REVIEW ARTICLE

Waka Wars: Quarrels in an Inner Space

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Kyōgoku Tamekane: Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan by Robert N. Huey. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989. Pp. xii + 288. \$37.50.

Robert Huey's admirable book does at least two things and does them well. As implied by its subtitle, it straightens out the tangle of poetry and power in one of Japan's most politically complicated eras. The Late Classical Period (1241–1350 as defined by Robert H.

I wish to thank Mr. Charles Cabell for the title of this review article. His suggestion for the subtitle, "The Establishment Strikes Back," seems to put me on the wrong side of the Force, and I lay no claim to its implications.

Abbreviations:

FGS: Fūgashū GSIS: Goshūishū GYS: Gyokuyōshū

JCP: Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, Japanese Court Poetry (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961)

KIS: Kōgon'in shū KKRJ: Kokinwakarokujō

KT: Matsushita Daisaburō 松下大三郎 and Watanabe Fumio 渡邊文雄, eds., Kokka taikan (Kadokawa shoten, 1973)

KU: Kingyoku utaawase MSK: Myōe Shōnin kashū MYS: Man'yōshū

SGSS: Shingosenshū

Brower and Earl Miner in Japanese Court Poetry) saw the rise of rival branches of the imperial family alternating in the various seats of authority reserved for them, supporting and supported by parallel divisions among the lineal heirs of Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241), rival claimants to the now hereditary art of poetry. Patronage and poetry were joined in such imperial personages as Emperor Fushimi 伏見 (1265-1317), Emperor Hanazono 花園 (1297-1348), and Empress-Consort Eifuku 永福門院 (1271-1342). Patron and poet were both overshadowed by the shogunal authorities (themselves at times aspiring to these roles) in an increasingly hostile atmosphere leading eventually to open warfare, both literary and military. Huey gives a clear if condensed account of the age, especially as it affected and defined the career of his subject, Kyōgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254-1332), the guiding spirit of one of the combatant poetic schools. Konishi Jin'ichi has argued elsewhere that Tamekane was not the originator of the style that bears his name, but he was clearly the dominant personality among the innovators and a poet of the first rank. It is in his attempt to define the characteristics of the Kyōgoku style that Robert Huey shows the other side of his research. The most original contribution of his book comes in its detailed study of the poems themselves, their versification. Huey pays particular attention to sound patterning and to structure generally. He shows himself an excellent reader of poetry, one with sharp eyes and a

ShinpenKT: Shinpen kokka taikan henshū iinkai, ed., Shinpen kokka taikan, 9 double vols. (Kadokawa shoten, 1983-91)

ShokuSIS: Shokushūishū ShokuSZS: Shokusenzaishū

SIS: Shūishū SKKS: Shinkokinshū SKS: Shikashū SSZS: Shinsenzaishū SZS: Senzaishū

ZGR: Ōta Fujishirō 太田藤四郎, ed., Zoku gunsho ruijū, 33 vols. (Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1923–28)

¹ Konishi sees the "Kyōgoku style" as having been developed by Retired Emperor Fushimi and his consort Eifuku Mon'in during Tamekane's exile to Sado, 1298-1303. Tamekane had to hurry to catch up when he got back to the capital. Jin'ichi Konishi, A History of Japanese Literature, Volume Three: The High Middle Ages, ed. Earl Miner, trans. Aileen Gatten and Mark Harbison (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 396-98.

good ear, with sensitive fingers on the pulsebeat of those small but lively organisms that are tanka.

The split in the imperial line goes back to two sons of Go-Saga 後 嵯峨 (1220-72; r. 1242-46), the brothers Go-Fukakusa 後深草 (1243-1304; r. 1246-59) and Kameyama 亀山 (1249-1305; r. 1259-74), whose peccadillos and other intimate doings are recounted in Towazugatari, the memoir of one of Go-Fukakusa's minor consorts. The Jimyōin 持明院 line of emperors stemmed from Go-Fukakusa, and the Daikakuji 大覚寺 line from Kameyama. These two lines are also known respectively as the senior and the junior. Huey explains how, backed by Bakufu decision, they came to alternate on the throne in the late 13th century, not in a mathematically predictable manner, but as worked out case-by-case as the result of heavy politicking, in a system sure to create and exacerbate friction. Huey's careful account peels away the semblance of power-or of authoritative prestige—to get at the actuality, revealing how the dominant force in capital politics was neither the Tenno nor any of the ex-Tennō, or In, nor even necessarily the Jisei no Kimi 治世の君, "the eldest active member of whichever imperial line occupied the throne" (p. 182, n. 7), but the leader of the faction that had most recently had a member designated and approved by the Bakufu as the next successor to the imperial dignity.² In other words, much of the Kyoto imperium was, much of the time, "lame duck." Power gravitates toward the future. This system of split lines continued to enliven Kyoto politics without causing actual bloodshed until the advent of Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288-1339), whose ambition to restore direct imperial rule was the wild card that broke up the game. Go-Daigo, a scion of the junior line, was exiled twice, once by the Kamakura Bakufu in 1332 and again by Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-58) in 1337. In between, he helped destroy Kamakura power and failed in an attempt to establish his own. When he fled with his followers to Yoshino, where he died two years later in 1339, the existence of rival imperial lines worked out very well for the purposes of the new Ashikaga authorities: the senior line was available to assume office as a replacement for the rusticated juniors. The lines no

² I.e., "Crown Prince," a title of dubious validity as applied to the Japanese monarchy, whose mystique in historical times has not been symbolized by a crown.

longer alternated, but went parallel, and the country knew civil war for several decades.

Despite the equal billing in its subtitle, several statements in the introduction, and over sixty pages of historical background and biography, Huey's book is not really about politics, however, but poetry; or at most, partially about how politics affected the development of poetry. Late Kamakura court society was still a society where courtly traditions mattered greatly. And of all courtly traditions, waka was the most precious, the very heart of what it meant to be cultivated, truly human. Naturally, it was widely practiced, including by members of the imperial family. As it turned out, the senior (Jimyōin) line produced the more gifted poets, most notably Emperor Fushimi (r. 1287-98; Jisei no kimi 1290-1301, 1308-13), his consort Eifuku Mon'in (1271-1342), his son Emperor Hanazono (r. 1308-18; never Jisei no kimi), and his grandson (Hanazono's nephew) Emperor Kōgon 光厳 (1313-64; r. 1331-33; Jisei no kimi 1340-43, 1345-49). Members of this line and their attendant courts created, in fact, a special style of poetry different from that practiced by the rival junior (Daikakuji) line, and the story of how they came to do so is involved with another famous family dispute, that which split (and tangled) the heirs of Teika.

In their study of the period Brower and Miner remark, memorably if not accurately, "His affairs thus settled, Tameie and Japanese court poetry might have passed serenely into extinction had he not shortly before this time taken to wife a most remarkable woman '' (ICP, p. 344). They refer to the woman best known by the religious name she took late in life, Abutsu 阿仏 (d. 1283). Abutsu married Teika's son and heir Tameie 為家 (1198-1275) late in his life and bore him two sons, one of whom, Tamesuke 為相 (1263-1328), became the favorite of his old age. No doubt encouraged by Abutsu, Tameie willed Tamesuke the rights to important properties, thereby outraging his eldest son and legitimate heir, Tameuji 為氏 (1222-86). Lawsuits ensued after Tameie's death, and the redoubtable Abutsu took her case to the courts of Kamakura, where a decision favorable to Tamesuke was handed down after her death. Abutsu meanwhile had made matters worse by passing on to Tamesuke Tameie's library, inherited from Teika, including a number of documents on poetics in Teika's hand, thus depriving the main line of Teika's descendants of their literary property as well. The latter did acquire some of the disputed documents on court order, but mixed in with them were several clever forgeries, so it has long been believed. The study of Teika's poetics has been muddied ever since by this old family feud.

The ''legitimate'' line of Teika's descendants, through Tameuji and his son Tameyo 為世 (1251–1338), became known as the Nijō 二条 house, and the descendants of Tamesuke as the Reizei 冷泉. (Both were branches of the Mikohidari 御子左, in turn a branch of the Northern House of the Fujiwara.) The upstart Reizei were obviously a thorn in the side of the Nijō, but none of this would matter greatly now if they had not all been poets. And they were no ordinary, run-of-the-mill dilletantes, either. They had claims to being the poets. Poetry was more than an avocation for the Nijō and the Reizei—it was their family profession. Poetry was, in a manner of speaking, their responsibility in the scheme of things. The greatness of Teika had made it so. His descendants were expected to be the caretakers of the sacred flame, and the compilers of imperial anthologies. And so, falling out over waka was a serious matter.

And fall out they did. The Nijō understandably were impatient with any challenge to their authority. Their views should prevail by right of seniority, if nothing else. Those views were cautious and conservative, at least as far as the sacred art itself was concerned. Old words—Teika had prescribed them.³ But maybe old heart, too, to be on the safe side. To be refined, to work, contented and competent, within the ancient limits of the art, was by and large their notion of a poet's mission in their own less glorious day. After all, waka had achieved its greatness already. It had spoken, soft and sure, of nature and human nature. The words, topics, and treatments were all established. Best not risk blemishing their quiet beauty with ill-advised experiments.

Others thought otherwise, were less content with a finished art. They dared to experiment, to tamper with orthodoxy to come up with a fresh approach. How annoying—these scoundrels were their own blood kin! And they actually misled emperors into writing that

³ Teika's prescriptions for old words and new heart are found in *Kindai shūka* 近代秀歌 and *Eiga no taigai* 詠歌の大概. See *NKBT*, vol. 65 (1963), pp. 102, 114.

way too, and compiling the deplorable results into imperial anthologies (twice!). And who were the principal villains? Not, apparently, Tamesuke and his Reizei descendants and followers. Huey implies (pp. 52-53, 148) that the Reizei were definitely junior partners in the great poetic dispute, which raged rather between two full brothers born to Tameie's first wife, the daughter of Utsunomiya Yoritsuna 宇都宮頼綱, namely Tameuji and Tamenori 為教 (1227-79), and their descendants, most notably and ferociously their sons Tameyo and Tamekane. Tamekane, the founder of the Kyōgoku house, is of course the subject of Huey's book. The literary blood feud between Tameyo on one side and his cousins Tamekane and Tamekane's sister Tameko 為子 (1252?-1317?) on the other, intertwined with conflicting political loyalties, is the heart of the matter for the study of issues relating to poetry. Tamekane, who was old enough to have studied with his grandfather Tameie, had much more plausible credentials to rival the Nijō than did Tamesuke, born over forty years after his half-brother Tameuji, of a late and secondary wife. The dispute between the Nijō and the Reizei was primarily over property-land and documents. Tamekane became the tutor of Emperors Fushimi and Hanazono, a key figure at the Kyoto court, and one of the main developers of a poetic style identified with him. Tamesuke spent much of his life in Kamakura, where he had close relations with the Bakufu (he died a few years before the fall of that regime), and was not a practitioner of the Kyōgoku style. The Reizei and Kyōgoku were allies against their Nijō relatives, but the term "Kyōgoku-Reizei poets" used in Japanese Court Poetry, turns out to be rather misleading. Brower and Miner's crediting the rescue of waka to Tameie's marriage to Abutsu is a nice human touch, but will not bear serious scrutiny. The whole Abutsu-Reizei business in fact is rather peripheral to the central issues that concern Huey's study.

Tamekane and his sister Tameko were supporters of the Jimyōin (senior) line of emperors—Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, Hanazono, Kōgon—and were patronized by them. The Nijō hitched their wagon to the Daikakuji (junior) line, at least until it fled to Yoshino in the person of Go-Daigo. Afterward they were nimble enough to unhitch and ingratiate themselves with the senior line and its new Ashikaga backers, squeezing out the followers of Tamekane (who died in

1332, the year Kamakura fell). Huey traces Tamekane's ups and downs (he was twice exiled) and the vicissitudes of the Kyōgoku school. The two imperial lines were fairly well matched until Go-Daigo's rebellion changed the whole political situation. But the Nijō overwhelmingly outmatched their Kyōgoku rivals in reaching for the ultimate prize: the honor (and power) of compiling a chokusensh \bar{u} 勅撰集. From the outset of the split in the 1270s to the last chokusenshū in 1439, the score was Nijō 8, Kyōgoku 2. And Reizei 0: Tamesuke was turned down in 1294 when he applied to be added to the compiling committee for an anthology commissioned by Emperor Fushimi. Tameyo protested, and Tamesuke was excluded. This anthology never got off the ground anyway, but the commission was revived years later as that for the Gyokuyōshū 玉葉集. The Gyokuyōshū was the first of the two Kyōgoku anthologies, compiled by Tamekane alone and submitted in 1312, over the protests of Tameyo, who sued to stop it. (The cousins actually sued each other several times over the issue; Tameyo was the loser.) The second was the Fūgashū 風雅集 (1348), sponsored by Emperor Hanazono and largely compiled by his nephew Kogon. Both anthologies are copious (the Gyokuyōshū with 2,800 poems is the longest chokusenshū), and their content is nowadays considered of an interest that more than compensates for their fewness.

Huey's first three chapters are devoted to tracing Tamekane's career and its historical background. He establishes beyond peradventure the importance of political backing for cultural activities and the difficulty in Tamekane's time of securing and maintaining it. He also shows that at least some poets were active politicians themselves and paid a price in ability to "publish" their poetry for some of their political activities. Huey never does make clear, however, just what Tamekane did that got him in so much trouble. The historical documentation leaves the question obscure, and Huey does not press beyond what the evidence will sustain.

⁴ Brower and Miner go so far as to say that Tamekane "[sought] to help overthrow the military government in Kamakura" (JCP, p. 349) but cite no source for the statement. Huey states that "Tamekane . . . [was] rumored to be involved in a plot against the Bakufu" before his arrest in 1298 (p. 16). Brower is a bit more specific in his article on Tamekane in the $K\bar{o}$ dansha Encyclopedia of Japan (1983): "[I]n 1298 [Tamekane] was sent into exile on the island of Sado for trying to undercut the shogunate's policy of alternating sovereigns between the

Huev's Chapter 4 deals with Tamekane's poetics, a matter to which I would like to return at the end of this review. First let us look at Tamekane's poetic practice and the famous "Kyōgoku style," which Huey analyzes in chapters 5 and 6, and which he has also explored in his Monumenta Nipponica translation-articles, "The Kingyoku Poetry Contest" (MN 42.3 [1987]) and "Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase'' (MN 48.2 [1993]). A point made early in Chapter 5 has to do with the social origins of the Kyōgoku style. The "liberal," innovative Kyōgoku group was actually a small, elite coterie that formed originally at the court of Fushimi when he was still a prince under the tutelage of Tamekane. Huey characterizes its members as "positively reactionary" politically (p. 77). The Nijō conservatives, by contrast, spread their network through nonaristocratic strata of society. Broadly based, they were more involved in the nascent art of renga than the disdainful Tamekane and his group (p. 76). In this sense they can be considered more "progressive" than the innovators. But it is well to remember that the initial thrust in renga, at least of the "serious" (ushin) variety, was an efflorescence of rules. Only later, in the 15th century, did Shinkei 心敬 (1406-1475) breathe a deeper, more probing and idiosyncratic spirit into the art. And Shinkei was the student of Shōtetsu 正徹 (1381-1459), himself at several removes a disciple of the innovators, or at least of those aspects of Teika's style that inspired them.

The definition of Teika's style, or anyone's style, is not easily or superficially to be arrived at, as Huey's book would demonstrate even if it did nothing else. Huey's unique contribution comes from his interest in the nuts and bolts, or, more properly, the tenons and mortises, of poetry. But before turning to the workbench, we may pause for a more "aesthetic" overview, to get a general impression of what a few of the representative poets produced. If Teika was

two rival lines'' (Encyclopedia, vol. 4, p. 329). Retired Emperor Hanazono, in his diary entry on Tamekane's death, explains Tamekane's first exile by saying, 重有讒口, 頗渉陰謀事, 仍武家配流佐渡國, "There were further slanders to the effect that [Tamekane] was deeply involved in a plot, and so the military exiled him to the province of Sado'' (Hanazono Tennō shinki 花園天皇宸記, entry for 1332.3.24, Kawamata Keiichi 川俣馨一, ed., Shiryō taisei, vol. 34 [Naigai shoseki kabushiki kaisha, 1938], p. 199).

the indisputable master to whom all looked back, and Shōtetsu "the last truly great uta poet of the court tradition," we might use these two certified geniuses to bracket three of the quarreling cousins of late Kamakura, namely, Tamekane and his sister Tameko on the Kyōgoku side and Tameyo to represent the Nijō. The poems are chosen more or less at random, and the translations are my own.

