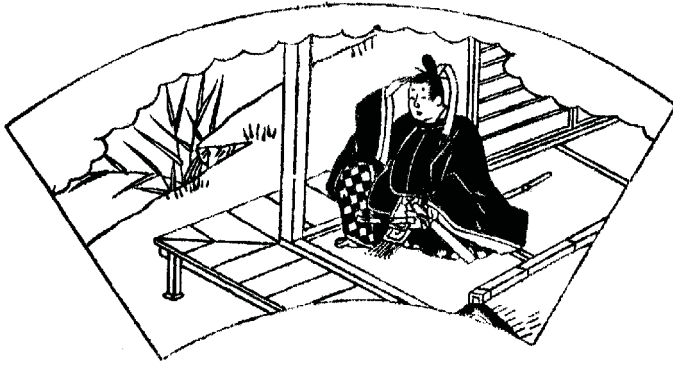
Yūsai's commentary states that *hito* refers to people of the world at large, but the *Zōsanshō* picture [45-1] and most other pictorializations show the poet addressing the back of a retreating woman. The Yūsai commentary could lead to a reading of the poem as a soliloquy (as seen in Hasegawa's fan [45-3]), and that is what Moronobu seems to suggest in the upper register of his *Sugata-e* [45-2]. Nonetheless, the foreground shows a more complicated drama: a presumably gravely ill man is having his pulse taken while looking at an impassive young man. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [45-4] gives us the most "pathetic" (*ahare*) flower, the morning glory (*asa-gao*), together with what would appear to be the ideograph for *ahare* itself.



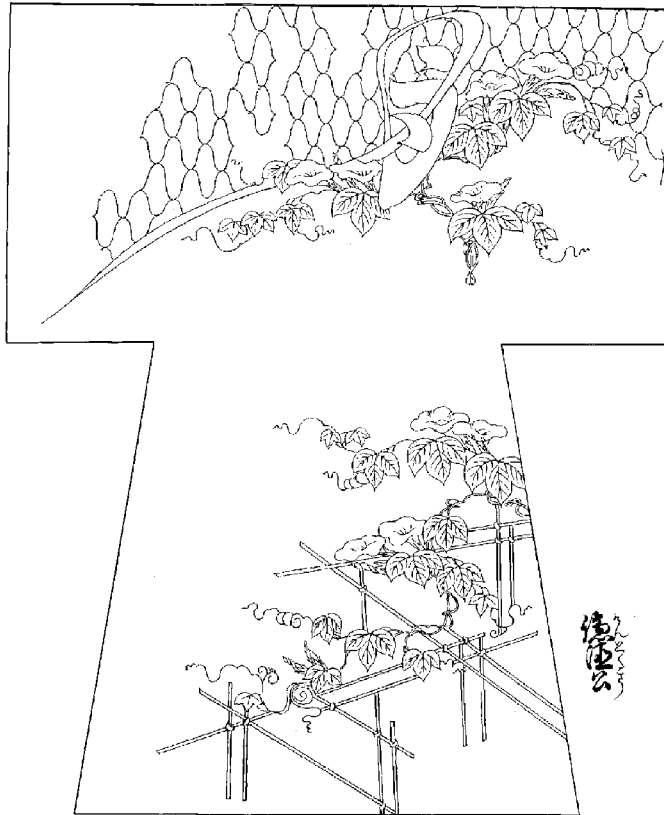
45-1



45-2



45-3



45-4

POEM 46

yura no to wo
wataru funa-bito
kajhi-wo tae
yukuhe mo shiranu
kohi no michi kana³⁹



Like a boatman, crossing
the Strait of Yura,
whose oar-cord has snapped,
I'm lost and know not my way
on the road of love!

Sone no Yoshitada

Virtually nothing is known about this poet. He was active in the latter half of the eleventh century and was a secretary (*jō*) in Tango province, from which came his sobriquets “Sotango” or “Sotan.” He has a personal poetry collection, the *Sotan Shū*, but his verse was considered eccentric and was little valued until Teika’s day. Thus the majority of his eighty-nine poems in imperial anthologies appear in the *Shikashū* (compiled 1151–1154) and the *ShinKokinshū* (compiled 1205). The *Yoshitada Hyakushu* is one of the earliest examples of a hundred-poem sequence.

Commentary

There are a number of points of contention in this poem. Since locations named Yura existed in both Ki and Tango provinces, it is unclear to which the poet is referring. The biggest debate, however, concerns the phrase *kajhi-wo tae*. The dominant interpretation among *One Hundred Poets* commentaries is that *wo* is an object marker and hence the line means “he loses his oar” (*kajhi wo tae*). However, some commentators argued that *wo* means “cord” and thus *kajhi-wo tae* means “the oar-cord snaps.” That this latter was also Teika’s interpretation is supported by two poems contained in the *Fuboku Waka Shō* (ca. 1310), compiled by Fujiwara no Nagakiyo, a follower of Reizei Tamesuke. One poem is attributed to Ono no Komachi; the other is by Teika’s own son, Tame’ie, and is clearly an allusive variation (*honka-dori*) on Yoshitada’s poem:

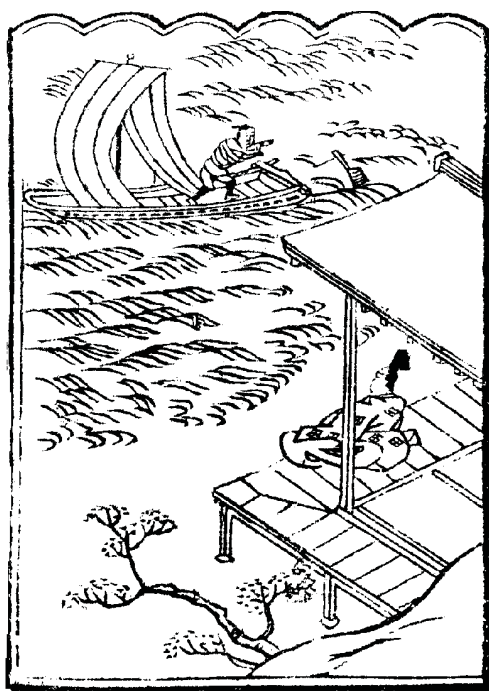
chigiri koso
yukuhe mo shirane
yura no to ya
wataru kajhi-wo no
mata mo musubade

Not just our vows, but
my future, too, I am unsure of!
Without binding once again
the oar-cord, shall I cross
the Strait of Yura?

This poem suggests that *musubi* and *tae* are antonyms, the latter then meaning “to break” rather than “to lose.” Given Teika’s authority, we may presume that his son’s usage reflects his father’s interpretation of this classic poem.

The Pictures

The Tan’yū album shows a boat tossed in the waves with neither boatman nor oar. The Hasegawa version [46–3] shows a boatman at his oar with the oar-rope still affixed. The Kyoto artist [46–2] shows a man in a rowboat with the oar already sinking beneath the waves. This conception is clearly modeled on the *Zōsanshō* pictorialization [46–1], though the latter includes a sail on the boat: by the Edo period, the word *kajhi* was used to refer not only to “oars” but also to the “rudder” of a sailboat. While the *Zōsanshō* pictorialization is ambiguous, the *Sugata-e* [46–4] clearly invites us to read the poem’s third line as “who has lost his rudder.” (It seems unlikely that the *kamuro* sitting in front of the poet, despite her wave-patterned robe, is meant to represent the “ocean”—that is, love object, in which the poet is lost.) By the late Edo period, the “rudder” interpretation becomes visually dominant, as seen in the Porter artist [46–5], who shows a large rudder falling off a galleon-like vessel.



46-1



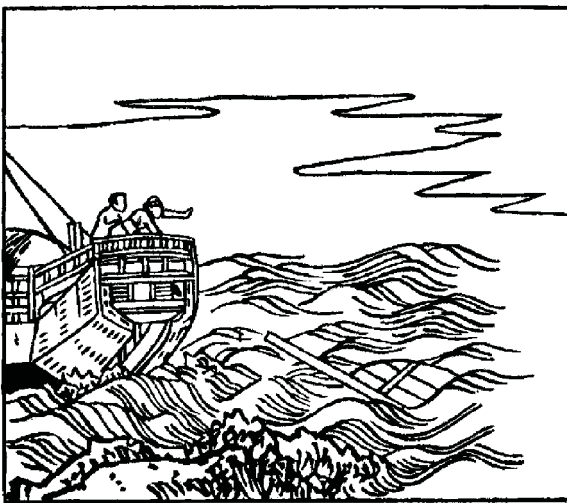
46-2



46-3



46-4



46-5

POEM 47

yahe mugura
shigereru yado no
sabishiki ni
hito koso miene
aki ha kinikeri⁴⁰

To the lonely house
where the weeds, eight layers deep,
have grown rank,
not a soul can be seen—
but autumn, at least, has come.

Master of the Law Egyō

Egyō Hōshi (also sometimes read “Ekei”; dates unknown) was active in the latter half of the tenth century and is a representative poet of the *Shūishū* period. He associated closely with such other poets as Shigeyuki (Poem 48), Yoshinobu (Poem 49), and Motosuke (Poem 42), who frequently congregated at the Kawara mansion of Priest Anpō. Anpō was a descendant of Minamoto no Tōru (Poem 14), who built the famous Kawara In on the western bank of the Kamo River. Egyō is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals (*chūko san-jūrokkasen*), and a collection of his poetry is extant. He has fifty-six poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

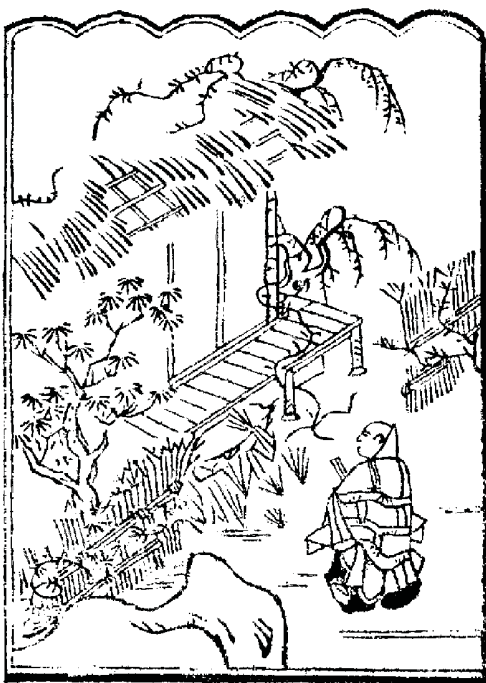


Commentary

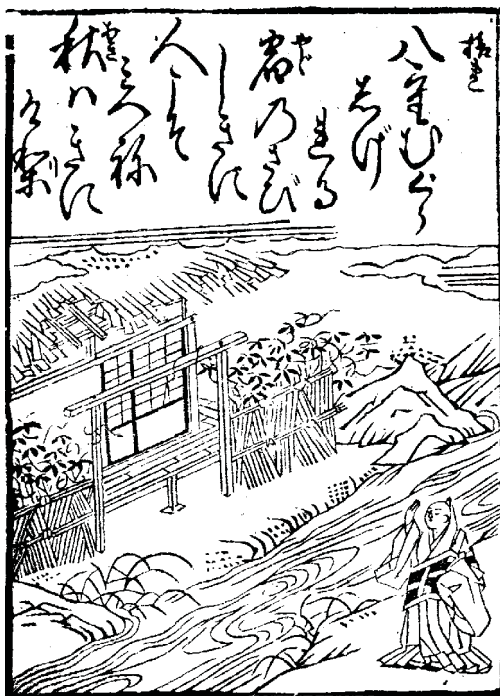
The headnote to this poem in the *Shūishū* reads: “When people were composing poems on the subject of ‘autumn comes to the dilapidated house’ at the Kawara In.” Accordingly, some commentators (for example, the *Minazuki Shō*) see the poem as simply about the arrival of autumn. Most, however, take the “house” of the poem to refer to the Kawara In itself. In this context the poem is contrasting the constancy of the seasons with the ephemerality of human elegance or, as Yūsai’s commentary states, “only the autumn, which never forgets the past, returns” (*mukashi wasurenu aki nomi kaheru*). Teika no doubt also read this poem with Tōru in mind.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [47-1] has Egyō looking at a dilapidated house; the addition of a river by the Kyoto artist [47-2] makes it clear that the house is in fact the Kawara In. The Porter artist [47-4] ignores the original headnote and reads the poem as if the house were the residence of the poet himself (similar to Poem 28). In Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [47-3], although the poem says there are no visitors but the autumn, we see an obviously pleased Egyō receiving an attentive young man.



47-1



47-2



47-3



47-4

POEM 48

kaze wo itami
iha utsu nami no
onore nomi
kudakete mono wo
omofu koro kana⁴¹

Waves that beat against the rocks,
fanned by a fierce wind—
it is I alone
who breaks, those times
when I think of her!

Minamoto no Shigeyuki

Shigeyuki's dates are uncertain; he seems to have died in 1001. An associate of Kanemori (Poem 40) and Sanekata (Poem 51), he is one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. A collection of his poetry survives, and he has sixty-seven poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem is described as “one composed when [Shigeyuki] submitted a hundred-poem sequence, during the time the Retired Emperor Reizei was still called the crown prince.” Reizei was crown prince from 950 to 967. Hundred-poem sequences (*hyakushū*) did not become popular until the late Heian period, a trend marked by the “Horikawa Hyakushū” of 1105–1106 (see Chapter



2). Accordingly, this sequence by Shigeyuki is one of the earliest examples of a poetic genre that was to become of major importance and lead to such anthologies as Teika's *One Hundred Poets* itself. Commentaries on the poem are largely in agreement. The poem compares a heartless lover to a rock that remains unmoved by the waves that beat against it.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* shows the poet contemplating a rough and rocky surf [48-1], as does the *Kangyoku*. Curiously, the Kyoto artist changes the setting to what appears to be a riverbank [48-2], a setting perhaps more natural to Kyoto. In his *Sugata-e* [48-3] Moronobu shows the hard-hearted woman unmoved by the man's entreaties; the *uchiwa* fan in her hand may be meant to suggest the word *utsu* (“beat”). Finally, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [48-4] contents itself with a depiction of wild waves crashing against craggy rocks.



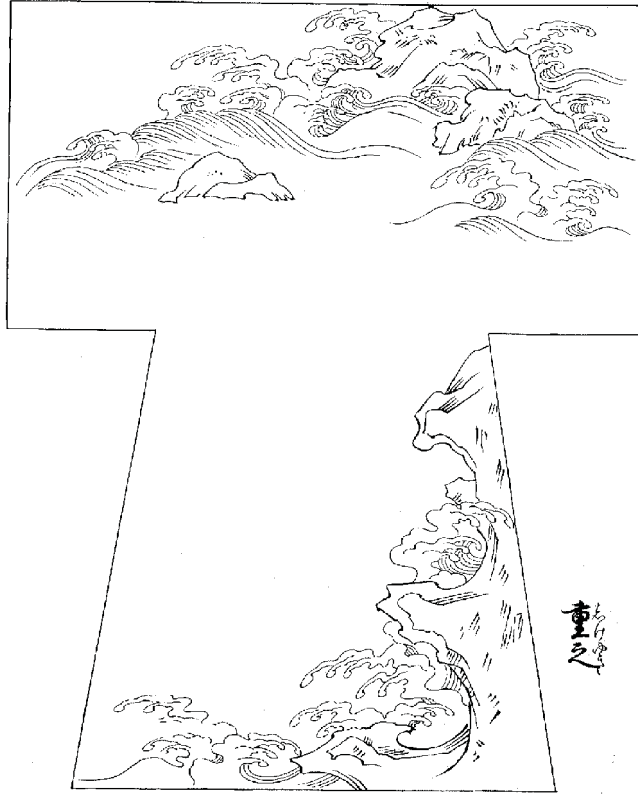
48-1



48-2



48-3



48-4

POEM 49

*mi-kaki-mori
weji no taku hi no
yoru ha moe
hiru ha kietsutsu
mono wo koso omohe*⁴²

Like the fire the guardsman kindles,
guarding the imperial gates:
at night, burning,
in the day, exhausted,
over and over, so I long for her.



Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu

Yoshinobu (921–991) was one of the “Five Gentlemen of the Pear Chamber” (*nashi-tsubo no gonin*) who edited the *Go-senshū*. He was grandfather to Ise no Tayū (Poem 61). He is also one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and a self-edited collection of his poetry is extant. He has 125 poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies. Since this poem does not appear in Yoshinobu’s own collection of poetry and appears in the *Kokin Roku-jō* as anonymous, it is unlikely that the poem is in fact by Yoshinobu.

Commentary

Disagreement centers on the line *hiru ha kie*—what does it mean that in the daytime the fires “go out”? The *Keikō Shō* and other commentators take *kie* to mean *kie-*

iru, “to be overcome with grief.” Yūsai, on the other hand, claims that it means that the poet hides his love from people’s eyes during the day; the *Minō Shō* suggests that the poet is in fact able to divert himself during the day. The first interpretation is followed by most scholars today.

The Pictures

The kind of interpretive debates discussed above are not likely to appear in pictorializations. In these, however, we find a new set of issues. While the Tan’yū album shows a small bonfire in front of a fence of woven-reed matting (meant to suggest the *kaki*, or “fence,” of *mi-kaki-mori*), the *Zōsanshō* [49–4] shows the fire as a *kagari-bi*, or a hanging “basket light.” This is probably an influence from illustrations to the *Kagari-bi* (“The Flares”) chapter in *The Tale of Genji*, as seen, for instance, in Yamamoto Shunshō’s widely distributed version [49–2]. The Kyoto artist [49–3] corrects the earlier design, making the light a simple

bonfire. Yet the setting does not seem to be the imperial palace but rather some suburban estate. Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [49-1] again uses the basket light, this time in conjunction with a stream (which also derives from the *Genji* chapter). The foreground image here is explicitly homoerotic, suggesting the kind of story about the illicit relationship between a lower-ranking guard and the lord's page found in Saikaku's *Great Mirror of Male Love*. Finally, the *Kangyoku* artist seems to make the poet himself the guardsman, tending a fire outside a gate.



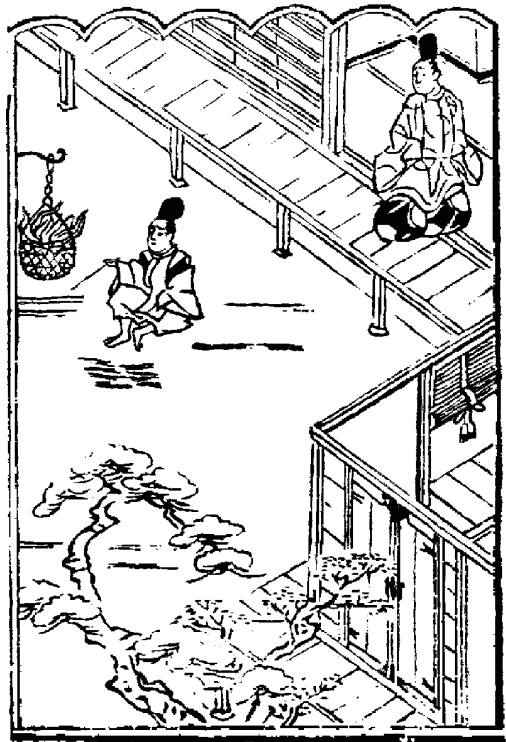
49-1



49-2



49-3

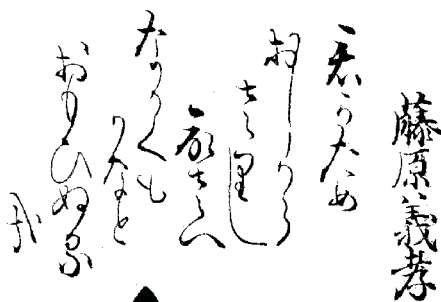


49-4

POEM 50

kimi ga tame
woshikarazarishi
inochi sahe
nagaku mogana to
omohinuru kana⁴³

Even the life that
I'd not have been sorry to lose
just to meet you once,
now, having met, I think:
“I want it to last forever!”



Fujiwara no Yoshitaka

Yoshitaka (954–974) died at the age of twenty-one of smallpox. He was the third son of Koremasa (Poem 45) and father of the great calligrapher Yukinari. He is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, and a collection of his poetry is extant. There are twelve of his poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to the poem states that it was sent after returning home from a woman's house. In other words, this is a “morning after” poem, sent after the man had spent the night with the woman for the first time. The poet says literally “the life I would not have been sorry to lose for your sake,” but it was not exactly

clear to commentators why he valued his life so little. Some of the reasons suggested were:

1. He would have given his life to meet her once (*Ōei Shō*).
2. He would have not been sorry to give his life for her sake (*Yoritaka-bon*).
3. Unable to meet her, he wanted his life to end (*Chōkyō Shō*).
4. His lover would not see him, so he wished he were dead (*Kamijō-bon*).

It is the first interpretation that is generally followed today.

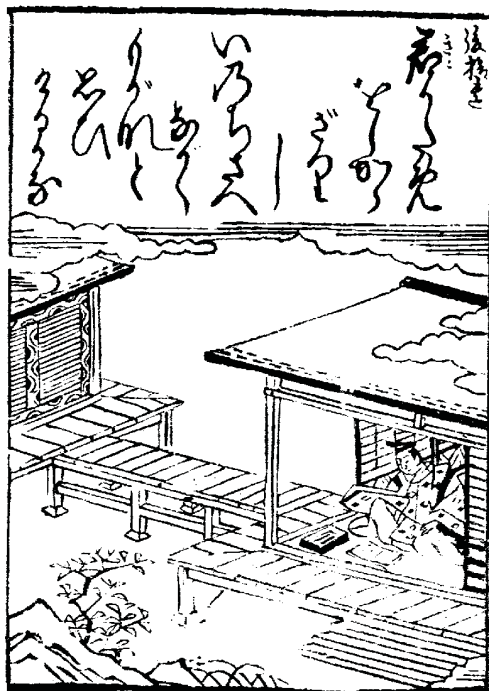
The Pictures

Many of the woodblock prints show the poet writing a letter, as is also depicted in the *Tan'yū* album. The *Zōsanshō* [50–1] shows a very forlorn-looking man writing a letter and gazing out into space. The Kyoto artist does much the same [50–2] but has the figure echoing Yoshitaka's *kasen-e* posture. In addition, he has added a bridge and another wing with some sturdy-looking blinds, inviting

us to imagine that the woman is perhaps behind them (see Poem 20). This in turn might suggest an interpretation along the lines of that given in the *Kamijōbon*. Only the *Kangyoku* artist [50-4] makes the flora in the garden a meaningful element, placing there autumn flowers that suggest the shortness of life. Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [50-3], with its two-tier composition, suggests a parallel in the relationships between the four figures.



50-1



50-2



50-3



50-4

POEM 51

*kaku to dani
e ya ha ibuki no
sashimo-gusa
sa shimo shiraji na*

*moyuru omohi wo*¹

Can I even say
“I love you this much”?—No, and so
you do not know of it
anymore than of the *sashimo* grasses of
Ibuki,
my burning love for you!

Lord Fujiwara no Sanekata

Fujiwara no Sanekata Ason died in 994 at around the age of forty. He was a great-grandchild of Tadahira (Poem 26). He has sixty-seven poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies, and a personal poetry collection survives. He is counted among the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

Commentary

In the *GoShūishū* the headnote states that this poem was the first sent to the woman when the poet was starting to woo her. Hence we must read it as a first declaration of love, in essence saying: “I love you deeply, but you probably don’t even know I exist.” This poem is a complicated web of pivot words and word associations (*engo*). “Ibuki” is the name of a mountain famous for *sashimo* grass or *mogusa*. *Mogusa* was, in



turn, used for moxabustion—that is, incense-like cones of *mogusa* were burned on the skin in a kind of thermal acupuncture. Thus there is an association between *mogusa* and burning. This association is furthered in connection with *omohi*, or “desire,” which contains the syllable *hi*, the word for “fire.” The *sashimo* of *sashimo-gusa* can also be read *sa shimo*, “that much,” just as the *ibu* of *ibuki* can be read as *ifu*, “to say.” Despite the complexity of this poem, or perhaps because of it, disagreement about its meaning has been generally limited to the identity of Mount Ibuki: is it the one in Shimotsuke or the one on the Ōmi-Minō border (the modern interpretation)?

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album clearly depicts the distinctive shape of the Ōmi Mount Ibuki and *sashimo* grass. The shape of the mountain is recognizable in the *Zōsanshō* [51-1] and *Sugata-e* [51-2] as well. In the latter we see a man undergoing a rather therapeutic-looking massage at the hands of a young man. Hasegawa [51-3] shows the poet on a veranda looking at the plant. (It is mentioned for its attractiveness by Sei Shōnagon in her *Pillow Book*, together with *yae-mugura* [see Poem 47].) The *Kangyoku* [51-4] is one of the few versions to include the poet in the landscape; indeed, it depicts him as hidden and removed, like his secret love (see Poem 39).



51-1



51-2



51-3



51-4

POEM 52

akenureba
 kururu mono to ha
 shiri-nagara
 naho urameshiki
 asaborake kana²

Because it has dawned,
 it will become night again—
 this I know, and yet,
 ah, how hateful it is—
 the first cold light of morning!

Lord Fujiwara no Michinobu

Fujiwara no Michinobu Ason (972–994) was adopted by Fujiwara no Kane'ie, husband of Michitsuna no Haha (Poem 53). He died at the age of twenty-three. A collection of his poetry is extant, and he has forty-eight poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies. He is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

Commentary

The *GoShūishū* headnote identifies this as a “morning after” poem (*kinu-ginu no uta*). Most commentaries are in agreement as to its basic meaning, but the *Minazuki Shō* (late Muromachi period) interprets the poem as written from the woman’s point of view. Ariyoshi speaks of the poem “making one imagine a scene



in a literary romance (*monogatari*),” and the *Yūsai Shō* specifically associates it with the “Evening Faces” (*Yūgao*) chapter of *The Tale of Genji*.

The Pictures

Both the *Zōsanshō* [52–1] and the Kyoto artist show the woman on the veranda and the man in the middle of the room, which might suggest that it is the woman who is leaving, rather than the man. Yet the man is holding out to her a letter (on which this poem is presumably written). Thus the picture does not seem to represent the *Minazuki Shō* interpretation mentioned above. The positioning of the figures might suggest that the man is of a higher rank than the woman; perhaps he is meant to be seen as Genji from *The Tale of Genji*, but the reference made to this work in the *Yūsai Shō* is deleted from the commentary accompanying Moronobu’s picture. The *Kangyoku* [52–3] brings the pictorialization a little more in line with the headnote, showing the man leaving through the woman’s gate, but only the Porter illustrator [52–4] manages to depict the man leaving the woman while also suggesting the morning light.

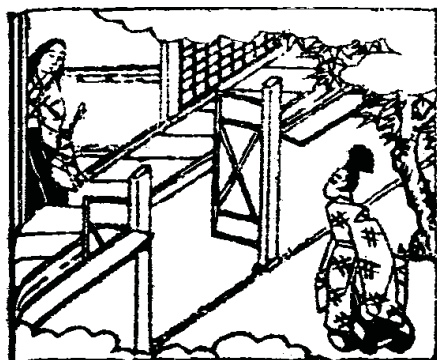
Due to its frequent pairing with the next poem, a wall or gate motif is often added to pictorializations, evident as early as the Tan'yū album. The *Zōsanshō* and Kyoto pictures too seem designed to provide a contrast with the next poem, where the man is clearly on the outside and the woman inside; Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [52-2] serves as a clear pendant to his rendering of Poem 51 [51-2], with a woman now replacing the figure of the boy, urging her customer on his way.



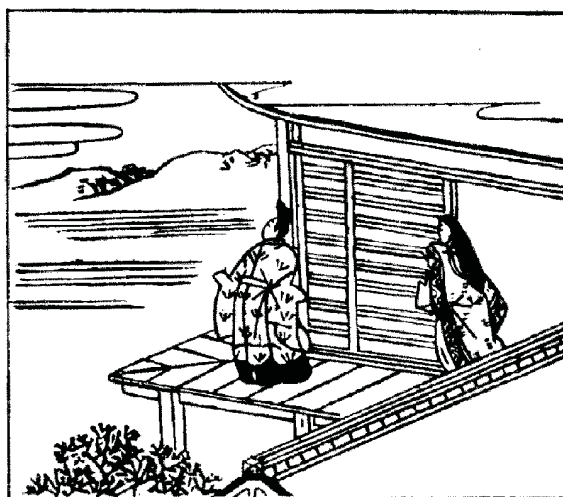
52-1



52-2



52-3



52-4

POEM 53

nagekitsutsu
hitori nuru yo no
akuru ma ha
ika ni hisashiki
mono to ka ha shiru³

The span of time
that I sleep alone, sighing,
until night lightens—
can you at all know
how long *that* is?

The Mother of Major Captain of the Right Michitsuna

Udaishō Michitsuna no Haha (ca. 937–995) was a secondary wife of Fujiwara no Kane'ie, by whom she had her son Michitsuna. A skilled poet, she was also reputed to be one of the three most beautiful women of her day. She is best known for her autobiographical *Kagerō Nikki*, *The Gossamer Journal*, which describes her marriage with Kane'ie. She is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and has thirty-six poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

In the *Shūishū*, the headnote to this poem reads: “Once when the Buddhist Novice Regent (Nyūdō Sesshō) [Kane'ie] had come [to her house], since they were

slow in opening the gate, he said “I grow tired of standing,” [and she replied]. . . .” In this context, the poet is understood to be comparing the very short time the man has had to stand outside while the gate is opened with her own long waiting for him to come home at night. This interpretation is followed by all early commentators.