Teika's yōen 妖艷 style of ethereal beauty is exemplified in one of his most famous waka:

SKKS 1:38

Haru no yo no Yume no ukihashi

Todae shite Mine ni wakaruru Yokogumo no sora On a night in spring
The floating causeway of my
dream

Breaks off midway: Now from the peak a trail of cloud Departs into the dawning sky.

The poem is both rich and elusive (as well as allusive in its reference to the world of the *Genji*);⁶ its atmosphere is shared by these verses from Teika's personal collection:

Shūi gusō 拾遺愚草 7767

Wakikanuru Yume no chigiri ni

Nitaru kana Yūbe no sora ni Magau kagerō

Shūi gusō 907 Hana no ka no Kasumeru tsuki ni Akugarete How like they are
To the vows we made in a
moment
Not to be told from dream—

These mayflies merging in a sky

Just hovering toward dusk.

Fragrance of blossoms

Makes a haze about the moon,

And I am drawn,

⁵ Steven D. Carter, trans., Waiting for the Wind: Thirty-Six Poets of Japan's Late Medieval Age (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 295.

^{6 &}quot;Yume no ukihashi" ("The Floating Bridge of Dreams") is the title of the last chapter of the Genji, in which the narrative drifts off with Ukifune, the last important heroine, ensconced in a mountaintop nunnery rejecting the world of dream and dream-like (or nightmarish) love.

⁷ Poems from personal collections, like those from other sources, are quoted from the relevant volumes of *ShinpenKT* unless otherwise specified.

Yume mo sadaka ni Floating through a night of

dreams

Mienu koro kana Too misty to be seen.

All these also have the characteristic Shinkokinshū noun or nounplus-particle ending.

The art of allusion is further exemplified by

GYS I:111 (Shūi gusō 808)

Sue tōki To its far borders

Wakaba no shibafu The meadow of young leaves of

grass

Uchinabiki Bends before the wind, Hibari naku no no And the skylark is singing Haru no yūgure In the spring dusk over the

moors.

with its echo of MYS XIX:4316/4292,8 by Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-785):

> Uraura ni In the endless calm

Tereru haruhi ni Of a spring day bright with sun

Hibari agari A skylark rises;

Kokoroganashi mo And my heart—how sad it is

Hitori shi omoeba As I ponder here alone.

combined with Yakamochi's MYS XIX:4314/4290:

Haru no no ni Over the spring moors Kasumi tanabiki Hovers a hazy, drifting mist All too sad at heart Uraganashi

Kono yūkage ni Somewhere in this shadowed light

Uguisu naku mo At evening a warbler sings.

One of Teika's most compelling love poems is an ingenious and intense recasting of Izumi Shikibu's

GSIS XIII:755 (Izumi Shikibu seishū 和泉式部正集 86) Kurokami no I fling myself down,

⁸ The number before the slash, here and elsewhere, refers to the numeration in *ShinpenKT*, that after the slash to the numeration in KT.

Midare mo shirazu
Uchifuseba
Mazu kakiyarishi

Heedless of the wild disorder
Of my long, black hair,
And soon I'm yearning once

again

Hito zo koishiki For him who stroked it smooth.

in such a way that the lover replies, typically through a remembered image (omokage):

SKKS XV:1389 (Shūi gusō 2639)

Kakiyarishi I ran my fingers

Sono kurokami no Through this black hair long ago:

Sujigoto ni Every strand distinct,
Uchifusu hodo wa Now as I lie upon my bed
Omokage zo tatsu The shadow-image rises.

The mood-permeated landscape is also characteristic of Teika's work:

SKKS X:953 (Shūi gusō 1635)

Tabibito no The traveler's sleeves
Sode fukikaesu Flutter in the autumn wind:

Akikaze ni Evening twilight

Yūhi sabishiki Lonely over the mountains

Yama no kakehashi And the bridge between the cliffs.

Another bridge poem combines *yōen* with an experiment in creating tension through deliberate misassignment of attributive and predicative elements to create a surreal effect:

SKKS IV:420 (Shūi gusō 660)

Samushiro ya The narrow mat: cold
Matsu yo no aki no Autumn of the waiting night

Kaze fukete Wind deepening,

Tsuki o katashiku Now she spreads the moonlight

out,

Uji no hashihime The Lady of Uji Bridge.

Finally, there are poems that will be useful to look at in connection with the "Kyōgoku style."

SKKS XIV:1320 (Shūi gusō 1080)

Kiewabinu Utsurou hito no Aki no iro ni Mi o kogarashi no Mori no shitatsuyu Soon the last fading:
In the withering fall of love
There comes a moment
When autumnal color flames,
And dew dries in wind-whipped
woods.

GYS III:416 (Shūi gusō 755)

Yūdachi no Evening shower—

Kumoma no hikage Clouds part, sunlight comes

streaming

Haresomete From a patch of blue;

Yama no kanata o And along the mountain flank, Wataru shirasagi Crossing, a white heron flies.

SZS VI:400/399 (Shūi gusō 52)

Fuyu kite wa Once winter has come,
Hitoyo futayo o Quickly, in a night or two,
Tamazasa no Each separate leaf

Hawake no shimo no
Tokoroseki made

Turns white—frost crowds the

land.

The commonly accepted features of the Kyōgoku style are:

- 1. concentration on a moment of change
- 2. microscopic focus, with imagery of sparseness
- 3. fine gradations of nature and feeling
- 4. poetry of image and no-image, both seeking the "truth."

Some of these are evident in a random selection of poems by Tamekane and one by Tameko. Teika's world of *omokage* is still alive, however, as in this by Tamekane:

ShokuSIS XIV:976/977

Wasurezu yo I do not forget:

Kasumi no ma yori When the moon came through

the mist,

Moru tsuki no Spilling its soft light,

Honoka ni miteshi How I glimpsed that shadowy

Yowa no omokage

Vision of the depths of night.

The moment of transition in nature is well illustrated by such poems as these:

GYS IV:944/945 Tamekane

Sayuru hi no	After chilly rain,
Shigure no nochi no	When the air is keen and cold,
Yūyama ni	On evening mountains
Usuyuki furite	A light snow comes gusting

down,

Sora zo hareyuku And the sky begins to clear.

GYS IV:517 Tamekane

Izuku yori Whence do they gather,
Oku to mo shiranu That we do not know: blank
white,

Shiratsuyu no

Kurureba kusa no
Ue ni miyuran

Sudden drops of dew
Clearly visible at dusk,
Bending the leaves of grass.

In this last we see the minute focus as well, reminding us perhaps of Teika's "Fuyu kite wa" (SZS VI:400/399). And the moment of change is surely present in Teika's "Kiewabinu" (SKKS XIV:1320). Teika's "Yūdachi no" (GYS III:416) is almost a perfect Kyōgoku nature poem (note that Tamekane selected it for the Gyokuyōshū), with its sharp images, moment of transition, motion, and -te ending of the third line, one of Huey's technical criteria mentioned below.

Huey discusses the following poem thoroughly (pp. 126-27) and gives a somewhat different translation.

GYS I:83 Tamekane

Ume no hana	Flowers of the plum
Kurenai niou	Exhaling a pink perfume
Yūgure ni	In the dusk at eve,
Yanagi nabikite	While the willows bend before
Harusame zo furu	The gusty winds of spring.

In its appeal to visual, olfactory, kinesthetic, and tactile senses this

one waka reminds me strongly of the opening three verses of *Minase sangin hyakuin* 水無瀬三吟百韻. It also exemplifies the imagism, bipartite structure, and sense of motion of Kyōgoku seasonal poetry. There is a freedom from allusion, from fantasy and dream, a direct contact with nature here that for all its nimbus of redolence distinguishes the poem from Teika's yōen style.

Attenuation, fewness, sparseness, the sun near setting or shadowed by leaves are also hallmarks of the Kyōgoku treatment of nature:

GYS III:419 Tamekane

Eda ni moru
Asahi no kage no
Sukunaki ni
Suzushisa fukaki
Take no oku kana

So sparse the rays
Spilling from the morning sun
Through bamboo branches,
The sense of cool is deep
In the heart of the thicket.

FGS XVI:1643/1633 Tamekane

Moriutsuru
Tani ni hitosuji
Hikage miete
Mine mo fumoto mo
Matsu no yūkaze

Spilling from the clouds
Into the valley, a single shaft
Of sunlight appears;
Summit and mountain foot—
Evening wind in the pines.

FGS V:509/499 Tamekane

Akikaze ni Ukigumo takaku Sora sumite Yūhi ni nabiku On the autumn wind Clouds drift far up in the sky, And the air is clear; Bending in evening sunlight,

⁹ The famous opening sequence of Minase sangin hyakuin (1488) is:

Yuki nagara yamamoto kasumu yūbe kana —Sōgi (1421-1502)

Still snow over mountain mist at evening

water flowing far away

50g1 (1121 1302)

yuku mizu tōku ume niou sato

ou sato a plum-scented village

—Shōhaku (1443-1527) kawakaze ni

hitomura yanagi haru miete

-Sōchō (1448-1532)

in the river breeze a cluster of willow spring appearing Kishi no aoyagi

Green willows along the bank.

One might contrast this last with Teika's "Tabibito no" (SKKS X:953), where the evening twilight is said to be "lonely."

Waka has always specialized in dissections of the human heart, but Kyōgoku love poetry is particularly remorseless and insistent on painful distinctions. It is also noted for a characteristic avoidance of imagery (but see below, p. 457):

GYS XIII:1502/1494 Tamekane

Toki no ma mo

Ware ni kokoro no

Ikaga naru to

Tada tsune ni koso
Towamahoshikere

How at each moment
Is his heart toward me? Indeed,
In this I am constant,
For the urge is always there
To ask and know his thoughts.

FGS XII:1156/1146 Tamekane

Omoikeri to
Tanominarite no
Nochi shimo zo
Hakanaki koto mo
Hito yori wa uki

You cared for me—
I saw, and began to trust;
Since that moment
Even the slightest thing has hurt
More than with any other.

GYS XII:1706/1698 Tamekane

Koto no ha ni
Ideshi urami wa
Tsukihatete
Kokoro ni komuru
Usa ni narinuru

All the resentment
That came out in angry words
Has been exhausted—
Now become a bitterness
That I bury in my heart.

FGS XIII:1307/1297 Tameko

Wa ga kokoro
Urami ni mukite
Uramihate yo
Aware ni nareba
Shinobigataki o

Face bitterness,
My heart, in you be nothing
That is not bitter:
You will never bear the pain
Once you let sorrow in.

GYS XIII:1776/1768 Tamekane

Tsuraki amari
Ushi to mo iwade
Sugusu hi o

The pain was too great;
I no longer speak of heartache
As I pass my days:

Uraminu ni koso In this lack of resentment
Omoihatenure Is the proof that love is dead.

Turning now to Nijō Tameyo's poetry, we find him employing a time-honored (from early Heian) direct address to the moon, with its implied personification, in this poem from the *Shingosenshū* (1303), the first of the two *chokusenshū* he compiled:

SGSS II:151

Tsurenakute Teach the spring that goes
Nokoru narai o Into the twilight of its days
Kurete yuku Your accustomed skill
Haru ni oshie yo Of lingering calmly on,
Ariake no tsuki O moon of the dawning sky.

The following, from the *Shokusenzaishū* (1320), Tameyo's other *chokusenshū*, uses the tired conceit of mist being a barrier to wild geese migrating north in spring:

ShokuSZS I:57

Onajiku wa If it's all the same,
Sora ni kasumi no I would have a barrier
Seki mogana Of mist in the sky,
Kumoji no kari o For the geese of the cloudland
Shibashi todomen I would keep here for a while.

This is pretty tame stuff, and even a poem on Arashiyama ("Storm Mountain") manages to suffocate in "reasoning" and a predictable etymological pun:

ShokuSZS VI:608/610

Onozukara It stands to reason

Fukanu taema no There would be no respite from

the wind

Arashiyama At Storm Mountain:
Na ni sasowarete See the leaves all scattering.
Chiru konoha kana Drawn away by the very name.

Another traditional topic, the sound of the fulling block being struck in the night, also employs a very sleepy "reasoning" and is totally devoid of the pathos often associated with the topos of the lonely wife:

SGSS V:414

Satobito mo The villagers—they too Sasuga madoromu Surely must be nodding off Hodo nare ya To sleep by now:

Late in the night the sounds grow Fukete kinuta no

few

Oto zo sukunaki Of mallet on fulling block.

Tameyo isn't always this bad. The following poem on the glow that foretells moonrise is effective in evoking a moment of natural beauty and mystery:

ShokuSZS IV:442/444

Kururu ma no While the darkening sky Sora ni hikari wa Sombers into dusk, a shining Utsuroite Spreads its reflected glow: Mada mine koenu Not yet over the mountain, The moon of an autumn night. Aki no yo no tsuki

A sampling of Tameyo's love poetry reveals far less difference from that of his cousins. The characteristic Kyōgoku probing for the ultimate expression of pain, unrelieved by imagery, is condensed in poems like the following:

ShokuSZS XV:1599/1602

Uki o dani Mere misery Omoi mo shiranu I know no more in my thoughts: Such is my heart Kokoro nite That even I have forgotten Ware sae mi o mo Wasurekeru kana There was such a one as I.

Tameyo's skill at allusive variation is exemplified here:

KKS XII:615 Ki no Tomonori 紀友則 (early 10th century)

What then is life? Inochi ya wa Nani zo wa tsuyu no It is nothing, it is dew, Adamono o The plaything of time: Au ni shi kaeba In exchange for rendezvous Oshikaranaku ni Such were nothing to regret.

ShokuSZS XIII:1331/1335 Tameyo

Tsurenasa ni The life I cast away
Suteshi inochi mo For her cold indifference
Oshimarete Seems now too precious:
Au ni kawaru wa In exchange for rendezvous

Kokoro narikeri It is my heart I give.

Huey claims (p. 143) that Tamekane's psychological insights are deeper, but Tameyo's poem shows as well as any other how waka seeks out and finds the truth of human experience.

Here is Tameyo's own comment on his conception of his art:

ShokuSZS XVII:1895/1899

Ato tomete I am determined
Fumimayowaji to To leave behind my traces
Omou ni mo And not step astray,
Wa ga Shikishima no
Michi zo kurushiki Is an arduous path.

Shōtetsu, a 15th-century monk-poet of humble origins, born long after the passing of Huey's contestants, was the maelstrom of genius into which their angry currents poured. Though allied by training to the Reizei house, he expressed impatience with any loyalty other than to Teika. ¹⁰ Indeed, one has the impression he was talking to Teika over the heads of the intervening poets. But his voice is distinctly his own.

¹⁰ Steven Carter explores Shōtetsu's poetic development and loyalties in his introduction to Robert Brower's last work, a translation of Shōtetsu monogatari. Robert H. Brower, trans., Conversations with Shōtetsu, With an Introduction and Notes by Steven D. Carter (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1992). See especially p. 33. Shōtetsu's treatise itself begins with a resolute declaration (Brower's translation): "In this art of poetry, those who speak ill of Teika should be denied the protection of the gods and Buddhas and condemned to the punishments of hell. . . . It is my opinion that a person should pay no attention whatever to these [Nijō, Reizei, and Kyōgoku] schools. Instead, he ought to cherish the style and spirit of Teika and strive to emulate him even though he may never succeed' (pp. 61–62). In the present context it is of more than passing interest that, as Carter notes (p. 36), "there is not a word of support anywhere in Shōtetsu monogatari for Kyōgoku Tamekane." The nature of Shōtetsu's revolt against the conservatives is indeed different from Tamekane's. ("Was it a vision, or a waking dream?" vs. "Petals on a wet, black bough"?)

The glamour of Teika's yōen style, and its fantasy, can be glimpsed in this poem by Shōtetsu:

Sōkonshū 草根集 10788

Iro zo sou

Tsuki mo konoma ni

Utsurikite

Hana no ka tsutau

Ariake no kage

Now tinged with color:

Moonlight filters to the ground

Between tree and tree,

While the scent of blossoms glides

Down beams still bright at dawn.

A salute by Shōtetsu to Teika's Floating Bridge of Dreams (SKKS I:38) also brings in three other old poets in a masterly multiple allusive variation:

KKS XIV:679 Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 868-ca. 945)

Isonokami In Isonokami,

Furu no nakamichi

Nakanaka ni

Oh, the thoroughfare of Furu!

Oh, the thorough fool

I was: had I not looked at her.

Mizu wa koishi to I was: had I not looked at her,
Omowamashi ya wa What longing would I have

known?

KKS XII:594 Ki no Tomonori

Azumaji no Down to Azuma Saya no Nakayama Through Saya and by

Middlemount—

Nakanaka ni What was I about, Nani shi ka hito o To start off on a mid-

Nani shi ka hito o To start off on a middle path, Omoisomekemu Neither in nor out of love?

Yoshitada shū 254 Sone no Yoshitada 曾根好忠 (late 10th century)

Azumayama Eastward in the hills

Mino no nakamichi The trails that lead through Mino

Taeshi yori Vanish under leaves:
Wa ga mi ni aki no So from fading love I learn

Kuru to shiriniki The sad fall that autumn brings.

Sokonshū 521

Makura ni mo
Now on my pillow
Yume no ukihashi
The once fleeting bridge of

dreams

Uzumorete Lies drifted under:

Konoha ni tayuru Vanished under fallen leaves, Furu no nakamichi The road that led through Furu.

From Teika too, perhaps, come the daring cross-logic and reveling in image and language of the following:

Sōkonshū 813

Mi ni zo shimu Sinks into the flesh

Noki no shinobu ni Where along the fern-grown

eaves

Saku ume no A flowering plum

Iro ni irozuku White lends whiteness to the air Haru no akikaze Now in spring an autumn wind.

Plum blossoms bleach the wind white in this fresh version of elegant confusion. And a white wind should be a colorless wind, i.e., an autumn wind, as we learn elsewhere:

KKRJ I:423 Anonymous

Fukikureba That this autumn wind

Mi ni mo shimikeru Which when it blows sinks like a

dye

Akikaze o Into the human heart

Iro naki mono to Could yet be something with no

color

Omoikeru kana Is what I thought once, long ago.

Shōtetsu picks the essence of the earlier poem, its paradox, and plays with it, a bit too ostentatiously, one may feel.

The moment of transition, a Kyōgoku hallmark, combines with a coloristic urge attributable to more romantic visions of nature than are characteristic of Kyōgoku style waka:

 $S\bar{o}konsh\bar{u}$ 2938

Takane kosu

Past the lofty peak

Konoma no yūhi

Poured between the trees late sun

Kage kiete Whose light now fades, Sakura ni kaeru While to cherry turns again

 The following poem by Shōtetsu on wild geese envisages them heading north in spring over the high country of Koshi, therefore "toward winter." The conceit may serve as a useful contrast in pointing up the much more hackneyed quality of the one used by Tameyo on the same theme in *ShokuSZS* I:57 (above, p. 442).

Sōkonshū 10170 Haru idete Fuyu ni zo mukau Amatsukari Miyako no kasumi Koshi no shirayuki

Going off in spring,
They head away toward winter,
The geese of heaven:
In Miyako the soft mist,
Over the Koshi the white snow.

Huey elaborates important distinctions having to do with "appropriateness" at the beginning of his chapter on Tamekane's poetic practice (pp. 77-78). He explains that different types of poetry were considered "appropriate" for informal exchange, imperial anthologies, and poetry contests, and uses the terms hare 晴れ and ke 褻. The poem for public consumption (hare no uta) is pretty much what Japanese Court Poetry meant by "formal" in its very useful formal/ informal, public/private distinctions: carefully composed and dignified in theme, but not necessarily on a grand, general topic ("public"). "Private" poetry abounds in imperial anthologies, as long (presumably) as it met the (varying) quality criteria for inclusion. Huey does not go very far in exploring these criteria, though he does distinguish them from those applicable in poetry contests, the fussiest venue. The question is too complex to pursue here, but even the different and more inclusive notions of "appropriateness" of the chokusensh \bar{u} imposed standards quite at odds with what we find in some of the personal poetry collections, the shikashū 私家集 or ie no shū 家の集. Here the freedom to include whatever ke no uta, "informal," everyday poems the poet may have actually composed can yield a startlingly different impression of what waka was or could be. Such was certainly the case with Shotetsu, whose Sokonshū has 10,643 poems, but who was rejected by the heirs of the Nijō clique from consideration for inclusion in the only chokusensh \bar{u} compiled during his lifetime. Shōtetsu's imagery can be strikingly original, even when the trope is not:

Sokonshū 10859

Kumori naku Ike no kagami o Migakanamu Tada mizugane zo Hachisuba no tsuyu May the pond-mirror
Be polished until its surface
Is without a cloud:
Here, see the quicksilver—
Dewdrops on the lotus leaves!

Shōtetsu likes to play with resemblances, which of course is what elegant confusion is all about. But his images may be too spectacular for courtly decorum, either Nijō or Kyōgoku, as in this poem where he presents both an analogy and the imagined eyes that perceive it:

Sōkonshū 6342

Ushio fuku Kujira no iki to Mienubeshi Oki ni hitomura Kudaru yūdachi

A great waterspout
Blown high by a breathing whale
Is how it must look,
The evening squall descending
In a swirling shaft to the sea.

Shōtetsu's love poetry can be earthy, full of male hubris, or may introduce a new and heart-stopping moment into the old saga of desire and its long dying:

Sōkonshū 4475

Yado toeba Yagate yametsuru Mono no ne ni Ware mo oto sede Tachi zo yasurau As I reach her house,
All at once the sounds within
Cease at my calling,
And I too stand silent,
Hesitant beneath the eaves.

Shōtetsu's best love poetry, however, is intense, complex, deeply passionate, worthy of Teika but in his own voice, and distinctly different from the Kyōgoku concentration on those fine degrees of suffering that define despair. It escapes claustrophobia by reaching out to an overarching and tragic significance.

Sōkonshū 519

Okurezuki Arashi fuku yo no Ariake wa The moon late risen
On a night of gusty wind
Westering toward dawn

Nokoru konoha no Kinuginu no sora The remaining leaves of trees In the sky of our parting.

Sōkonshū 5579 Au koto zo Kuraki yo no yume

Those who meet in love Know darkness—a night of dream:

Tsuki no iro Arashi no koe wa Nenu ni nasedo mo Though the loud tempest Takes the color from the moon, They lie that it breaks their sleep.

Huey does not rely primarily on such global and rather impressionistic criteria as presented in the above excursus when he sets out to define the Kyōgoku style. One of his most praiseworthy passages comes on p. 83, where he argues against Kyōgoku originality by citing phraseology in poems by Tameie, Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), and Teika identical to new-sounding diction in Kyōgoku poems by Fushimi and Eifuku Mon'in no Naishi 永福門院内侍. This presentation of hard evidence is most gratifying, even if the point made turns out to be a piece of devil's advocacy, since we are reassured on the following page that "there is no need to deny that the Kyōgoku poets were innovative."

Another preliminary that Huey brings up is the matter of "lines," treated incidentally to his discussion of "rhyme" (p. 80). "Rhyme" in waka is a vexed subject to which we shall presently return, but discussions of it from Fujiwara no Hamanari 藤原浜成 (724–90) on imply the existence of "lines." Huey's reply to the unilinearists is given in a backnote (note 9, p. 194): "Though some modern scholars try to deny the importance of 'lines' in waka, there is no question that the traditional waka poet/critics from Hamanari and Fujiwara Kintō (966–1041) to Toshiyori [1055–1129], Shunzei, and Teika considered them the units on which a poem was built." For "importance" in the above quotation, perhaps we should read "existence." Though apparently everyone agrees there is at least one line (per tanka, that is). We shall come back to this topic as well.

It is really Tamekane's personal style that Huey is defining, as he himself says (pp. 85, 88). And quite properly so, given the title of

the book. Still, it is a style whose technical aspects were broadly shared by other members of the school. Huey isolates and discusses five such technical aspects: 1) *ji-amari*; 2) syllable clustering; 3) pauses; 4) manipulation of vowels and consonants; and 5) repetitions of sound sequences. Huey's analyses in this portion of his book constitute his most significant contribution to waka studies.

Ji-amari

Ji-amari, or hypermetricism, the phenomenon of too-long lines, is one of the most prominent characteristics of Kyōgoku versification. Huey distinguishes two types, "soft" (with vowel sequences presumably resolvable through elision) and "hard." Huey's discussion lacks linguistic sophistication, which this reviewer is ill equipped to supply either, but even his simple counting-the-kana system yields results sufficiently contrastive to show that Kyōgoku poets used ji-amari lines in their poems with a frequency up to nine times greater than their Nijō rivals (Table 2, p. 90). Huey locates the ji-amari lines by frequency as first, third, and fifth. Where Huey excells is in his discussion of the prosodic effect of the lengthened lines, which focus attention, alter rhythm, and point up parallelism. He pays particular attention to a poem's flow, listening to the onomatopoeia and busyness created, for instance, by Tameko's 6-8-5-7-7 winter waka on wind, hail, and moon:

GYS VI:1005/1004
Kaze no nochi ni¹¹
Arare hitoshikiri
Fùrisugite
Mata murakumo ni
Tsuki zo morikuru

Following on the wind,
Hail rattles down in a shower,
And the storm sweeps on;
Once more amid towering clouds
The moon comes spilling
through.

(I have provided my own translation here because Huey's second line in his version [p. 97], "Hail pounds fiercely," shortens what Tameko lengthened and substitutes a heavy bang-bang beat for the polysyllabic battery of hail. One must conclude that listening to a poem is one thing, rendering what one hears another.) Perhaps the

¹¹ The text in ShinpenKT has "Kaze no nochi."

main overall effect of the use of *ji-amari* by the Kyōgoku poets is to announce their freedom to adjust the sanctified waka rhythms to suit their own ends. One thinks ahead to Danrin haikai, but waka is still waka, and nothing so iconoclastic occurred in the coteries of Tamekane and his followers. Only a note or two of carefully controlled dissonance has disturbed the measured sweetness of tanka form.

Syllable Clustering

This section is an attempt to find patterns of long and short words and to analyze their effect. Huey takes Teika's mini-anthology in Kindai shūka 近代秀歌 (ca. 1215-22) as his control and isolates a number of recurring patterns of poly- and monosyllabic words, of which he takes a poem by Saigyō (1118-1191) as "a kind of model" (p. 101):

Kindai shūka 23; SKKS VI:585 Akishino ya (4-1) Toyama no sato ya (3-1-2-1) Shiguru ran (3-2) Ikoma no take ni (3-1-2-1) Kumo no kakareru (2-1-4)

(For a translation by Brower and Miner, see below, p. 458.)

Huey proceeds to analyze poems by Tamekane, how they differ from the above pattern, and what the effect of their "clustering" is. Tamekane's *ji-amari* first lines tend toward 3–3 in many cases, and the 2–3–2 pattern for a last line provides "the reason that many of his poems 'sound' different from earlier waka" (p. 101). Huey also writes of internal rhythmic parallels that "help bring out alternation and contrast," as in a poem by Tamekane from round 16 of *Kingyoku utaawase* 金玉歌合 (ca. 1304).¹² The translation is Huey's (p. 103):

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Aware shiru (3-2)
Yūgure goto ni ([2-2]-2-1)
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¹² This match between Retired Emperor Fushimi and his teacher Tamekane is more a showcase for their poems than a contest. It is discussed and translated in Robert N. Huey, "The Kingyoku Poetry Contest," MN 42.3 (1987).

Iro zo sou (2-1-2) Aki koshi yori no (2-2-2-1) Sode no shiratsuyu (2-1-[2-2])

I know suffering well— Each day as evening falls Its colors deepen In white, shining dew of autumn, Dropped as tears on my sleeves.

In Tamekane's original, lines 2 and 4 have the same pattern¹³ and both deal with moments in time.

One suspects that Huey's findings on the phenomenon he describes, an important one in waka versification, must have been a good deal more extensive than the rather sketchy treatment he has permitted himself here.

Pauses

This section explores midline and end-line breaks in syntactic and prosodic flow, and how they affect the nuances of the poem. The analysis as usual is fine-grained, though at one point (p. 105) Huey seems to be arguing against his previous position, implying that tanka are one-line poems after all, and all the breaks can be considered internal. The most characteristic "Kyōgoku" feature in handling prosodic flow appears to be a strong pause at the end of line three, often marked by a -te form. This stress on condition-underwhich obviously is useful in the expression of moments of change. A good discussion of a poem by Tamekane with two -te, one midline and one end-line, is given on p. 106. (The translation is Huey's):

KU, Round 49; GYS XIII:1706/1708

Koto no ha ni Once expressed

Idete urami wa In words, my resentment Tsukihatete Has now run its course,

Kokoro ni komuru Replaced by melancholy now, Usa ni narinuru Buried deep within my heart.

Huey goes so far as to speak of "enjambment" from line 1 to line 2, and he is correct. Tamekane modified *idete* to the attributive past

¹³ The brackets mark compounds whose elements are meaningful in themselves.

ideshi when he included the poem in the $Gyokuy\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$, smoothing out the poem's stop-and-go rhythm. Huey does not say if his own two "nows" are intended to suggest the two -te.

Manipulation of Vowels and Consonants

This section has two weaknesses. One is that the evidence it assesses is not effectively contrastive vis-à-vis Nijō poetic practice, and thus does not convincingly define Kyōgoku style. The other is that the analyses (inevitably?) are highly subjective. Tip-of-the-tongue consonants in polysyllabic formations will do plausibly as onomatopoeia for hail, as we have seen, and Huey's analysis of a poem by Minamoto Shinshi 源親子 (or Chikako, dates unknown) is perceptive, worth quoting in full (p.111):

Jūgoban Uta-awase,14 round 3

Nerarezu yo I cannot sleep

Arashi wa take o On this night where storm winds Harau yo ni Whip through bamboo leaves,

Yuki yori saki ni And a sudden fall of hail Arare furu nari Anticipates the snow to follow.

"The Japanese 'r' is almost as effective as 't' in reproducing a tapping sound. Here, Shinshi scatters the 'r's' throughout the first four lines like early, random hailstones, culminating in the fifth line (line 4 in the translation), where four of them are packed together like a downpour."

"K's," caught farther back in the throat, may suggest choking, "a kind of sobbing" (p. 111). That a series of "o" sounds "[produce] a calm, quiet atmosphere" (p. 107) may also seem to be true in a given poem, the vowel being low and somehow meditative. That a concentration of "u"s" suggests "the soft, weighty feeling of clouds" (p. 107) is an idea worth planting in the reader's mind (kumo, the word itself, providing a "u" and an "o"), though strictly unprovable. Huey looks at vowel distributions in situ, as he must, and his remarks are designed to fit particular poems, not, as far as I

¹⁴ This ''Poetry Contest in Fifteen Rounds'' is dated between 1306 and 1311 in Fukuda Hideichi 福田秀一 and Inoue Muneo 井上宗雄, eds., *Chūsei utaawaseshū to kenkyū*, vol. 1, *Mikan kokubun shiryō* (Toyohashi: Mikan kokubun shiryō kankōkai, 1968), from which Huey cites his text (see pp. 85, 230).

know, to articulate a theory of phonetic values. My favorite of his analyses is of line 4, yuki yori saki ni, in the poem by Shinshi quoted above. Ingeniously as much as perceptively, Huey remarks (p. 108), "[T]he alternating 'i' sounds . . . [suggest] the regular beating of hail." Huey has clearly subjected these poems to a fine-tooth combing. I would venture, however, that the "techniques" he extracts are mostly unconscious. Poets write or utter lines because they sound good. The explanations come later. I doubt that Shinshi had any idea of the phonetic effect Huey finds in line 4 of her poem. It is not a technique, but a happy accident.

Repetition of Sound Sequences

Huey starts this section with a review of kakekotoba as practiced by Tsurayuki, goes on to show how the imagistic preface, or jo F, can also be linked to the main statement through repeated sounds, either meaningful or meaningless, and ends with analyses of three tanka by Tamekane that employ echoic devices of various sorts, none of them involving jo. The point toward which he is working is that Tamekane and his followers often tried "to redefine a word, to show that things are not always what they seem" (p. 114). The discussions are few and brief, and no attempt is made to contrast Nijō practice. More might have been expected here.

Huey's Chapter 6, "An Analysis of Seven Poems," restores the sense of unhurried exploration missing from some sections of his Chapter 5. The poems are all among Huey's favorites by Tamekane, and the discussion ranges over not only versification, but treatment of topic, imagery, and the poem's place in a historical view of waka. Analyses and contrastive poems are amply provided. And as usual, Huey's consciousness of sound values and structure is much in evidence. The discussion of the fourth of the seven poems, FGS III:292/282, a richly documented explication de texte, sets a new standard in its phonetic analysis (Huey's translation, p. 131):

Haru no nagori Nagamuru ura no Yūnagi ni Kogiwakareyuku Fune mo urameshi Spring remembrances remain On the beach from which I gaze At evening, as the wind subsides; The boat rowed off in parting Fills me with sad longing. Huey points out the role of the dominant vowel "u"—used nine times, "far more than the normal distribution of that sound"—in imparting a plaintive mood. According to his analysis, the poem is structured on the echoic relation of nagamuru ura and kogiwakareyuku fune, the sequence of "na" and "g" sounds, and the progression of the "r's." Tamekane's poem is indeed one of lovely harmonies, exploiting the liquid flow of classical Japanese in a manner worthy of a Narihira, but with his own signature in the ji-amari of the opening line. Huey explains the multiple meanings of nagori—tidal pool, seawrack, that which is left behind, (the sorrow of) parting—and reviews the earlier literature of the departing boat all the way back to Manzei's (early 8th century) SIS XX:1327 (Huey's translation, p. 132):

Yo no naka o

Nani ni tatoemu

Asaborake

Kogiyuku fune no
Ato no shiranami¹⁶

To what shall we compare
This world of ours?
To white waves in the wake
Of a boat that rows away,
At dawn, to parts unknown.