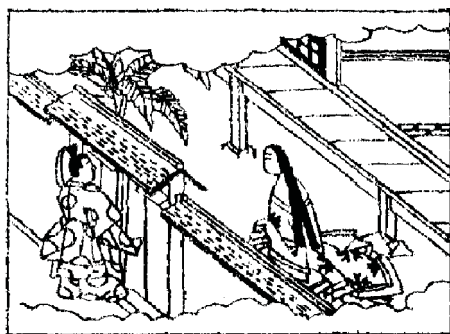
It was not until the early nineteenth century that Kagawa Kageki pointed out that the *Shūishū* headnote differs considerably from the diary passage describing this episode. In the diary, Kane'ie has begun seeing another woman and has not come to Michitsuna's Mother's house for nights on end:

Two or three days later, there was a rapping on my gate toward dawn. I thought it must be he, but was too miserable to have my people open the gate, and he went off in what seemed to be the direction of the [new woman's] house on Machijiri Street. The next morning, unwilling to let the incident pass, I composed a poem, wrote it out with special care, and attached it to a faded chysanthemum.⁴

In such a context, specific words of the poem would be interpreted differently: *nagekitsu* now means “sighing night after night,” rather than simply “while sighing”; *yo* means not just the one night in question but several nights on end. In this context we might translate the first half of the poem: “The span of time / those nights I sleep alone till dawn / sighing continuously.” It is unclear how Teika read this poem, since he may well have known the diary context, but the uniformity of the early commentaries persuades me to render the poem to conform with the *Shūishū* headnote.

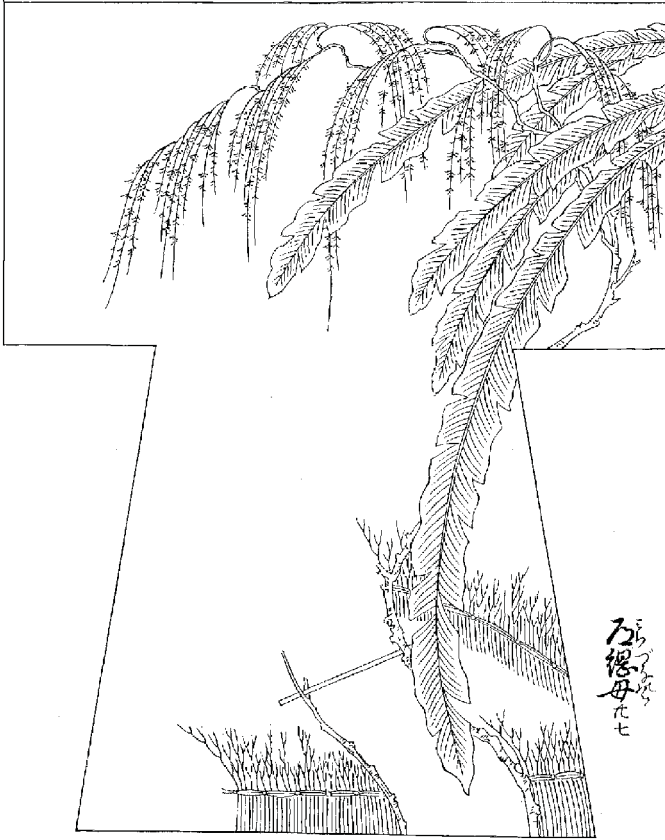
The Pictures

As noted above, all commentators, including Yūsai, followed the *Shūishū* headnote until the early nineteenth century. Consequently, in the pictorializations, such as the *Zōsanshō* [53-1] and the Kyoto artist, we see Kane'ie at the gate and a serving lady rushing to open it while Michitsuna's mother looks on. Through the generally simplifying process that we see in the *Kangyoku* [53-2], the serving woman is eventually replaced by Michitsuna's mother herself. Yet Moronobu's *Sugata-e* rendition [53-4] presents the poem as either sent to the absent man or as a soliloquy. However, a sense of contrast, between the fleeting and the enduring, is suggested by the woman's robe pattern of cherry blossoms and pine branches. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [53-3] shows a rustic gate with two plants known for the length of their leaves or branches: the willow and the banana plant. No illustration includes the chrysanthemum mentioned in the diary, but the *Kangyoku* artist also adopts the banana plant. The *Hyakushū Hinagata* design incorporates willows and a rooster.



53-2

53-1



53-3



53-4

POEM 54

wasureji no
yuku-suwe made ha
katakereba
kefu wo kagiri no
inochi to mogana⁵

Because that future, until which,
you say, you will “never forget,”
is hard to rely on,
oh, if only today could be
the last day of my life!

The Mother of the Supernumerary Grand Minister

Gidōsanshi no Haha, Takako (or Kishi) (d. 996), was a daughter of Takashina no Naritada. She was married to Fujiwara no Michitaka and was the mother of Sadako (or Teishi), the first empress of Emperor Ichijō and patron of Sei Shōnagon (Poem 62). Her title comes from her son Korechika, who in 1005 was given the privileges “equivalent to the Three Ministers” (Chancellor, Minister of the Left, and Minister of the Right), or *gidōsanshi*. *The Great Mirror (Ōkagami)* gives a succinct biography of her:

Even the women in Naritada’s family are learned. Kishi, the mother of Michitaka’s daughters, is the lady everyone knows as Kō no naishi. . . . She is a serious Chinese poet. She participated in Emperor Ichijō’s Chinese poetry parties, and her compositions outshone the perfunctory efforts of certain gentlemen.⁶



She took vows upon Michitaka’s death. She left no personal poetry collection and has only five poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

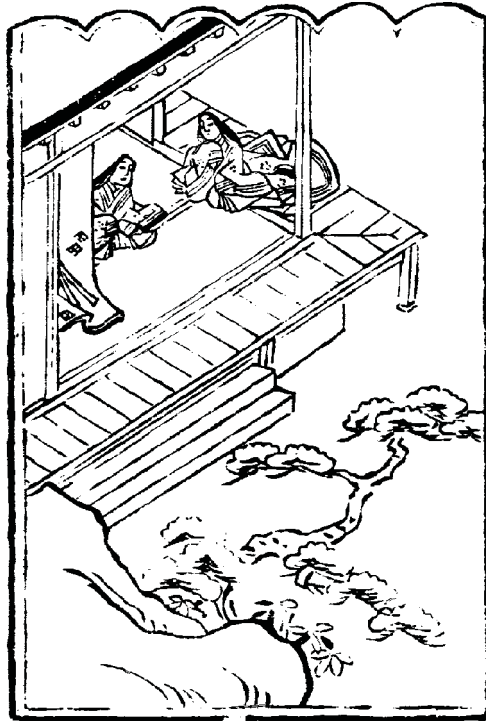
Commentary

The headnote in the *ShinKokinshū* indicates that this poem was composed when Michitaka (the “Middle Regent,” or Naka no Kanpaku) had started visiting the poet, that is, just after they were married. There are no disagreements of note over the interpretation of this poem.

The Pictures

There is a great range of visual interpretations for this poem. The Tan’yū album shows the poet with an open fan, perhaps to suggest that she is actually addressing the man. Fans are a major motif in the *Hyakushū Hinagata* design as

well. The *Kangyoku* shows the man standing outside the lady's gate, while the *Eiga* depicts her standing alone in a field of bamboo. The motifs of bamboo and plum—symbols, especially in Chinese verse, of fidelity—predominate, as seen in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono pattern [54–2] (with the words *yuku-suwe*) and the *Sugata-e* [54–3]. The *Zōsanshō* [54–1] and Kyoto renditions are something of a mystery, as they show two women. There seems to be nothing in any commentary to suggest what this might mean. The only possibility seems to be that commentators as early as Keichū (1640–1701) frequently discussed this poem in comparison with two poems by Izumi Shikibu and Akazome Emon (*GSIS* 711 and 712). Otherwise, there is nothing to explain why this poem would suggest a female interlocutor. Finally, both the Porter artist [54–4] and the *Shūgyoku* add a long bridge, which is perhaps meant to suggest the idea of “the future” (*yuku-suwe* means literally “end of the road”).



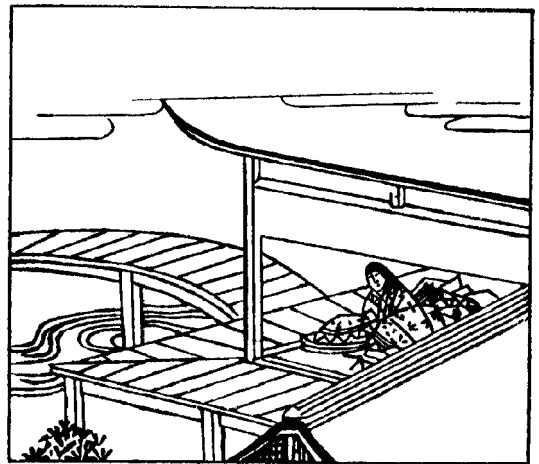
54-1



54-2



54-3



54-4

POEM 55

taki no oto ha
taete hisashiku
narinuredo
na koso nagarete
naho kikoekere⁷

Although the sound of
the waterfall has ceased,
and that long ago,
its name, indeed, has carried on
and is still heard!

Major Counselor Kintō

Dainagon Fujiwara no Kintō (966–1041) was the poetic arbiter elegantiarum of his day. He edited the *Wakan Rōei Shū* (ca. 1013) and authored such poetic treatises as the *Waka Kuhon* and *Shinsen Zuinō* (*The Essentials of Poetry, Newly Compiled*). His *Sanjūrokunin Sen* established the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, and his *Kingyoku Shū* (*Collection of Gold and Jewels*) is also an anthology of exemplary poems. His *Shūi Shō* became the basis for the third imperial anthology. He was the grandson of Tadahira (Poem 26) and the father of Sadayori (Poem 64). He has his own collection of poems and eighty-nine poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

The headnote in the *Shūishū* states that this poem was composed on the subject of an old waterfall, when a number of people went to Daikakuji Temple. All extant copies of the *Shūishū* have the first line as “the threads of the waterfall” (*taki no ito ha*), but it appears in Kintō’s own collected poems and elsewhere with *oto*, or “sound.” There is no great disagreement among commentators, though many suggest that the poem is an allegory on the transience of human fame. This poem appears in none of Teika’s other exemplary collections, and it has been suggested that it was included in the *One Hundred Poets* either because of Kintō’s undeniable historical importance (which still would not explain the choice of this particular poem) or because Daikakuji is in the same area as Teika’s and his father-in-law’s villas on Mount Ogura.

The Pictures

The Tan’yū album shows what appears to be a lake with islands and a pavilion of some sort. This would appear to be similar to the design of the *Kangyoku*

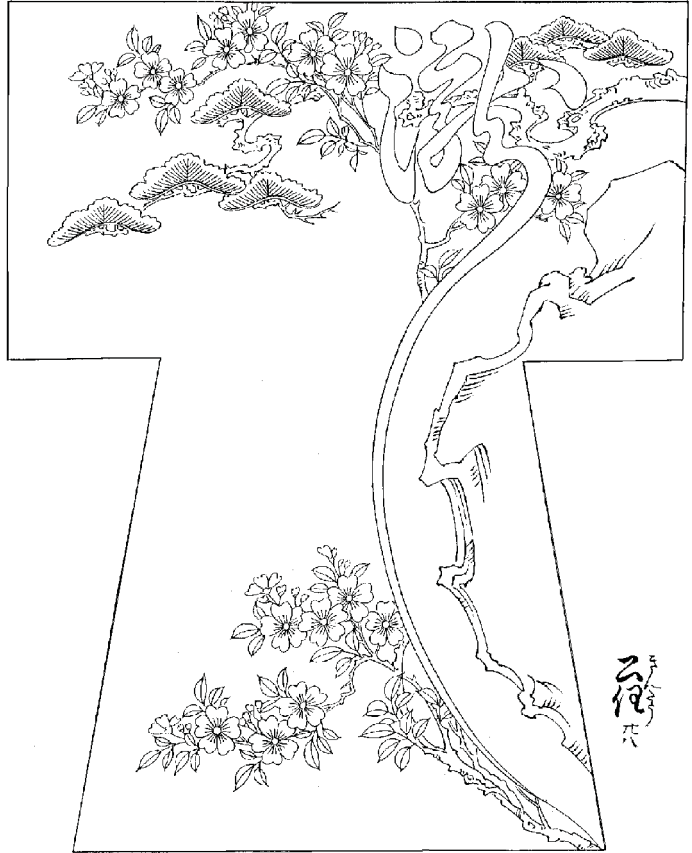
[55-4], which represents the scenery around Daikakuji, especially the Ōsawa (“big marsh”) Pond. The *Zōsanshō* [55-1] shows the poet contemplating the now-defunct waterfall and has added to the sense of decay by showing the foundations of a ruined building behind, though Daikakuji was not in disrepair at this time, having been refurbished under Emperor GoMizuno’o (r. 1611–1629). In fact, as early as the medieval period the waterfall was repaired and called “Nakoso no Taki.” The Kyoto artist [55-2] reintroduces this functioning waterfall even though the poem says the “sound has ended.” The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [55-3] effectively uses the character for “waterfall” (*taki*) to suggest the flow of water and includes pines (a symbol of longevity) and cherry blossoms (a symbol of transience), suggesting a seasonal progression from the plum blossoms in the design for Poem 54.



55-1



55-2



55-3



55-4

POEM 56

arazaramu
kono yo no hoka no
omohide ni
ima hito-tabi no
afu koto mogana⁸

Among my memories
of this world, from whence
I will soon be gone,
oh, how I wish there was
one more meeting, now, with you!



Izumi Shikibu

Shikibu's dates are uncertain, but she appears to have been born sometime between 976 and 979. She was a daughter of Ōe no Masamune. Her mother was a daughter of Taira no Yasuhira. She married Tachibana no Michisada, a governor of Izumi province (from which comes the "Izumi" of her sobriquet) and had a daughter by him called KoShikibu (Poem 60), herself a respected poet. Later she had relationships with Prince Tametaka (d. 1002) and his half-brother Atsumichi (d. 1007). Her courtship with the latter is depicted in *The Diary of Izumi Shikibu* (*Izumi Shikibu Nikki*).⁹ Later still, she served in the salon of Empress Shōshi along with Murasaki Shikibu (Poem 57) and Akazome Emon (Poem 59). A number of different versions of her collected

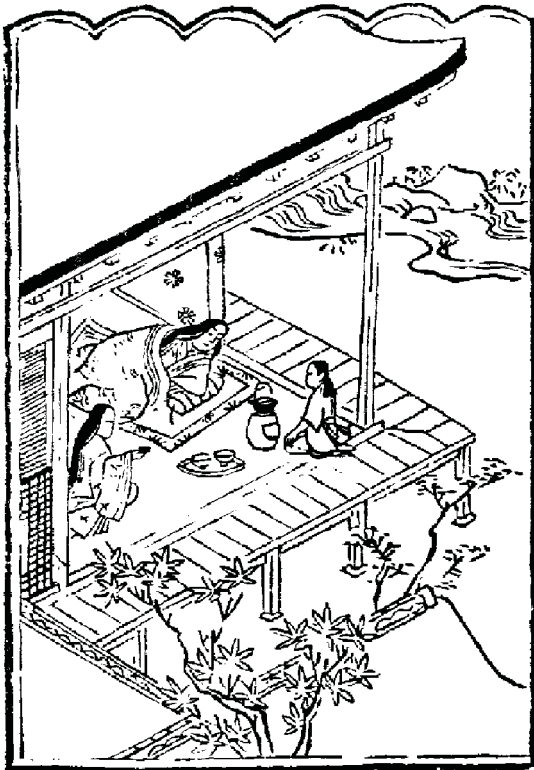
poems survive, and she has 242 poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies. She is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

Commentary

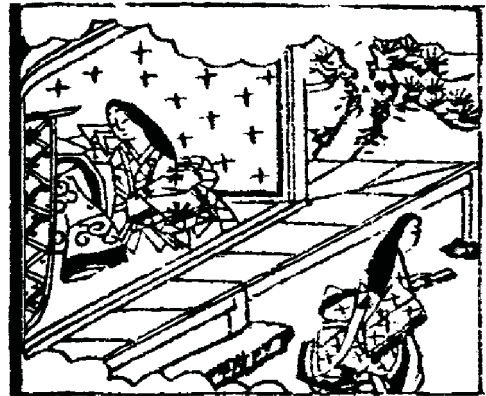
The headnotes to this poem in both the *GoShūishū* and the *Izumi Shikibu Shū* state that the poem was sent to the house of someone when the poet was ill. Commentaries can be divided into those that follow the headnote and those that do not. Those that do are in general agreement, though the *Minō Shō* says (perhaps under the influence of the next poem by Murasaki Shikibu) that it was sent to a group of friends (*tomodachi-domo*); all others believe the recipient to be a husband or lover. Other commentaries, such as the *Kamijō-bon* and the *Minazuki Shō*, read the poem simply as a love poem: the lovers have met once but are unable to meet again. The poem is clearly a kind of inverse to Poem 54 by Takako.

The Pictures

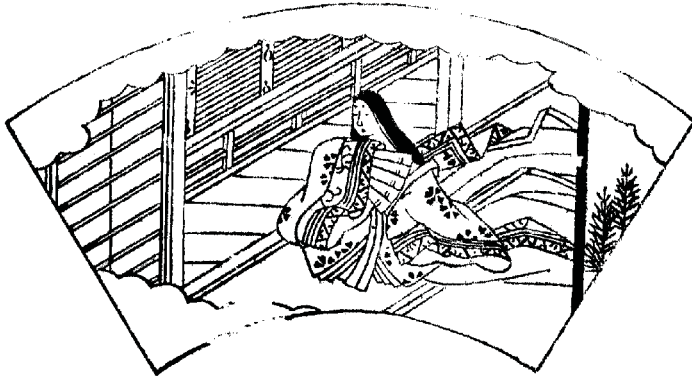
The Tan'yū album shows the poet leaning on an armrest, perhaps to indicate she is ill. The *Zōsanshō* [56-1] shows the poet lying on her sickbed, and the lady-in-waiting is presumably gesturing to send the young attendant off with the message, as is clearly seen in the *Kangyoku* [56-2]. The state of the health of the portly court lady in the *Sugata-e* [56-4] is not clear, but the young attendant is presumably being entrusted with a message. Hasegawa [56-3] presents the poet healthy and alone, suggesting a simple love-poem reading.



56-1



56-2



56-3



56-4

POEM 57

*meguri-ahite
mishi ya sore tomo
wakanu ma ni
kumo-gakurenishi
yoha no tsuki-kage*¹⁰

As I was wondering
whether or not I had seen it
by chance,
it became cloud-hidden,
the face of the midnight moon!

Murasaki Shikibu

Murasaki Shikibu's dates are uncertain. The daughter of Fujiwara no Tametoki, a governor of Echigo, she was married to Fujiwara no Nobutaka in 998 and gave birth to a daughter, Daini no Sanmi (Poem 58). They had not been married three years when Nobutaka died. In 1005 Murasaki Shikibu became a lady-in-waiting to Empress Shōshi. She is the author of *The Tale of Genji*, as well as a diary (*Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*) and a collection of poems (*Murasaki Shikibu Shū*). She has sixty poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies and is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

Commentary

This is the first poem of *The Collected Poems of Murasaki Shikibu*, where the headnote reads:

I met someone I had known long ago as a child, but the moment was brief and I hardly recognized them. It was the tenth of the Tenth Month. They left hurriedly as if racing the moon.¹¹

In the *ShinKokinshū* the month is identified as the Seventh Month, and this is generally accepted as the correct date—a time when the moon rises early and has set by midnight. Both the *ShinKokinshū* and the *Murasaki Shikibu Shū* have the last line as *yoha no tsuki-kage*, but most Edo-period texts have *yoha no tsuki kana*, “the moon at midnight!” In any case, the first word *meguri* associates with the last word “moon” (*tsuki*): *meguri-ahi* means “to meet by chance,” but *meguri* alone means “to go around,” like the moon.

There is a fair variety of interpretations of this poem. Most follow the headnote and take the friend to be a woman, with whom the poet is comparing the moon. The *Minazuki Shō*, however, takes the person to be a male lover. The modern critic Komashaku Kimi associates this poem with what she sees as



Murasaki Shikibu's homosociality.¹² The *Komezawa-bon* claimed that the friend is leaving hurriedly in order to go see the early autumn moon!

The Pictures

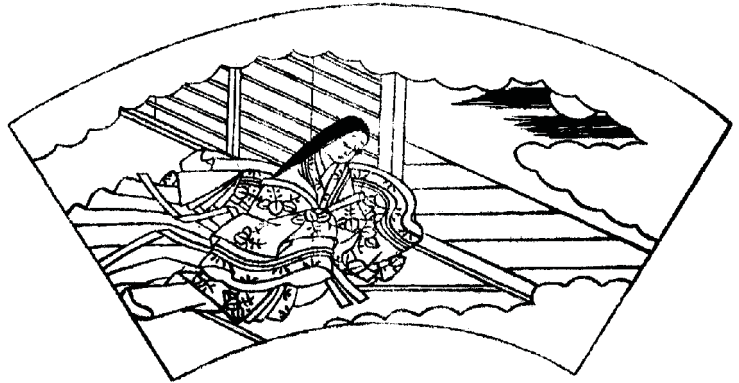
The *Zōsanshō* [57-1] and the Kyoto artist show the poet looking out from her room as her friend leaves, with a full moon peeking out from behind the clouds. In the *Sugata-e* [57-2] Moronobu shows a woman with a letter, perhaps meant to suggest the Seventh Month, also called “the Letter Month” (*fumidzuki*), but clearly also suggesting the poem be read as addressed to a lover who has recently left. Hasegawa [57-3], in a design inspired by the Tan'yū album, has the poet near a veranda with a barely visible moon overhead. In all these cases, the moon is actually a full moon and not the still-waxing moon of the tenth day. The only exception to this is the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [57-4], which depicts a crescent moon embroidered with clouds and the characters for “midnight” (*yoha*) superimposed over it. All texts read *tsuki kana*.



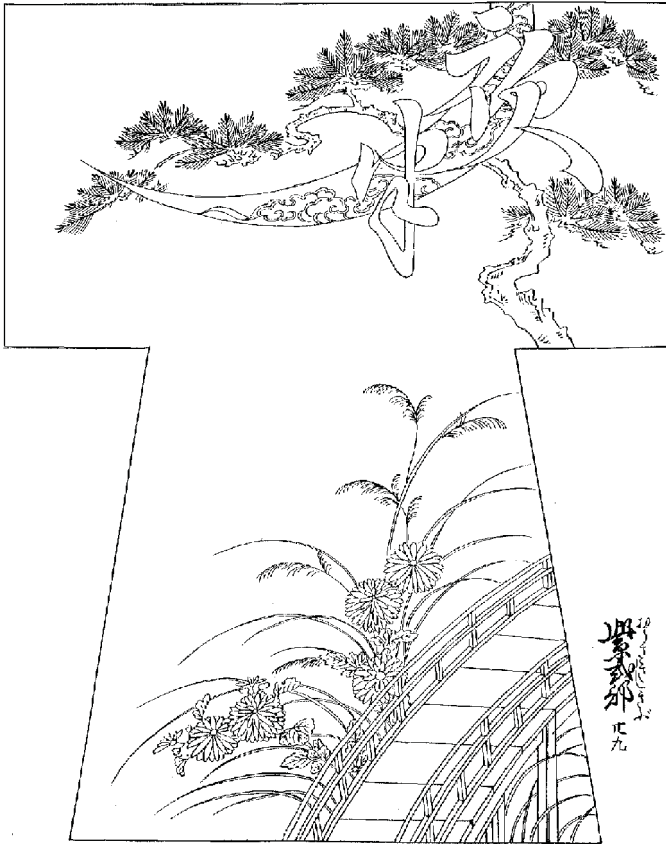
57-1



57-2



57-3



57-4

POEM 58

arima-yama
wina no sasahara
kaze fukeba
ide soyo hito wo
wasure ya ha suru¹³

When the wind blows
through the bamboo-grass field of Ina
near Arima Mountain
soyo—so it is:
how could I forget you?

Daini no Sanmi

Daini no Sanmi (dates uncertain) was the daughter of Murasaki Shikibu (Poem 57). She served Empress Shōshi, and in 1037 she married Takashina no Nari'akira, the Senior Assistant Governor-General of Dazaifu (*Daini*). She was the wet nurse of Emperor GoReizei (r. 1045–1068), and was promoted to the Third Rank (*sanmi*). A collection of her poems is extant and she has thirty-seven poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem reads: “Composed when a man who had grown distant said, ‘I am uneasy [that your feelings for me have changed].’” The whole first half of the poem is a preface (*jo*) to introduce the wordplay *soyo*. *Soyo-soyo* is



onomatopoeia for wind rustling. *So yo* by itself can also mean “That’s so!”, “So it is!”, or “That’s it!”; in other words, the woman is referring to his statement “[I am] uncertain” and saying “Indeed, it is I who am uncertain.”

Prefaces are thought of as being either “with heart” (*ushin*) or “without heart” (*mushin*)—that is, either having some semantically meaningful relationship to the words they introduced or being used simply for their sound value. In the present poem, the question becomes whether there is any metaphorical relationship between the first half of the poem and the second half. Taking the preface as *ushin* would yield a translation such as that by Steven Carter:

Near Arima Hill
the wind through Ina’s bamboos
blows constantly—
and just as constant am I
in my resolve not to forget.¹⁴

The translation offered earlier, following the *Ōei Shō* and Yūsai, takes the preface as being “without heart.” In other words, there are two relatively independent statements—“when the wind blows through the bamboo-grass field of Ina near Arima Mountain [it sounds] *soyo-soyo*” and “It is *so*: how could I ever forget you?”—that are joined simply by the wordplay of *soyo*.

The Pictures

Despite the accompanying commentaries by such authorities as Yūsai, visual artists virtually ignore the poem’s original context. Only the Tan’yū album—where the poet looks coyly over her fan—suggests the original interview. None of the others shows a couple conversing; practically all of them show the poet alone, gazing at the bamboo grass near a hill, as does the *Zōsanshō* [58–1]. This treatment perforce makes the preface metaphorically relevant (*ushin*)—the pictures invite us to see some similarity between the wind through the bamboo grass and the woman. This relationship is suggested even more strongly in later versions such as Porter [58–2] and the *Kangyoku*, where the woman is placed in the midst of the field itself. Finally, the kimono pattern books provide a clear example of their differing concerns: the *Hyakushu Hinagata* [58–3] gives mountains with bamboo grass and the characters for the names of both “Arima Yama” and “Ina no Hara,” making recognition of the poem virtually certain, while the *Shikishi Moyō* pattern book [58–4] has only the character for “wind” (*kaze*) literally running through the bamboo grass at the top of the robe (and some rather insect-eaten specimens down below).



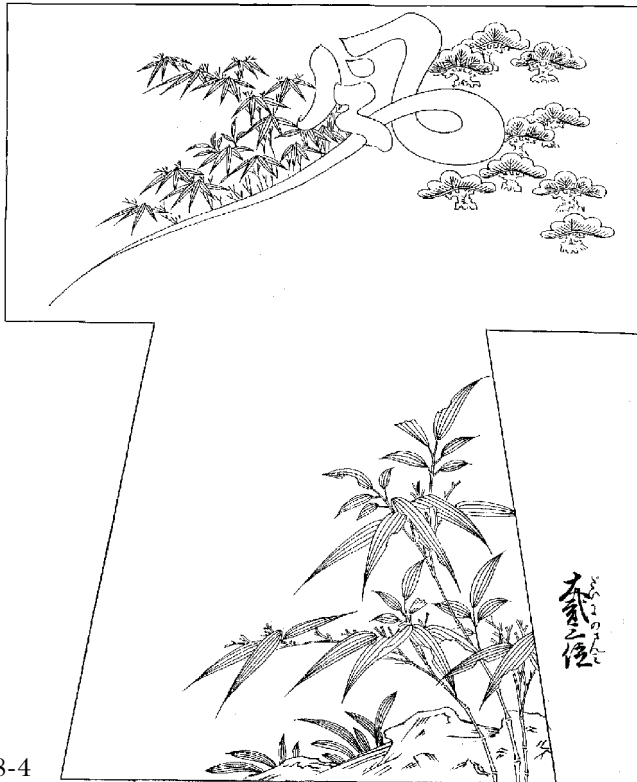
58-1



58-2



58-3



58-4

POEM 59

yasurahade
nenamashi mono wo
sayo fukete
katabuku made no
tsuki wo mishi kana¹⁵

Though I'd have preferred
to have gone off to bed
without hesitating,
the night deepened and
I watched the moon till it set!