As a "sadly superficial" contrast by Tameyo, Huey quotes SGSS II:151, a poem on departing spring discussed earlier in this review (p. 442). Huey's translation (p. 134) is:

O moon at dawn, Teach to the departing spring Your custom Of remaining behind With practiced ease.

The fairness of Huey's treatment is indicated by the way he puts Tameyo's poem into context by quoting its *kotobagaki*: "Submitted when the Retired Emperor acceded to that position and courtiers composed poetry on the topic of the Moon at Dawn as Spring Departs." Huey says of the poem, "As an occasional poem that demanded conventional treatment, it should perhaps not be criticized

Actually ten times, since the \bar{u} of $y\bar{u}nagi$ is long.

¹⁶ The Man'yōshū original of this poem (MYS III:354/351) is Yo no naka o / Nani ni tatoemu / Asabiraki / Kogiinishi fune no / Ato naki gotoshi ("To what / Shall I compare the world? / It is like the wake / Vanishing behind a boat / That has rowed away at dawn").

too harshly; Tamekane was capable of this sort of thing, too' (p. 134).

The fifth of the seven poems is GYS V:689/690; KU, Round 21 (Huey's translation, p. 134):

Ika narishi What were they like,

gone?

Omoiizuru I sit and wonder.

Koshikata katare Tell of the past you remember, Aki no yo no tsuki Moon of this autumn night!

Huey quotes the Brower-Miner translation as well (JCP, p. 398):

What was he like,

The man whose feelings were so fine

As to summon you to rise?

Tell me of the past from which you come,

O moon of the clear autumn night.

While this version, with its instinctive alliteration and lovely last line, is very fine indeed, worthy of the talents of its two translators, the middle line is problematic. Huey is surely right in interpreting it as he does. *Omoiizuru*, alas, is unlikely to mean "think the moon into rising," however much one might wish it would. In any case, the moon is going down, for the reference is to KKS XV:747 (Ise monogatari, episode 4) Narihira's famous poem on the changes that a year can bring. (The translation is my own):

Tsuki ya aranu Is there no moon?¹⁷
Haru ya mukashi no And is this springtime not the

spring

Haru naranu Of times gone by?
Wa ga mi hitotsu wa Myself alone remaining
Moto no mi ni shite Still the self it was before. . . .

The hito of Tamekane's poem is indeed that "man of long ago," as Huey points out. In the spirit of contributing to Huey's excellent

¹⁷ Translators shy away from rendering this line correctly, and Huey is no exception: "Is it not the same moon?" (p. 135). What's the use of teaching classical grammar if the experts don't bother to distinguish ari from nari?

discussion, I would like to mention that Tamekane has two poems at this point in the $Gyokuy\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ that refer to the Narihira honka. (Both, be it noted, have ji-amari.) The first is "Ika narishi," of which my own version is:

What do you recall
Of those passions of the past,
I can but wonder;
Tell me the ground you've been over,
O moon of the autumn night.

The other follows immediately:

GYS V:690/691

Aki zo kawaru

Tsuki to sora to wa
Mukashi nite
Yoyo heshi kage o
Sanagara zo miru

A different autumn—
But the same moon, and the sky,
Just as long ago:
Nor have I changed in gazing
At light fallen year by year.

This reflective seasonal poetry, imbued with affecting references to passions and the past, shows another side of Tamekane's art. The imagist nature poem and the imageless love poem were not the only strings to his bow. On the matter of images in love poetry, Huey shows that over time all schools tended to use or eschew them according to the needs of a topic and placement in a sequence, the Kyōgoku peculiarity being to prize the intense, imageless statement particularly in the formal context of their *chokusenshū*. Huey agrees with the conclusion suggested above (p. 443) that Tamekane's love poetry is part of an approach shared with his Nijō rivals. "Yet," he says, ". . . there is one important distinction: his speakers show a certain self-awareness that is missing in the work of others" (p. 143). Further reading will no doubt reveal in due time, to me at least, whether this fine distinction is sound or a piece of advocacy for a poet Huey obviously admires.

Hard research and close reading have enabled Huey to get inside the age and its poetry. The result is a fine achievement. In the process Huey has examined many documents, translating chunks of prose, large and small, as well as 198 poems. In this imperfect world no review is complete without its ara-sagashi, and to that task I now turn, first taking a look through the poems.

p. 40: Huey translates a poem Tamekane wrote during his first exile (in Sado) as follows:

Saki no yo no	Things from previous lives,
Koto mo mukui zo	These, too, bring consequences,
Moreizuru	So, jeweled drops of tears
Namida no tama o	That now come streaming out,
Yodome tamae yo	I beg you, please hold back!

The poem, however, is addressed not to his tears, but to Hakusan Myōri Gongen 白山冥利権現, the deity to whom he dedicated the acrostic from which the poem comes (see below, p. 470), as can be told by the object particle o, the exoactive form yodome, and the honorific tamae.

- pp. 83-84: Huey falls into an ever-lurking booby trap for translators here. In discussing a pair of poems, one by Fushimi and the other by Tameie, both containing the phrase "meguru aki no inazuma," which he renders as "Autumn lightning dances round," he says "Tameie's innovation is to say that [lightning] dances." Meguru, "to go around," is far enough from "dances" to make this statement unacceptable.
- p. 101: Huey quotes a translation from Brower and Miner's 1967 work, Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time, but he does not observe the strict courtesy incumbent on one translator toward another by quoting it exactly. Brower and Miner have:

Does the winter drizzle
Fall in Akishino on hamlets clustered
In the outer mountains?
For upon the peak of Mount Ikoma
The clouds hang heavy with a storm.

Huey omits the definite articles before "winter" and "clouds." And he makes the poem adhere to a straight margin, not observing Brower and Miner's convention of indenting the first and third lines. These may seem trivial matters, but they suggest a lack of respect toward another translator's work that grates on me like a

missing macron. Also, the translation is from p. 71, not p. 70, of Brower and Miner.¹⁸

p. 104: There is a grammatical problem in Huey's translation here of Tamekane's GYS VIII:1204/1205; KU, Round 52

Tabi no sora	This rainy day of travel,
Ame no furu hi wa	The sky so dark I wonder
Kurenu ka to	If already the sun has set,
Omoite nochi mo	But then I continue on,
Yuku zo hisashiki	For I still have far to go.

- "But" demands an independent clause, complete with predicate, coming before it—in other words, the "is" so obviously missing after "sky." That this blunder is no mere misprint is suggested by the reappearance of the identical text on p. 177.
- p. 109: The fourth line of another translation from Brower and Miner, "Though I am drenched I shall be sheltered," is altered without notification to "Though I be drenched I shall hide."
- p. 141: It is rare to find Huey completely misconstruing a poem, but I believe he has done so here. The poem is from $Shikash\bar{u}$, the sixth imperial waka anthology (1151?), and is by the young Shunzei, then known as Akihiro 顕広:

SKS VIII:236/235

Kokoro oba
His interest,

Todomete koso wa
Kaeritsure
Has since withdrawn.

Ayashi ya nani no
Kure o matsuran
His interest,
Which was once attached to me,
Has since withdrawn.

Strange that I should still
Await nightfall—and why?

Huey has clearly taken this to be the woman's poem, but it is the man's, one of a set in *SKS* by men who have returned home from their loves. This man has left his heart behind, which is why (being heartless) it is strange for him to be looking forward to another evening tryst:

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁸ Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time, Translated, with an Introduction and Notes (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967).

I have left my heart
Behind with her, whence only
This returning could be;
Strange, how can I be waiting,
Now, for the dusk to come?

A few more errors crop up in Appendix D, a complete translation of Tamekane's side of *Kingyoku utaawase*, in which he and his patron Fushimi matched poems.

p. 173, #19: A misunderstanding of asu ("tomorrow") as meaning the same as ashita ("next morning") has the poet wondering if he will be waiting still in the morning dew instead of speculating that tomorrow evening he'll be back gazing again.

#22: Chisato 千里 does not mean "mountain villages." It sounds as if it should mean "thousand villages," but is actually translatese for "thousand leagues" (senri): "Chisato no hoka mo / Shizumarite" = "Over a thousand leagues and more / A silence falls"—a very Chinese panorama.

p. 174, #27: Here too Huey seems to have missed the point of one of Tamekane's poems:

Sayuru hi mo

Ame wa kudaru o

Ika nareba

On this chill day,

Kōreru kawa no Waters of the frozen river Mizu tomaruran Seem ever blocked by ice.

But this is a poem that asks a question, as the middle line insists; in fact, the age-old question of why nature won't obey human logic. The conception is pure "Kokinshū style."

Even on bone-chill days
Rain continues coming down;
Why is it, then,
That in the frozen river
The water should cease to flow?

p. 175, #38: The second line should read "Sareba yo sa made," rather than "Sareba yosa made." One might puzzle a long time over "yosa made." "Sa made omoikeri" means "That's pretty

much what I thought," and "Sareba yo" is "Oh, well, in that case." Huey's "Oh, what is the use. . . ?" is serviceable enough.

After complaining about the above handful of *ara*, I would like to end this section by complimenting Huey on a particularly beautiful translation:

p. 174, #30:

Fukishioru They seem to engulf, Arashi o komete To bury the storm

Uzumurashi And its withering blasts— Fukeyuku yama zo Mountains in the deepening

night

Yuki ni shizumaru Lie softened, silent, in the snow.

We shall return to evaluation of the quality of poetic translation, making some comparisons to the work of other translators, toward the end of this review. Meantime, let us comb through some of the prose passages.

We do not have far to look. On page one appears a fairly challenging statement: "[A]s Tamekane himself noted. . . , an essential condition of poetry is that it be written down." Ahah, what of this, oralists? But did Tamekane really say so? The relevant passage in Tamekane-kyō wakashō, Tamekane's only extant treatise on poetics, goes as follows: からの哥・やまと哥とは申し候へども、中に動く心を外にあらはして紙に書き候事は、さらにかはるところなく候にや.20 In other words, "Whether you speak of Chinese or Japanese poetry, one might venture to say that there is absolutely no difference between them in regard to the fact that they both express outwardly, on paper, the heart/mind that moves inwardly." The point is clearly rather different from what Huey seems to have Tamekane proclaiming.

p. 23: There is a problem about the headnote (kotobagaki) of SSZS XV:1578, translated here. The topic of the poem is given as おなじ心を, which means in the anthological context, "On the same kokoro (essence/spirit/feeling/sense, etc.)" as the next previous poem, which is stated to be 絶恋, "Love That Has Reached an End." In

²⁰ Hisamatsu Sen'ichi 久松潜一, ed., *Karonshū*, in Hisamatsu and Nishio Minoru 西尾實, eds., *Karonshū*, *Nōgakuronshū*, *NKBT*, vol. 65 (Iwanami shoten, 1963), p. 154.

other words, #1578, like #1577, is a love poem. Huey translates おな じ心 as "On One Mind," which leads one to expect something doctrinal.²¹

- p. 58: An anonymous Nijō attack on Tamekane and his ilk appeared in 1315, shortly after the submission and acceptance of the Gyokuyōshū, under the title of Kaen rensho no kotogaki 花苑連署事書, "Poetic Garden Particulars Jointly Signed." The "particulars" "jointly signed" by ten priestly poets of the past, from Kisen 喜撰 (9th century) to Jakuren 寂蓮 (1139?-1202), provide useful material for sharpening our understanding of Kyōgoku style, and Huey uses them frequently for that purpose. Here he translates a sneer directed at the large number of poems in the Gyokuyōshū: おほやうにさせる 事もなきものゝみ書き續けられて、まことしき物二三百首にはすぎざるべし.22 Huey's rendering of this is a bit inexact: "[Yet when I opened this collection, I found literally two or three hundred poems on insignificant topics." Actually, the Flower-Garden critic says he found a mere two or three hundred worthwhile poems (out of 3,000-odd): ". . . by and large it is all a string of trivia; there aren't over two or three hundred respectable poems."
- p. 96: The cited passage from Wakashō (Hisamatsu 1963, pp. 157-58) does not say Tamekane admired the poets of the Kanpyō period (889-98), but that one should avoid the artificialities that came later. Huey and Matisoff, a complete translation of Wakashō, has the passage correct.²³
- p. 110: From Kaer rensho no kotogaki, ひごろより自歎歌ときこえき (Sasaki, p. 99), probably means "I heard lately that this poem is a favorite of his," rather than "This poem shows even more conceit than usual." "Mōshigoto" in おそれある申しごとなり ("An awful verse!"—Huey) presumably means something other than "verse"—"a piece of verbiage"?

²¹ Huey has a note here on a dating problem, inasmuch as the headnote specifies Kenmu 建武 2 (1335) as the year the poem was composed, three years after Tamekane's established death date. The text in *ShinpenKT*, however, has Kenji 建治 2 (1276), presumably a correction.

²² Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei*, vol 4 (Kazama shobō, 1968), p. 105.

²³ Robert N. Huey and Susan Matisoff, "Lord Tamekane's Notes on Poetry: Tamekanekyō Wakashō," MN 40.2 (1985), 137.

- p. 127: Again from Kaen rensho no kotogaki: さだめて自歎歌なるべし (Sasaki, p. 98)—"This is bound to be a poem he prides himself on," not "This poem is quite full of conceits." 梅, 柳かぞへつらねられたるほかさせるふしもみえず (Ibid.)—"There is nothing much to [the poem] but a linking of plum and willow," not "We can find no other verses that link the plum and the willow." On the same page Huey gives the wrong date for MYS XIX:4163/4139, a poem by Ōtomo no Yakamochi. The headnote states it was composed in Tenpyō-Shōhō 天平勝宝 2 (750), not Tenpyō 2 (730). It is rather odd, too, that Huey refers to Yakamochi as "Ōtomo." This is like referring to Teika as "Fujiwara."
- p. 134: The translation of the headnote to GYS V:689/690 omits みこの宮と申し侍りし比. The poem was composed when Fushimi was still a prince, before his accession in 1287. In the same headnote Huey renders "dai o sagurite" as "on set topics." Dai o sagurite ("groping for topics") denotes choosing a topic by lot.

Huey's Appendix B contains further translations from contemporary historical sources, the first of which is the diary of Emperor Hanazono, *Hanazono Tennō shinki* 花園天皇宸記. When faced with such difficult kanbun documents, I normally hesitate to express too confident an opinion, and might well have rested content in Huey's hands here. But in the end I thought, this will not do. One must be on one's mettle. And in fact I did find myself at variance with Huey several times.

p. 155: 今日驗者定仙法印也 (Kawamata, p. 90).

Huey: "Today I summoned the medium Josen Honin."

A genja (or genza) 驗者 is a monk who conducts prayers for divine protection and possesses the ability to draw on the power of his superior merit. "Medium" seems a bit off, since the genja did not become possessed. "Miracle-worker" or "ascetic" would be preferable. Furthermore, 法印 is not "Hōnin," but Hōin, "Dharma Sign," the highest Buddhist rank in the 法眼, 法橋, 法印 hierarchy.

太子堂上人又誦神咒祇候. 與驗者相並有先例也 (Kawamata, p. 90).

Huey: "There is precedent for a high-ranking person to combine Sutra-chanting and prayers to the Shinto gods, and to use a medium."

太子堂上人 would appear to mean "His Reverence from the [Shōtoku] Taishi Hall," not "a high-ranking person." Perhaps:

"His Reverence from the Taishi Hall also recited prayers to the gods of heaven and supplicated with spells the deities of earth. There is precedent for [such a person] to be present along with the 驗者."

p. 156, fourth paragraph: 忤旨 (Kawamata, p. 90) is not "Ran against principle," but "Ran against his principles." See Morohashi 10358.1: 相手が自分の心に逆らふ。

爲世又怨朝廷籠居,隨又辭職,數年後爲兼坐事,仍又出仕,無何叙正三位, 籠居有積薪之愁,仍給同日位記 (Kawamata, p. 90).

Huey: "Some years later, after Tamekane was involved in that affair and exiled, Tameyo returned to his duties. For some reason he was awarded the Third Rank, so complaining he was being neglected, he retired. Thereupon he was formally promoted on the same day."