Akazome Emon

Emon (dates unknown) was the daughter of Akazome no Tokimochi. She served Fujiwara no Michinaga's principal wife, Rinshi, as well as Ichijō's Empress Shōshi (Rinshi's daughter). She married the historian Ōe no Masahira. She is credited with the authorship of the first thirty books of the vernacular history *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (*Eiga Monogatari*).¹⁶ A collection of her poetry is also extant. She has ninety-three poems in the *Shūishū* and later imperial anthologies and is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. She is described by her fellow lady-in-waiting, Murasaki Shikibu (Poem 57), as follows:

The wife of the Governor of Tanba is known to everyone in the service of Her Majesty and His Excellency as Masahira Emon. She may not be a

genius but she has great poise and does not feel that she has to compose a poem on everything she sees merely because she is a poet. From what I have seen, her work is most accomplished, even her occasional verse.¹⁷



Commentary

In the *GoShūishū* the headnote to this poem reads:

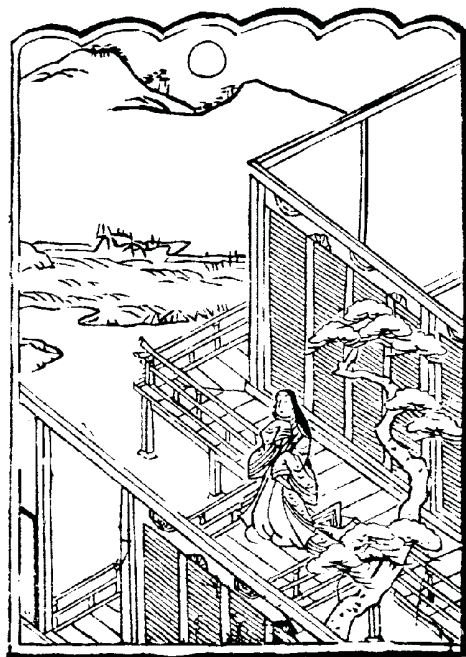
When the Middle Regent [Michitaka] was still a lesser captain, he used to visit [Emon's] sister. Composed in her stead on a morning when he had made her expect him and then he didn't come.

Most early commentaries follow the headnote. There is some doubt as to whether this poem is in fact by Akazome Emon, as it also appears in another woman's collected poems, the *Uma no Naishi Shū*, and Shunzei attributes it to her in his *Korai Futai Shō*. Critics such as Keichū assumed that this woman must

have been the sister mentioned in the headnote, but this is not the case. Michitaka was a Lesser Captain from 974 to 977, during which time he was married to Takashina no Takako, whose poem written after their wedding we have already seen (Poem 54). Later commentaries call the poem one of “regret” (*kōkai*), suggesting it was read as a soliloquy.

The Pictures

The most interesting difference in the pictorializations is in their treatment of the moon. Kageki in his *Iken* (1823) is apparently the first to explicitly gloss *yasurafu* as *izayofu*, which means “to hesitate” but also is used in *izayohi-dzuki* to refer to the waning moon of the sixteenth lunar day. The Tan’yū album shows the poet inscribing her poem while behind her what appears to be a full moon sinks behind a hill. The *Zōsanshō* [59–1] is much the same, but the Kyoto artist has added clouds [59–2], which make it impossible to determine the shape of the moon. The *Hyakushū Hinagata* pattern book [59–3] gives the crescent moon of the second day of the month. (The characters are *sayo fukete*, and both the *hagi* plant and pillows suggest waiting for a lover.) By the time of the Porter artist [59–4], however, the intention is evident.¹⁸ All pictorializations interpret the poem as expressing the poet’s inner thoughts.



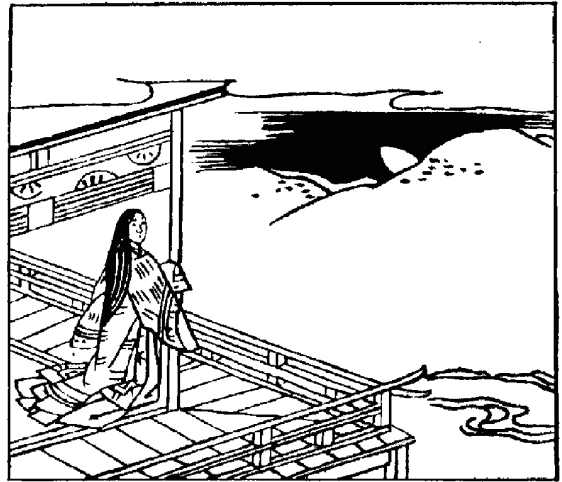
59-1



59-2



59-3



59-4

POEM 60

ohoe-yama
 ikuno no michi no
 tohokereba
 mada fumi mo mizu
 ama no hashidate¹⁹

Ōe Mountain and
 the road that goes to Ikuno
 are far away, and so
 not yet have I trod there, nor letter seen,
 from Ama-no-Hashidate.

Handmaid KoShikibu

KoShikibu no Naishi, the only child of Izumi Shikibu (Poem 56), died in 1025 while still in her late twenties. Like her mother, she too served Empress Shōshi. She has no personal poetry collection and has only four poems in the *GoShū-ishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem is preceded in the *Kin'yōshū* by a rather lengthy headnote:

When Izumi Shikibu was in the province of Tango, having accompanied [her husband] Yasumasa, there was a poetry contest in the capital and Handmaid KoShikibu was chosen as one of the poets. Middle Counselor Sadayori came to her room in the palace and teased her, saying: “What

will you do about the poems? Have you sent someone off to Tango? Hasn't the messenger come back? My, you must be worried.” Whereupon she held him back and recited [the following].

Sadayori (Poem 64) taunts KoShikibu that she will have to ask for her mother's help to write her poems for the competition. In response, KoShikibu delivers a devastating impromptu poem that includes the names of three places in Tango (in geographical order, no less), two puns (the *iku* of Ikuno means “to go,” while *fumi* means both “to step” and “letter”), and word association between *fumi* “to step” and the “bridge” (*hashi*) of Ama-no-Hashidate. This was a popular story in Teika's day and was recounted in both the *Toshiyori Zuinō* and the *Fukuro-Zōshi*, both of which claim that KoShikibu literally pulled at the sleeve of Sadayori's robe to stop him and that, unable to think of a response, he fled.



The Pictures

With such an explicit and well-known story behind it, there was little room for disagreement among commentators. Visual artists, however, still managed a fair degree of variation. The Tan'yū album has KoShikibu with a fan in front of her face (the album's usual sign that the poem was actually said to someone) with the sand-spit of Ama-no-Hashidate, pine trees, and mountains in the background. The *Zōsanshō* [60-1] shows KoShikibu standing and taking hold of Sadayori's sleeve—women of the period, however, usually remained seated or on their knees. Moronobu modernizes the setting in his *Sugata-e* [60-3], and his two-register format allows him this time to depict Ōe Mountain as well; the poet's interlocutor would appear to be a procuress. The *Kangyoku* artist [60-2] avoids the problem of KoShikibu's posture by showing us only the man from outside the blinds. Finally, the Porter artist [60-4] shows a seated KoShikibu; rather than physically holding the man back, she seems to be detaining him by handing him her poem. The *Hyakushu Hinagata* pattern book approaches a rebus: it includes a bridge, the characters of "Ikuno," the outline of a mountain, and a road with tied love letters on it.



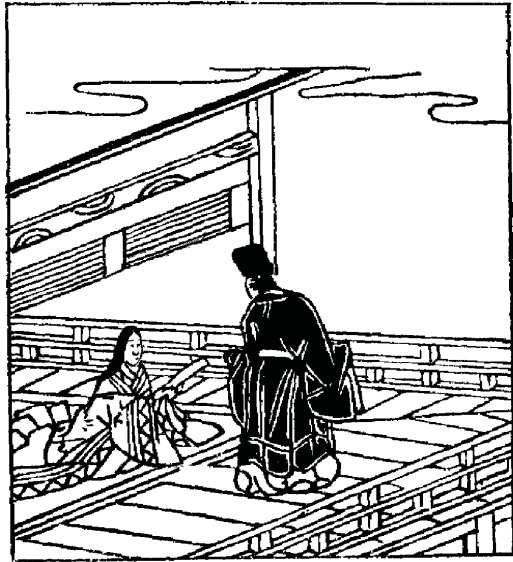
60-1



60-2



60-3



60-4

POEM 61

*inishihe no
nara no miyako no
yahe-zakura
kefu kokonohe ni
nihohinuru kana*²⁰

The eight-petalled cherries
from the Nara capital
of the ancient past
today nine layers thick
have bloomed within your court!

Ise no Tayū

Ise no Tayū (also pronounced “Ise-dayū” and “Ise no Ōsuke”), dates uncertain, was a daughter of Ōnakatomi no Sukechika and granddaughter of Yoshinobu (Poem 49). She married Takashina no Narinobu and became the mother of many well-known poets. She served Empress Shōshi along with Izumi Shikibu (Poem 56) and Murasaki Shikibu (Poem 57). A collection of her poems is extant and she is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. She has fifty-one poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

In the *Shikashū* this poem’s headnote reads:

During the time of Emperor Ichijō,
someone presented eight-petalled

cherry blossoms from Nara. On that occasion, since she was in attendance,
she was commanded to compose a poem with those flowers as the topic.

However, the description in Ise no Tayū’s own *Collected Poems* is more interesting:

When the Imperial Lady (Shōshi) was still empress, I was at court when the eight-petalled cherry blossoms were presented by the bishop from Nara. “Let the new lady-in-waiting [Ise no Tayū] be the person to [go out and] accept them this year,” Murasaki Shikibu deferred, and when His Lordship the Buddhist Novice [Michinaga] heard this, he said “It is not something that you can simply accept [without composing a poem],” and so [I composed the following].

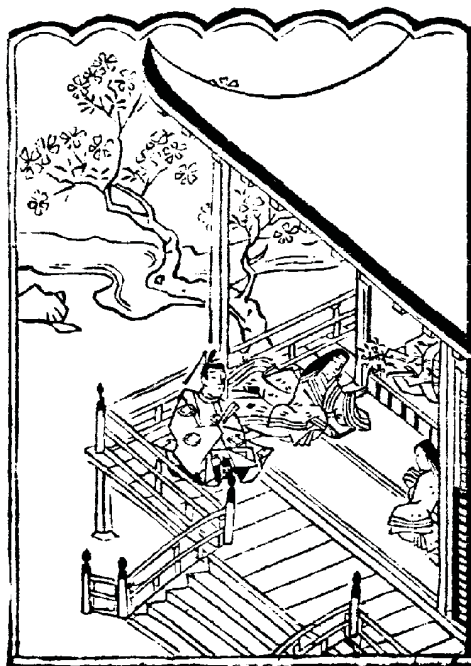
It is this situation that must have so appealed to Teika and the poets of his period: new to court service, Ise no Tayū is called upon for an impromptu poem in front of so formidable a poet as Murasaki Shikibu and so powerful a figure as Michinaga. Her poem is technically very accomplished, balancing “the



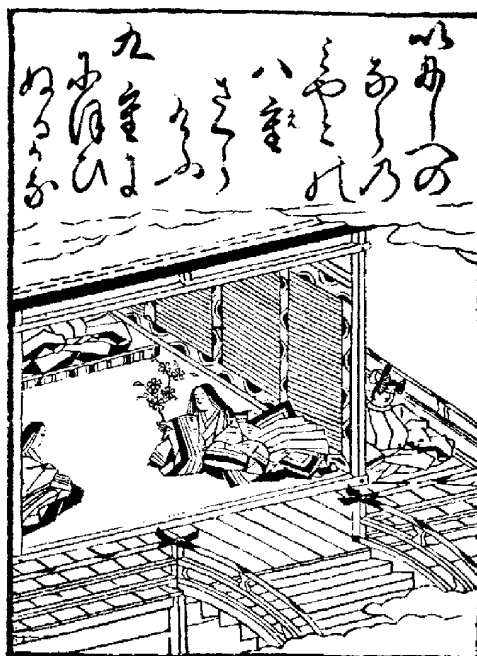
ancient past” with “today” and “eight-petalled” with “nine layers.” Since this “nine layers” is also a word for the imperial court, her poem is not simply in praise of the blossoms (as the *Keikō Shō* maintained) but also a clever compliment to Michinaga and his daughter the empress (as commentaries as early as the *Ōei Shō* recognized).

The Pictures

All portraits of the poet have her shyly raising her sleeve to her face. The Tan'yū album places a presentation stand in front of her with a branch of cherry blossoms on it. The *Zōsanshō* [61-1] chooses the more narratively interesting description from the *Ise no Tayū Shū*, showing the poet and another woman and a male courtier (presumably Murasaki Shikibu and Michinaga) although Yūsai's accompanying commentary refers only to the *Shikashū* headnote. The Kyoto artist [61-2] follows the earlier design, but the accompanying figures are simply nameless courtiers. In his *Sugata-e* [61-3], Moronobu ignores the pun in *kokonohe* that also refers to the imperial court and simply shows a woman gazing at flowers, stripping the poem of its court reference and turning it into a simple paean to the woman's beauty. The Porter artist [61-4] follows the *Shikashū* headnote and shows the poet by herself in front of the emperor; however, following a number of commentaries (the *Chōkyō Shō*, *Yoritsune-bon*, and *Minō Shō*) which claimed that the cherries had actually been transplanted to the palace, the artist shows the thriving tree from which the poet has apparently pulled her branch. This may also explain the cherry tree in the *Zōsanshō* version.



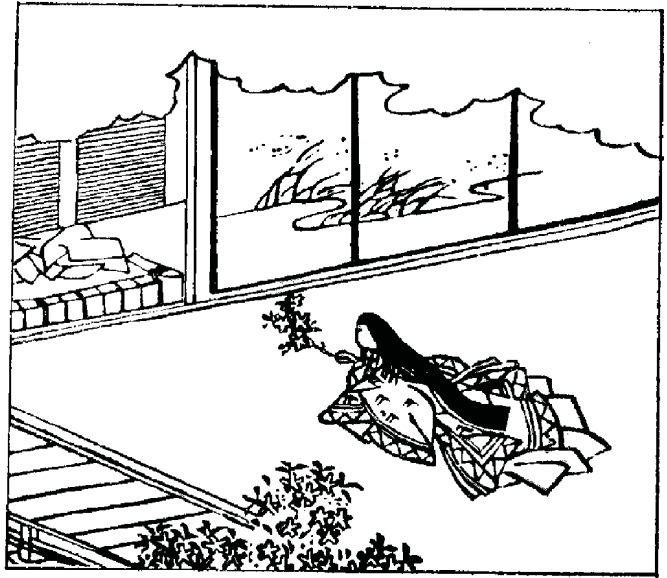
61-1



61-2



61-3



61-4

POEM 62

yo wo komete
 tori no sora-ne ha
 hakaru tomo
 yo ni afusaka no
 seki ha yurusaji²¹

Although, still wrapped in night,
 the cock's false cry
 some may deceive,
 never will the Barrier
 of Meeting Hill let you pass.

Sei Shōnagon

Sei Shōnagon (dates uncertain), a daughter of Kiyohara no Motosuke (Poem 42), served Empress Teishi until the latter's death in the year 1000. She recorded the splendors of Teishi's court, and the riches of her own wit, in her *Pillow Book* (*Makura no Sōshi*), for which she is best remembered. Although she is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, she has only four poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

This poem and its accompanying anecdote appear originally in *The Pillow Book*:

One evening Yukinari, the Controller First Secretary, came to the Empress's Office and stayed there until late at night.

"Tomorrow is a day of Imperial Abstinence," he said as he left, "and I have to remain in the Palace. I must certainly go home before the Hour of the Ox."

On the following morning a messenger brought me several sheets of Kōya paper of the type the Chamberlains use in the Emperor's Private Office. "Today," I read, "my heart is full of memories of our meeting. I had hoped that I might stay until the morning to tell you of bygone tales, but the cock's crow forced me to take my leave. . . ." It was a long letter, very elegantly written and *contrived to give an impression that was quite contrary to the truth*. I was much impressed and replied,

"Can the cock's crow that we heard so late at night be that which saved the Lord of Meng-ch'ang?" Yukunari answered, "It is said that the cock's crow

opened the barrier of Han Ku and allowed the Lord of Meng-ch'ang to escape in the nick of time with his three thousand followers. But we are concerned with a far less distant barrier—the Barrier of Ōsaka.” I then sent him this poem. . . . And as a postscript: “I am told that the gate-keeper is a very shrewd man.”

Yukinari promptly replied:

*afusaka ha
ito koe-yasuku
seki nareba
tori nakanu ni mo
akete matsu to ka*

I have heard it said
That Ōsaka Barrier can be freely crossed.
No need here for the cock to crow:
This gate is ever opened wide,
And waits each wanderer who comes.²²

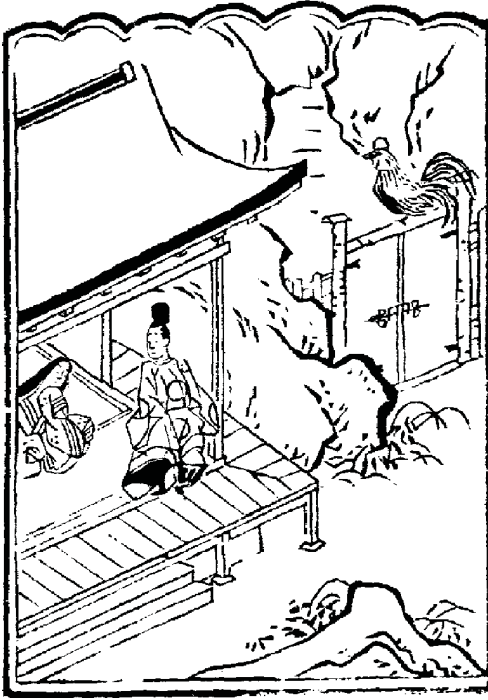
The headnote in the *GoShūishū* gives essentially the same information, though more briefly and without Yukinari’s responding verse. Practically all commentaries interpret the poem through its accompanying story. This poem is the third in a series (starting with Poem 60) intended to show the quick wit of court women, and it is presumably for this reason that Teika chose it.

The Pictures

Despite the detail of the original context and the near-unanimity of the commentators, the visual artists appear to have been much more influenced by forms in their visual repertoire. The *Zōsanshō* picture [62–2] is reminiscent of the Saga-bon illustration to Episode 14 of the *Tales of Ise* [62–3], which has a rooster and hen in the tree. This rendering suggests that the man is using the rooster’s crowing as an excuse to leave while the woman wishes he would stay—a point made explicit by the Kyoto artist [62–4], where the woman pulls at the man’s sleeve to hold him back. This, of course, is completely contrary to the sense of the poem, in which the woman declares that she will never let the man spend the night with her. It is tempting to read Moronobu’s *Sugata-e* [62–1] as a pictorialization of Yukunari’s verse—certainly the gate is wide open. Other artists, such as the *Kangyoku* artist and Hokusai, illustrate the Chinese story directly.



62-1



62-2



62-3



62-4

POEM 63

*ima ha tada
omohi-taenamū
to bakari wo
hito-dzute narade
ifu yoshi mogana*²³

Now, the only thing
I wish for is a way to say
to you directly
—not through another—
“I will think of you no longer!”

Master of the Western Capital Michimasa

Sakyō no Daibu was Fujiwara no Michimasa (992–1054). The capital of Heiankyō (modern Kyoto) was divided into eastern and western sectors (literally, Right and Left), each of which was under the control of an administrative office headed by a “master,” or *daibu*.²⁴ Michimasa was a son of Korechika (see also Poem 54); he spent the latter half of his life in elegant retirement after his family was supplanted by Michinaga. He has only six poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The occasion for this poem is recounted in the *GoShūishū*:

He was secretly seeing someone who
had returned from being the High

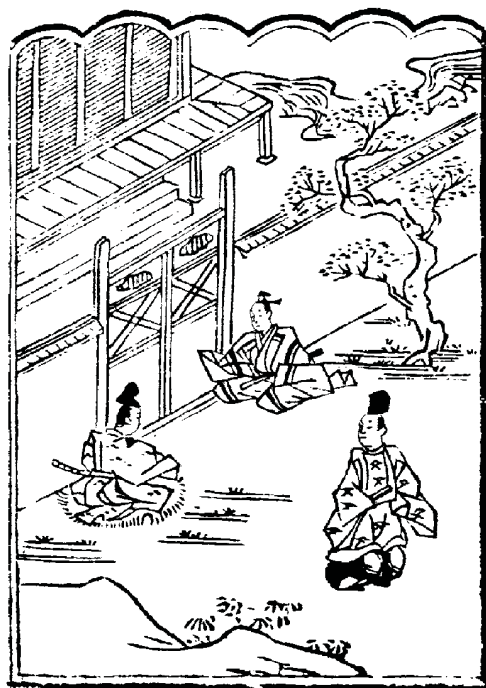
Priestess of Ise. Composed when the court heard of this and posted guards so that he could no longer visit her even in secret.

This story of Michimasa’s relationship with the former Ise Priestess Tōshi—and the anger of her father, Retired Emperor Sanjō (Poem 68), over it—is related in the *Midō Kanpaku Ki*,²⁵ the *Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (*Eiga Monogatari*), and the *Fukuro-Zōshi*. Both the author of *Flowering Fortunes* and Teika saw a parallel between this affair and the famous affair purported to have occurred between Narihira and the Ise Virgin as described in the *Tales of Ise*.²⁶ Apparently the Michimasa anecdote was sufficiently well known to stifle much debate over the poem’s meaning, and there is virtual agreement in all Japanese commentaries.



The Pictures

The *Soan-bon* edition shows Michimasa in a hunting outfit of the same sort worn in most depictions of Narihira (Poem 17). The Tan'yū album has Michimasa, in court robes with a cherry-blossom design, gazing out into the distance with a sheaf of papers clutched to his breast and a writing box beside him. This design has clearly influenced the *Sugata-e* [63-4], where we see a man also wearing a robe with cherry blossoms, looking forlornly at his writing paper with a brothel go-between, or procuress, in front of him, emphasizing what is actually the point of the poem: the poet wants to be able to speak to his love directly, even if only to tell her that he has given up. The *Zōsanshō* [63-1] and the Kyoto artist show the poet turning away from a guarded gate—the basic composition repeated by many artists, including Hokusai. Hasegawa [63-3] pairs the poet with a river (also visible in the *Sugata-e*), which may be meant to suggest the verb *tae* (“to cease”). The *Hyakushu Hinagata* pattern book [63-2] provides a fascinating concatenation of images: the fence would suggest the posted guard, the evergreen the unending nature of the man’s love, and the vines the idea of secret visits (as in Poem 25). The calligraphy gives the first full line of the poem: *ima ha tada*. Unlike the previous poem (Poem 62) we see no interference from *Ise* illustrations in any pictorializations of the poem itself, despite Michimasa’s association with Narihira in the *kasen-e*.



63-1



63-2



63-3



63-4

POEM 64

asaborake
 uji no kaha-giri
 tae-dae ni
 arahare-wataru
 se-ze no ajiro-gi²⁷

As the winter dawn
 breaks, the Uji River mist
 thins in patches and
 revealed, here and there, are
 all the shallows' fishing-stakes.

Supernumerary Middle Counselor Sadayori

GonChūnagon Fujiwara no Sadayori (995–1045), son of Kintō (Poem 55), is the antagonist in KoShikibu no Naishi's poem (Poem 60).²⁸ He has forty-five poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies and is counted one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. A collection of his poems survives.

Commentary

Most commentators, medieval and modern, follow the headnote to this poem—which declares that it was written when the poet was at Uji River—and take the poem as a description of an actual landscape before the poet's eyes. However, as early as the *Ōei Shō* we see an insistence that the poem has a hidden meaning.



This meaning is based on seeing the poem as an “allusive variation” (*honka-dori*) on a poem by Hitomaro found in both the *Man'yō Shū* (3: 264) and the *ShinKokinshū* (Misc. 2): 1648:

mononofu no
 yaso uji-gaha no
 ajiro-gi ni
 isayofu nami no
 yukuhe shirazu mo

Like the waves that wander
 among the fishing stakes
 in Uji River,
 of the eighty warrior clans,
 I do not know which way to turn.²⁹

With this intertext, Sadayori's poem is understood to refer to the circle of death and rebirth, to which the shifting mist is compared. The *Yoritaka-bon*, however, believes that the poem is a metaphor for hidden love. None of these readings is currently accepted.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album depicts the Uji Bridge, fishing weirs, and fishing stakes, emphasizing the “famous place” (*meisho*) quality of the poem. The *Zōsanshō*'s [64-1] rendition is ambiguous—clearly the fishing stakes are oversized and there is an insistence on the many streams of the river, though one cannot say whether this is meant to correspond to the *se-ze* (literally, “rapids-rapids”) of Sadayori's poem or perhaps the *yaso* (“eighty”) of the base poem. It may instead be meant to suggest the romantic interpretation of the poem (compare Poems 13, 27, 48). In the *Sugata-e* [64-2] Moronobu also depicts the famous Uji Bridge, associating the poem more closely with *The Tale of Genji*, just as Teika may have, and clearly agreeing with the *Yoritaka-bon*'s romantic interpretation. Hasegawa [64-3] shows neither fishing weirs nor the bridge but instead includes a tree—as if the *gi* (*ki*) of *ajiro-gi* referred to an actual tree. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [64-4] is a successful combination of fishing stakes in a fairly tranquil river, hung with fabrics as well as nets, with the character for “dawn” (*asa*) superimposed. The wild waves of the river are confined to the bottom of the robe.



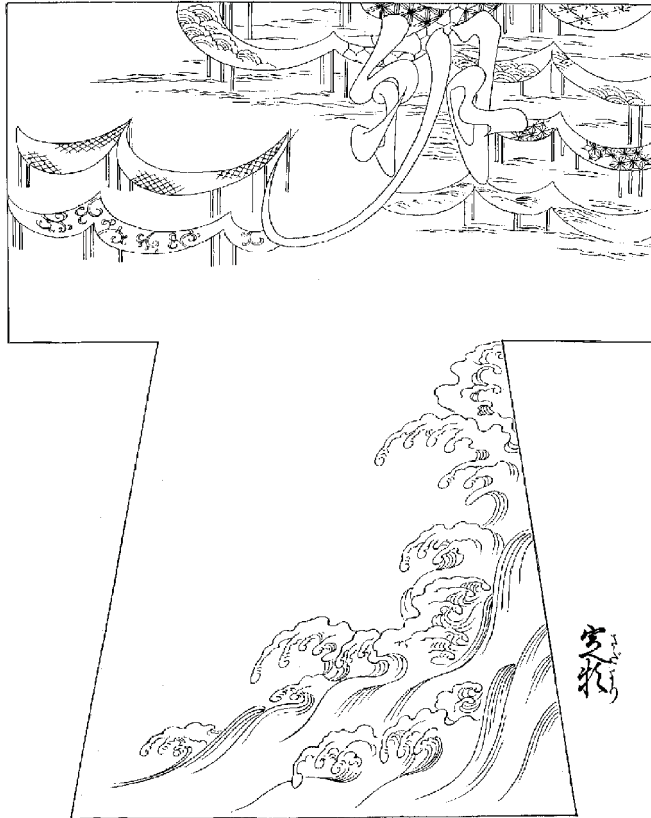
64-1



64-2



64-3



64-4

POEM 65

urami-wabi
 hosanu sode dani
 aru mono wo
 koho ni kuchinan
 na koso oshikere³⁰

Although there are
 my sleeves that never dry,
 bitter and sad,
 what I really regret is
 my name, made rotten by love!

Sagami

Sagami's dates are uncertain; she was probably born sometime between 995 and 1003. She is thought to be a daughter of Minamoto no Yorimitsu. Her mother was a daughter of Yoshishige no Yasuaki. Her sobriquet comes from her husband, Ōe no Kin'yori, a governor of Sagami province. After separating from him she entered the service of the imperial princess Shūshi. She has a personal poetry collection, forty poems in the *GoShūishū*, and sixty-nine in the remaining imperial anthologies. She is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

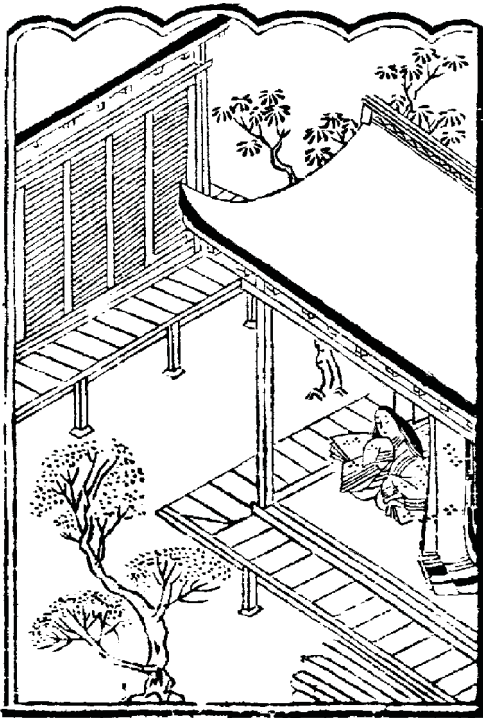
Commentary

While the basic sense of this poem is clear, commentators have long divided over the meaning of the third and fourth lines: have the poet's sleeves rotted or not? The older school holds that the meaning is: "even though they never have a chance to dry because of my constant tears, it is not my sleeves that will become rotten (ruined), but rather my name (reputation)." The other reading, followed by most modern commentators, is: "even though my sleeves will probably rot right through, what I am really upset about is my rotten reputation." Ariyoshi claims that the evidence points to Teika's reading the poem according to this latter interpretation. The translation offered here allows for both readings. The poem was composed for a poetry contest that took place in the palace in 1051 (described in some detail in *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, or *Eiga Monogatari*) and is so identified in the *GoShūishū*.

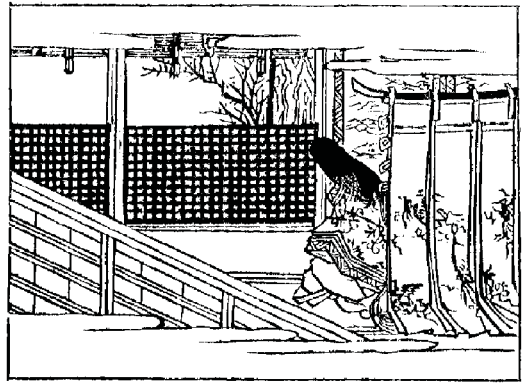


The Pictures

Even though the Yūsai commentary follows the “sleeves not rotted” interpretation, it is unlikely that artists would have depicted literally rotted sleeves in any event. Most illustrators show a woman with her sleeve to her face. The *Zōsanshō* pictorialization [65–1] shows the poet looking out from her room at a tree, reminiscent of the composition used for Komachi [9–2], and the *Sugata-e* commentary specifically states that the woman has had a number of affairs, reinforcing the similarity to Komachi. Note how a change of perspective in the *Shūgyoku* version [65–2] accents the woman’s isolation. Moronobu’s *Sugata-e* [65–4] repeats the *Zōsanshō* composition in the upper register while showing a prostitute and her young servant reading below. The books may be meant to indicate the idea of leaving behind one to posterity nothing but scandalous stories. The *Hyakushu Hinagata* kimono design [65–3] has buckets in which salt-makers carry brine, indicating tears. The written phrase reads *hosanu . . . dani aru mono wo*, with the actual image of a sleeve inserted to represent the word “sleeves.”



65-1



65-2



65-3



65-4

POEM 66

morotomo ni
aware to omohe
yama-zakura
hana yori hoka ni
shiru hito mo nashi³¹

Let us think of each
other fondly,
O mountain cherries!
for, outside of your blossoms,
there's no one who knows my feelings.

Major Archbishop Gyōson

DaiSōjō Gyōson (1055–1135) was a son of Minamoto no Motohira. He entered the priesthood at the age of twelve and became renowned as a *yamabushi*, or mountain ascetic. He was also a prolific poet, and a collection of his poetry is extant. He has forty-eight poems in the *Kin'yōshū* and later imperial collections.

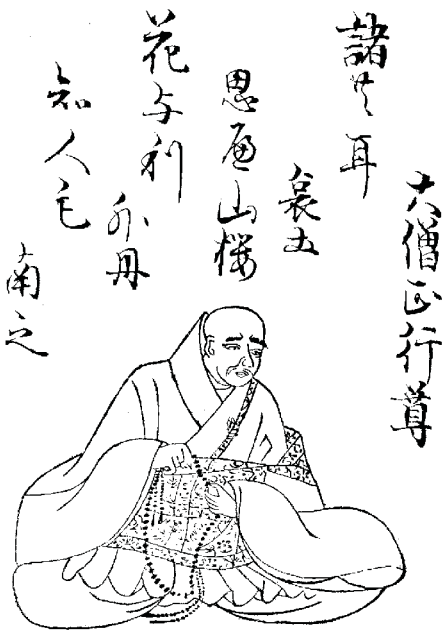
Commentary

Scholars are still divided today over the correct interpretation of this poem. It is not the poem itself that is problematic, however, but its headnote, which in the *Kin'yōshū* reads: “Composed when he saw cherry blossoms unexpectedly at Ōmine.” The debate is over the meaning of “unexpectedly” (*omohi-kakezu*) here. Commentators had long argued that the setting of the poem was early summer and the poet was surprised to see cher-

ries (an early spring flower) still blooming deep in the mountains. But the *Kaikan Shō* (1688) argued that what surprises the poet is to see cherry blossoms amidst the evergreens of Ōmine, and modern scholars such as Shimazu follow this interpretation. The differences in interpretation are not as picayune as they might appear: the evergreens represent unchanging longevity, while the cherries are associated with the transitory nature of human life.

The Pictures

Depictions of Gyōson are of two very different types. The *Soan-bon* edition shows him as a high-ranking prelate, while the *Tan'yū* album shows him in the dress characteristic of the *yamabushi* mountain ascetics. The inscription of the poem in the *Soan-bon* is also distinctive, as it is written almost entirely using Chinese characters with virtually no *kana*. The *Zōsanshō* [66–1] predates the *Kaikan Shō* and, accordingly, shows the poet confronted simply by cherry trees. Con-



trast this version with the *Kangyoku* [66-2], which shows cherries amidst evergreens and thus reflects the *Kaikan Shō* interpretation. Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [66-3] shows the poet as a rough mountain ascetic confronted, seemingly unexpectedly, by a young samurai. This image seems to be playing with a complex of subtexts: the figure of the poet is reminiscent of the famous warrior Benkei, and the way the samurai is holding the paper calls to mind the famous *Nō* play *Kanjinchō* (*The Subscription List*), where Benkei attempts to bluff his way through a barrier post. Moreover, a number of *nō* plays entailed the theme of young boys being abducted by goblins (*tengu*) or *yamabushi*—again, the *Sugata-e* image seems to present an amusing role-reversal. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [66-4] shows two horses, perhaps meant to suggest the idea of “together,” heartlessly eating the cherry blossoms that fall from a tree trunk formed in the shape of the ideograph for “mountain” (*yama*).



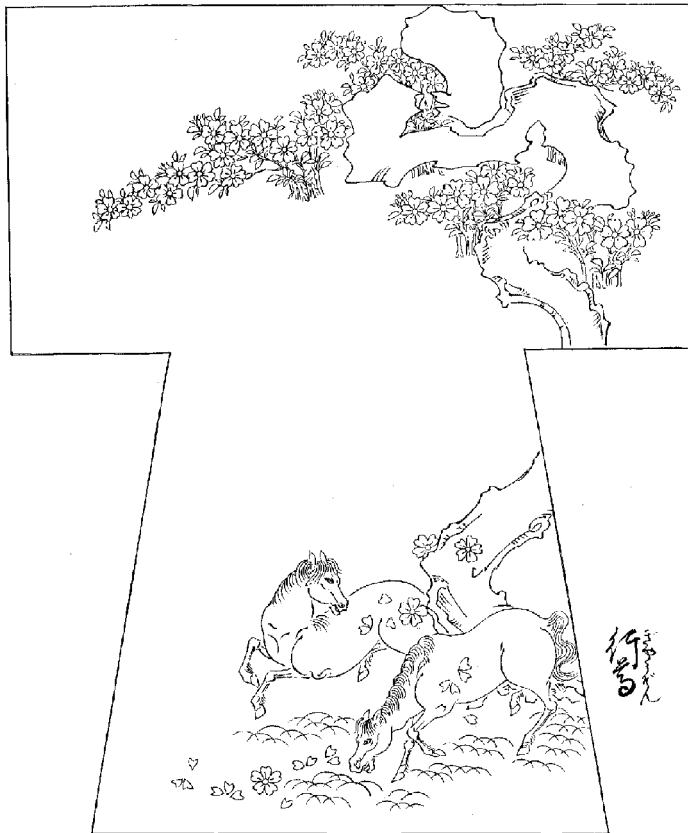
66-1



66-2



66-3



66-4

POEM 67

haru no yo no
yume bakari naru
ta-makura ni
kahi naku tatamu
na koso woshikere³²

With your arm as my pillow
for no more than a brief
spring night's dream,
how I would regret my name
coming, pointlessly, to 'arm!

The Suō Handmaid

Suō no Naishi's personal name was Nakako (dates uncertain). Her sobriquet comes from her father, Taira no Munenaka, the governor of Suō province. She served emperors GoReizei, Shirakawa and Horikawa, and participated in various poetry contests. A collection of her poetry survives. She has thirty-five poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem reads:

Around the Second Month, on a night when the moon was bright, several people were passing the night at the Nijō In, talking about this and that, when the Suō Handmaid, half-

reclining, said softly, "Ah, I wish I had a pillow!" Hearing this, Middle Counselor Tada'ie said, "Here, make this your pillow," and pushed his arm (*kahina*) in from under the blinds. Whereupon she composed [the following].

The poem puns on the word "arm" (*kahina*) by relating it to the phrase "pointless" (*kahi naku*), though some commentaries, such as the *Ōei Shō*, dispute this. (The foregoing translation attempts to convey the spirit of the pun through "arm" and "[h]arm.") Otherwise, the specificity of the event has restrained commentators. While some see this poem as another example of the quick wit of court women (see Poems 60, 61, and 62), Ariyoshi claims that Teika's inclusion and placement of this poem in the *Nishidai Shū* shows that he appreciated the poem as simply a romantic lyric—embodying the flavor of *yōen* with its vocabulary of "night of spring," "dream," and "pillowing arm"—removed from the clever specifics of its genesis.

春のよの夢
枕に
かひなく
たたく
なこそ
わしけれ



The Pictures

The potential visual awkwardness in the situation described by the headnote can be seen in the *Kangyoku* [67-1], where a disembodied arm appears from under the blinds. It is curious that this composition should be a problem as it is very similar to a scene, often illustrated, in the *Fuji-bakama* chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. The *Zōsanshō* seems to solve the problem by removing the blinds [67-2]—a solution that the Kyoto artist follows—and adding a cherry tree to emphasize the season, as well as a full moon. But Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [67-3] shows that he could devise a more successful method. This version is somewhat similar to the composition used by the Porter artist [67-4]. Perhaps the most charming version is Kuniyoshi's *Hyakunin Isshu no Uchi* of 1861 (see Plate 7). Interestingly, it is only the *Sugata-e* that, in its foreground drawing, gives the more lyrical interpretation thought to be favored by Teika, suggesting a stronger identification between the woman and the easily ruined cherry blossoms. The Tan'yū album, by contrast, has the poet looking out of the picture frame, from behind her fan, at the viewer, emphasizing the playful nature of the poem.



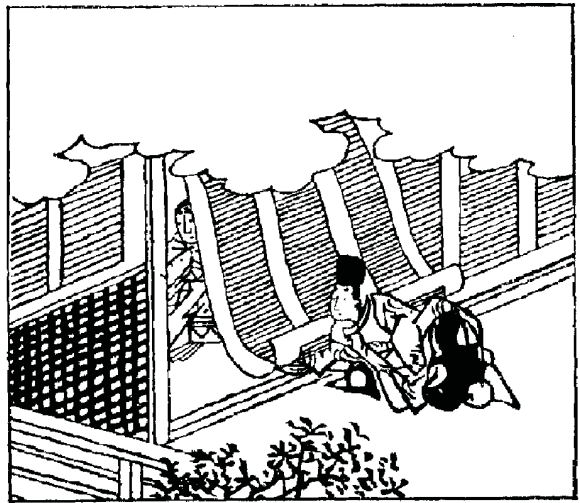
67-1



67-2



67-3



67-4

POEM 68

*kokoro ni mo
arade uki yo ni
nagaraheba
kohishikarubeki
yoha no tsuki kana*³³

Though it is not what's in my heart,
if in this world of pain
I should linger, then
no doubt I shall remember fondly
the bright moon of this dark night!

Retired Emperor Sanjō

Sanjō In (976–1017) reigned from 1011 to 1016. Prone to illness, he was forced to abdicate to make room for Michinaga's grandson GoIchijō. He has no personal poetry collection and only eight poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem reads: "When he was not feeling well, and considering abdicating, he looked at the brightness of the moon [and composed the following]." The account in *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (*Eiga Monogatari*) is more detailed:

Emperor Sanjō's illness persisted. . . . Meanwhile, the end of the year approached. Most people were busy

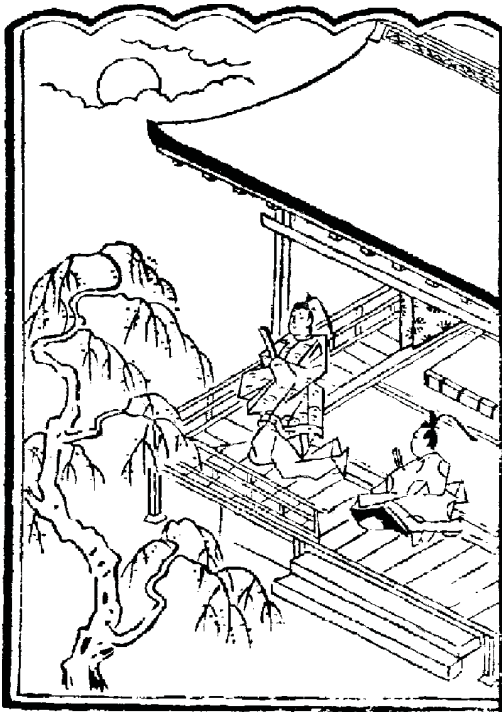
and excited, but for Emperor Sanjō, plagued by constant suffering, it was a time of painful indecision. What should he do? On a brilliant moonlit night not long after the Tenth of the Twelfth Month, he composed a poem in the Imperial Apartment for Empress Kenshi. . . . On the Nineteenth of the First Month in the fifth year of Chōwa [1016], Emperor Sanjō relinquished the throne.³⁴

However, most commentaries refer only to the *GoShūishū* headnote. Debate centers on why the poet will think of the moon fondly—that is, the reason for his present unhappiness. Early commentaries such as the *Ōei Shō* understand the reason to be the emperor's reluctance to abdicate. The *Keikō Shō* (1530) and the many commentaries that follow it argue instead that the issue is simply whether or not the emperor will continue to live—if he does, then the moon from the night that his life seemed uncertain will be a fond memory.



The Pictures

Although the *Flowering Fortunes* says that Sanjō In composed this poem for Ken-shi and that she replied with one of her own, no artist portrays the empress. The *Zōsanshō* [68-1] and the Kyoto artists, by showing the emperor standing (rather than sitting as if he were sick), in ceremonial robes, and with a gentleman-in-waiting, suggest that it is the issue of abdication, rather than illness, that troubles the emperor. The *Kangyoku* [68-3] and the Porter artists instead show the emperor alone, though neither of them portrays a tenth-night moon. Moronobu's placement of the moon above mountains, in his *Sugata-e* [68-2], calls to mind the belief that emperors did not die but hid themselves in the mountains (in tumuli).³⁵ It may also be meant to allude to Nakamaro's poem (Poem 7), and there is a similarity between the *Zōsanshō*'s compositions for these two poems [7-2 and 68-1]. Finally, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [68-4] makes clear that its artist was aware of the season of the poem (the Twelfth Month) by combining the moon and characters for "night" (*yoha*) with the chrysanthemums of winter.



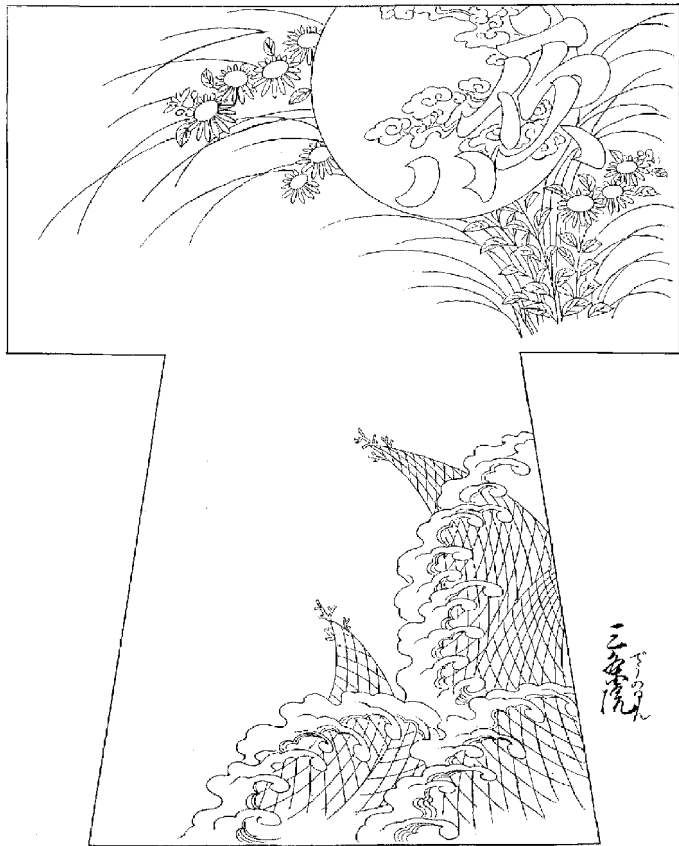
68-1



68-2



68-3



68-4

POEM 69

*arashi fuku
mimuro no yama no
momijhi-ba ha
tatsuta no kaha no
nishiki narikeri*³⁶

It's the autumn leaves
of the hills of Mimuro,
where the tempests blow,
that are the woven brocade floating
on the waters of Tatsuta River!

Master of the Law Nōin

Nōin Hōshi was born in 988 as Tachibana no Nagayasu. Originally he studied at the imperial university, but he took vows at the age of twenty-six and traveled through many provinces composing poetry. He studied poetry under Fujiwara no Nagatō (also read “Nagayoshi”), which became a precedent for “learning from a master” (*shishō*) in the “way of poetry” (*kadō*). A collection of his poetry is extant, as well as a collection of poetry edited by him, the *Gengen Shū*, and a poetic treatise, the *Nōin Uta-makura*. He has sixty-five poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies, and he is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

Commentary

As the *Ōei Shō* puts it, “there is nothing hidden” in this poem, and it has accordingly been valued for its direct and straightforward style. It was composed for a palace poetry contest held in 1049. Both Mimuro and Tatsuta were famous for their autumn foliage. While there has been no debate on the meaning of the poem, commentators have argued about its value and even its geographical accuracy.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album effectively shows autumn leaves in a river and trees in fall foliage on mountains in the far background—a two-tiered composition that reappears in the *Eiga*. The *Zōsanshō* [69–1] shows the poet on a riverbank with trees in autumn foliage, a format basically followed by most later artists. For his *Sugata-e* [69–2] Moronobu puts the poet in simpler garb befitting a recluse or wandering monk—in fact, the image of Nōin is a self-quotation from Moronobu's first and most popular *kyōka e-hon*, the clearly homoerotic *Bokuyō Kyōka*



Shū of 1678 [69–5], where we see Master Bokuyō admiring a bevy of young men. The *Hyakushū Hinagata* kimono book shows two mountain peaks with autumn maples and the characters “Mimuro” blazoned over them; an S-shaped river rushes diagonally across the lower half of the robe, carrying the foliage with it. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [69–3] takes the characters for “Tatsuta” (literally “Dragon Field”) and divides the robe with them, showing autumn leaves in agitated water on one side and suggesting the more tranquil brocade near the hem on the other. This poem was clearly seen as paired with the next, also by a priest, and Hasegawa’s design [69–4] makes it clear that the two were seen to provide both comparisons and contrasts: one made to look more like a monk while the other was depicted as ecclesiastical; one in black and one in white; and so forth.



69-1



69-2

POEM 70

sabishisa ni
yado wo tachi-idete
nagamureba
idzuku mo onaji
aki no yufugure³⁷

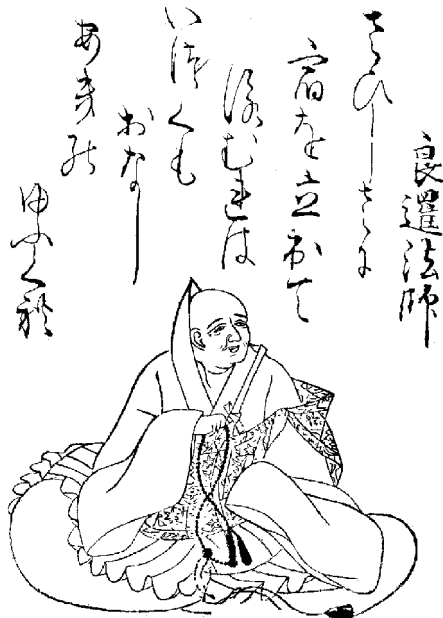
When, from loneliness,
I stand up and leave my hut
and look distractedly about:
everywhere it is the same
evening in autumn.

Master of the Law Ryōzen

Ryōzen Hōshi (dates uncertain) was active during the reigns of GoSuzaku (r. 1036–1045) and GoReizei (r. 1045–1068) and participated in several poetry contests. He has thirty-one poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem is preceded by no explanation (*dai shirazu*) in the *GoShūishū*. The commentaries are in general agreement. It is the last two lines that have elicited the most comment, and even today there is disagreement whether the fourth line is a full stop (*shi ku-gire*) or whether “the same” modifies “evening” (*rentaikei*). The translation offered here preserves this ambiguity. The *Kaikan Shō* (1688) is unique in suggesting that the poet is not simply getting up for a walk but is in fact



abandoning the world. Most commentaries assume that the poet, as a monk, has already done this. There also seems to be some disagreement over whether the poet is grieved and unhappy (as explicitly argued by Mabuchi in *Uimanabi*) or is simply moved by the poignance of the scene.

The Pictures

Although the *Kaikan Shō* postdates the *Zōsanshō* pictorialization [70–1], the artist’s rendering seems to imply that the poet is leaving home rather than just taking a stroll. This is suggested by the staff and by the dwelling the priest is leaving, which does not look like the simple hut one would expect, as well as by the fields and other signs of habitation—in other words, we are presented with not just the hut of the poem but an entire village. The Kyoto artist [70–2] follows the *Zōsanshō* closely, but his figure looks much less unhappy. In the *Sugata-e* [70–3], Moronobu depicts the poet as a Bodhidharma look-alike and in the upper register shows the poet looking across at a small hamlet, a compo-

sition suggested by the Tan'yū album. Here the implication seems to be that the poet has left his hut and is looking out on the mundane, secular world, where he sees that autumn twilight has also come. The *Kangyoku* [70-4] shows a very unhappy-looking priest (with no staff). The figure in the Porter picture is positively beaming, and the signs of habitation have been almost completely obscured.



70-1



70-2



70-3



70-4

POEM 71

yufu sareba
kado-ta no inaba
otodzurete
ashi no maro-ya ni
aki-kaze zo fuku³⁸

As evening falls,
through the rice-plants before the gate,
it comes visiting, and rustling
on the reeds of the simple hut—
the autumn wind does blow!

Major Counselor Tsunenobu

Dainagon Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016–1097) was the father of Toshiyori (Poem 74) and grandfather of Shun'e (Poem 85). His poetry is first seen in the "Poetry Contest on Famous Place-Names at Princess Yūshi's Residence" (*Yūshi Naishinnō-ke Meisho Uta-awase*; see Poem 72). He was a poetic rival of Fujiwara no Michitoshi and compiled a counter-collection to the latter's *GoShūishū* imperial anthology. A collection of his poetry survives, and he has eighty-six poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies. He is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

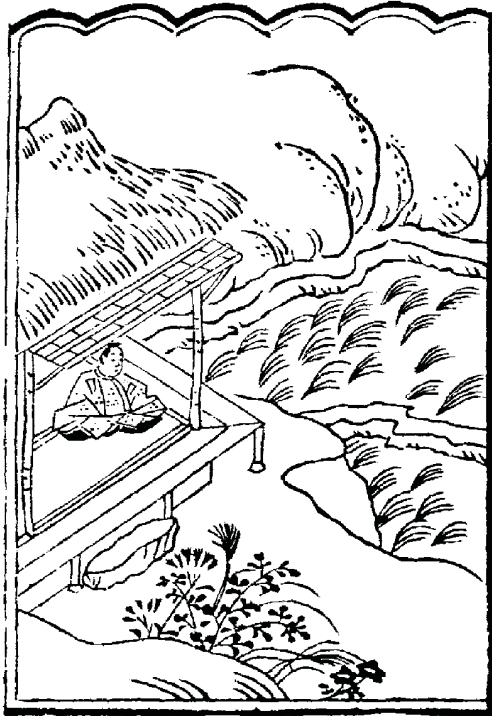


the poet had joined Minamoto no Morokata and others at the latter's mountain villa at Umezu. Thus the poem is understood to have been composed on an actual scene before the poet's eyes. It is also appreciated as an early example of the kind of descriptive landscape poetry (*jokeika*) that emerged around this time. Nonetheless, there are several differences of interpretation concerning this poem—disputes about its wording and about its meaning as a whole. As early as the *Ōei Shō* and throughout the Edo period, the first line was read *yufusare ha* or *yufuzare ha*, with *yufuzare* understood as a noun (meaning "evening"), rather than the whole line as a phrase meaning "when evening comes." Commentators also seem unclear on just what an *ashi no maro-ya* was. Literally it is a "round hut of reed," and early commentators such as the *Ōei Shō* claimed that this was a hut made entirely of reed. There were yet other explanations, but the standard interpretation takes it to be a simple hut with a reed-thatch roof. *Otodzurete* means "to make sound (*oto su*) and come to visit (*otodzure*)," but the *Ōei Shō* takes the *dzu* as a negative and the whole phrase to

mean “not able to hear.” Finally, the *Kaikan Shō* suggests that the speaker of the poem is waiting for someone to visit, as the sound of the wind was often thought to be mistaken for the sound of someone approaching.

The Pictures

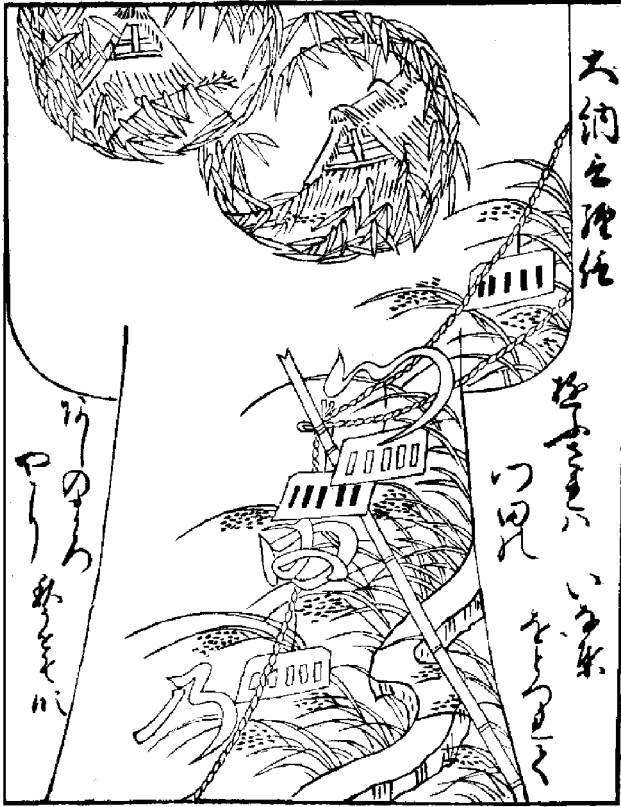
The Tan'yū album shows cultivated fields, two thatched huts with fences, and a tree in autumn colors. The *Zōsanshō* [71-1] seems to miss the sense of the wind coming to visit, as the rice is leaning away from the house. In Moronobu's *Sugata-e* [71-2] the outline of the young boys is clearly meant to echo the shape of the huts (the double huts deriving from the Tan'yū design) and the sense of “visiting” is paramount. Curiously, the last line of the poem is moved to the beginning of the inscription above the picture. The *Hyakushū Hinagata* kimono design [71-3] presents thatched roofs within bamboo medallions to suggest the *maro-ya* (which can also be understood as “round roof”). The words *kado-ta no* are superimposed over ripe ears of grain protected by wooden clappers used to scare away birds—these clappers, which suggest the “make a sound” (*oto su*) pivot word of the poem, also appear in the Porter version [71-4].



71-1



71-2



71-3



71-4

POEM 72

oto ni kiku
takashi no hama no
ada-nami ha
kakeji ya sode no
nure mo koso sure³⁹

Known far and wide,
the unpredictable waves
of Takashi's beach—
I will not let them catch me—
For I'd be sorry should my sleeves get wet!

Kii of Princess Yūshi's Household

Yūshi Naishinnō-ke no Kii (dates uncertain) was a daughter of Taira no Tsunekata and a Lady KoBen, who also served the Imperial Princess Yūshi (in whose salon the author of the *Sarashina Nikki* also participated). She took part in several poetry contests and has a collection of poetry extant, sometimes called the *Ichi-no-Miya no Kii Shū*, following another of her sobriquets. She has thirty-one poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem was presented at the “Love Letter Competition” (*kesō-bumi awase*) held during the time of Retired Emperor Horikawa in 1102. It was pitted as a response to the following poem by Fujiwara no Toshitada (Teika's grandfather):

hito shirenu
omohi ariso no
ura-kaze ni
nami no yoru koso
ihamahoshikere

Unknown to any
I long—and how I long to say
that I come to you in the night
like the waves blown by
the bay-wind of Ariso!



This poem contains two pivot words: *ariso* is a place-name, but *omohi ari* means “I have thoughts of longing”; and *yoru* means both “to approach” and “night.” In her reply, Kii uses the same structure: *takashi* is a place-name but is also the adjective “high” or “loud,” in connection with sound, here meaning “often heard of” or “loudly rumored.” *Kakeji* means that neither her robe nor her heart shall be caught by the *ada-nami*, or “fickle waves.” Medieval commentators have questioned just what kind of waves *ada-nami* are or in which province Takashi was to be found, but otherwise interpretations are uniform.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [72-1] has the poet looking out at the waves while standing on the shore. The Kyoto artist [72-2] places her in a house and adds a pair of waterfowl, suggesting a romantic motif. Most unusual for Hasegawa [72-3], he does not place the poet in a house and has her looking back as the waves approach her trailing robe, an effective conception used also in the *Kangyoku*. Not surprisingly, the waves are the dominant motif in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [72-4] with its characters *oto kiku* (rather than the place-name Takashi as one might expect).