Huey has omitted the first two clauses and somewhat confused the rest. An attempted reconstruction: "Tameyo also went into retirement, angered at the court, accordingly resigning his offices. Several years later Tamekane was implicated in [a criminal] affair. Then [Tameyo] came back into service. For no reason he was promoted to Senior Third Rank. In retirement he had known the sorrow of piling up firewood, and so he was granted a same-day certificate of rank (or: was granted a certificate of rank the same day [he returned to duty])."

p. 157: 愚暗之甚不可謂者也 (Kawamata, p. 90).

Huey: "But this is a foolish thing to say."

Perhaps: "The extreme stupidity of this is beyond saying."

牛蹄之涔 (Kawamata, p. 91).

Huey renders this colorful expression as "a drop of water." It literally means "the water in a cow's hoofprint." Hanazono is referring to Tameyo's understanding of Confucianism and Buddhism compared to Tamekane's: 譬猶溟海與牛蹄之灣. To be sure, "a drop" is less in volume than the water that would collect in a cow's hoofprint, but the latter sounds a good deal more insulting. Perhaps Hanazono should be permitted his gibe.

癸巳 (Kawamata, p. 198).

Huey: "the day is the Younger Brother of Water. It is the Hour of the Snake [9:00 a.m.-11:00 a.m.]."

Both cyclical signs refer to the day: Mizunoto-mi 癸巳, or Water-

Junior / Serpent. This is the standard calendrical formula for indicating the day. One has only to follow the sequence of diary entries on p. 198 to verify this at a glance.

p. 158: 姉大納言二品 (Kawamata, p. 199).

Huey: "His elder sister, Major Counselor of the Second Rank Tameko." Surely a note is in order here explaining why and in what sense Tamekane's sister Tameko was a dainagon 大納言. To the best of my knowledge, the office was a male preserve, and so the term must be the usual lady's court nickname.

和歌文書九十餘 (Kawamata, p. 199).

Huey: "Some ninety lines about poetry." It is not clear why this refers to "lines."

内外典 (Kawamata, p. 199).

Huey: "Buddhist scriptures." The 内 are Buddhist, the 外 Confucian.

世人不知之 (Kawamata, p. 199).

Huey: "Ordinary people don't understand these religious truths." The truths at issue may also include the principles of poetry.

宗峰上人 (Kawamata, p. 199).

Huey: "the holy man of Sōko." Presumably "Sōko" is a misprint for "Sōho."

心聰法印 (Kawamata, p. 199).

Huey: "Shinsō Hōnin." Again, 法印 is Hōin, not Hōnin. Huey's note 18, p. 202 states that neither Sōho nor Shinsō has been identified. But there is a Shinsō listed in the Tendai lineage in *Dokushi biyō*, p. 926.

p. 159: 近年以來詠哥一巻 (Kawamata, p. 199).

Huey: "I composed a roll of poems last year. . . ."

Rather: "A scroll of my poems composed in recent years."

p. 160: 暗御民之大體, 是以得罪 (Kawamata, p. 200).

Huey: "He pushed secrecy to a vice."

Rather: "He was ignorant of the great principle of governing the people. Because of this he was held guilty of an offense."

而於一得者人之所許也 (Kawamata, p. 200).

Huey: "However, because of his virtues, people forgave him this." Or perhaps they forgave him because of his *one virtue* (of loyalty? of poetry?).

於和哥者正嫡之身,已劣于末流,以是妬忌之情尤甚 (Kawamata, p. 200).

Huey: "But in the field of poetry Tamekane began to resent Tameyo, who represented the legitimate line of Teika's descendants, because Tamekane felt he himself was in no way inferior as a poet."

I think Hanazono was trying to say something more like this: "In waka [Tameyo] was in the main line of legitimate descent, but was inferior [in talent] to the branch line—and so his hatred [for Tamekane] was extreme."

A particularly important document upon which Huey relies in discussing the quarrel between Tameyo and Tamekane is the famous *Enkyō ryōkyō sochinjō* 廷慶兩郷訴陳狀, the "Suits Between the Two Lords in the Enkyō Era." It is a fragmentary collection of the surviving texts of their suits and countersuits over the issue of Tamekane's commission to compile the *Gyokuyōshū*, which Tameyo tried to have quashed. It dates from 1310, five years before *Kaen rensho no kotogaki*, the Nijō attack on Tamekane and his *Gyokuyōshū*, which had been completed and submitted in the interim.

One of the issues raised by Tameyo was that the premature deaths of two of the four poets originally asked to compile a $chokusensh\bar{u}$ by Fushimi in 1293 (which commission Tamekane and Fushimi decided to regard as still operative fifteen years later) had put a curse on the project. Tamekane rebutted, saying that such unfortunate demises among compilers had occurred before without casting an inauspicious shadow over their anthologies:

p. 165: 夭亡之輩雖有之, 更不爲其集之不吉 (Sasaki, p. 127).

Huey: ". . . so although these deaths have occurred, they cannot be considered unlucky for this collection."

I think this rather means "Although there have been those who died prematurely, their deaths were not at all unlucky for those collections [of which they had been appointed compilers]."

Tameyo did not miss the chance to use Tamekane's political disgrace and his exile to Sado from 1298 to 1303 as further ammunition in his suit to stop the $Gyokuy\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$. Tamekane had earlier protested his innocence. Tameyo replies:

無事被行非據之罪科之由,以驛之次訴申關東歟.於此條者,曾不存知之.唯不遂撰歌,配流之條,申不吉之由許也.(Sasaki,p. 127).

Huey: "If he really was sent off without any grounds for punish-

ment, why was he formally charged by Kantō? I have never heard of such a thing. I submit that even just on the base of Tamekane's having been exiled he should not compile the anthology.''

While I am far from confident of understanding this passage, I would propose a tentative revision as follows: "As for his claim that he was innocent and was forced to go for a crime for which there was no evidence, did he send mounted messengers with appeals to the Kantō? On this matter I remain ignorant. All I am saying is that the matters of his not accomplishing the [original] compilation, and his exile, are inauspicious."

p. 166: 言語道斷 (Sasaki, p. 128).

Huey: "He violates the Way of Language."

This pithy four-character blast by Tameyo against Tamekane's irreverence toward tradition simply means "It leaves me speechless."

It is possible that I have overlooked—or been unaware of—other questionable passages in Huey's prose translations, and indeed the above list does not pretend to be definitive. But extensive comparison to the original texts leads me to conclude that Huey deserves recognition for providing generally reliable translations, in extenso, of unannotated and very difficult documents vital to the study of poetry in his period. Appendix B also includes a translation from Nakatsukasa no Naishi nikki, the wabun diary of a lady-in-waiting to Fushimi, in which I have found no problem worth mentioning. The passage includes two late chōka, always a challenge to a translator.

Translation problems aside, Kyōgoku Tamekane includes a number of assertions and explanations that struck me as questionable or inadequate. I shall mention a few, but do not mean to imply that there are a great many more in what I consider a very solid book.

p. 2: "From the Heian period on, at least on the formal level, there seems to have been something of a resistance on the part of the Japanese to the idea of a direct, traceable connection between an actual event or scene and a poem. Waka was supposed to be 'pure,' . . ." It is quite tempting to overemphasize the alleged "purity" of waka. Huey knows as well as anyone that ke no uta existed, indeed were one whole side (half?) of waka's raison d'être, and such poems with highly circumstantial kotobagaki were included in

large numbers in imperial anthologies, establishing very "traceable connections" to actual events.

pp. 37-40: This is one of the most fascinating passages in Huey's book. It describes a number of astonishingly intricate acrostics that Tamekane composed while in exile in Sado. Hall are devotional, prayers to Buddhist and Shintō deities, designed to bring about a turn for the better in the author's fortunes. One of these is a kutsukamuri 杳冠, in which the first and last syllables of a group of poems spell out other poems. Tamekane's set of 31 poems thus yields a tanka each from the kutsu and kamuri syllables. As a further nicety, Tamekane arranged for the first four "lines" (ku, 5-7-5-7...) of the successive poems in the set to be readable (more or less) as a chōka. And he also employed the technique of moji-kusari 文字鎖, in which the last syllable of each poem is identical to the first syllable in the last ku of the next.

Huey describes the above clearly enough, but gets into a bit of trouble with the next acrostic, a $meig\bar{o}ka$ 名號歌, in which key syllables spell names, here that of Amida Butsu. Tamekane's is a set of twelve tanka arranged in a vertical, horizontal, and diagonal grid. The initial syllables of the consecutive ku of the vertical and diagonal poems spell out "Amida Butsu," but this is impossible for the horizontal poems, as Fig. 1 will show. Huey is therefore in error in describing this acrostic as "a set of twelve poems in which the initial syllables of the five lines spell out Amida Butsu." His statement that the horizontal poems all read right-to-left is also wrong, and his diagram is wrong in showing that arrangement. The horizontals alternate right-to-left and left-to-right. His reference to "a sixth (and last) syllable of the poem" (p. 39) is puzzling; I cannot make sense of it. For a diagram based more carefully on the one in $Zoku \ gunsho \ ruij\bar{u}$, vol. 16A, p. 64, see Figure 1:26 It will be

²⁴ In an amusing inconsistency, Tamekane had condemned acrostics in his treatise *Tamekane-kyō wakashō*. See Hisamatsu, p. 158; Huey and Matisoff, p. 138.

The use of "lines" here is likely to cause confusion, since there are five vertical and five horizontal (and two diagonal) poems written each in a single line. Needless to say, Huey is referring to the internal divisions, the ku. In the case of the five horizontal poems, the successive initial syllables of each entire poem spell out "Amida Butsu."

²⁶ The poems, sans diagram, are reproduced in Toki Zenmaro 土岐善麿, Shinshū Kyōgoku Tamekane (Kadokawa shoten), 1968), p. 245. Toki gives あきはるる as the first ku of the third vertical poem; ZGR, vol. 16A, p. 64, has あきはつる. The reading might be thought to

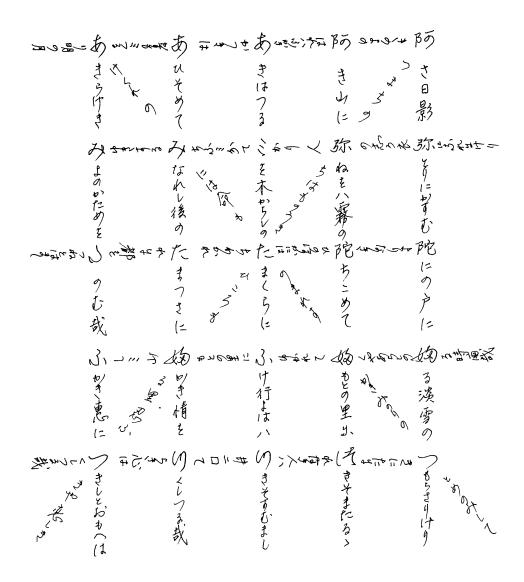


Fig. 1. Tamekane's "Amida Butsu" acrostic, adapted from ZGR, vol. 16A, p. 64. Calligraphy by Fumiko E. Cranston.

observed that the "gimmick" of the horizontal lines is that each ku begins with the same kana.

Still another acrostic (ZGR, vol. 16A, p. 63) arranges 20 poems in an up-down, down-up, right-left, and left-right grid so that four poems intersect at each of 25 key syllables to spell (read top to bottom, right to left) the prayer "Namo Hakusamu Meuri Gomugemu omofu koto kanahetamahe yo" ("Hail the felicitous manifestation of the god of Hakusan; grant me what I long for"—Huey's translation, p. 39). The only problem I find with Huey's description here is his reference to "four groups of five poems." It seems "five groups of four poems" would be correct.

- p. 49: The definitions of the auxiliary verbs ji and mu are reversed—ji is "will not," mu "will." It is not clear what point Huey is making by emphasizing that these auxiliaries are "colloquial." To be sure, as standard grammatical elements they were no doubt used in speech in Tamekane's day, but they are equally elements of classical Japanese par excellence, that is, the language of waka.
- p. 194, n. 9: In an absent-minded slip, Huey mistranslates hatsu no itsumoji as "the first five lines" instead of as "the first five letters" (that consitute the first "line" of a poem).
- pp. 87-88: Huey observes here that "what we find of [Tame-kane's poetry] not only in $Gyokuy\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$, but also in the poetry contests held in the first decade of the fourteenth century . . . represent the poetry Tamekane himself considered his best work." While the statement sounds unexceptionable (except for the lack of agreement between subject and verb), it would seem to conflict with pp. 77-79, where Huey has been at some pains to dismiss the notion that the best poetry necessarily ended up in either imperial anthologies or

be akihazuru, "sick of and ashamed":

Akihazuru Mi o kogarashi no Tamakura ni Fukeyuku yowa wa Tsuki zo sumumaji Sickened and ashamed
Of this autumnal self that lies
In the withering wind,
I know no moon this deepening night
Will shine clear on my pillowing arm.

Several of the verses also have variant readings, not included in Fig. 1. The third ku of the final horizontal poem has an obliterated character indicated by a square box.

poetry contests, each of which had its own standards for *appropriate* poetry.

- p. 101: Huey errs in stating that Teika's *Kindai shūka* contains no poems whose third lines are made up of five-syllable words. There are nineteen such poems in the collection, not counting the ones whose third line is a verb with a speculative-*ran* ending, which Brower and Miner separate off from the parent verb.
- p. 102: A puzzling passage here attempts to explain that parallelism does not exist in "verse passages of the fifth chapter" of the Lotus Sutra, whereas it does in the "Chinese jie [sie] (Sanskrit gatha) poems, which reworked passages of the Lotus. . . " The gāthā (Ch. ji 偈, J. ge) is precisely the "verse passage" in which Huey finds no parallelism. The gāthās are highly parallelistic. Perhaps Huey meant to say that the prose passages exhibit no parallelism. Even this statement could be objected to.²⁷
- p. 104: Huey cites an interesting observation on English versification made by Harold Stewart to the effect that considerations of quantity are what overrule iambic meter in the second of Keats' lines, "The sedge is withered from the lake / And no birds sing." According to this view, "birds" is stressed "because it contains a quantitatively long vowel (i.e., it is followed by two consonants)." The real reason why "birds" is stressed is because the dynamics of the statement demand that it be. "And no bees buzz" would do as well. Of course, "bees" does have a long vowel. And so, let us turn to a lesser poet for a short vowel, for instance in the lines, "The farmer owned a Guernsey cow / And one fat ox." The truncated line makes up for its brevity by equal, heavy stress on its principal elements, whether the vowels are long or short.
 - p. 137: Chiji 千々 is a Japanese, not a Chinese, reading.

²⁷ See, e.g., Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, ed., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, vol. 9 (Taishō issai-kyō kankōkai, 1925), p. 19; Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (*The Lotus Sūtra*), Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajiva (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 101.

Huey's bibliography lists the source of Stewart's statement as "The Medium of Verse," Workshop: Poetry and Practical Criticism (Melbourne), 1.5-6 (1947). I have consulted W. Jackson Bate, John Keats (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 478-81, for text and commentary on Keats' ballad. Bate gives "The sedge has wither'd from the lake" in the first stanza and "Though the sedge is withered from the lake" in the last.

p. 142: Huey implicitly issues a challenge when he declares Tei-ka's *SKKS* XII:1137, on "Winter Love," to be "practically impossible to translate completely." One always likes to try the impossible:

Toko no shimo Makura no kōri Kiewabinu Musubi mo okanu Hito no chigiri ni Frost on the bedclothes,
Ice on the pillow—it is I
That shall vanish first:
Too relentless is the cold
For the warming bonds of love.

p. 200, n. 47: Huey's (and Tamekane's?) unusually broad definition of "miscellaneous" as including "all poetry that does not fit into the seasonal or love books of an imperial anthology" deserves further justification than a mere statement of it.

A final category of ara consists of misprints and other minor slips.

- p. 21: $Shinchokusensh\bar{u}$, ("The New Imperial Anthology"), the ninth of the imperial anthologies, has its title mistakenly rendered as "New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times," which of course is English for $Shinkokinsh\bar{u}$, the eighth anthology.
 - p. 38: Bu is the voiced form of fu, not vice versa.
 - p. 82: Shūi Guso (Teika's personal collection) should be Shūi Gusō.
 - p. 90: "Tsuryaki"→"Tsurayuki."
- p. 93: The eccentric "tanobeshi" in Huey's romanization of KU, Round 32, is not justified by the ZGR text, which has the normal tanomeshi (ZGR vol. 15A, p. 344). GYS X:1367/1368 has an identical text.
 - p. 97, second poem, second line: "tsugeru" \to "tsuguru."
 - p. 115: "*GKS*",→"*GYS*."
 - p. 140, first poem, second line: "heru" "furu."
 - p. 157, next-to-last paragraph: "Sado", Sado."