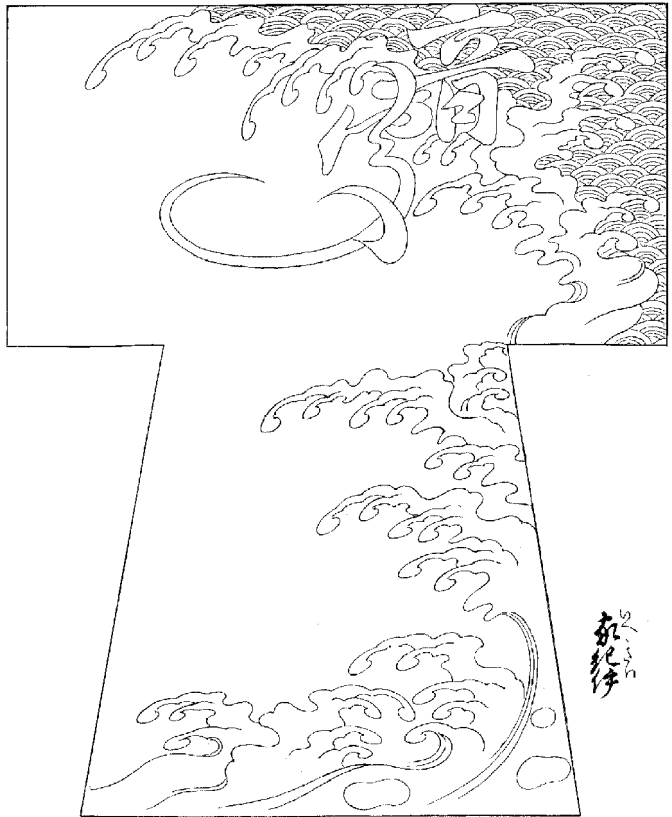
72-1



72-2



72-3



72-4

POEM 73

*takasago no
wonohe no sakura
sakinikeri
toyama no kasumi
tatazu mo aranamu*⁴⁰

Above the lower slopes
of the high mountains, the cherries
have blossomed!
O, mist of the near mountains,
how I wish you would not rise!

Supernumerary Middle Counselor Masafusa

GonChūnagon Ōe no Masafusa (sometimes read “Tadafusa,” 1041–1111) was a “confidant,” or *kinshin*, of Retired Emperor Horikawa and participated in such poetry contests as the Horikawa Hyakushu. He was famous as a poet in Chinese as well. He was the source of several books, including a collection of anecdotes, *The Ōe Conversations (Gōdan Shō)*,⁴¹ and a collection of his Japanese poetry, the *Gō no Sochi Shū*. He has 119 poems in the *GoShūishū* and later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

The headnote to this poem reads: “Composed on the sentiment (*kokoro*) of gazing at mountain cherries far away, when a group of people were drinking and composing poetry at the house of the Palace Minister [Fujiwara no Moromichi].” This headnote makes the meaning of the poem clear: the poet asks the mist of the lower hills not to rise and obstruct his view of the cherries blooming on the high peaks. The only real debate was whether *takasago* referred to Takasago Mountain in Harima province or was simply a common noun for “high mountains” (see Poem 34).

The Pictures

The Tan’yū album makes a clear distinction between the Takasago of Poem 34 and the *takasago* of Masafusa’s poem (shown as hills with cherry blossoms blooming on their slopes). Although the Yūsai commentary specifically states that *takasago* is not a place-name, the *Zōsanshō* [73–1] shows the same kind of mountain near the ocean as in [34–1], indicating the famous Takasago mountain in Harima province. The Kyoto artist shows a river instead [73–2], taking *takasago* as a common noun. In both cases, the cherries are placed on the slopes of the hills. *Wonohe* is usually paraphrased as “peak” (*mine*), but *wo* itself

literally means the lower slopes of a mountain. This understanding is what the first two pictures seem to be indicating, while Moronobu follows the more standard interpretation in his *Sugata-e* [73-3] by placing the cherries on the very peaks. Curiously, the Porter artist [73-4] has a very different conception with what look to be autumn leaves rather than cherry blossoms. His version is reminiscent of his rendition of Poem 16, suggesting (as does the *Sugata-e*) a pun on *tatazu*, which can mean “don’t leave” as well as “don’t rise.”



73-1



73-2



73-3



73-4

POEM 74

ukarikeru
hito wo hatsuse no
yama-oroshi yo
hageshikare to ha
inoranu mono wo⁴²

“Make that heartless
woman, O mountain storm
of Hatsuse Temple—
crueller still!”—this is not
what I prayed for, and yet . . .



Lord Minamoto no Toshiyori

Minamoto no Toshiyori Ason (1055–1129)—his given name is also read “Shunrai”—son of Tsunenobu (Poem 71) and father of Shun’e (Poem 85). The leading poet of his day, he arranged the Horikawa Hyakushu and edited the fifth imperial anthology, the *Kin’yōshū*. He also left a poetic treatise, the *Toshiyori Zuinō*, and a collection of his own poetry in ten books, the *Sanboku Kika Shū*. He has over two hundred poems in the *Kin’yōshū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem reads:

Composed on the sentiment (*kokoro*) of “love for a woman who will not meet one even though one has

prayed to the gods,” when composing ten love poems at the home of the Supernumerary Middle Counselor Toshitada.

As its inclusion in so many anthologies testifies, Teika valued this poem highly. In the “sent version” of the *Superior Poems of Our Times (Kensō-bon Kindai Shūka)*, Teika wrote of this poem:

This poem is deep in feeling and the words give themselves up to the sentiment, and even though one studies it, it is difficult to find fault with it—truly it is a configuration (*sugata*) that probably cannot be matched.

Hatsuse was the home of Hase Temple—a frequent object of pilgrimage for lovers and presented as such in romances like *The Tale of Sumiyoshi (Sumiyoshi Monogatari)*, as commentaries as early as the *Ōei Shō* pointed out. This and later commentaries also claim that *hatsuse no yama-oroshi* is a pillow word (*makura-*

kotoba) for *hageshi*, or “cruel.” (The *Iken* calls it a “preface,” or *jo*). Many Edo-period printed versions of this poem have *yama-oroshi* instead of *yama-oroshi yo*, but the meaning is the same in both cases: the poet is calling out to the wind, to which he is implicitly comparing the heartless woman.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [74-1] shows Toshiyori looking across the picture frame at Hase Temple; the steep angle of the wall around the temple gives a sense of both the steepness of the mountain and the idea of the wind blowing down it (*oroshi* means literally “to drop down”). Many commentaries describe Hatsuse as “amidst mountains” (*yama-naka*), which is how the Kyoto artist portrays it [74-2]. This is also how Moronobu shows it in the *Sugata-e* [74-4], where presumably it is the woman who is complaining about the oblivious male (the poem simply says “person,” or *hito*). (Note that the inscription here has *oroshi yo*.) The *Kangyoku* [74-3] gives a good sense of the wind blowing, but Hatsuse itself disappears entirely.



74-1



74-2



74-3



74-4

POEM 75

chigiri-okishi
 sasemo ga tsuyu wo
 inochi nite
 ahare kotoshi no
 aki no inumeri⁴³

Depending with my life
 on promises that fell thick
 as dew on *sasemo* plants—
 alas! the autumn of this year too
 seems to be passing.



Fujiwara no Mototoshi

Mototoshi (1060–1142), together with Toshiyori (Poem 74), was a leading poet of the Insei period (1086–1185).⁴⁴ A collection of his poetry is extant, and he has 105 poems in the *Kin'yōshū* and later imperial anthologies. He is one of the Late Classical Six Poetic Immortals.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem reads:

When [Mototoshi's son] Bishop Kōkaku requested to be made a Lecturer for the Vimalakīrti Ceremony, he was repeatedly overlooked, so [Mototoshi] complained to Former Chancellor [Tadamichi], the Buddhist Novice of Hosshōji. Although Tadamichi said, “‘The fields of

Shimeji . . .’ [i.e., rely on me],” when his son was again passed over the next year, Mototoshi sent Tadamichi the following.

Tadamichi is alluding to a poem attributed to the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Kannon, in the *ShinKokinshū* (Buddhism): 1917:

naho tanome
 shimejhi ga hara no
 sasemo-gusa
 wa ga yo no naka ni
 aramu kagiri ha

Still rely on me!
 for I will help those of
 this world for as long
 as there are *sasemo* plants
 in the fields of Shimeji.

Mototoshi in turn alludes to this poem in his complaint to Tadamichi by picking up on the image of the *sasemo* plants. Although Ariyoshi says there are no differing opinions in the explanations of this verse, modern scholars disagree

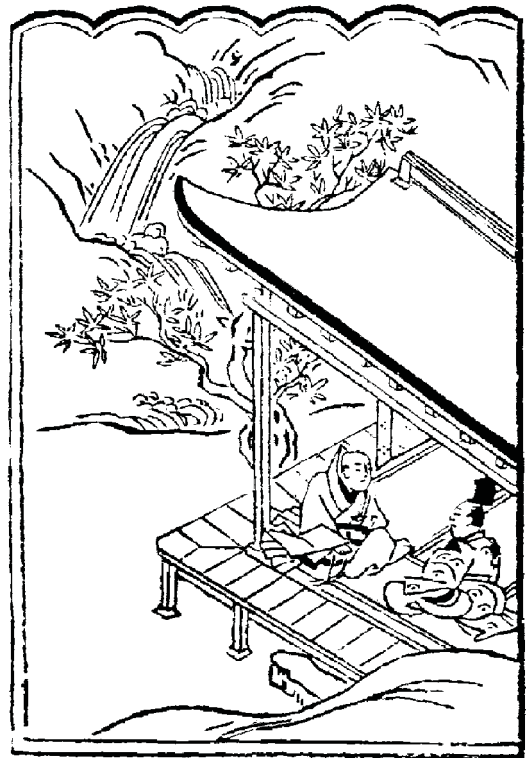
as to whether or not *sasemo* is functioning as a pivot word. *Sasemo-gusa* is a variant of *sashimo-gusa*. As seen in Poem 51, *sa shimo* also means “to that extent,” and it functions as a pivot word in Sanekata’s poem. Most modern commentators, including Shimazu, claim that *sasemo* has the same function in this poem—in other words, the reader is meant to replace *sasemo* with *sashimo* and to understand the latter as a pun. This interpretation seems to start with Yūsai, but Ariyoshi does not mention it.

The Pictures

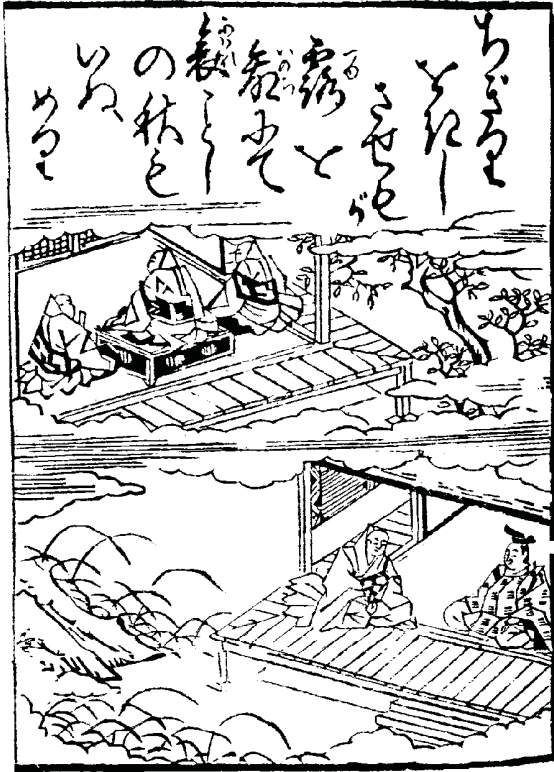
Given the complicated intertextuality and sequence of events surrounding this poem, it is not surprising that the artists seem somewhat confused as to who is petitioning whom. In the upper register of the *Sugata-e* [75–4], Moronobu shows the most clearly correct composition: the low-ranking Mototoshi is humbly petitioning the powerful Tadamichi from below the veranda. (The figures are even clearer in the *Eiga*.) But in the *Zōsanshō* version [75–2] it is hard to decide who is the figure of higher rank. A slight change in position by the Kyoto artist [75–3] makes it seem as if it is the monk who is petitioning the courtier, which is incorrect. Interestingly, the object of the petition—to be an officiant at the ceremony—is depicted in the middle register. Hasegawa [75–1] shows the poet (in a figure derived from the Tan’yū album) gazing out at what one must take as *mogusa*, much as he portrayed Sanekata [51–3], only in this case the plant is laden with dewdrops. The Tan’yū album also depicts *mogusa*, with yellow flowers, shrouded in mist.



75-1



75-2



75-3



75-4

POEM 76

wata no hara
kogi-idete mireba
hisakata no
kumowi ni magafu
okitsu shiranami¹

As I row out into
the wide sea-plain and look
all around me—
the white waves of the offing
could be mistaken for clouds!



Former Prime Minister and Chancellor, the Hosshōji Buddhist Novice

Hosshōji Nyūdō Saki no Kanpaku Daijō-daijin was Fujiwara no Tadamichi (1097–1164). Son of Tadazane (1078–1162), he succeeded his father as Kanpaku in 1121, became regent (*sesshō*) on the accession of Sutoku in 1123, and then again on the accession of Konoe in 1141. After the death of Konoe in 1155, Tadamichi supported the selection of Toba's son Masahito (the future Emperor GoShirakawa) as emperor but was opposed by his own brother, Yorinaga (1120–1156), who supported Retired Emperor Sutoku's reaccession. This conflict led to the Hōgen Disturbance of 1156, during which Yorinaga was killed.

Tadamichi was the recipient of Poem 75 and the father of Jien (Poem 95). He was a great patron of poetry as well as an accomplished poet in both Japanese and Chinese. He has a collection of Chinese verse, the *Hosshōji Kanpaku Shū*, and one of Japanese verse, the *Tadamichi Shū*. He has fifty-eight poems in the *Kin'yōshū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The *Shikashū* states that this poem was composed during the reign of Emperor Sutoku (the poem can be dated to 1135) on the topic “gazing afar over the ocean” (*kaijō enbō*). There is a wide variety of disagreement about this poem. One argument is over what is being confused with what: clouds and waves (*Yoritaka-bon*, Mabuchi, and others); sky and waves (*Komezawa-bon*, Keichū, *Iken*, and others); or sky and sea (the *Kaikan Shō*). This question in turn influences the interpretation of the word *kumowi* and hence the import of the poem as a whole. The standard interpretation is that *kumowi* means “clouds,” but other commentators take it to mean the sky or heavens. The *Komezawa-bon* (1452)

relates a “secret interpretation” (*hisetsu*), which the *Shisetsu Shō* (1658) describes this way:

The phrase *kumowi ni magafu* has a perilous significance: although, when looking at him from below, one would be envious of this regent, who has taken control of the government and conducts its affairs, in fact, if one thinks of his situation from his position, then one realizes that it is as perilous as a boat lost in the fog (*kumowi*) on the ocean.

As the *Zatsudan* (1692) points out, this reading relies on *kumowi* meaning “above the clouds”—that is, the court—and on understanding *magafu* (“to mistake one thing for another”) as *mayofu* (“to be lost”)—that is, “lost in the clouds” means “confused by affairs of state.”² In contrast, the *ShinShō* (1804) categorically states that “there is nothing hidden” in this poem (echoing words of Yūsai).

The Pictures

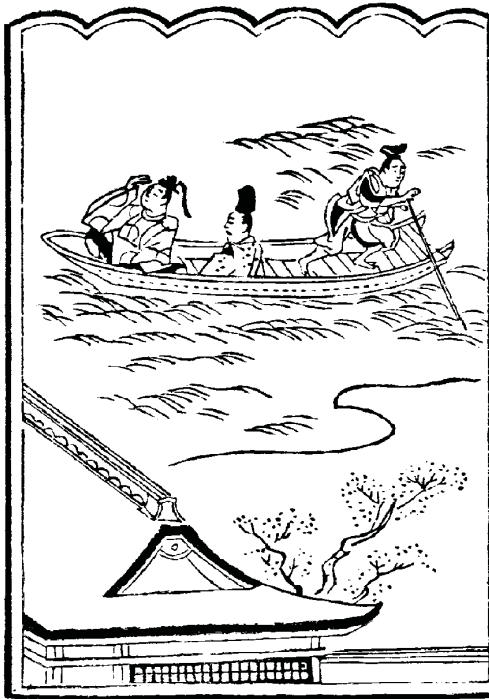
The Tan’yū album has skiffs on the sea drawn in an ink-painting style. The phrasing of this poem of course invites comparison with that of Takamura (Poem 11).³ If we compare the *Zōsanshō* picture for Takamura [11–2] with that for Tadamichi [76–3], we notice that the latter includes a building (not present in the Tan’yū painting for Tadamichi either). The only explanation for this element is that it represents the palace, along the lines of the *Komezawa-bon*’s political interpretation. This feature has been retained by the Kyoto artist [76–4], who also brings the cloud line down to emphasize the confusion between the clouds and the waves. These latter, in turn, are exaggerated by the *Kangyoku* artist [76–1], where the accompanying commentary explicitly states that the confusion is between the clouds and the waves (an issue Yūsai does not address). It is unclear whether there is also a political suggestion in the *Sugata-e* [76–2]: the male figure is obviously high-ranking, and the plum being brought to him is often used as a symbol of loyalty.



76-1



76-2



76-3



76-4

POEM 77

se wo hayami
iha ni sekaruru
taki-gaha no
warete mo suwe ni
*ahamu to zo omofu*⁴

Because the current is swift,
 even though the rapids,
 blocked by a boulder,
 are divided, like them, in the end,
 we will surely meet, I know.

Retired Emperor Sutoku

Sutoku In (often read “Shutoku” in early texts; 1119–1164) reigned 1123–1141 as the seventy-fifth sovereign. Eldest son of Emperor Toba, he succeeded his father at the age of five but was made to abdicate in favor of his younger brother, Konoe. When Konoe died, Toba placed another of his sons, GoShirakawa, on the throne rather than one of Sutoku’s, and this led to an armed conflict known as the Hōgen Disturbance of 1156. Sutoku’s side lost, and he was exiled to Sanuki province on the island of Shikoku, where he died in 1164. He sponsored many hundred-poem competitions and ordered the sixth imperial anthology, the *Shikashū*, from Akisuke (Poem 79). He has seventy-eight poems in the *Shikashū* and later imperial anthologies.

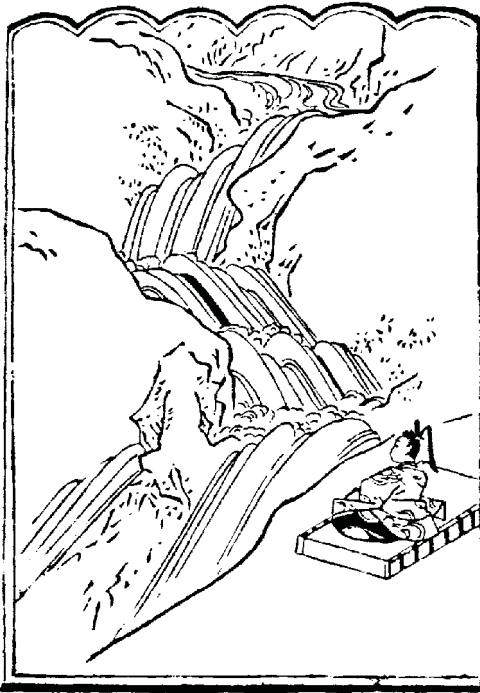


Commentary

Debate centers on whether the expression *warete mo* means simply “even though it is divided” or is also a pivot word meaning “by all means” (*warinaku*). There are also those who believe the first three lines are simply a preface (*jo*) rather than a simile.

The Pictures

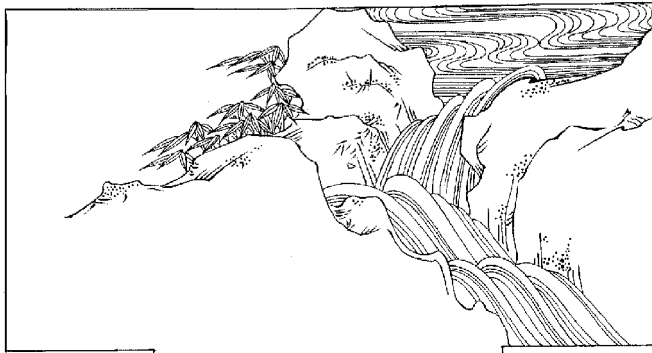
The biggest difference among the pictorializations seems to be how the artists understand the word *taki-gaha*. Literally the words indicate “waterfall-river,” but the term means “rapids”—that is, a river rushing toward a waterfall. Visualizations of this notion range from shallows in the *Sugata-e* [77-4] (apparently following the Tan'yū album), to a series of small falls and rapids in the *Zōsanshō* [77-1] and the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [77-3], to a completely vertical falls in the Kyoto edition [77-2] and Hasegawa. These latter interpretations are perhaps suggested by the verb *tagiru*, “to seethe,” which appears in commentary paraphrases. The conception of the boulder in the kimono design and the *Zōsanshō* is also similar. The *Sugata-e* shows the emperor shielding his face while two women approach, one with an incense burner, punning on the word *taki-mono*, which means “incense.”



77-1



77-2



早津屋元五

77-3



77-4

POEM 78

ahaji shima
kayofu chidori no
naku kowe ni
iku yo ne-zamenu
suma no seki-mori⁵

The crying voices
of the plovers who visit
from Awaji Island—
how many nights have they awakened him,
the barrier-keeper of Suma?

Minamoto no Kanemasa

Kanemasa (dates uncertain) participated in many poetry contests during the time of Retired Emperor Horikawa. There is no collection of his poems, and he has only seven poems in the *Kin'yōshū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

Although this poem is grammatically irregular, there is surprisingly little debate over its basic meaning. While *nezamenu* would usually mean “do not wake,” all commentators agree that the meaning is affirmative and perfective (“have they awakened him”), although their grammatical rationalizations vary.⁶ Far more debate has gone into the question of whether the verb *kayofu* means that the plovers are coming from Awaji



(Yūsai and most modern commentators) or going back and forth to Awaji, as suggested by the *Kamijō-bon* (mid-Muromachi) and others. The poem is understood to allude to the “Suma” chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, during which Genji was in exile. As such, it follows from the previous poem, though not one commentary suggests *ahaji* as a pun for *ahaji*, “will not meet.”⁷

The Pictures

Although the Yūsai commentary says that the birds are coming, the *Zōsanshō* [78–1] clearly has them going, as does the Tan'yū album. This poem is quoted in the famous *nō* play *Atsumori*, which may explain the prominent pine in the

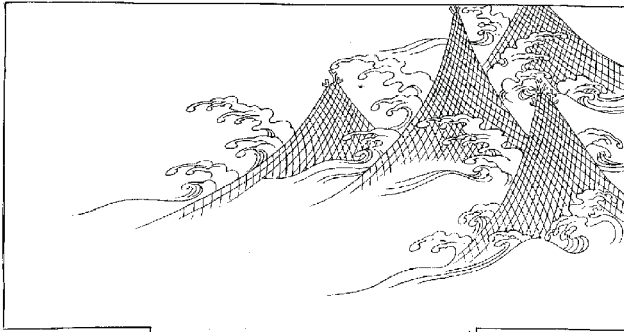
Zōsanshō picture, which is rather reminiscent of the tree typically painted on the back wall of a *nō* stage. The birds' direction is reversed by the Kyoto artist [78-2], who adds boats and nets to the beach. Nets also appear in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [78-3]. The *Hyakushū Hinagata* kimono pattern [78-4] demonstrates that a certain amount of deduction was needed to decipher the ideographs as well as the poetic allusion: the first character, in the upper right, is clearly *awa*, but the second character, *ji*, is written in a somewhat unorthodox form. This is even more true for the final character, *shima*: this ideograph for "island" is composed of the characters for "mountain" and "bird," and traditionally the "mountain" could be written under the bird (as in modern standardized orthography) or to its left. In the kimono pattern, however, "mountain" has been written *above* "bird." Only by reading all three ideographs—*awa-ji-shima*—together could a viewer be certain of the meaning of the last.



78-1



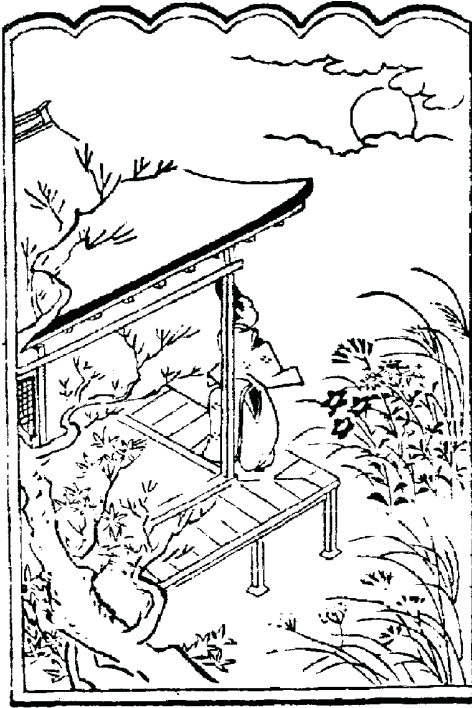
78-2



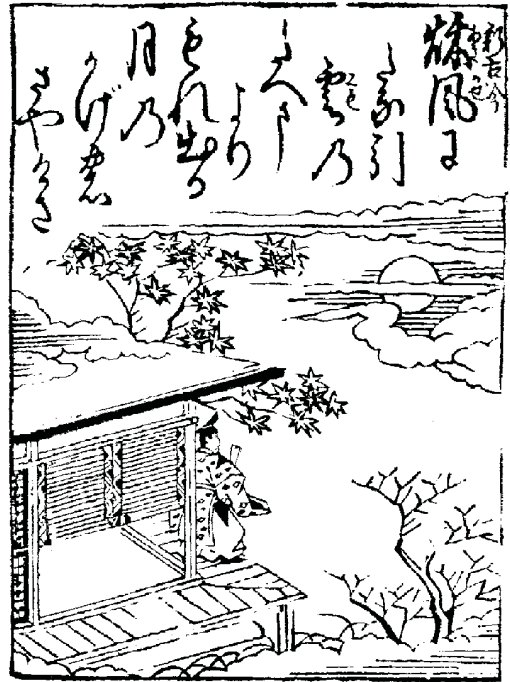
78-3



78-4



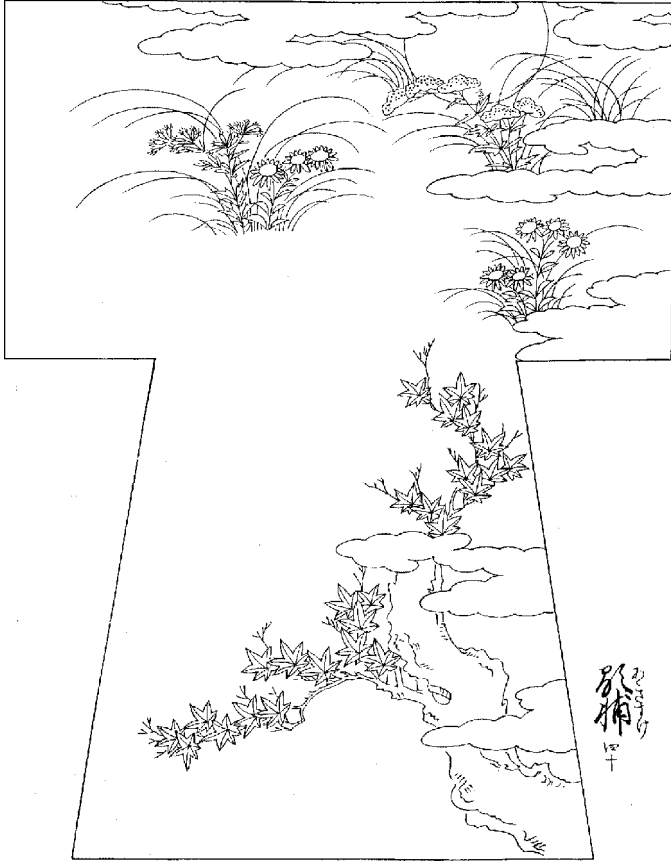
79-1



79-2



79-3



79-4

POEM 80

nagakaramu
kokoro mo shirazu
kuro-kami no
midarete kesa ha
mono wo koso omohe¹⁰

I do not even know
how long your feelings will last.
My long black hair
is all disheveled and, this morning,
my thoughts too are in a tangle!

Horikawa of the Taikenmon In

Taikenmon In no Horikawa (dates uncertain) was a daughter of Minamoto no Akinaka. She served Taikenmon In, Emperor Toba's consort and the mother of Emperor Sutoku (Poem 77). One of the Late Classical Six Poetic Immortals, she has a personal poetry collection and has sixty-six poems in the *Kin'yōshū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem in the *Senzaishū* reads: "When submitting a hundred-poem sequence, composed on the sentiment of love (*kohi no kokoro*)." Early commentaries (the *Yoritaka-bon*, *Chōkyō Shō*, *Komezawa-bon*, and *Minazuki Shō*) insisted that this was a "morning after" (*kinu-ginu*) poem written after the lovers

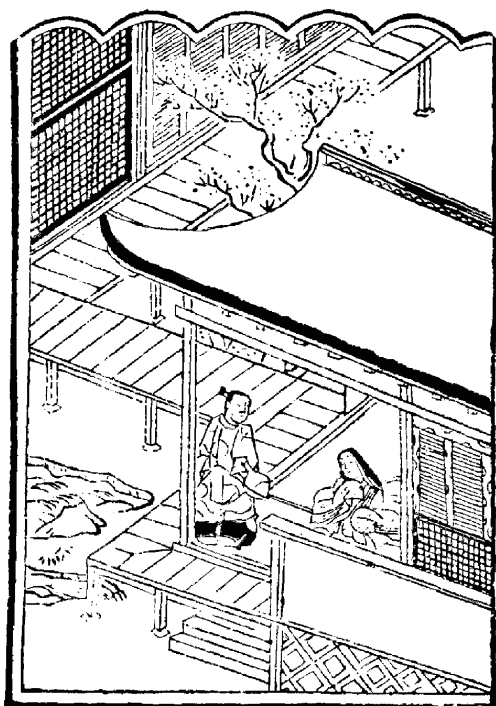


had met for the very first time. Most commentators, however, do not specify whether the lovers had met before or not. There is continued debate on whether the poem comes to a grammatical halt after the second line (*shūshikei*) or continues (*ren'yōkei*). All commentaries see the meaning as implying a "since" or "because," except for the *Kaikan Shō*, which sees the relationship as concessive: "although I do not know. . ."

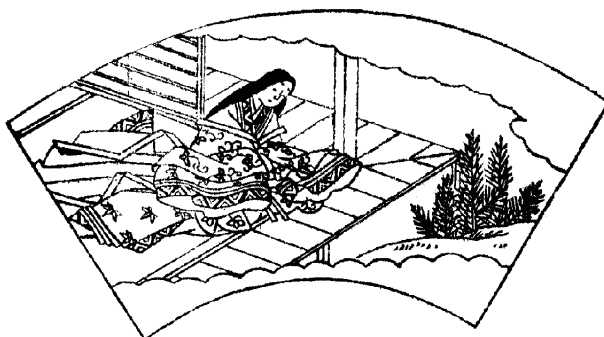
The Pictures

A bewildering variety of compositions are associated with this poem. The Tan'yū album has the poet hiding her face—or perhaps her hair—behind a fan. The *Zōsanshō* [80–1] shows a man leaving a woman, presumably after a night of love, and the Kyoto artist uses the same conception. In the *Sugata-e* [80–4] we have an insert of a court woman reclining and a stream running out-

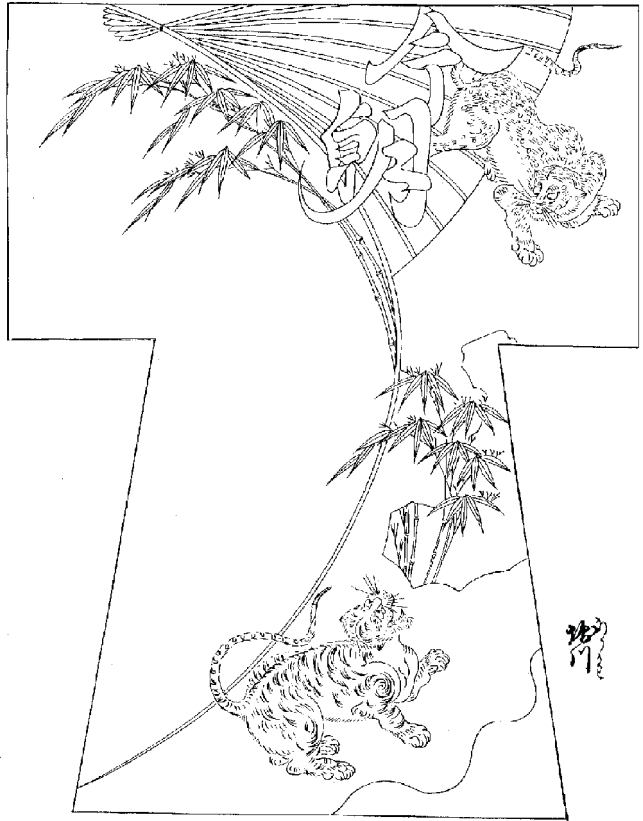
side (most likely due to *nagakarumu* suggesting *nagaru*); in the foreground we see a woman in a robe decorated with pine branches observing a young woman preparing incense. The pine would seem to suggest longevity, and thus long fidelity, and we see it employed by Hasegawa [80-2] as well. Yet the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [80-3] abandons this motif and has instead the characters “this morning” (*kesa*) superimposed on a fan, along with two tigers sporting at either end of a clump of bamboo. The *Kangyoku* and Porter artists use different compositions yet.



80-1



80-2



80-3



80-4

POEM 81

hototogisu
nakitsuru kata wo
nagamureba
tada ariake no
tsuki zo nokoreru¹¹

The *hototogisu*:
when I gaze out towards where
he was singing,
all that remains is the moon,
pale in the morning sky.

The Later Tokudaiji Minister of the Left

GoTokudaiji Sadaijin Fujiwara no Sanesada (1139–1191) was a nephew of Shunzei (Poem 83) and first cousin to Teika (Poem 97). He was called “the Later” to distinguish him from his grandfather, Saneyoshi, who was known by the same sobriquet. A diary and a personal poetry collection, the *Rinka Shū*, survive, and he has seventy-eight poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem was composed on a set topic (*dai*): “Hearing the *hototogisu* at dawn” (*akatsuki ni hototogisu wo kiku*). According to Ariyoshi, the “essential character” (*hon'i*) of this topic is “waiting up all night, from midnight to dawn, for one



cry” of the *hototogisu*. The *hototogisu* is considered a bird of early summer,¹² and some commentaries argue that the poet is waiting to hear the bird’s first song of the season (*Ōei Shō* and *Keikō Shō*).

The Pictures

As early as the Tan’yū album this poem is paired with the preceding to form what appears to be an exchange of love poems, even though both were in fact written as set topics, not based on actual events: Horikawa is shown hiding behind a fan, a gesture usually reserved in the album for exchanged poems, and Sanesada is shown in the midst of writing, perhaps a “morning after” (*kinuginu*) letter. The association between the two poets is made explicit in the *Eiga*, where they smile across the binding at each other. Likewise, as if continuing from the “morning after” verse of Poem 80, the *Zōsanshō* [81–1] shows a courtier on his way home from a lady’s house early in the morning, though there is no commentary that suggests such an interpretation.¹³ The same idea is presented in the *Sugata-e* [81–3], where a young woman carrying an iris (*ayame*)—

to indicate the early summer—replaces the page carrying a sword, a replacement that can be seen as a parody of the samurai in the *Zōsanshō*. The *Kangyoku* [81-4] preserves the flower while following the standard interpretation seen also in the Kyoto version [81-2]: the *Keikō Shō*, the *Yoritaka-bon*, and the *ShinShō* all speak of the poet getting up and looking out when he hears the cry. In the *Kangyoku*, however, there is no bird to be seen.



81-1



81-2



81-3



81-4

POEM 82

omohi-wabi
sate mo inochi ha
aru monowo
uki ni tahenu ha
namida narikeri¹⁴

Miserable,
nonetheless, somehow
I cling to life, but
it is my tears
that cannot endure the pain!

Master of the Law Dōin

Dōin Hōshi (1090–?1179), whose secular name was Fujiwara no Atsuyori, was a son of Kiyotaka. He took the tonsure in 1172. From the Eiryaku era (1160) on he was a participant in the major poetic events of his day and a member of the “Garden in the Poetic Woods” (Karin’en), a circle of some three dozen poets that gathered about Shun’e (Poem 85). None of Dōin’s poetic collections has survived, but he has forty-one poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

This poem is based on a somewhat contrived contrast between the poet’s “life” and his “tears”: while the poet’s life can endure the bitterness of unrequited love, his tears cannot and they fall in despair.

This poem appears among the love poems of the *Senzaishū* as “topic unknown.” Accordingly, we are unable to tell whether it was a love poem written for an actual person or simply composed on a set topic, as for a poetry contest. Nor do we know whether the poet wrote it before or after he had become a priest. Nonetheless, virtually all commentaries interpret this poem as a love poem bemoaning a lover’s cruelty.

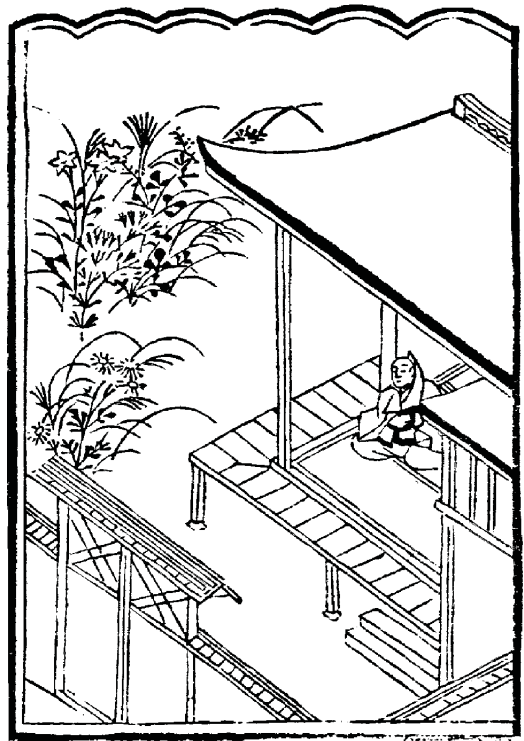
The Pictures

This poem provides the *Sugata-e* [82–1] with one of its most clearly homoerotic interpretations. A young samurai, coquettishly adjusting his collar, looks down on the scruffy monk in a composition derived from the Tan’yū album and in the manner of *mitate-e* parodies that typically paired a young prostitute with a religious figure such as Daruma (Bodhidharma, the Zen patriarch). As the upper register shows, however, the usual pictorialization shows the poet contemplating a natural scene, thereby deemphasizing, if not denying entirely, the romantic nature of the poem. Such pictorializations then had to deal with the

complete lack of natural imagery in the poem, characteristic of the Kyōgoku-Reizei poets.¹⁵ The *Sugata-e* seizes upon the image of a river, which suggests both tears (*namida*) and endurance (*tafu*).¹⁶ The *Zōsanshō* [82-2] shows the poet contemplating autumn flowers, which may be meant to suggest dew (and tears) and evanescence. The Kyoto artist shows a barer, more forlorn scene; the Porter artist provides a landscape, again suggesting a more philosophical interpretation of the poem.¹⁷ The two kimono designs provide a study in contrasts. The *Hyakushu Hinagata* [82-3] depicts a kind of crayfish: an *Ise ebi*. (The word *ebi* can be written with the characters “old man of the sea.”) Strung across the robe are nets that cannot hold back the waves and buckets of tears, clearly indicated by the characters *omohi-wabi* (“miserable”) superimposed on the design. The *Shikishi Moyō* [82-4], by contrast, seems to have emptied out any unhappiness and uses the poem only as a celebration of longevity, indicated by the phoenix and the chrysanthemums.



82-1



82-2

The Pictures

This poem invites comparison with the other “deer” poem in this collection, by Sarumaru (Poem 5), a connection explicitly made by the *Keikō Shō*. Whereas in the earlier poem artists tended to depict only the deer [5–1], for Shunzei’s poem most artists tend to show the poet looking at the deer, as in the *Zōsanshō* [83–1]. This depiction is curious, as the poem specifically indicates, with the word *naru*, that the speaker can hear but not see the deer. (*Naru* indicates conjecture based on auditory experience [MJ-*rashii, yō da*].) And in fact no deer is presented in the Tan’yū album. Nonetheless, the conception of the two poems in the *Sugata-e* [5–2; 83–2] is very similar, though the idea of seclusion is indicated in the latter by the motif of the brushwood fence on the man’s robe. It is unclear whether the presence of both a woman and a young girl is supposed to represent some quandary for the man. Originally the cry of the deer was understood to mean the belling of a stag for a mate, as indicated visually (and paradoxically) by a pair of deer, both stag and doe [5–1; 83–2].²⁰ The *Kangyoku* [83–3] shows the poet actually “entering” the mountains and presents only one deer, a stag. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [83–4] avoids the issue (if indeed it was one) by using the character for “deer” (*shika*), which can be either singular or plural.



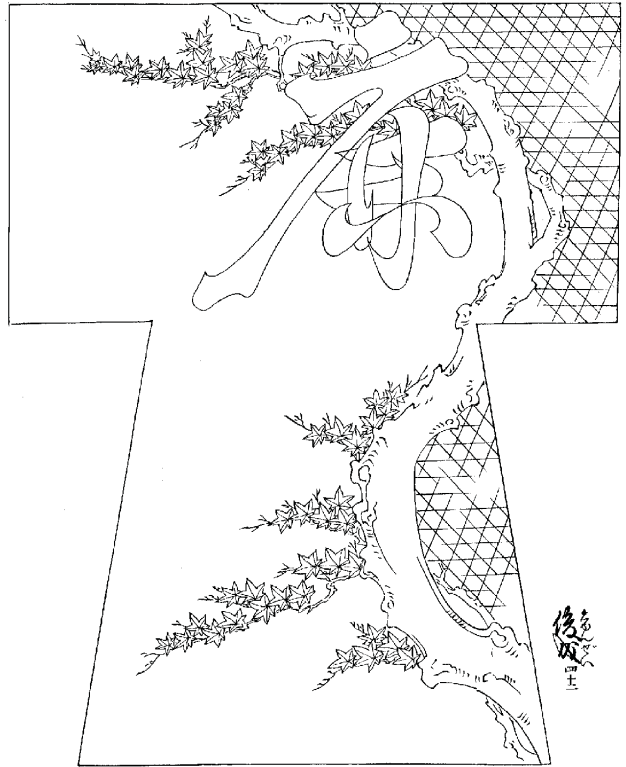
83-1



83-2



83-3



83-4

POEM 84

nagaraheba
mata kono goro ya
shinobaremu
ushi to mishi yo zo
ima ha kohishiki²¹

If I live on longer,
shall I again, I wonder,
yearn for these days?
The world that I once saw as
bitter, now, is dear to me!

Lord Fujiwara no Kiyosuke

Fujiwara no Kiyosuke Ason (1104–1177) was the second son of Akisuke (Poem 79), with whom he frequently disagreed but from whom he eventually inherited the leadership of the Rokujō school of poetry. He compiled the *ShokuShikashū* for Emperor Nijō, but the emperor died before it was completed, preventing it from being officially made an imperial anthology. Kiyosuke is also known for his works on poetics, especially the *Ōgi Shō* and the *Fukuro-zōshi*. He has a personal poetry collection and is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. He has ninety-four poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.



Kiyosuke Ason Shū the headnote tells us that the poem was sent to the poet's cousin, Kinnori, sometime between 1130 and 1136. Medieval commentaries refer only to the *ShinKokinshū*, but all agree that the meaning of the poem is “clear” and spend little time asking what the poet's specific complaint might have been. Indeed, those that do ask this question see the poem as a lament over the general decline of the world (as in *Kamijō-bon*, *Tenri-bon*, *Shikishi Waka*) or, among early modern commentaries, a reference to the political disturbances of the Hōgen era (as in *Iken*). It is in early modern commentaries that we first see the suggestion that the poem is based on a verse by the Chinese poet Po Chū-i (as in *Zatsudan* and *San'oku Shō*).

The Pictures

Again, as in the previous poem, artists were confronted with a total lack of visual imagery in this poem, and no pictorialization appears in the Tan'yū album. The *Zōsanshō* [84–1] starts by showing the poet gazing at a pine tree,

symbol of longevity. It is unclear whether the landscape is a beach, a river, or a field, though the first of these options seems most likely. The Kyoto artist [84-2] makes the scene clearly a river (perhaps from *nagarahe* suggesting *nagara*, “to keep on flowing”), changing the tree from a pine to something less distinct. The addition of some sort of cloth hanging over the railing is intriguing: it may be meant to suggest the *shinobu mojhi-zuri* cloth of Poem 14, making Kiyosuke’s verse a lament for an unhappy love affair in the past. In the *Sugata-e* [84-3] the water motif has moved to the hem of the young woman’s robe (see 82-3), as have the blossoms that originally decorated Kiyosuke’s robe in the *Zōsanshō’s kasen-e*. The poet’s robe is now decorated with autumn leaves. The figure of the poet is clearly modeled on the rather Chinese-looking portrait in the Tan’yū album, both with identical beards, but in the *Sugata-e* a vague nostalgia has perhaps been sharpened into a lovers’ spat. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [84-4] keeps the winter pine tree, to which is added another symbol of longevity, the cranes. The character for “to yearn” (*shinobu*) is placed over the pine in a manner similar to the reed script (*ashi-de*) found in *maki-e* lacquerware. The *Kangyoku* has the poet contemplating what appears to be bush clover (*hagi*).



84-1



84-2



84-3



84-4

POEM 85

yomosugara
 mono-omofu koro ha
 akeyaranu
 neya no hima sahe
 tsurenakarikeri²²

All through the night
 recently, as I dwell on things,
 even the gap between the doors
 of my bedroom, which does not lighten,
 seems cruel and heartless to me.

Master of the Law Shun'e

Shun'e Hōshi (b. 1113) was the son of Minamoto no Toshiyori (Poem 74). He lived near Shirakawa in a residence called "The Garden in the Poetic Woods" (Karin'en), where he gathered a wide range of poets and held poetry meetings and contests. Among his students was Kamo no Chōmei, who recorded many of Shun'e's words in a work called the *Mumyō Shō*.²³ Shun'e's own personal poetry collection is called the *Rin'yō Shū*. He is one of the Late Classical Six Poetic Immortals and has eighty-three poems in the *Shikashū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary



The headnote of this poem says that it was "composed as a love poem"—in other words, that it was composed on a set topic. Accordingly, the speaker of the poem should be understood to be a woman complaining about her cruel lover whom she awaits through the night in vain: she keeps waiting for the first signs of light to peek through the gaps of her door, but even that does not come to end her watch. Some commentaries, such as the *Yoritaka-bon* and the *Kamijō-bon*, offer markedly different interpretations, based on reading the *ha* of *koro ha* as contrastive, but they are in a very small minority. *Akeyaranu* appears in all early copies of this poem, but many early modern editions, from the *GoYōzei Tennō Hyakunin Isshu Shō* (1606) on, have *akeyarade*—a significant change that would yield a translation such as "it does not dawn, / and even the gaps . . ."

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [85–1], like all other artists, depicts the speaker as Shun'e himself, not a woman. The flowers in the foreground indicate that the season is autumn; the candle indicates that the night is still dark (*akeyarazu*); the roof is

similar to that found in the Tan'yū album. The Kyoto artist [85-2] keeps the same conception but manages to depict the gap between the sliding doors through which the first signs of morning light would come. Like the earlier artist, he places the stairs so as to suggest that the speaker is waiting for someone, but he replaces the autumn flowers with maple leaves and reeds. The *Sugata-e* [85-3], unlike the previous two examples, has the poem transcribed as *akeyarannu*, rather than *akeyarade*, and written in two horizontal bands. Certainly the young acolyte suggests a homoerotic interpretation.²⁴ In contrast to the autumnal setting of the first two pictorializations, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [85-4] identifies the poem with spring: plums coming out of a *bonseki* tray (*bon* could also mean "priest"), the suggestion of a moon on the left, and the phrase *yomosugara* written in the *katakana* syllabary associated chiefly with Buddhist scriptures, Chinese writing, and, by extension, men.



85-1



85-2

POEM 86

nageke tote
tsuki ya ha mono wo
omohasuru
kakochi-gaho naru
wa ga namida kana²⁵

“Lament!” does it say?
Is it the moon that makes me
dwell on things?—No, and yet,
look at the tears flowing down
my reproachful face!

Master of the Law Saigyō

Saigyō Hōshi (1118–1190), born Satō no Norikiyo, took vows at the age of twenty-three. He was a friend of Shunzei (Poem 83) and became famous for his poetic wanderings throughout Japan. He has several personal poetry anthologies; the best known is the *Sanka Shū*.²⁶ He has 266 poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

In the *Senzaishū* the topic of this poem is given as “love before the moon.” In Saigyō’s *Sanka Shū* its topic is given as “the moon” in a section of thirty-seven love poems. Almost all commentaries agree that the poem is in the persona of a resentful lover: “Is it the moon that is causing me to be lost in thought, as if

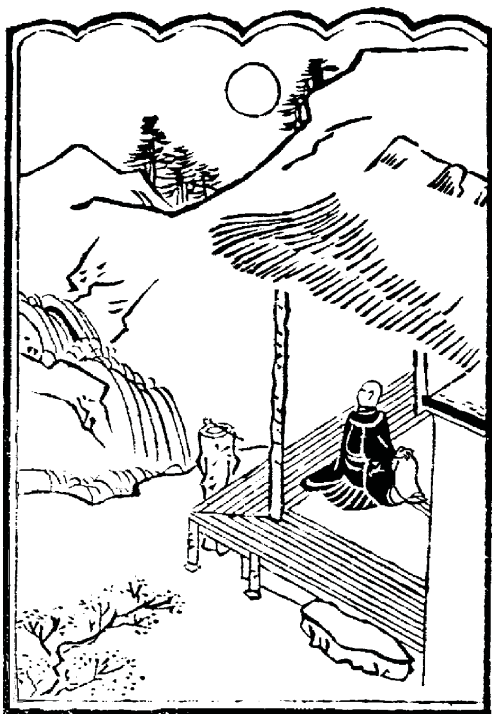


commanding me ‘Lament!’?—no, that cannot be; I am brooding about love. And yet, as I gaze at the moon, my tears flow down just as if it were the moon’s fault.”

In contrast to this standard interpretation, both the *Keikō Shō* and the *Kamijō-bon* interpret Saigyō’s poem as an allusive variation (*honka-dori*) of Poem 23 by Chisato. Such a reading changes the poem from one of love to a solitary and philosophical complaint. Finally, both the *Yūsai Shō* and the *Kaikan Shō* suggest that Saigyō’s inspiration for this poem derived from verses by the Chinese poet Po Chū-i.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [86-1] shows the poet gazing out from his hut at the moon as a river flows underneath. Such a pictorialization is more in line with the minority *Kamijō-bon* interpretation of the poem as a philosophical, rather than romantic, lament. The Kyoto artist [86-2] gives much the same interpretation, though he removes the river and introduces a pine, perhaps to suggest the romantic idea of “pining” (*matsu*). In keeping with the Kyoto artist’s general tendency, the hut is better built and the poet is dressed in higher ecclesiastical garb than in the *Zōsanshō* version. In contrast to these depictions of the poet at home, the *Sugata-e* [86-3] presents the more popular image of Saigyō as traveler, though clearly it is based on the Tan’yū album. It was in this role that he was particularly important to the famous Edo-period poet Bashō, whose name means “banana plant.” Thus it is perhaps not surprising that some artists, such as the *Kangyoku* and Hasegawa [86-4], show a banana plant beside Saigyō.



86-1



86-2



86-3



86-4

POEM 87

*murasame no
tsuyu mo mada hinu
maki no ha ni
kiri tachi-noboru
aki no yufu-gure*²⁷

While the raindrops of
the passing shower have not yet dried from
near the leaves of the evergreens,
the mist is already rising, on
this evening in autumn.

Master of the Law Jakuren

Jakuren Hōshi (d. 1202) was born Fujiwara no Sadanaga. A nephew of Shunzei (Poem 83), he was one of the poets of the Mikohidari house, along with Teika (Poem 97) and Ietaka (Poem 98). He was one of the editors of the *ShinKokinshū*, as well, but died before its completion. He has a personal poetry collection and has 117 poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

There is little basic disagreement about this descriptive poem, whose pictorial diction Ariyoshi suggests is based on monochrome ink-painting. Interpretations fall into two camps, however, over the issue of whether the poem's main interest is in the convergence of the vari-

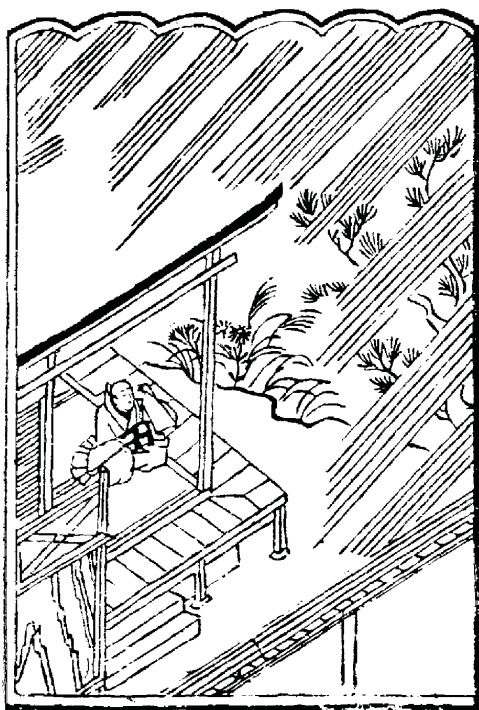


ous natural phenomena (as in *Ōei Shō*, *Keikō Shō*, Shimazu), as translated above, or in the transition from one to the other (as in *Yoritaka-bon*, *Kamijō-bon*, and others). Teika's appreciation of this poem seems to have come late in life: he did not vote for its inclusion in the *ShinKokinshū* or include it in many of his other anthologies. But by the time of the *Eiga no Ittei*, written by Teika's son Tame'ie (1198–1275), the phrase “the mist is already rising” (*kiri tachi-noboru*) was associated exclusively with Jakuren as a *nushi aru kotoba*, or “expression with an owner.”

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album has a lovely mountain scene of mist rising through a grove of *maki* (*Sciadopitys verticillata*). The *Zōsanshō* pictorialization [87–1] presents scruffier, more pinelike trees, with some autumn grasses, and puts the primary emphasis on the shower, while introducing the posture of the poet raising his hand to his brow to gaze out at the scene. The Kyoto artist [87–2] takes the same basic composition but refines it considerably: the trees are more substantial; he has

added cloudlike mist; and raindrops lie among the grasses (they are said to be “near,” not “on,” the leaves). The *Kangyoku* artist [87-4] is perhaps even more successful: the rain is confined to one-half of the picture (suggesting transition rather than convergence), the mist is clearly rising from the ground, and the raindrops are on the grasses. Finally, the *Sugata-e* [87-3], following up on an erotic interpretation of this poem already suggested in the Tan’yū album through its pairing with the next poem, by Kōkamon In no Bettō, presents a monk gazing at a youth, as if marveling at the convergence of so much loveliness.



87-1



87-2



87-4

87-3

POEM 88

naniha-e no
ashi no kari-ne no

hito-yo yuwe
miwotskushite ya

kohi-wataru-beki²⁸

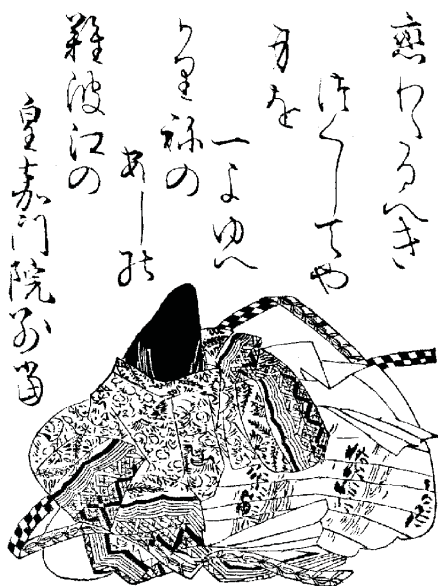
Due to that single night
of fitful sleep, short as a reed's joint cut at
the root,
from Naniwa Bay,
am I to exhaust myself, like the channel-
markers,
passing my days in longing?

The Steward of Kōkamon In

Kōkamon In no Bettō (dates unknown) was the daughter of Minamoto no Toshitaka and served Emperor Sutoku's empress Seishi, who was later known as Kōkamon In. Lady Bettō, as she is sometimes called, has only nine poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The *Senzaishū* states that this poem was composed for a poetry contest on the topic of “love meeting at travel lodgings” (*tabi no yado ni afu kohi*). As the length of the translation suggests, this poem is a tour de force of pivot words (*kake-kotoba*). *Kari-ne* means both “cut root” and “temporary sleep,” as on a journey. *Hito-yo* means both “one segment (of a reed)” and “one night.” *Mi wo tsukushite* means



“exhausting myself,” while a *miwotsukushi* is a channel-marker for boats. “From Naniwa Bay” is a preface (*jo*) for “reeds.” Both the *Komezawa-bon* and the *Yoritsune-bon* suggest that this poem is an allusive variation (*honka-dori*) on Poem 20 by Motoyoshi. While Ariyoshi states that it is not necessary to see the poem as such, Lady Bettō’s relative insignificance as a poet certainly suggests that Teika included the poem to echo Motoyoshi’s. A similarity to Lady Ise’s verse (Poem 19) can also be noted.

The Pictures

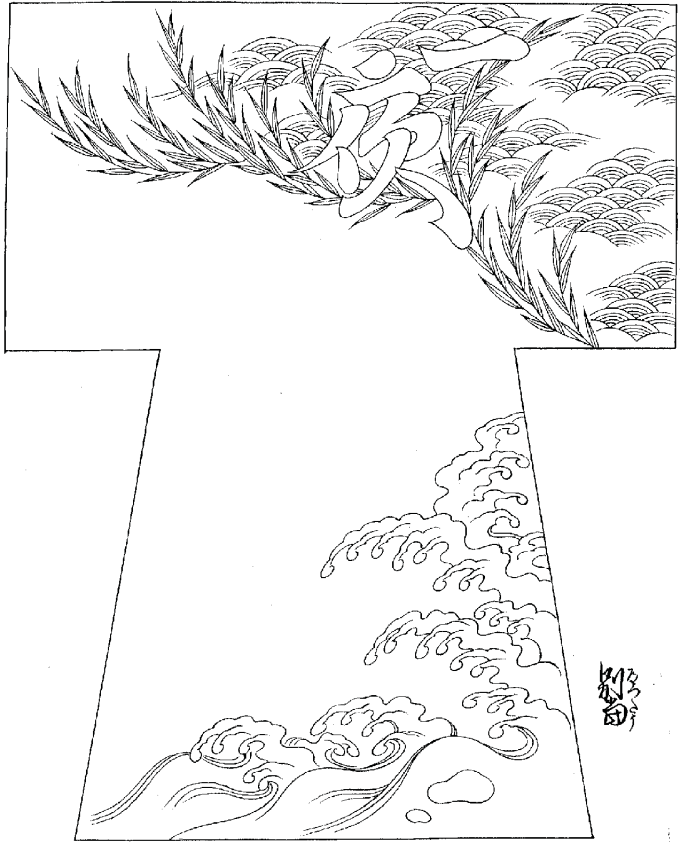
The *Zōsanshō* pictorialization [88-1] contrasts with the same artist's composition for Lady Ise's poem [19-1]: the house is more rustic (perhaps to suggest a travel lodge), the reeds are less conspicuous, and unlike the picture for Motoyoshi's verse [20-1] it includes a channel-marker. The *Sugata-e* [88-2] gives greater emphasis to the reeds and shows a woman looking very forlorn in a wave-patterned underrobe. The same wave pattern appears in the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [88-3] embossed with the characters "one night" (*hito-yo*). Finally, the Porter artist [88-4] dispenses with all suggestion of travel lodgings and places the poet in front of water and reeds outside, but in a palatial residence, perhaps influenced by the poet's title.