Unless I am mistaken, Kyōgoku Tamekane has not been extensively reviewed in the scholarly journals. (Of course, there may be laggard reviewers like myself lurking elsewhere, but somehow I doubt it.) One review I did notice, by Robert Borgen, makes an important point. Borgen regrets that Huey did not pursue the topic of Chinese influence on Tamekane and his school.²⁹ Indeed, he might well have

²⁹ Robert Borgen, Review of Huey, Kyōgoku Tamekane: Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan, JAS 49.3 (1990), p. 656.

done so, since as Borgen points out, Brower and Miner already over thirty years ago incorporated that element into their chapter on "The Late Classical Period" in Japanese Court Poetry. I do not intend to take Huey to task for failing to deal with an area that I am still lamentably ill equipped to deal with myself. But Borgen's observation reminds me, if any reminder is needed, of the pleasure and profit to be derived from going back to Japanese Court Poetry, a book without which the study of waka would hardly exist in this country as it does today. It is a book of seemingly inexhaustible riches, and I cannot escape the feeling that most of what has been written since in English-language scholarship in this area is a matter of footnoting its text. Certainly, as an occasional annotator, I am conscious of my own debt. And sure enough, Brower and Miner devote several pages to "The Chinese Example" in their discussion of what they conceived of as "Kyōgoku-Reizei Ideals" (ICP, pp. 356-65). (For my skepticism regarding their linking the Kyōgoku and Reizei, see above, p. 432.) The influence of Sung esthetics is the topic they discuss, and the one missing from Huey's study. Sung poets like Su Shih 蘇軾 (Tung-p'o 東坡, 1036-1101; see below, p. 514 for more on his esthetics) preferred an outward plainness, a "mellowness" of late autumn, even a "withered" appearance, to the gaudy late T'ang style. Brower and Miner trace Teika's own late ushin style as well as the preference for wan, declining natural images among Tamekane and his followers to the substantial infusion of Sung texts and esthetics that came to Japan in the late Heian and Kamakura periods along with Zen priests and institutions. Brower and Miner themselves barely touch the tip of this cooling chunk of ice. If Huey's further researches take him into this area, all students of medieval waka will stand to benefit.

The Brower-Miner chapter on the Late Classical Period also has excellent discussions of diction (p. 371), rhetoric (p. 374), and even grammatical matters as specific as the use of -te, one of Huey's points (p. 378). Huey is more detailed in his focused analyses, and stronger in his research on the historical background to Tamekane's career. But it is hard to beat JCP for its breadth of coverage (e.g.,

³⁰ Robert N. Huey, "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice," HJAS 50.2 (1990) serves as a valuable supplement to $Ky\bar{vgoku}$ Tamekane. It examines the changes in chokusenshū compilation practices and the makeup of poetry contests over several centuries of the court tradition, showing how political considerations and personal animosities led to censorship and exclusivity.

discussion of new developments in poetic sequencing) or for quality of writing on poetry. The Brower-Miner discussions are selfconfident, wide-ranging in reference; they flow gracefully, unencumbered by the rough edges of a reworked doctoral dissertation. Reading about esthetic distance (p. 390), for instance, I was struck again by the unhurried fullness of the book (which nevertheless may have emerged from a desperate effort to finish, for all I know). Students have often complained to me about the English literature references that are a feature of Japanese Court Poetry. But these references can be very helpful for those who are even minimally acquainted with English literature. (For instance, the mention of Dr. Johnson's views on the general and the particular on p. 391, contrasted with those of Blake, helps focus the whole Nijō-Kyōgoku dispute. It awakes the cry of naru hodo, at least in an old Eng. Lit. retread.) The classical, humanistic urge of the book goes down well with me. "Sensible readers," "catholic tastes"—how one hungers for them!

Rather than go on praising this famous book, let me enlarge on some objections that have been raised to it. I have made a few myself. The tone is sometimes unjustifiably disdainful, as in the early chapter on "Primitive Song and Poetry." There is no need to discuss matters relating to such a remote epoch in the present context. The Brower-Miner remarks on "that overly extolled and much misunderstood branch of Buddhism, Zen'' (p. 399) are more to the point here. After having adduced the importance of Zen in introducing Sung esthetics and acknowledging the possibility of Zen contacts among Kyōgoku poets, Brower and Miner sound the warning bell against what they elsewhere label "ignorant rapture" (p. 4) late in their chapter. Here one is warned against becoming "ignorantly excited" (p. 399). Shuddering shades of graduate school! In the 1950s, from which Japanese Court Poetry comes, the Beat Generation and American Zen were perhaps regarded as subversive to proper discipline in certain academic quarters. I was in Berkeley myself at the time, and remember. Alas, the rapture was frailer than the ignorance, as we all learned who stuck to the last. But, ironically or not, it was Japanese Court Poetry itself, in the large, that provided the antidote for those very grad. school blues, at least for one student. Nevertheless, anyone with an independent, inquiring mind might

well be bothered by the dismissive "of course" in the Brower-Miner remark on the end of the *chokusenshū* tradition, "The last four collections were of course undistinguished" (p. 414). One is reminded of the "dull, unintelligible, repetitive" text Arthur Waley claimed to find in the portions of *Makura no sōshi* he chose not to translate.³¹

Huey's own chief challenge to Brower and Miner is over the matter of imageless love poetry, one of the Kyōgoku(-Reizei) school's identifying characteristics as defined in Japanese Court Poetry. This question has been dealt with briefly above (p. 457). It seems likely that Brower and Miner were attracted to the expository advantage of a clear-cut contrast in formulating the all-image seasonal poem vs. imageless love poem dichotomy. Huey is correct in pointing out the existence of Kokinshū love poems with no imagery and Kyōgoku love poems that do employ imagery. As he says, the topic tends to determine. In early Japanese poetry (Man'yō, early Kokin), in the age of the jo, love poems were necessarily closely involved with imagery, for the introductory part of the poem was always centered on an image. Kibutsu 寄物 poems—poems "in reference to things," an old Man'yō category—also obviously demanded imagery. The third book of love poems in the $Gyokuy\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ has several kibutsu poems, including this by Tamekane's sister Tameko. (Her thoroughly oldfashioned poem also contains a one-line short jo, or adverbial makurakotoba, in line three. The translation is my own.)

GYS XI:1487/1479 Love Related to the Shoreline
Uki nami no
Waves of the tumbling sea—
Kakaru to naraba
If they thus sweep trouble in,
One were well advised
Utokute hito ni
Aramashi mono o
Oh, do stay out of love!

In fact, however, Japanese Court Poetry makes the same points about topic and image (pp. 365-66). In the end, Huey modifies his challenge, allowing that "Brower and Miner are only wrong in implying that the avoidance of imagery in love poetry was all but unprecedented" (p. 142). But Brower and Miner do cite precedent (pp. 362, 364). They have covered their bases quite adequately.

³¹ The quotation is from Waley's "Preliminary Notes" in Arthur Waley, trans., *The Pillow-Book of Sei Shōnagon* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), p. 5.

Huey's challenge to Brower and Miner is thus easily turned aside; in fact it modestly self-destructs. He fine-tunes some of their accomplishment, but raises no fundamental issues of method or approach. It is clearly no part of his intention to do so. But he does show himself briefly and tangentially aware of another scholar whose intention has been precisely that. In his note 9, p. 194, Huey refers to "some modern scholars [who] try to deny the importance of 'lines' in waka." The reference is clearly, inter alia, to be sure, but most importantly, to Mark Morris, whose "Waka and Form, Waka and History" (HJAS 46.2 [1986]) set our little world on its ear some time ago. Morris's article is the most powerful critique of Japanese Court Poetry and the (now) traditional "discourse" on waka in English-language scholarship that I have seen. Morris on "lines" is only one part of it. Morris is thoroughly discontented with the whole "lyric" approach, the subsuming of waka into a poetry discussable and translatable as a kind of English literature, be it Romantic, Baroque, Metaphysical, or whatever. He wants to see waka as what it is, or was, a "useful" use of language, "linguistic mayhem" (p. 560) at its most intense, structurally a decentered line, prosodically a "chain of words [with] cat's-cradles [woven] along and through it' (Morris, p. 571). Morris also addresses himself to poetry and power. One of the most brilliant of several striking passages is on Hitomaro and Peacock's Golden Age; and he ends with a warning against renewal of waka's one-time lyricizing of Japan's imperialist demon.

Morris has a way with words—"evacuation into language of emotion" (p. 562); keigo-free waka as a "socio-aesthetic idiolect" (p. 555)—and his thrusts go deep. It would take us too far afield to critique his entire article here. Besides, that has already been ably done, and in the pages of this very journal. But I would like to comment briefly on one or two points that relate to the ongoing "project" of which Kyōgoku Tamekane is a part and particularly to one of Huey's own emphases. First, the question of "lyric." Among the several kinds of poetry I learned about when young, there were, as I recall, narrative, dramatic, lyric, and didactic. Narrative tells a story; dramatic presents personae who speak directly in verse to

³² See Earl Miner, "Waka: Features of its Constitution and Development," *HJAS* 50.2 (1990).

an audience, assumed or real, while they enact roles in a drama; lyric, originally a song, expresses emotion or feeling-heightened description; and didactic versifies what we ought to know so as to behave properly. Where does waka fit in this range of simple-minded definitions? We can find the beginnings of narrative in the work of the Man'yō poet Takahashi no Mushimaro 高橋虫麿; there is plenty of poetry in Nō and Jōruri, though how to define it is a complex question; and didactic waka, usually of a Buddhist doctrinal nature, abound. But the overwhelming wealth of the waka tradition seems to me solidly lyrical—the good old love, death, and the weather. What does Morris think?

For one, that the demonstrable "usefulness" of waka (poems were "used" in all sorts of social situations, private and public) argues against its nature as lyric (pp. 554-55). Quite the contrary, I would say. The very effectiveness of a poem as communication suggests its expressivity. To bed a lover or move a king requires a strong statement, or maybe a witty one, or both. Wit is no bar to lyricism, any more than "usefulness." In over-emphasizing waka's practical employments, Morris under-emphasizes its formal status as an esteemed art, a Way. If he wished, he could attack lyricism from this angle, too. All those love poems on set topics, all those poetry contests (Huey's research comes in here)—are they not proforma, anti-lyric, "insincere"? Not necessarily so, I would say. I shall return to the question of convention and authenticity at the end of this review. Here I would merely remark that a persona may be invented but the emotion it expresses be real and powerful. I think any poet knows this. Morris tends to identify (confuse?) lyricism with personalism (p. 567). One need not even have an identifiable author. Let Sappho and Komachi dissolve into legend, the songs that bear their names are lyrics still. For that matter, folk songs can be lyrics, too.

When it comes to the "discourse" of people who write about waka, Morris skillfully admits that "lyric interpretation" is a strong one (p. 552). That is, it imposes a consistent vision of its subject and at best is eloquently phrased. But it is mistaken, substituting "imitation Baroque" (Kenneth Rexroth's phrase, p. 563)³³ for

³³ Morris quotes from Rexroth, "Poetry in the Sixties," With Eye & Ear (New York: Herder, 1970), p. 71.

careful philology (see the telling quotation from Nietzsche on p. 558) and a respect for waka form. It also tends to fall into solipsism, writing more and more about its own product. How many times did I cry "mea culpa!" as I read these and other warnings against the error of ways I too have pursued. Nevertheless. Since waka do by and large impress me as lyric, I am happy to write about them as such. And Morris's comment that "the resulting effect [of such writing] is not unlike that of the *uta monogatari*" (p. 563) made me smile and say, "Why not?"

Somehow I keep clinging to the wan hope that a philological conscience can be reconciled with a poet's heart. I have never been less than excruciatingly conscious of the tension between them, however. But lay that aside, too. Huey's book is notably lacking in gush, whatever its "discourse" loyalties may be. Let us proceed to the question of waka form. Huey, a thorough traditionalist in this matter, employs in his romanizations and translations the "stack of five lines" (Morris, p. 569) that has been invented by Anglophone Japanologists to represent waka on the (English) printed page. He also constantly discusses "lines," of which, according to Morris, waka are blessed with only one. (Remember that by "waka" Morris intends "tanka.") It is rather disappointing, in a way, that Huey does not take up the cudgels in defense of his practice, since he is clearly familiar with Morris's argument, but limits himself to a brief appeal to the authority of traditional waka poet-critics in the note referred to above. Huey's point is that the five internal divisions of a tanka (the ku) are discussed by those early critics as if particular criteria applied to them, and that therefore (he implies) they are "lines." I generally support this position, though as I have proposed elsewhere,³⁴ the question of what is a "line" deserves more thoughtful definition than it appears to have received to date. Even Morris, in discussing long forms, unwittingly traps himself into admitting that a "line" doesn't always look like one. "A medieval European poetic text," he remarks (p. 565), "might be recorded as what looks like prose; the unique manuscript of Beowulf, for instance, fills the vellum pages without breaking at the ends of

³⁴ Edwin A Cranston, trans., A Waka Anthology, Volume One: The Gem-Glistening Cup, Translated, with a Commentary and Notes (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. xix.

lines [my emphasis]." Waka have been written in various calligraphic arrangements, of which the single vertical line is only one. The argument that carries the most weight with me, however, is still that of practical translation. The stack of five lines gives a poet-translator advantages not available to the unilinearist, and Morris admits (p. 580) that Burton Watson "crafted small English poems" in From the Country of Eight Islands, whereas Hiroaki Sato, a determined unilinearist, "contributed interlinear glosses." (Interwhat linear, one might ask.) But perhaps effective translation is not among Morris's top concerns.

Finally, there is the question of sound. We have already seen that sound pattern analysis is a feature of Kyōgoku Tamekane. Stitching a poem together with its consonants, creating a mood with its vowels, were part of the art of waka, according to Huey. Much as I am drawn to this kind of analysis, I feel Huey does not completely escape the skepticism Morris expresses regarding it: "What sounds or sound patterns are significant in a poem depends ideally upon a knowledge of that poem's historical prosody; where an ancient prosody is unknown or ill understood—as is surely the case with waka—the picking out of what is a significant pattern in an individual poem can become a very arbitrary process' (p. 568). Arbitrariness need not stop an analyst from stating what he perceives, from asserting his right as a reader to write the poem, whether or not the author is dead. But he should admit his assumption of this prerogative, unless he can make appeal to an applicable science of sound values. Let us admit our subjectivity and be done; after all, subjectivity is the leaven in the critic's loaf.

To work again: there is a particular hard matter to discuss—or is it only a ghost?—rhyme. End rhyme would certainly imply the existence of lines, whatever the calligraphic arrangement. Chinese poetry rhymes; so do, or did, the vernacular European poetries. Does Japanese poetry rhyme? Can it? My professors said no. Mark Morris, from whom I have learned at least as much as from most of them, says no: "Japanese waka do not rhyme" (p. 568). ³⁶ I wondered why they didn't, and the answer I got was that with only five

My waka don't either, except occasionally by (happy?) accident:

³⁵ The reference is to Hiroaki Sato and Burton Watson, eds. and trans., An Anthology of Japanese Poetry. From the Country of Eight Islands (New York: Anchor Books, 1981).

vowels and a simple open-syllable vowel system, Japanese would be duplicating sounds all the time, and so "rhymes" like the ni...ni in Shunrai's poem (see note 36) simply didn't count as such. The language just would not accommodate the phenomenon of rhyme. I recall my residual skepticism, which I decided to keep to myself, whenever I listen to Ishikawa Sayuri singing about otoko no nigasa and onna no tsurasa or lamenting wazuka bakari no / un no warusa o.

But why does Morris raise the issue of rhyme in waka in the first place, if no one thinks there is any? Because, indeed, some people do. Robert Huey, for one, acknowledges the existence of rhyme in waka, if only as something to be avoided. In discussing a poemcontest entry by Emperor Go-Fushimi (1288–1336; r. 1298–1301),

Kogarashi ni Tomaranu yomo no Momijiba o Yoso ni miyama no Matsusugi no iro,

he comments, "But no mention is made of the 'rhymes' [in the judgment], although traditionally rhyming was considered a fault" (p. 80). Bor something to be a fault, it must at least exist, one assumes. Or be thought to exist. And so all those o's really do rhyme?

My former home
Lies buried in a scarlet cloak
Of scattering leaves,
While winds of autumn ruffle through the fern
Along the edges of the broken eaves.

Which is based on, even intended to render, Minamoto Shunrai's (ca. 1057-1129) SKKS V:533:

Furusato wa
Chiru momijiba ni
Uzumorete
Noki no shinobu ni
Akikaze zo fuku

³⁷ See Morris, p. 569; also Judith Rabinovitch, "Wasp Waists and Monkey Tails: A Study and Translation of Hamanari's *Uta no Shiki (The Code of Poetry*, 772), Also Known as *Kakyō Hyōshiki (A Formulary for Verse Based on the Canons of Poetry)*, H/AS 51.2 (1991), p. 499.