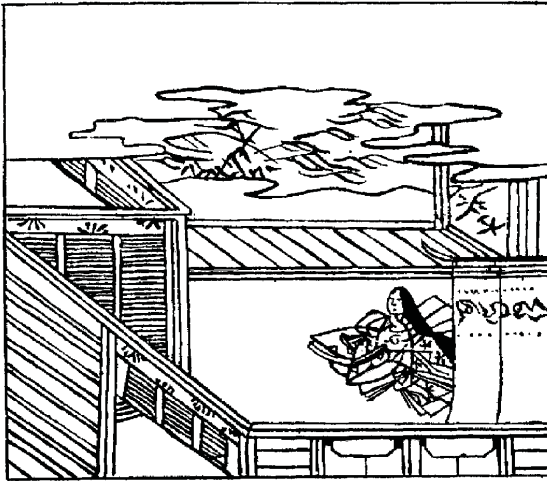
88-1



88-2



88-3



88-4

POEM 89

tama no wo yo
taenaba taene
nagaraheba
shinoburu koto no
yohari mo zo suru²⁹

O, jeweled thread of life!
if you are to break, then break now!
For, if I live on,
my ability to hide my love
will most surely weaken!

Princess Shokushi

Shokushi Naishinnō (also read “Shiki-shi”; d. 1201) was a daughter of Emperor GoShirakawa. She served as Kamo Priestess from 1159 to 1169. She studied poetry under Shunzei (Poem 83), and it was for her instruction that he produced his *Korai Fūtei Shō*. She has a personal poetry collection and has 155 poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.³⁰

Commentary

This poem is given in the *ShinKokinshū* as composed on the topic “hidden love” (*shinobu kohi*) from a hundred-poem sequence. There is general agreement on the poem’s meaning except for the interpretations found in the *Kamijō-bon* and the *Minazuki Shō*, both of which unwittingly provide exemplary lessons



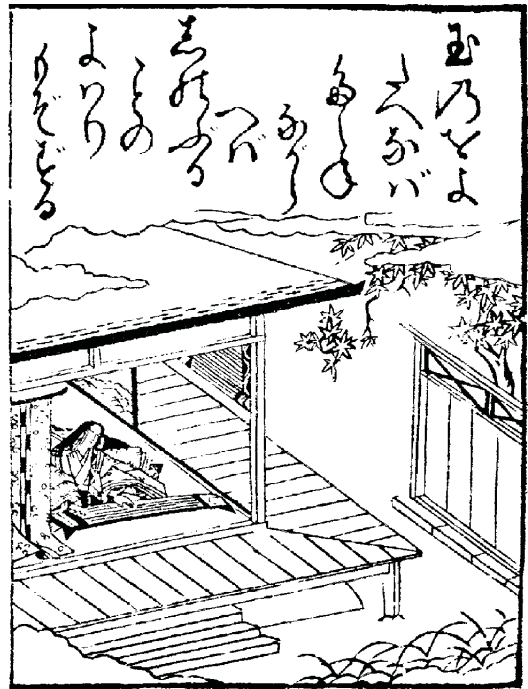
in classical Japanese grammar and orthography. The *Kamijō-bon* takes *taenaba* as *tahenaba*—that is, not “to cease” but “to endure, bear.” Accordingly, the upper verse is taken to mean that since the poet fears the discovery of her secret love, she finds her life unbearable. The *Minazuki Shō*, apparently due to a faulty command of classical grammar, takes *nagaraheba* as “since I live long” rather than “if I live long”—yielding a meaning of “since I have come to live this long my feelings will surely be revealed.”³¹

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album version (jacket illustration) is a powerful portrait far different from the cute depiction of the Date version. Although no background is rendered, the Tan'yū portrait vividly expresses the sense of the poet's anguished secret love. The *Zōsanshō* [89-1] takes the words *koto* and *wo* as pivot words: *koto* meaning "matter" as well as a musical instrument and *wo* meaning "string" as well as serving as an object marker. The Kyoto artist [89-2] follows the same format, but he removes the stream (which may have been used to represent either the verb *tae* or *nagarahe*) and introduces an autumnal maple (in lieu of the *Zōsanshō*'s cherry blossoms, which suggest a parallel to Komachi's poem [9-2]), which might reflect the *Minazuki Shō* interpretation—that is, because the poet has lived on, her love will become apparent, like the leaves taking on color. The *Sugata-e* [89-3] shows the priestess herself (indicated by her *hakama* pant-skirt and *kichō*, or "curtain of state") in the process of reading, perhaps her own poems of secret love, while a serving-girl looks on in commiseration. The Porter illustration [89-4] is distinctive in showing the poet with a male courtier; the motif of hidden love is suggested by the mist-covered grasses on the screen in the background.³²



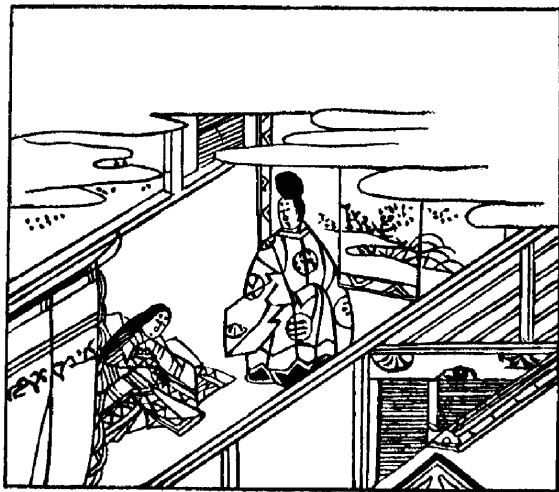
89-1



89-2



89-3



89-4

POEM 90

*misebaya na
wojima no ama no
sode dani mo
nure ni zo nureshi
iro ha kaharazu*³³

How I'd like to show him!
The sleeves of the fishermen
of Male Island,
when it comes to wet, are wet indeed,
but their color doesn't change!



Inpumon In no Tayū

Dates uncertain, she lived sometime between 1131 and 1200. She was a daughter of Fujiwara no Nobunari and served Emperor GoShirakawa's daughter, Princess Ryōshi, called Inpumon In. She was a member of the poetic circle that centered on "the Garden in the Poetic Forest" (Karin'en) of Shun'e (Poem 85) and participated in many of its poetry contests. She has a personal poetry collection and has sixty-three poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The headnote to this poem indicates that it was composed on the topic of "love" for a poetry contest, probably one held at the Karin'en. The poem is an

allusive variation (*honka-dori*) of a poem by Shigeyuki (Poem 48), contained in the *GoShūishū* (Love 4): 828:

*matsushima ya
wojima no iso ni
asari seshi
ama no sode koso
kaku ha nureshika*

Ah, Matsushima!
the sleeves of the fishermen
who fish on the beach
of Male Island must be soaked
like these tear-soaked sleeves of mine!

Inpumon In no Tayū's poem rebuts Shigeyuki's over a distance of two hundred years: "How I would like to show that man [Shigeyuki] my sleeves! For, while the sleeves of the fishermen of Male Island [and his] may be very wet indeed, they do not change color like mine do, dyed by my blood-red tears!"³⁴ Male Island, or Ojima, is one of the larger islands in Matsushima.

The Pictures

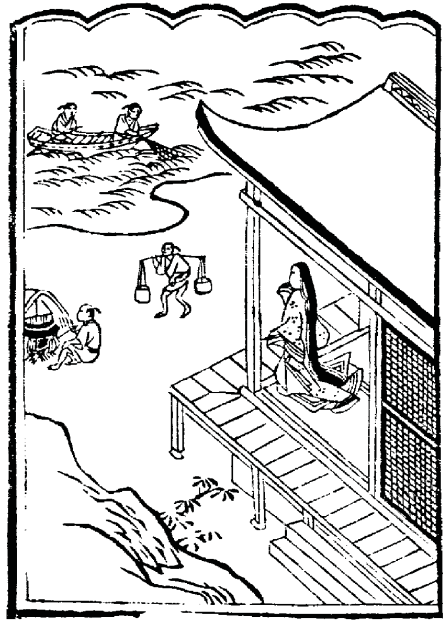
While the *Soan-bon* figure seems to be lifting her sleeve to show it to her imaginary interlocutor, the Tan'yū figure [90-1] is startlingly bold with its sleeve high over the lady's head. Sleeves were typically thrown over one's head when caught in a sudden rainstorm, and sometimes too at moments of intense grief, though the expression on the poet's face belies this interpretation. In fact, the posture resembles nothing so much as dancing, such as we see in Yamamoto Shunshō's 1650 illustration to "The Maiden" (*Otome*) chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, his *E-iri Genji Monogatari* [90-2], a chapter that contains several love poems built on the image of sleeves and their color. The pictures of the *Zōsan-shō* [90-3] and the Kyoto artist are virtually identical to each other in terms of composition. Matsushima has long been a famous scenic spot known for its seemingly countless little pine-clad islands. The *Zōsan-shō* does not depict these islands, however, but indicates the place-name by showing a "salt cauldron" (*shiho-gama*)—another toponym associated with Matsushima.³⁵ "Salt" also suggests the pain associated with unrequited love or the death of a dear one. The composition contains three elements: men fishing with a net in a boat; a man bringing saltwater to another who is watching a cauldron; and the poet gazing at the scene from her veranda. Later pictorializations employ these same motifs. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [90-4] uses the boat and nets, with the characters for "fishermen" (*ama*) embroidered on top. The fishing boat is also the main identifying element in the *Sugata-e*. The *Kangyoku* removes the figure of the poet, keeps the salt cauldron, and further suggests the place-name "Pine Island" (Matsushima) by the addition of pine trees.



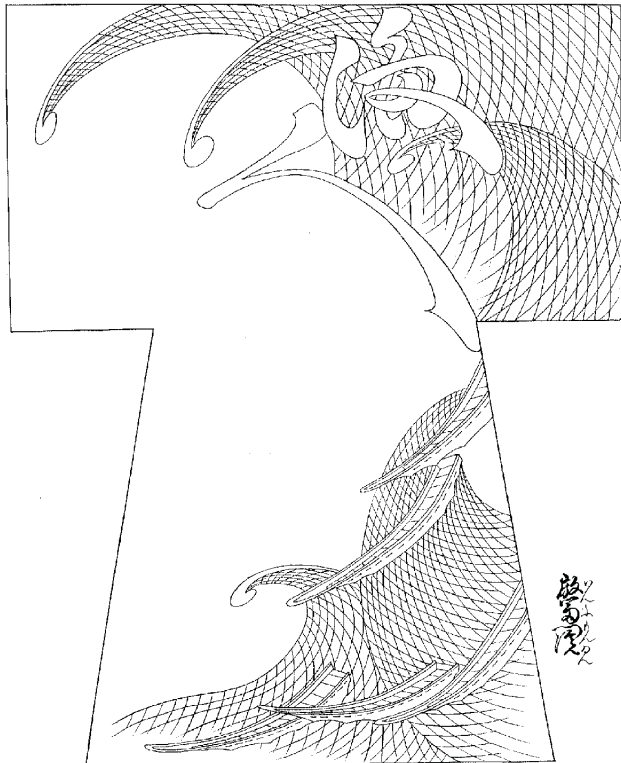
90-1



90-2



90-3



90-4

POEM 91

*kirigirisu
naku ya shimo-yo no
sa-mushiro ni
koromo kata-shiki
hitori ka mo nemu*³⁶

When the crickets
cry in the frosty night,
on the cold reed-mat,
spreading out my robe just for one,
must I sleep all alone?

The GoKyōgoku Regent and Former Chancellor

GoKyōgoku Sesshō Saki no Daijō Daijin was Fujiwara no Yoshitsune (1169–1206). A son of Kanezane, his grandfather was Jien (Poem 95). He was a member of the Mikohidari poetic family, an editor of the *ShinKokinshū*, and the author of its Japanese preface. Although he died at the early age of thirty-seven, a personal poetry collection, the *Akishino Gessei Shū*, is extant. He has 319 poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies, 78 of them in the *ShinKokinshū* alone—the most of any poet after Saigyō (Poem 86) and Jien. He is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.



Commentary

The debate around this poem has not been so much about the meaning of the poem itself as about the poem's sources. Ariyoshi states that Yoshitsune's verse is an allusive variation (*honka-dori*) of Poem 3 by Hitomaro and the following anonymous verse from the *Kokinshū* 14 (Love 4): 689:

*sa-mushiro ni
koromo kata-shiki
koyoi mo ya
ware wo matsuuramu
uji no hashi-hime*

On the cold reed-mat
spreading out her robe just for one,
this evening too
is she waiting for me—
the Goddess of Uji Bridge?

However, the *Minazuki Shō* suggests a poem by Saigyō (*SKKS* 5 [Autumn 2]: 472); the *Tenri-bon Kiki-gaki* and *Kaikan Shō* cite a poem from the *Tales of Ise* (Episode 63); and the *Uimanabi* and *Iken* identify a poem from the *Man'yō Shū* (9: 1692). Moreover, some of these commentaries suggest that the conception

comes from a verse in the Chinese *Classic of Poetry* (*Shih Ching*), the practical result of which is to change the location of the crying crickets from near the poet's bed to near the eaves of his house.

The Pictures

The Tan'yū album [91-1] is distinctive for portraying Yoshitsune at a writing desk in the midst of composing, presumably, the hundred-poem sequence from which the verse was taken. In the background is reed matting, though it appears to be serving as a fence. While the *Zōsanshō* print is hard to make out, the Kyoto version [91-2] makes it clear that the crickets are actually being depicted in the field—with rather frightening results. The bamboo plant would seem to be included to suggest the long night (an expression not actually part of Yoshitsune's poem but a major expression in the *honka* by Hitomaro). The inclusion of one cricket (on the far-right leaf) in the *Sugata-e* [91-3] is much more successful, and the pairing of figures transforms the poem from a lonely lament into a coy proposition. Another solution is found in the mid-nineteenth-century *Eiga Hyakunin Isshu* [91-4], with pictures by Utagawa Sadahide, where only the hut and grasses are depicted in the *uta-e* and the cricket is confined to the border decoration below the poet. Kimono design displays both extremes: the *Hyakushu Hinagata* book uses crickets and fans as the primary motif, while the *Shikishi Moyō* dispenses with the crickets altogether, showing instead a kind of fern with the words “frosty night” (*shimo-yo*).



91-1



91-2



91-3



91-4

POEM 92

wa ga sode ha
shihohi ni mienu
oki no ishi no
hito koso shirane
kawaku ma mo nashi³⁷

My sleeves are like
the rock in the offing that
can't be seen even at low tide,
unknown to anyone, but
there's not a moment they are dry.

Sanuki of Nijō In

Nijō In no Sanuki was a daughter of Minamoto no Yorimasa. She lived from around 1141 to about 1217 and served first Retired Emperor Nijō (whence her sobriquet) and later GoToba's empress, Ninshi. Along with Shokushi (Poem 89), Sanuki was one of the leading female poets of her day and is counted among the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals. A collection of her early poetry is extant, and she has seventy-three poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

The *Senzaishū* indicates that this poem was composed on the topic “love like a rock” (*ishi ni yosuru kohi*), and commentators have long been taken by Sanuki's preface (*jo*) “like a rock in the offing



that cannot be seen even at low tide.” The rock itself, however, has attracted a number of bizarre interpretations. The *Yūsai Shō* and others identify it with the “fertile burning rock” (*yokushōseki*) mentioned in a Chinese Taoist text, the *Chuang-tze*. The *Kamijō-bon* further identifies this rock as a lid on the furnace of hell, and the *Minō Shō* gives its dimensions as ten thousand leagues (*ri*) high and fifty thousand leagues wide. Kageki identifies the rock with one said to be in Wakasa province, where Sanuki's father was once posted.

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* pictorialization [92–1] is confusing: the poet is gazing out at a bay that includes birds, boats, and fishing nets (motifs that also appear in kimono designs), but it is unclear if the land with the nets is meant to represent the rock of the poem. The Kyoto artist [92–2] attempts to adjust things by replacing the nets with very definite (and rather Chinese) rocks and replacing the figure of the poet with her image from Moronobu's *kasen-e* [92–1]. The *Sugata-e*



92-2



92-4



92-3

POEM 93

yo no naka ha
tsune ni mogamo na
nagisa kogu
ama no wo-bune no

tsunade kanashi mo³⁸

If only this world
could always remain the same!
The sight of them towing
the small boats of the fishermen who row in
the tide
is touching indeed!

The Kamakura Minister of the Right

Kamakura no Udaijin was Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192–1219). He was the second son of Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, and became shogun himself on the death of his older brother. He was assassinated at the age of twenty-eight. He studied poetry under Teika and received Teika's *Superior Poems of Our Times* (*Kindai Shūka*) as a manual of instruction. He was particularly fond of poetry in the *Man'yō* style. His personal poetry collection is entitled the *Kinkai Waka Shū*, and he has ninety-three poems in the *ShinChokusenshū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

This poem was classified by Teika as a travel poem in the *ShinChokusenshū*, suggesting the topic “lodging on the seashore” (*kaihen ryohaku*), in contrast to its appearance in Sanetomo's collection under “boats” in a series that concentrates on the transience of life. Medieval commentators focused on the poem as an expression of ephemerality, believing the famous poem by Sami Manzei (early eighth century), *SIS* 20 (Laments): 1327, to be a *honka*:

yo no naka wo
nani ni tatohen
asaborake
kogi-yuku fune no
ato no shira-nami

This world—
to what shall we compare it?
the white waves of the wake
of a boat being rowed out
at dawn.



Like the preceding poem (Poem 91) by Yoshitsune, Sanetomo's contribution is an allusive variation (*honka-dori*) on two earlier poems. The first two lines allude to a poem found in the *Man'yō Shū* 1:22:

<i>kaha no he no</i>	Just as the grasses
<i>yutsu-iha-mura ni</i>	do not grow on the sacred rocks
<i>kusa musazu</i>	near the river, if only she
<i>tsune ni mogamo na</i>	could always remain the same!
<i>toko wotome nite</i>	staying a maiden forever. ³⁹

The second half of Sanetomo's poem alludes to a "Northern Song" (*Michinoku no uta*) preserved as *Kokinshū* 20 (Court Poems): 1088:

<i>michinoku ha</i>	In Michinoku
<i>idzuku ha aredo</i>	the spots are various but
<i>shihogama no</i>	how touching the sight
<i>ura kogu fune no</i>	of them towing the boats that
<i>tsunade kanashi mo</i>	are rowed on Shiogama's bay.

Despite the allusions, many commentators insist that Sanetomo combined these earlier poems with an actual vista he had seen on the beach near Kamakura. For the later reader, of course, poignance is added by knowing that Sanetomo was assassinated in Kamakura at an early age.

The Pictures

The poet's mention of both "rowing" and "towing" has proved insurmountable for many artists. The scene described is one of rowboats being towed by ropes attached to their prows; nonetheless, the image of the boat being rowed is apparently overpowering, probably due to the Sami Mansei subtext. This is the case in the *Zōsanshō* picture [93-1]. The Kyoto artist [93-2] is apparently attempting to indicate the towing, but still no rope is visible. The *Sugata-e* [93-3] reduces the size of the boat so that the problem literally disappears. The *Sugata-e* is actually fairly close to the Tan'yū album version [93-4] and indeed appears to be a parody of it, offering in place of the formal robes and posture of Tan'yū's Sanetomo the poet at his leisure, with hat off, in informal robes, leaning on an armrest and receiving a massage from an attractive young woman—a situation far more likely to arouse thoughts of "if only this world could always remain the same!" Yūsai, however, makes no mention of *Man'yō Shū* 1:22 (the first reference appears to be in the *San'oku Shō*), so it is unlikely that the young woman represents any reference to the maiden of that poem.



93-1



93-2



93-3



93-4

POEM 94

*mi-yoshino no
yama no aki-kaze
sa-yo fukete
furu-sato samuku
koromo utsu nari*⁴⁰

Fair Yoshino,
the autumn wind in its mountains
deepens the night and
in the former capital, cold
I hear the fulling of cloth.

Consultant Masatsune

Sangi Fujiwara no Masatsune (1170–1221) founded the Asukai house of poets and calligraphers. He studied poetry with Shunzei (Poem 83) and was one of the editors of the *ShinKokinshū*. His personal poetry collection is called the *Asukai Shū*, and he has 134 poems in the *ShinKokinshū* and later imperial anthologies. He is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals.

Commentary

The *ShinKokinshū* indicates that this poem was composed “on the sentiment of ‘fulling cloth’” (*tōi no kokoro*), the practice of pounding fabric to bring out a glossy sheen. From the *Asukai Shū* we know that the poem comes from a hundred-poem sequence composed in 1202.



Masatsune’s poem is based on an earlier verse by Korenori (Poem 31), *Kokinshū* (Winter): 325:

*mi-yoshino no
yama no shira-yuki
tsumorurashi
furu-sato samuku
nari-masaru nari*

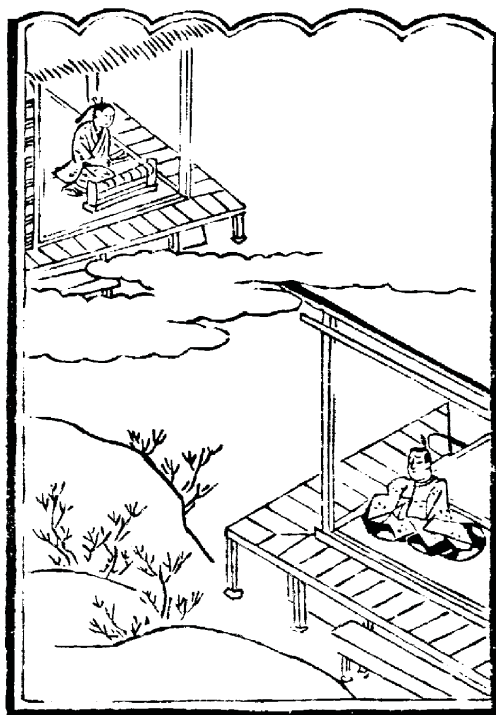
Fair Yoshino,
the white snow in its mountains
seems to be collecting,
for the former capital seems
to have become ever colder.

Here again, as Ariyoshi notes, the poet’s perception of the sound of the fulling blocks is not an actual sensation but occurs “in the world of the foundation poem.” There has been no disagreement about the interpretation of this poem and, unlike the case of Poem 93, the foundation poem was identified in texts as early as the *Oei Shō*. In early modern commentaries, the *San’oku Shō* is the first to point out that the phrase *aki-kaze sa-yo fukete* can be understood to mean “autumn deepens, the wind blows, and the night deepens.” The *Uimanabi*

points out that whereas in Korenori's poem it is the former capital that is cold, in Masatsune's poem it is the sound of the fulling blocks.⁴¹

The Pictures

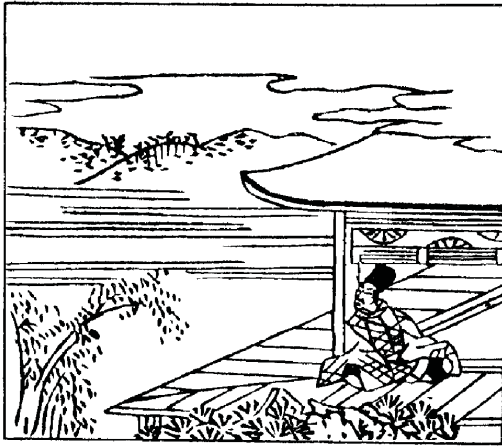
The *Zōsanshō* picture [94-1] shows both the poet and someone fulling cloth: the clouds between them suggest that the poet cannot see but only hear the fulling (as indicated by the poem's *utsu nari*). The Kyoto artist maintains this composition. The *Sugata-e* [94-2] shows only autumn hills with the foreground occupied by a man, a woman, and a small serving-boy—the woman's fist suggests that she is massaging the man's lower back by pounding it. The conspicuous earhole on the man seems to suggest he is hearing something. This basic conception of the poet in a listening posture becomes standard, as seen in the Porter illustration [94-3] and the *Kangyoku*. In the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [94-4], no fulling blocks appear either: only autumn maples, pampas, and the character for "robe" (*koromo*).



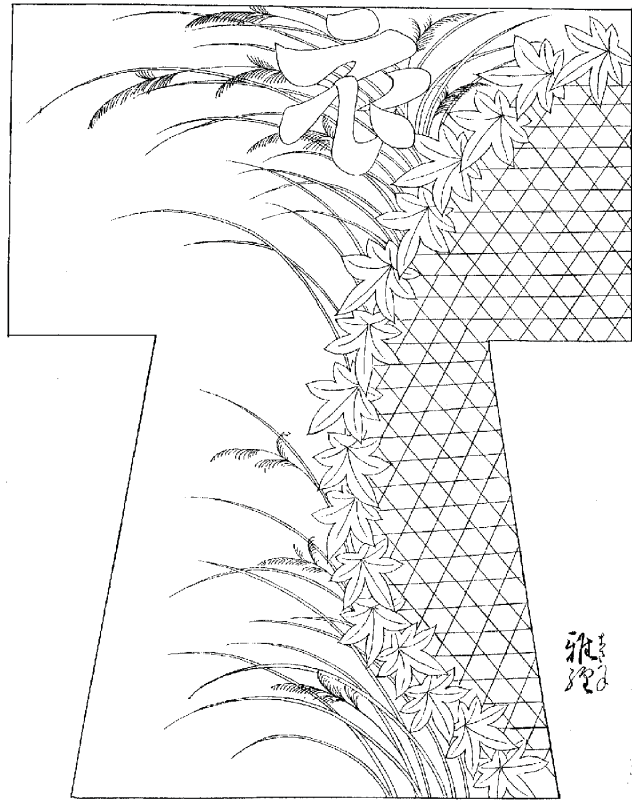
94-1



94-2



94-3



94-4

POEM 95

ohoke naku
uki yo no tami ni
ohofu kana
wa ga tatsu soma ni
sumi-zome no sode⁴²

Inadequate, but
they must shelter the folk
of this wretched world—
my ink-black sleeves, having begun to live
“in this timber-forest that I enter.”

Former Major Archbishop Jien

Saki no DaiSōjō Jien (1155–1225) was a son of Tadamichi (Poem 76). He participated in many of the poetic events sponsored by GoToba and was a member of the poetic circle of his nephew Yoshitsune (Poem 91) and Teika. He has a personal poetry anthology, the *Shūgyoku Shū* (*Collection of Gathered Jewels*), and is the best-represented poet in the *ShinKokinshū* after Saigyō (Poem 86). He is perhaps best known today for his historiographic work, the *Gukan Shō* (*The Future and the Past*; 1219–1220). He is one of the Late Classical Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals and has 267 poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

This poem quotes directly from a poem by Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, 767–822), who established the esoteric Buddhist Tendai sect in Japan and founded its headquarters on Mount Hiei above Kyoto. The poem is found in the *ShinKokinshū* 20 (Buddhist Verses), 1921:

When he had built the central hall on Mount Hiei

anokutara
samiyaku sabojhi
hotoke-tachi
wa ga tatsu soma ni
miyauga arase-tamahe

Most omniscient
and supremely enlightened
Buddha Hosts!
On this timber-forest that I enter,
bestow your divine protection!

Due to this allusion, many commentaries, such as the *Keikō Shō* (1530), interpreted Jien’s poem as a kind of vow he took when he became the chief abbot of Mount Hiei in 1192. But since this poem is included in the *Senzaishū* (under “topic unknown”), which was completed around 1188, this interpretation is untenable. Other commentaries, such as the *Ōei Shō* and the *Kamijō-bon*, find

precedent for the idea of “sheltering the folk of this wretched world” in a story about Emperor Daigo, who was said to have taken off his robe one winter night to suffer the same cold as his subjects.