³⁸ The poem is in Round 9 of Fushim:-in nijūban uta-awase. For a study and translation of this work, see Robert N. Huey, "Fushim:-in Nijūban Uta-awase," MN 48.2 (1993).

But the judgment does not mention them, and so how do we know that rhymes in fact were thought to exist? Huey cites Japanese Court Poetry in his note 9, p. 194, on "the issue of rhyme." (The use of quotation marks perhaps suggests a certain hesitation as to what is actually involved.) The reference, to JCP, p. 353, brings us to another poem discussed in terms of poetry-contest criteria, this by Empress Eifuku, FGS XI:1046/1036:

Kurenikeri Ama tobu kumo no Yukiki ni mo Koyoi ika ni to Tsutaeteshi ga na,

of which Brower and Miner say, "One feature of the poem would have disqualified it not only in [the minds of Nijō critics] but even at poetry contests in previous generations—the use of three successive rhymes, the terminal "o" sounds of lines two, three, and four." Again rhyme is mentioned as a fault, something that crops up but shouldn't. Both Kyōgoku Tamekane and Japanese Court Poetry, then, provide statements that tend to challenge—or be challenged by— Morris's downright "Japanese waka do not rhyme." But in neither case is positive evidence presented that line-final (or ku-final, not to prejudice the argument on "lines") sound duplication was thought (well or badly) to be "rhyme," and indeed neither Japanese Court Poetry nor Kyōgoku Tamekane lists "rhyme" in its index. Morris (p. 568) quotes, disapprovingly, an article by Brower on Japanese prosody in which Brower again mentions the existence of rhyme, this time in KKS IX:409: "It should also be noted that the first and second and fourth and fifth lines [of Honobono to / Akashi no ura no / Asagiri ni / Shimagakureyuku / Fune o shi zo omou] rhyme. The rhyme contributes to the pleasing effect in this particular poem, but it would have been too unvaried and monotonous had it been used with any regularity." Here we have a statement that suggests that terminal vowel correspondences could indeed be used as "rhyme,"

³⁹ Robert H. Brower, "Japanese," in W. K. Wimsatt, ed., *Versification: Major Language Types* (New York: New York University Press, 1972). One may wonder why Brower thinks *yuku* and *omou* rhyme. Of course they do not in modern Japanese. A middle Japanese pronunciation of *omofu* seems here implicit (as well as historically proper).

if only occasionally as an added embellishment. Morris does not quote Brower's other statement on rhyme in the same article, one that emphasizes his skepticism of its prosodic significance (Wimsatt, p. 43): "[Japanese consciousness of the resources and limitations of their own language] seems to have precluded any rash or grotesque attempts to derive tone patterns from the subtle variations of Japanese pitch accent, or to impose rhyme-schemes on the Japanese open syllables, in which only five rhymes are possible. In the ninth century, certain critics did produce sets of rules for the avoidance of 'poetic ills' in a desperate attempt to provide for Japanese poetry some equivalent to the complicated taboos of Chinese, but most of the rules were ignored by the poets. Indeed, the only rule that was much regarded was a strict prohibition against end-rhyme in the third and fifth lines of the tanka."

The "fault" of rhyme is indeed one of a number of phenomena classified as "poetic ills," kabyō (or kahei; also uta no yamai) 歌病, as ICP (p. 353), Brower in the above-quoted article, and Huey (p. 80) all specify. If "rhyme" is something to be avoided, not to be practiced, it would seem Morris is correct, in spirit if not in the letter on the page. But where is the evidence? Obviously we must turn to some discussion of the poetic ills. 40 Fortunately, such a study has recently been published in this journal. Judith Rabinovitch, "Wasp Waists and Monkey Tails: A Study and Translation of Hamanari's Uta no Shiki (The Code of Poetry, 772), Also Known as Kakyō Hyōshiki (A Formulary for Verse Based on the Canons of Poetry)," in fact, provides interesting evidence on both "rhyme" and "lines." Fujiwara no Hamanari (724-90), like his contemporary Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-85), was a man of the Nara age who of necessity and by birthright pursued a political career (vicissitudinous in both cases) and combined it with the pursuit of poetry. To Yakamochi, one of Japan's greatest poets, we probably owe the Man'yōshū. Hamanari has left only one poem, but can claim to be the father of the karon 歌 im, the treatise on poetics. In particular, he was a theoretician, the founder of a (pseudo?) science of versification that was never devel-

⁴⁰ Brower's "ninth-century critics" presumably refers to *Kisen shiki* 喜撰式 and *Hikohime shiki* 孫姫式, on which see Rabinovitch, pp. 513-14. That these works are not the place to start a consideration of "poetic ills" is made amply clear by Rabinovitch's magisterial study.

oped further but was not without a long-term influence on critical standards for waka. Nara literati like Hamanari and Yakamochi were educated in Chinese. Yakamochi enjoyed playing the role of Chinese-style gentleman in his own work, and his anthological drive too no doubt had continental inspiration. But he was above all the heir of earlier Man'yō poets, ultimately of Hitomaro, and made one of their number. Hamanari, on the other hand, wanted to reform waka, to "correct" it in conformity with his understanding of Chinese rules and criteria for verse. Hence, perhaps, his emphasis on "lines" (ku), which he numbers in his analyses; and hence, surely, his analyses of, and prescriptions for, rhyme.

Rabinovitch summarizes Hamanari's interest in rhyme as follows: "Hamanari attached particular accoustical importance to the terminal syllables of ku; some of these were supposed to enter into an 'end-rhyme' scheme with one or more other lines, while others were 'regulated' by specific phonetic rules designed to enhance euphony in a poem" (p. 484). Hamanari in fact enunciated certain proscriptions against the use of repeated sounds as part of his "seven poetic ills" scheme, loosely suggested by the Chinese pa-ping 八病 of Shen Yüeh 沈約 (441-513). Some of these proscriptions have to do with end rhyme. Hamanari conceived a tanka to have two rhyming lines, the third and the fifth, of which the third was "basic." Some of his proscriptions are against the repetition of the "basic rhyme' syllable at various points elsewhere in the poem. A complete duplication of morae of the ni . . . ni type between the basic and secondary (line five) rhymes was also proscribed, whereas such rhymes were to be permitted in choka, which should rhyme in the even-numbered lines and (as in lü shih 律詩) be eight lines in length. Hamanari permitted rhyme limited to the vowel in tanka; thus -ri and ni could end lines three and five without offending against his code. (See Rabinovitch, pp. 491, 539.) The question is, did he actually prescribe rhyme for tanka? The answer clearly is, he did. The tanka that he quotes as illustrations rhyme the third line with the fifth; those that have full mora duplication he condemns, along with those that do not rhyme at all. Sedōka 施頭歌 (5-7-7-5-7-7), which he dubs hitamoto 雙本, should rhyme their third and sixth lines. His ten types of "irregular forms" (satei 査體) include "non-rhyming" verse (riin 離韻), of which he says 三句尾字與五句尾字不韻 . . . 若有歌人如是作者,

不是見焉 (Sasaki, p. 5), which Rabinovitch translates, "... the final syllable in the third line and that in the fifth fail to rhyme. ... Should poets compose verses such as the above one they will not be recognized as proper poems" (pp. 545, 546). For Hamanari, in short, in 韻, "rhyme," is to be practiced in waka; 同音, 同聲, or 同字, by which he means repeating full consonant-vowel combinations (morae), are proscribed. The reader is referred to Rabinovitch's study and translation for further details of Hamanari's fascinating schemes.

The remaining questions are, was Hamanari merely a sport, and what relevance do his "rules" have to Morris's objection about rhyme in waka? It does almost seem as if Hamanari read waka as "stacks of lines"; he would surely have differed with Morris when the latter declares, "Rhyme is impossible in a poem form such as waka that is not made up of commensurable units of sound balanced, contrasted, juxtaposed against each other" (Morris, p. 596). Hamanari's example of a hitamoto (sedōka), stacked up, is:

Sirakumo nö Tanabiku yama Fa Miredö akanu ka mo Tadu naraba Asa töbikoyete YuFuFe kömasi wo

Gazing from afar
Upon the mountain veiled in white clouds
I never tire of the view.
If I were a crane
I would soar over it in the morning
And return when evening came.

(Old Japanese romanization and translation both courtesy of Dr. Rabinovitch, p. 548.)

A sedōka is made up of balanced, commensurable units, 5-7-7, 5-7-7. Therefore it presumably meets Morris's criteria for a poem

⁴¹ Whether 不是見焉 can be taken to mean "will not be recognized as proper poems" seems questionable. Rabinovitch offers an alternative translation, "will not be seen in [collections of poetry]."

that can rhyme. One of Hamanari's rhyming (?) tanka, picked at random, is (again in Rabinovitch's romanization and translation, pp. 546-47):

Miyösinö wo Yösi tö yöku mite Yösi to iFisi Yöki Fitö Yösinö Yöki Fitö yöku mi

The good people Who had a good look at Yösinö "Good Fields" Found it good And said good of it Have a good look, my good folk, at Yösinö!

Someone will have to decide whether the iFisi . . . $y\"{o}ku$ mi rhyme is less believable than the $sed\={o}ka$'s mo . . . wo .

Did any of Hamanari's successors care about his views of rhyme? Rabinovitch gives a useful survey of the karon literature, including utaawase judgments, on the subject. Apparently Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 清輔 (1104-1177) came closest to agreeing with Hamanari: 歌は本體は韻字を用うべき也. 三十一字歌は第三句の終字を爲初韻, 第五 句の終字を爲終韻 (Sasaki, p. 368). Rabinovitch translates (p. 516), "[P]oetry in its original form was meant to rhyme. In thirty-one syllable verse, the last character in the third line is the first rhyme, and the last in the fifth line is the final rhyme." The poet-critics of Heian and later times remained conscious of the "poetic ills" theory, of which end rhyme pre- and proscriptions were only one part, and when needed, objections could always be raised to any of a variety of sound and word repetitions. Fujiwara Shunzei was the greatest foe of all this sort of thing and had no use for theories of rhyme (Rabinovitch, p. 517). Still, the idea that sounds and their arrangement mattered was implanted firmly enough that Huey's attempts to analyze out a phonological esthetics seem part of a grand tradition. While lacking in rigor, they arguably add more to our appreciation of waka than Hamanari's procrustean dicta. And in pursuing this matter we learn, inter alia, the wisdom of caution in declaring that something (lines, rhymes) does not or cannot exist.

Some of the above discussion may be supererogatory. Robert

Brower, who died less than two years after the publication of Mark Morris's article, to the best of my knowledge never replied in print. But his co-author Earl Miner has done so, in "Waka: Features of its Constitution and Development." I do not intend to discuss all of Miner's wide-ranging "features," which are set forth under nine heads. I find myself generally in agreement with his conclusions, particularly his reassertion of waka's lyric nature (p. 676) and his defense of what he calls the "lineated" structure of the verse. ("Lineated," as Miner points out, contrasts with Morris's "linear," i.e., one-line, concept.) To me the most interesting point Miner makes regarding lineation is amusingly presented on p. 680 of his article, when he images forth the true romaji counterpart of Japanese calligraphic/print arrangements for a "line" of unilinear waka by typing a tanka text continuously without breaks between words. Indeed, as Miner's prank vividly reminds us, Japanese writing has conventions regarding word division-none-as well as "linearity." Ergo, if lines do not exist, no more do words! But the Japanese obviously know their language has words—they have been compiling dictionaries of them since ancient times. I suspect they also know, or knew, that lines exist. 42

Miner deals with many other matters besides lyricism, lineation, and rhyme. His article is the mature reflection of a lifetime of study and deserves the attention and respect he graciously extends to Mark Morris and Hiroaki Sato. It does not, however, have much to say about the poetry and period Robert Huey focuses on in Kyōgoku Tamekane, to which at this point I would like to return. It would be remiss of me not to mention another of Professor Miner's projects, the English translation of Konishi Jin'ichi's monumental Nihon bungeishi that has been going forward under his editorship since 1984 as A History of Japanese Literature. Volume Three, The High Middle Ages (1991), presents Konishi's research on and evaluation of the

⁴² Miner is more interested in "lines" than in "rhyme." He does take a side glance at Morris's dictum about waka not rhyming, and allows that "rhyme is a debatable point." In discussing a poem that has Hamanari's type of approved rhyme (ki . . . ni in this instance), but in a proscribed conjunction (line two rhymes with line three, the "Waist-Tail" 腰尾 defect), Miner observes, "Once the undeniable terminal assonance (if it be not rhyme) is pointed out, one is no longer innocent of it. . . ." However, he advances the usual argument against rhyme in any kind of Japanese poetry—"[T]he repetition of vowel sounds is so high that rhyme is far less noticeable [than in English]" (p. 681).

Kyōgoku and Nijō schools of poetry. The translation of this section of Volume Three was undertaken by Mark Harbison, an independent scholar resident in Tokyo.⁴³

Chapter 14, "The Deepening of Waka," provides a number of insights not available in either Kyōgoku Tamekane or Japanese Court Poetry. 44 For one, it explains more fully how the Nijō faction won out in Jimyōin Kyoto during the Nanbokuchō civil war, when their own traditional patrons, the Daikakuji line, were ekeing out an existence in the Yoshino mountains far from the capital. In the long seesaw struggle the Daikakuji forces (the "Southern Court") recaptured Kyoto in 1351 and took retired Emperor Kogon and his court to Yoshino. Kōgon was the leader of the Kyōgoku faction and recent compiler of the second of its imperial anthologies, the $F\bar{u}gash\bar{u}$. When the Southern Court was driven from the capital by the resurgent Ashikaga two years later in 1353, Kōgon remained in exile for a number of years. The whole Kyōgoku school had essentially been kidnapped, removed from the scene. Thereupon Nijō Tamesada 為 定 (1285-1360) and Nijō Tameakira 為明 (1295-1364), grandsons of Tameyo, showed their political skill by inducing the Ashikaga Bakufu, the backers of the Jimyōin emperors, to appoint Nijō members as the compilers of *chokusenshū* (pp. 388-89). ⁴⁵ Konishi further traces the Nijō house to its demise in 1391, but emphasizes how its standards and political influence were carried on by its numerous disciples in the lower ranks of the aristocracy, poet-monks such as

⁴³ In what follows, "Konishi 1986" refers to the original Japanese edition of the history in question, Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, Nihon bungeishi, vol. 3 (Kōdansha, 1986). "Konishi 1991" refers to the English translation cited above in note 1.

⁴⁴ "Tamekane" is "Tamekanu" throughout Konishi's book. He prefers this reading based on unambiguous phonetic evidence in *Towazugatari*, whose author was a court lady in the service of Go-Fukakusa, and who knew some of the political figures of her day very well indeed. See Konishi 1991, p. xv. I have stuck with "Tamekane" in this review out of old habit and because the name appears thus in the title of Huey's book. I do hope not to be the last to lay the old aside, however.

^{**} Konishi 1991, p. 385, mistranslates Konishi 1986, p. 392, in stating that the Shingoshūishū (1383), like the Gyokuyōshū and Fūgashū, was an exception to the dominance of chokusenshū by Nijō compilers. Konishi says [「玉葉和歌集」と「風雅和歌集」] だけ除き [二条] 為重...の「新後拾遺和歌集」...にいたるまで、すべて二条家が撰者を独占する. Somehow this ends up as "[The Nijō] or their allies compiled the final twelve...collections, with but three exceptions: (1) Gyokuyōshū...; (2) Fūgashū...; (3) Shingoshūishū." The nodding translator goes on to name the compiler of the Shingoshūishū correctly, as Nijō Tameshige, apparently unaware of the inconsistency.

(most notably) Ton'a 頓阿 (1289–1372). Ironically, it was Abutsu's descendants, the Reizei, who survived to continue their line to the present as the genealogical heirs of Teika. Reizei poetic ideals are known best through the writings of their own poet-monk disciple Shōtetsu, who as we have seen and as Konishi admits was really more a latter-day worshiper of Teika. Nevertheless, Konishi sums up Reizei ideals as being close to Kyōgoku ones (Konishi 1986, pp. 396–97; Konishi 1991, p. 390). Shōtetsu himself, as Konishi sees it, created a "new Reizei style" from elements of Teika and Kyōgoku style, one looking ahead to the "chill" (hie 冷之) esthetic of Shinkei (Konishi 1986, p. 398; 1991, p. 392).