The Pictures

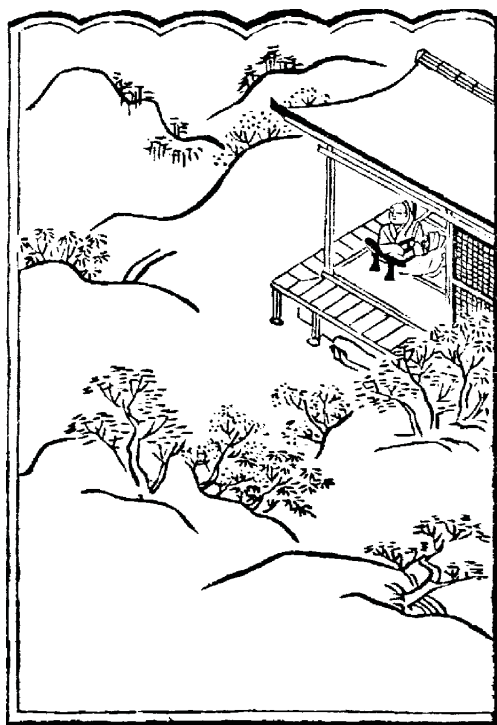
The *Zōsanshō* [95–3] presents a tranquil scene showing Jien in ecclesiastical garb looking out over the hills from a temple, which in fact conforms to Ariyoshi’s interpretation of this poem as “not a resolution, but placid and composed.” The Kyoto artist [95–4] attempts to give a sense of Hiei’s mountain fastness by adding towering peaks all over, even in the foreground. Note also the trees he has introduced in the extreme right foreground: these suggest the cryptomeria used for timber mentioned in the poem. However, the artist also has Jien with his sleeve to his face, and tearlike shapes in the foliage. This would suggest a “tears on sleeves” interpretation analogous to Emperor Tenji’s Poem 1 and following the *Ōei Shō* identification with Emperor Daigo. The *Kangyoku* artist [95–2] and the Porter artist use a different conception, showing the poet walking into a woods, and thus pictorializing the phrase *wa ga tatsu soma*, “the timber-forest which I enter.” The *Sugata-e* [95–1] shows a very young Jien looking meaningfully at a young samurai, which encourages the reader to interpret *uki yo* as the “floating world” of Edo and to find an erotic nuance to the phrase “sleeves . . . that shelter.” Finally, the *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design has inscribed the phrase *uki yo* but has superimposed it over a bridge with irises—a clear allusion to the Yatsunashi episode and its poem in the *Tales of Ise*. The connection between Jien’s poem and that episode is far from clear, however, except that both poems are about robes.



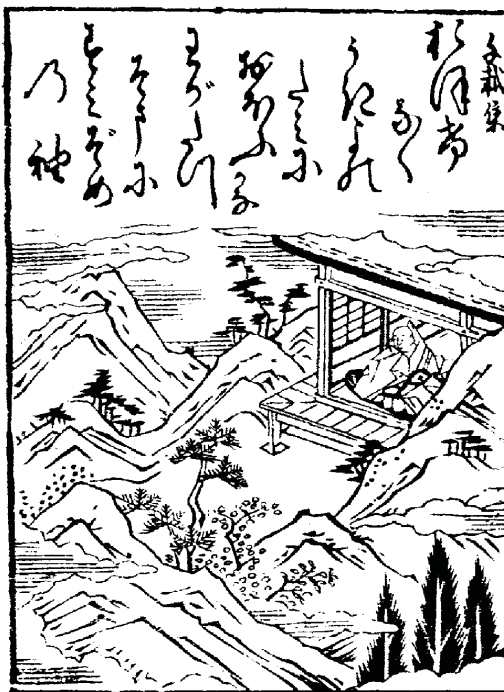
95-1



95-2



95-3



95-4

POEM 96

hana sasofu
arashi no niha no
yuki narade
furi-yuku mono ha
wa ga mi narikeri⁴³

It entices the flowers—
the storm—but though the garden's white,
it is not snow,
and what it is that's scattering
are, in fact, the years of my life!



The Former Chancellor and Lay Novice
Nyūdō Saki no Daijō Daijin, born Fujiwara no Kintsune (1171–1244), was founder of the Sai'onji branch of the Fujiwara clan. He was married to a niece of Minamoto no Yoritomo and eventually became the grandfather of the shogun Yoritune. Teika was married to his older sister and received his protection and patronage. Kintsune was active in court poetry circles and is the fourth best represented poet in the *ShinChokusenshū*, which Teika edited. He has 114 poems in the *ShinKokinshū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

Medieval commentaries concerned themselves with establishing what they understood to be the implied contrast between the man and the falling flowers. For instance, the *Keikō Shō* states that while cherry blossoms are appreciated even as they scatter in decline, such is not the case for men. The *Yoritaka-bon* sees the contrast as one between the flowers, which will return next year, and the man, who will not. Later commentaries, such as the *Kaikan Shō*, reject this line of interpretation entirely and argue for a simpler analogy centered on the one pun in the poem (*furi*, meaning both “to fall” and “to grow old”): the blossoms are scattering like falling (*furi*) snow, but they are not snow, therefore they are not falling (*furi*); the only thing that is growing old (*furi*) is the poet himself. The *Kamijō-bon* is unique in seeing this poem as an allusive variation (*honka-dori*) of one by Narihira (*Tales of Ise*, Episode 17). In terms of placement in the collection, Kintsune's poem follows the somber tone set by the previous poem and seems to be a reprise of the sentiments found much earlier in Komachi's verse (Poem 9), combined with the storm topos and rhetoric of Yasuhide's (Poem 22).

The Pictures

The *Zōsanshō* [96-1] shows the poet in secular dress watching cherry blossoms scatter; the Kyoto artist repeats this format but emphasizes the blossoms by making them bigger and more numerous. The *Sugata-e* [96-2] shows a courtier gazing down upon a young samurai and is most likely comparing the few remaining days of the young man's youth with the transience of the blossoms (see Poem 35). The transcription of the poem is done in two diagonals, suggesting "falling." The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [96-4] shows cherry blossoms; the character for "snow" (*yuki*) is superimposed on the upper part of the garment and that for "garden" (*niwa*) among the fallen blossoms below. Finally, the *Kangyoku* [96-3] is distinctive for depicting the poet as a monk—in fact, the sentiment of the poem suggests that it was written after Kintsune took vows, at the age of sixty-one, though only the Tan'yū album depicts Kintsune as an old man. The inclusion of bending grasses in the *Kangyoku* version also suggests the word "storm" (*arashi*).



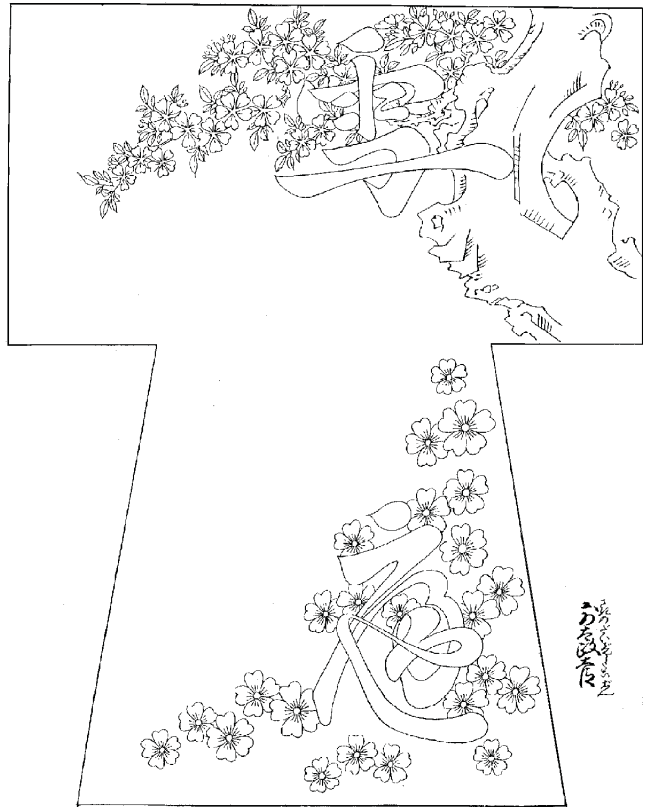
96-1



96-2



96-3



96-4

POEM 97

*konu hito wo
matsuho no ura no
yufu-nagi ni
yaku ya mo-shiho no
mi mo kogaretsutsu*⁴⁴

For the man who doesn't come
I wait at the Bay of Matsuo—
in the evening calm
where they boil seaweed for salt,
I, too, burn with longing!

Supernumerary Middle Counselor Teika

GonChūnagon Fujiwara no Teika (also read “Sada’ie”; 1162–1241) was the son of Shunzei (Poem 83). He was one of the editors of the *ShinKokinshū* and later edited the *ShinChokusenshū* by himself. He collated and edited many of the classics of Japanese literature, such as *The Tale of Genji*. His descendants exercised a near monopoly on Japanese court-style poetry for centuries after his death. His personal poetry collection is entitled the *Shūi Gusō* and he has 465 poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies. He is the compiler of the *One Hundred Poets*.



ace in 1216.⁴⁵ The topic is “love” and the speaker of the poem is a woman. The poem is an allusive variation (*honka-dori*) of lines from a “long poem” (*chōka*) found in the *Man'yō Shū* 6: 935:

*ahajhi-shima
matsuho no ura ni
asa-nagi ni
tama-mo karitsutsu
yufu-nagi ni
mo-shiho yakitsutsu
ama-wotome
ari to kikedo
mi ni yukamu . . .
yoshi no nakereba*

Awaji Island
on the Bay of Matsuo
in the morning calm
they reap jewelled seaweed,
in the evening calm
they boil seaweed for salt,
the fisher-maidens—
and though I hear they are there,
since I have no way
to go to see them . . .⁴⁶

In the manner of allusive variation, Teika has changed the speaker of the poem from a man to a woman and from someone who goes into someone who waits for one who does not come. Some commentaries, such as the *Kamijō-bon*, suggest that “months and years” have passed since the man visited, but this is an exaggeration; nonetheless, the verbal suffix *-tsutsu* indicates that the speaker of the poem has continued to wait night after night. Other commentaries, such as the *Komezawa-bon* (1452), noting that Matsuo Bay is on Awaji Island, suggest that the man must come from the other side of the bay, that is, from Honshū. Finally, some commentators attempt to motivate the phrase “in the evening calm,” suggesting that the fires burn more strongly in the still night, as does the speaker’s love. Interestingly, the *ho* of *matsuho* means “sail,” yet no commentary suggests a relationship between it and the becalmed bay. In terms of placement in the collection, Teika’s poem grammatically echoes Poem 1 and Poem 4 while also alluding to the poetry of the *Man’yō* era.

The Pictures

Almost all artists depict the speaker of the poem as a man, Teika, rather than as a woman. The *Zōsanshō* [97–2] shows the poet, waiting beside a pine tree (*matsu* means both “pine tree” and “to wait” and suggests the name “Matsuo”), looking out to the other side of the bay, where men are carrying buckets of seaweed and boiling them in cauldrons. (Note that the smoke is rising straight up, suggesting calm weather.) The Kyoto artist’s version is virtually identical. The *Sugata-e* [97–3] shows a man looking past his young swordbearer, as if expecting someone. The *Kangyoku* [97–1] dispenses with the sea-folk but clearly indicates that the person the poet is waiting for must come from across the water; it also includes a setting moon, indicating that the night is late. This composition bears a resemblance to Tan’yū’s pictorialization of Teika’s famous “Miwataseba” poem, though that depiction of Teika is very different from the one in the Tan’yū albums.⁴⁷ Though hard to make out, the salt-burners and the smoke from their fire are also depicted in the *Kangyoku* print. The Porter artist [97–4] avoids the problem of the speaker’s gender by eliminating him/her and showing only the sea-folk carrying pails and the hut from which smoke is emerging.



97-1



97-2



97-3



97-4

POEM 98

kaze soyogu
nara no wo-gaha no
yufu-gure ha
misogi zo natsu no
shirushi narikeru⁴⁸

In the evening
when the wind rustles the oaks
at Nara-no-Ogawa,
it is the ablutions that are
the only sign it's still summer!



misogi suru
nara no wo-gaha no
kaha-kaze ni
inori zo wataru

shita ni taeji to

Ietaka of the Junior Second Rank

JuNi'i Fujiwara no Ietaka (also read "Karyū"; 1158–1237) had the sobriquet "Mibu Nihon." He became son-in-law to Jakuren (Poem 87) and studied poetry with Shunzei (Poem 83). He was a member of GoToba's poetic circle and one of the editors of the *ShinKokinshū*. He has a personal poetry collection known both as the *Mini Shū* (after his sobriquet) and the *Gyokugin Shū* (*Collection of Jewelled Songs*). He has 282 poems in the *Senzaishū* and later imperial anthologies.

Commentary

There is no real disagreement among commentators over this poem. As early as the *Keikō Shō*, Ietaka's verse was identified as an allusive variation of the following poem, found first in the *Kokin Roku-jō*.⁴⁹

In the river's wind
at Nara-no-Ogawa where
they purify themselves,
"May my love, unknown to others, never
cease!"—
that is what *I* keep praying for!

Misogi was a form of ablution, and every summer people performed the *minazuki-barae*, or "Sixth Month Purification," to rid themselves of the evils and pollutions they had accumulated during the first half of the year. Illicit love affairs might be included among these evils—as seen in a well-known episode from *The Tales of Ise*, where a young man attempts to purify himself of his love for one of the emperor's consorts.⁵⁰ The *Kokin Roku-jō* poem just quoted reverses this idea: the speaker is secretly praying that his or her secret affair *will* continue. Although Ietaka's verse uses similar wording, the conception is quite different and has no apparent erotic meaning at all.

It is not until the early modern period that commentaries such as the *Kaikan Shō* identify the following poem by Minamoto no Yoritsuna (d. 1097) as a foundation poem:

<p><i>natsu-yama no</i> <i>nara no ha soyogu</i> <i>yufu-gure ha</i> <i>kotoshi mo aki no</i> <i>kokochi koso sure</i>⁵¹</p>	<p>In the evening when the leaves of the oaks rustle in the summer hills, this year too, one has indeed the sensation of autumn.</p>
---	--

As can be seen, this poem is much closer in conception to Ietaka's. Yet Ietaka's is distinctive in treating the phrase *nara no wo-gaha* as a pivot word indicating both a proper name (Nara-no-Ogawa) and "oaks" (*nara*). In terms of the poem's placement in the collection, it is clearly meant to echo Poem 2 by Empress Jitō, as both represent the poets' surprise at the signs of seasonal change. In other words, in Poem 2 Jitō realizes from the robes on Mount Kagu that spring has already passed and summer has come; for Ietaka, the *misogi* shows that it is still summer despite the autumn chill in the wind.

The Pictures

The poem's headnote in the *ShinChokusenshū* indicates that this poem was written for a screen depicting activities of the twelve months (*tsukinami byōbu*) taken by Fujiwara no Michi'ie's daughter, Junshi, when she entered court as a consort to Emperor GoHorikawa in 1229. Despite this fact, unlike Poem 17, also written for a screen, only the Tan'yū album [98-2] pictorializes this poem with the poet actually in front of a screen. Instead the *Zōsanshō* [98-1] shows a courtier on a riverbank performing a purification with a sacred wand in his hand while another courtier with a swordbearer walks past him. It is this latter courtier, observing the ablutions, who is presumably the speaker of the poem. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [98-4] shows the word "Ogawa" dividing fresh summer irises from banana-plant leaves. The Porter artist [98-3] eliminates the observing figure and, like the Tan'yū album, shows ritual papers set in the river. Here we can see how the Porter artist has included all of the *Zōsanshō* figures but has ignored or eliminated their literary function in relation to the poem—that is, the rear figure is now participating in the ritual, rather than simply observing it, and no longer represents the speaker of the poem.



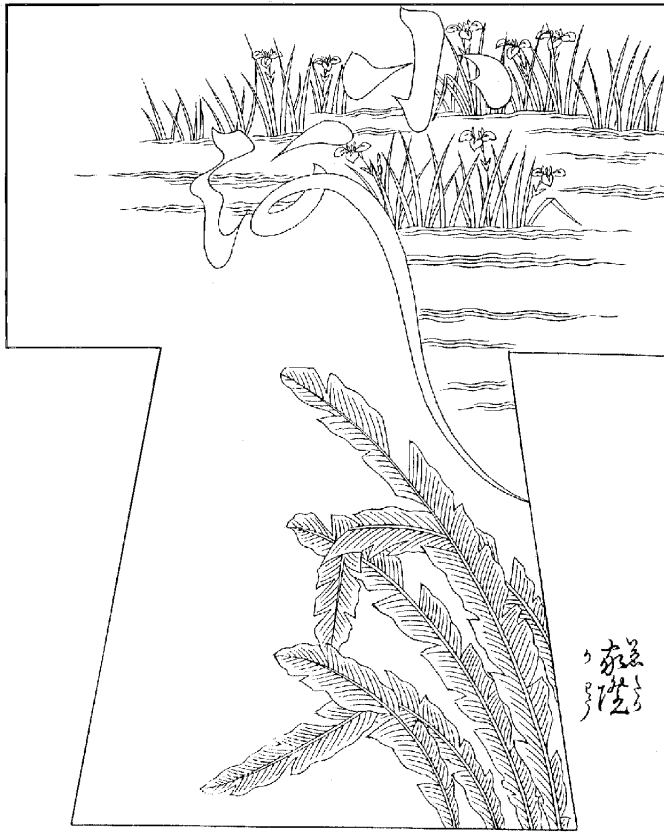
98-1



98-2



98-3



98-4

POEM 99

hito mo woshi
 hito mo urameshi
 ajhikinaku
 yo wo omofu yuwe ni
 mono-omofu mi ha⁵²

People seem dear and
 people also seem hateful
 when vainly
 I brood about the world—
 this self who broods about things.

Retired Emperor GoToba

GoToba In (1180–1239; r. 1183–1198), the fourth son of Emperor Takakura, was counted as the eighty-second sovereign. He was placed on the throne at the age of four and abdicated at nineteen. A great patron of the arts, he was a dedicated poet who sponsored the compilation of the *ShinKokinshū* and worked closely with its editors. He and Teika eventually fell out over poetic matters. Politically he rebelled against the Kamakura military government in what is known as the Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221. GoToba's forces were defeated, and he was exiled to the island of Oki, where he lived another eighteen years. He has a personal poetry collection and one work on poetics. GoToba has 254 poems in the *ShinKokinshū* and later imperial anthologies.



Commentary

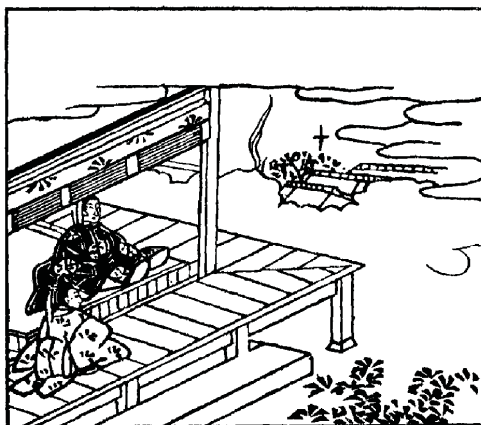
This poem is collected in the *ShokuGosenshū*, the thirteenth imperial anthology, edited by Nijō Tameyo (1250–1338) and completed in 1303, over one hundred years after Teika's death. Moreover, no poems by GoToba or Juntoku (Poem 100) are included in the *Hyakunin Shūka*. Accordingly, it had long been thought that the last two poems of the *Hyakunin Isshu* were added after Teika's death by someone such as his son, Tame'ie. However, a decorated paper poetry-cartouche (*shikishi*) of this poem, written in Teika's own hand, has been discovered, suggesting that he did indeed choose this poem. Shimazu suggests that the poem comes from those Teika had originally selected for inclusion in the *ShinChokusenshū* and then omitted for political reasons and that the private nature of the *One Hundred Poets* allowed their inclusion there. The poem is also collected in GoToba's own personal poetry anthology, where we learn that it was written as part of a group hundred-poem sequence in 1212 with four other

poets, including Teika. GoToba contributed five poems on spring, ten on autumn, and five of “personal grievance” (*jukkai*), of which this was one.

Interpretations of this poem have divided into two camps: those, such as the *Ōei Shō*, that see the poet’s complaint as directed against the tyranny of the Kamakura overlord; and those, such as the *Keikō Shō*, that see the poet dividing the world between the common folk, whom he regards as “dear,” and subjects who opposed his rebellion, whom he detests. Given the date of the poem’s composition, the latter interpretation is obviously anachronistic. Grammatically, “people” (*hito*) can refer to different groups or to the same people at different times; the translation offered above follows the latter interpretation.

The Pictures

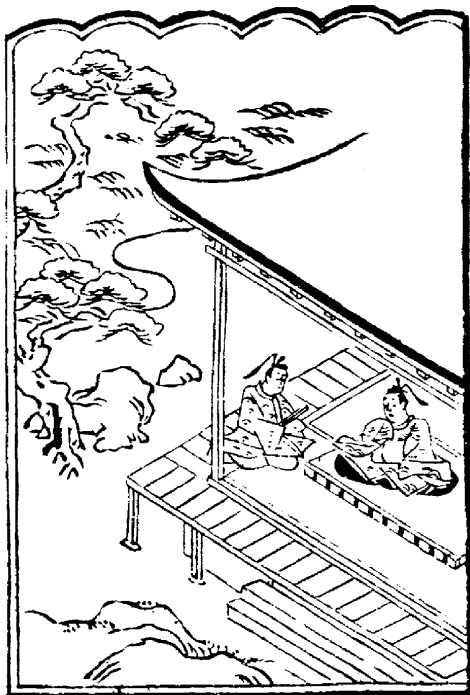
The *Zōsanshō* [99–3] shows GoToba seated on ceremonial tatami, as befits his rank, talking with another courtier. The water in the background may be meant to suggest that he is in his place of exile, Oki Island; in any event, it is eliminated by the Kyoto artist, whose composition is otherwise identical. In the *Sugata-e* [99–2] the speaker could be interpreted as looking very preoccupied with thoughts characterized by the scene of the palace in the cloud inset—preoccupied to the point of ignoring even the young page who waits by his shoes—or the scene might be read as showing a capricious lord who runs hot and cold in his affections. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [99–4] introduces the motif of Japanese chess pieces, which of course suggest both political machination and civil war. (The “king” pieces in Japanese chess are “generals” and not “kings” per se.) But this motif is especially appropriate to GoToba’s verse since the Japanese game allows captured pieces to be returned to the board and used against their original side—thus the same piece can work both “for” and “against” a player. The waves may again suggest the emperor’s exile. Finally, although the Porter artist [99–1] uses essentially the same elements in his composition as the *Zōsanshō*, the effect is very different: here it is a dark and brooding GoToba who surveys the residences below.



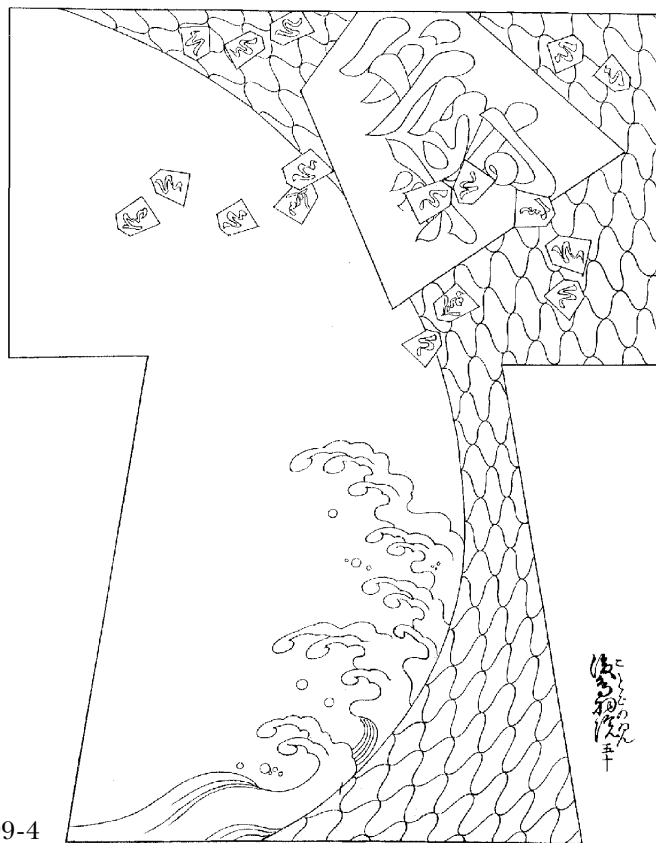
99-1



99-2



99-3



99-4

二
法
師
の
手
筆

POEM 100

momoshiki ya
 furuki noki-ba no
 shinobu ni mo
 naho amari aru
 mukashi narikeri⁵³

The hundredfold palace!
 even in the *shinobu* grass
 on its old eaves,
 I find a past for which
 I long yet ever more.

Retired Emperor Juntoku

Juntoku In (1197–1242; r. 1210–1221) was the third son of GoToba (Poem 99) and was numbered as the eighty-fourth sovereign of Japan. He joined his father's cause during the Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221 against the military power in Kamakura. He studied poetry under Teika and was a frequent participant in the poetry events sponsored by GoToba. After the defeat of the rebellion, he was exiled to Sado Island, where he lived for twenty years. He has a personal poetry collection and a poetic treatise, the *Yakumo MiShō*. He has 159 poems in the *ShokuGosenshū* and later imperial anthologies.



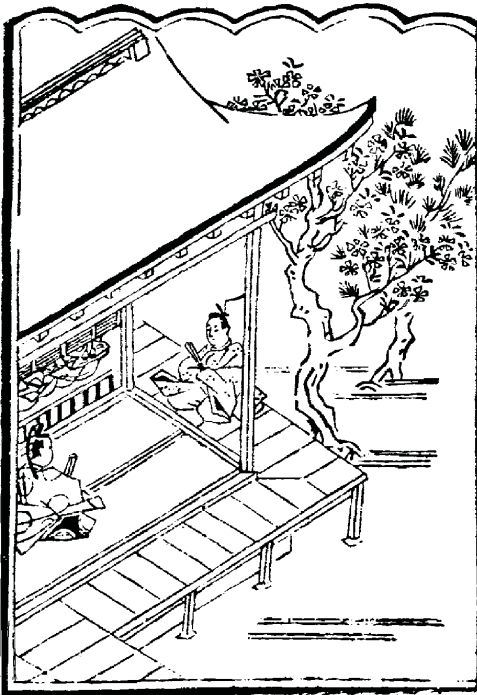
Commentary

From its inclusion in Juntoku's *Juntoku In GyoShū*, or the *Collected Poems of Retired Emperor Juntoku*, we know that this poem was composed in 1216, five years before the outbreak of military hostilities between the imperial family and the Kamakura shogunate. All commentators, from the *Ōei Commentary* to Ariyoshi, interpret this poem politically: Juntoku is deploring the decline of righteous government and the fortunes of the imperial house. As such, the poem is seen as the pendant to the first poem in the anthology, attributed to Emperor Tenji (Poem 1), also frequently interpreted as a lament over the decline of imperial authority. Note also that the collection ends, as it began, with a parent-child set of poems (Tenji/Jitō and GoToba/Juntoku). The political interpretation is not mandatory, however, and one can also imagine the poem to be representing Teika's own feelings, especially in regard to the poetry of the past, as he finishes his chronological review by means of the *One Hundred Poets* itself.

The Pictures

Unlike the relatively informal representation of GoToba in the previous poem [99–3], the *Zōsanshō* this time [100–1] presents the emperor as very much the

ruler, partially hidden by blinds, with ministers arranged in an orderly fashion on either side. The cherry blossoms suggest the halcyon days of a munificent ruler. This interpretation is largely abandoned by the Kyoto artist [100-2]: it is not clear whether either of the male figures is meant to represent Juntoku (neither is sitting on tatami; see 99-3], but the composition suggests a derelict palace much more strongly than does the *Zōsanshō* version. Or, rather than derelict, the setting could be seen as simply informal, with the lowered blinds across from Juntoku indicating the presence of a woman. This reading would suggest a more romantic interpretation, along the lines of the *Tenri-bon Kikigaki* and *Kamijō-bon*, neither of which mentions a political interpretation. In the *Sugata-e* [100-3] Moronobu also interprets the poem romantically, as the verb *shinobu* can also mean “to love secretly” (see Poem 40 among others); the roofs of the palace appear in the clouds above, the same motif used in the Tan’yū albums. The *Shikishi Moyō* kimono design [100-4] inscribes the characters *momoshiki* over *shinobu* ferns and the ceremonial blinds (*sudare*) characteristic of the palace.⁵⁴



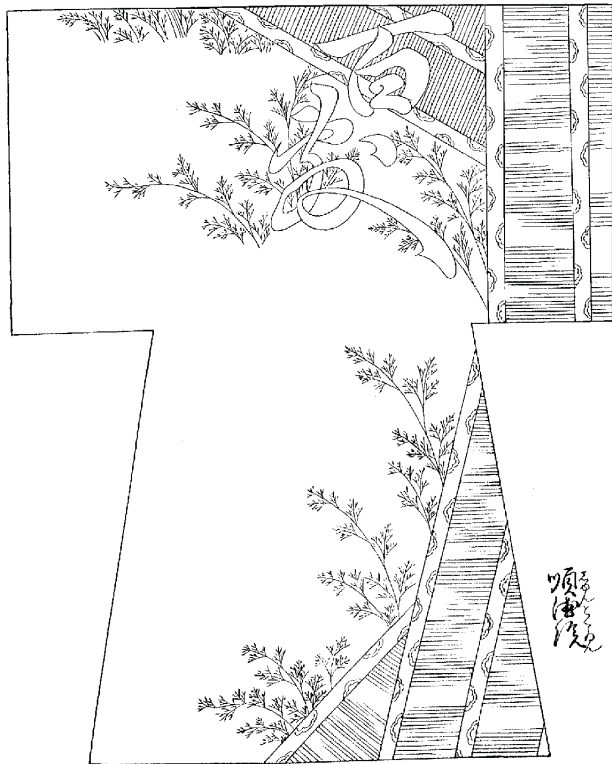
100-1



100-2



100-3



100-4