One of the most interesting ways in which Konishi supplements the information in Kyōgoku Tamekane has to do with the alleged influence on Tamekane (and some of his followers) of the famous monk Kōben 高辦 (1173–1232), better known as Myōe Shōnin 明恵 上人. Myōe wrote doctrinal poems incorporating large doses of Chinese Buddhist terminology, but more importantly, he left a name for childlike simplicity in pouring out direct, naive reactions to nature. Those familiar with Kawabata Yasunari's Nobel speech will recall Kawabata's use of Myōe's poetry to convey his concept of Japanese sensitivity to nature. Konishi quotes one of the same poems (Konishi 1991, p. 269), a totally exclamatory salute to the moon (translation by Harbison):

Aka aka ya Aka aka aka ya Aka aka ya Aka aka aka ya Aka aka ya tsuki. Bright, oh bright!
Bright, bright, oh bright!
Bright, oh bright!
Bright, bright, oh bright!
Bright, oh bright, the moon!

(MSK, 152)⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Brower lists and describes some of the contents of the then recently opened holdings of the Reizei family in Kyoto and gives a brief sketch of the family's history down to the present. Despite some attrition, the enormous manuscript collection of the Reizei has been zealously preserved over the centuries and includes a number of items in Teika's hand. Robert H. Brower, "The Reizei Documents," MN 36.4 (1981).

⁴⁷ See Kawabata Yasunari, *Utsukushii Nihon no watakushi*; Edward G. Seidensticker, trans., *Japan, the Beautiful, and Myself* (Kōdansha, 1969, 1980), pp. 6, 8-10, 74-69.

⁴⁸ Myōe Shōnin shū (referred to as Myōe Shōnin kashū in Konishi) is a composite of Myōe's personally compiled Kenshin wakashū 造心和歌集, referred to below, and additions by his disciple Kōshin 高信. The poem in question is one of the additions. Harbison translates Konishi's

Konishi emphasizes Myōe's direct, unfiltered reactions as having a religious significance—a refusal to let artistic considerations interpose themselves between him and his feelings, i.e., the truth—and points out Tamekane's expressed admiration both for the poet and his style. He quotes from Tamekane kyō wakashō (Konishi 1991, p. 270):

Myōe Shōnin is quite right in his preface to Kenshin Wakashū: "To like means 'what the heart likes.' This does not always conform to the demands of diction. 'Pleasing' means 'a pleasing spirit.' How can this take a specific shape?" Myōe wrote things down exactly as he felt them. He composed interesting poems about our everyday world; others of his poems have crude diction like works in the Man'yōshū. Yet the dictates of his heart never vary in the least.

By "crude diction," Tamekane perhaps had in mind a poem such as Myōe's recollection of a walk in the fields with another monk (Harbison's translation, Konishi 1991, p. 268):

Hiroki no ni Sugagasa uchikite Yuku ware o Muma no kusotake to Hito ya miru ran. Across broad fields
Wearing our wide sedge hats
As we walk along—
I wonder if others take us
For two horseapple mushrooms?

Slightly more doctrinal is this poem "On Siddham [Holy Sanskrit Syllables]" (Konishi 1991, p. 268—Harbison's translation):

Karasugawa ni Saru no kikimeku

Oto kiku mo Kokoro sumu ni wa Shittan no jibo. Even the noises
Of what seems monkeys
chattering
By Raven River
Are to the unclouded heart
The syllables of "siddham."
(MSK, 94)

comment on the poem: "This cannot possibly be thought a waka by ordinary criteria," but omits Konishi's preceding remark, という極端な表現さえも,みごとな歌なのである("Even such extremes of expression are splendid poetry," Konishi 1986, p. 269).

⁴⁹ Huey-Matisoff have (p. 141), '''Intensity means intensity of feeling. It is there even before being put into words. Elegance means elegance of feeling. Why must it always be expressed in form?''' The original (Hisamatsu, p. 160) is すくは心のすくなり, いまだ必ずしも詞によらじ. やさしきは心やさしき也. なんぞ定めて姿にしもあらむ. Huey and Matisoff follow Hisamatsu in relating すく to suki 数寄, a term referring to intense preoccupation with an artistic pursuit.

Myōe's wry realism and humor about his profession are suggested well enough by this (my own translation):

Myōe Shōnin shū 104

Living in a mountain temple, somehow one never has a respite from one's duties. But when one bathes, pouring the hot water over one's body, weariness and desire for rest are forgotten. For years I have urged this practice on my monks, but they have been hard to convince. And so:

Kokoro kiyoku wa Yuamizu tote mo Kegareji o Kashirage tatete Imo ni nisu to mo As long as your heart is clean, Even though you do not bathe You'll not be defiled— Not even if you grow your hair To look like a darling girl.

The alleged influence of poems like these, with their *ji-amari* and Waldenesque combination of natural man and seeker after truth, is to be found, according to Konishi, not only in Tamekane's praise for Myōe in *Wakashō*, but in many of Tamekane's own early poems, particularly in 244 waka discovered on the back of *Kanmon nikki* 看聞 日記 (also *gyoki* 御記), the diary of Prince Sadafusa 貞成 (1372–1456), also known by the honorific title Go-Sukō-In 後崇光院, though he was never made emperor. Prince Sadafusa, a grandson of Emperor Sukō (r. 1349–51) of the Jimyōin line, kept his diary on the backs of old sheets of paper inscribed on the other side with large numbers of waka, including 244 by Tamekane. ⁵⁰ Konishi dates these poems between the years 1275 and 1289 (Konishi 1991, p. 272), as does

⁵⁰ Harbison has the paper by the wrong side when he says that Tamekane "composed waka on the back of a page of a diary, the Kammon Nikki" (Konishi 1991, p. 400). This is a mistranslation of 「看聞日記」紙背の和歌が詠まれた時期, "the period when the waka on the backs of the Kammon nikki sheets were composed" (Konishi 1986, p. 405). The label Kammon nikki shihai waka by which these poems are known is indeed misleading at first glance, but the respective dates of Tamekane and Prince Sadafusa make it clear enough which side of the paper got written on first, whether or not one calls it the "back." Of the 44 surviving maki of the diary, fully 19 are written on the backs of a great variety of documents, including correspondence, renga kaishi, and waka sequences by various poets. Two of the waka sequences are hyakushu 百首 by Tamekane, a third a 30-poem sequence, and two more contain eight and six poems respectively. For details and texts, see Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内廳書陵部, ed., Toshoryō sōkan Kanmon nikki shihai monjo, bekki (Tenri: Yōtokusha, 1965), pp. 3, 15-17, 218-35.

Toshoryō sōkan, p. 19; Huey (p. 195, n. 19) specifies the winter and spring of 1286–87, based on studies by Iwasa Miyoko. ⁵¹ As Konishi points out, these dates correspond closely to the supposed dates of composition of *Tamekane-kyō wakashō*, 1285–87.

What sort of poems are these early drafts of Tamekane's? One quoted by Konishi goes like this (Harbison's translation, p. 271):

Kyō yori wa
Haru to wa shirinu
Shikari tote
Kinō ni kawaru
Koto wa shi mo nashi.

As of today
I know full well that it is spring.
Nevertheless
There is nothing that has made it
Different from yesterday.

One might characterize the thought as either crashingly obvious or high in *naru hodo* quotient: quite astute. In either case the expression is plain and unadorned. Huey quotes and translates a similar one (p. 86):

Kaze no oto wa	There's no way in which
Kinō ni kawaru	The sound of the wind
Koto mo naki o	Has changed since yesterday;
Haru chō kara ni	Perhaps I find it gentler
Nodokeku ya omou	Because they say it's spring now.

Actually, these poems remind me of a number of others on the change of seasons, including KKS IV:169, by Fujiwara no Toshiyuki (d. 901?):

Aki kinu to

Me ni wa sayaka ni

Mienedo mo

Kaze no oto ni zo

Odorokarenuru

That autumn has come
Appears nowhere with clarity
To the observing eye:
It is a new sound in the wind
By which we are somehow made
aware.

⁵¹ Iwasa Miyoko 岩佐美代子, Kyōgoku-ha kajin no kenkyū (Kasama shoin, 1974), pp. 71-73. Iwasa sees certain poems as referring to the phenomenon of risshun 立春, the midpoint between winter solstice and vernal equinox that marked the East Asian beginning of the solar year, falling within the lunar old year in 1286 and 1287, as well as to the accession ceremony of Emperor Fushimi in 1287.

The concept has nothing wrong with it. Likely it is koto wa shi mo nashi and haru chō kara ni that fail to charm. Let's look at a couple more examples from Tamekane's series on seibo 歳暮, year's end (Toshoryō sōkan, pp. 165, 166; my translations):

Eiseibo hyakushu 詠歳暮百首 10

Kotoshi haya Nagori nashi to omou Kokoro yori Katsugatsu sou wa Aware narikeri This year, gone in haste, Leaves no remainder: no sooner Have I thought of it Than my heart has company— Aware, I know you well.

Eiseibo hyakushu 25 Toshi bakari wa Aware mo fukaki wa Nakarikeri Narenuru koto mo Oshikomete suru

Now I realize

Nothing in the pity of things

Is as deep as a year:

All our familiar doings

I crowd in and do.

What is to be said of these poems? Their *ji-amari* lines stick out a mile, and we can see that Tamekane's later work is a matter of contraction. They are expressed in general vocabulary, lacking in imagery. Toshi bakari wa / Aware mo fukaki wa in particular seems waiting for the editor's blue pencil. The conceptions are simple but not lacking in strength. The voice is certainly distinct from Myōe's, but I am not ready to challenge Konishi's opinion that these early compositions of Tamekane's bear his influence. But I am also not quite ready to join him in saying (in Harbison's translation), "The bald presentation of commonplace scenes and everyday emotions deserves condemnation from a literary standpoint." (Konishi 1991, イナス評価せざるをえない . . . '' (Konishi 1986, p. 272). And I fail to find the "religious criteria" that Konishi claims inform these poems. (Perhaps my lack of training in Buddhist thought is at fault.) To my mind the main point that Konishi makes is that "Tamekanu dared to use highly zoku ['low,' 'common'] expression in his formal waka" (Konishi 1991, p. 272). This "everday language," of which oshikomete suru might be one example, offends against the standards of ga 雅, the high, courtly, or elegant quality to be expected of formal verse. (Konishi uses the terms hyōgi 表儀 and

watakushigi 私儀 for "formal" and "informal.") And it is precisely this assertion that brings him and Huey into conflict over the significance of the 244 waka. Huey emphasizes that the poems are drafts, not meant to be seen in their existing form, and therefore should not be taken as defining Tamekane's early style. (In this he challenges Iwasa, p. 70.) "They might have been composed as a joke or a game, for all we know" (p. 87). This is going a bit far, and does suggest Huey's low opinion of the poems. Konishi makes the opposite point—"Tamekanu dared. . . . "His ground for considering the poems formal is the headnote of the sequence on year's end: 京極為兼応令詠百首和歌懐紙詠歳暮百首應令和歌: "Waka sheets containing 100 poems composed by Kyōgoku Tamekane on command: 100 poems composed on year's end on command" (Toshoryō sōkan, p. 164). Konishi defines 応令 as a command from a member of the imperial family (Konishi 1986, p. 247, n. 14). It seems clear that Huey has overlooked an important item of evidence. But is is also quite conceivable, and Konishi takes no cognizance of this possibility, that the poems, at least one set of which was commissioned, were still drafts, as Huey says, and had not been polished into ga status. Interesting questions are raised here about compositional practices.

Konishi has much else to say about how Tamekane developed a ga style suitable for inclusion in $chokusensh\bar{u}$ and deepened the conception of his poetry through study of shikan 止觀, a Tendai meditational technique; through reading of Sung shih-hua 詩話; and through familiarity with an alleged no-longer-extant treatise of Teika, ⁵² while still preserving the sense of direct contact with nature (including human nature) derived from Myōe. The passages on the observed and observing mind are the most difficult and rewarding, but

52 Konishi speculates that Tamekane drew his ideas on "cessation and insight" (shikan) from a work by Teika, but not from Maigetsushō 每月抄, their most likely source. Konishi now rejects Maigetsushō as an authentic work by Teika because of its reflection of the Zen concept of kyarai 去來, or returning to the ordinary after achieving enlightenment. This concept, in Konishi's view the most important in Maigetsushō, did not enter Japan before the end of the 13th century, according to Konishi. Therefore Maigetsushō could not be by Teika, or available to Tamekane in the 1280s. Besides, Tamekane-kyō wakashō makes no reference to kyarai theory (Konishi 1986, pp. 400, 416–17; Konishi 1991, pp. 394–95). "Nevertheless, even though Tamekanu had not seen the Maigetsushō, his theory is consistent in terms of their mutual grounding in the Tendai concept of shikan contemplation. I have concluded that this is because there existed a treatise of Teika's at this time which is no longer extant, and that both Tamekanu and the compiler of the Maigetsushō relied heavily on this treatise' (Konishi 1991, pp. 395).

overall the deeply learned and closely reasoned exposition of these pages in Chapter 14, "The Deepening of Waka," add much to Huey's account. Of particular interest is Konishi's assertion that Tamekane came back from exile in Sado in 1303 to find Fushimi's poetic coterie already developing the new directions, in which he then joined. See particularly Konishi 1991, pp. 393-416. After introducing the subject of the influence of Zen on Kyōgoku poets, particularly Emperor Hanazono, after Tamekane's passing from the scene, Konishi concludes his survey of the Kyōgoku school with a memorably challenging summation: "In the past, critics have analyzed the *Gyokuyō* style in terms of aspects of the understandable object (shigi kyō [思議境]): the handling of light, the fluidity of time, and the abundance of color. Clearly one cannot approach the true value of the *Gyokuyō* style through that kind of analysis alone" (Konishi 1991, p. 416; 1986, p. 416).

Thirty years ago I asked a professor of mine what field beckoned as fresh and promising in classical Japanese literature. He replied without the slightest hesitation, "Nijoke no chokusenshū no kenkyū." While I have never forgotten his advice, I cannot claim to have followed it in any consequential way. To be sure, my folders bulge with unpublished translations from the Nijō poets that may one day serve some purpose, but they have been prepared heedlessly, without caring to ascertain what school a given poet belonged to, all mixed in with the Kyōgoku, the Reizei, and the unaffiliated, if such there were. The poem's the thing, I thought, when I thought of the matter at all, thus violating the dictum of Steven D. Carter, "[N]o student of late medieval uta can begin his study of a poet of that era without first situating him in relation to the camps of Tamekane and Tameyo'' (Carter, Waiting for the Wind, pp. xxivxxv). How would it be to do just that, I have wondered. Why prejudice the case from the outset? But the answer to that question must await the fullness of time.

Before discussing Carter's anthology Waiting for the Wind, which came out in the same year as Kyōgoku Tamekane, almost like a twin, I would like to return briefly to the final section of Konishi's chapter on high medieval waka, a section titled "The Subtle Writing of the Nijō School." The writing turns out to be subtle (or "narrowly ob-

served'' 細視的) principally in one regard, the arrangement of poetic sequences, though Konishi analyzes a "minute 'reasoning'" (微量の「理」) in the poems themselves, which he says a reader not in a tranquil frame of mind will fail to appreciate (Konishi 1991, p. 418; 1986, p. 420). It is gratifying to see Nijō poetry given this finegrained attention when "[I]t is still usual to describe the waka of the Nijō faction as insipid and dull" (Konishi 1991, p. 416). As an example of a poem whose subtle reasoning the tranquil mind can enjoy, Konishi quotes this by Prince Munenaga 宗良 (1312–89?), the son of Emperor Go-Daigo (translation by Harbison, Konishi 1991, pp. 416–17).

Rikawakashū 李花和歌集 37

Tachiwataru Beneath the haze

Kasumi no shita no That spreads wide across the

scene,

Shirayuki wa The white snow—

Yama no ha nagara Along with the mountain rim—

Sora ni kietsutsu Is disappearing into sky.

The "reasoning" element in this descriptive poem is suggested by shira-, "white," often a key to "elegant confusion." The kasumi (perhaps better "mist" than "haze") is white, the snow is white, the mountain rim is white, and so is the sky. In this impressionist study, how can we distinguish one from another? Yet the poem does not come out and say, Kokinshū style, "I thought," "I mistook."

Konishi spends more space on the matter of sequencing, choosing his examples from Prince Munenaga's $Shin'y\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ 新葉集, the wouldbe imperial anthology of the exiled Southern Court. Japanese Court Poetry has a section in its chapter on the Late Classical Period entitled "New Developments in the Composition of Poetic Sequences" (JCP, pp. 403–13). It discusses the refinements introduced by the compilers of the $Gyokuy\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ and $F\bar{u}gash\bar{u}$ in sequencing poems, particularly the alternation of closely and distantly related verses, along with apparent breaks in association spanned by linkages through rhetorical technique, common subjects, and shared treatments. Nijō anthologies, by contrast, employ consistently closer relation poem to poem, with "movement that is smoother and tends to be monotonous." The Kyōgoku-Reizei type integration, Brower and

Miner say, led on to new poetic genres—a reference to linked verse (JCP, pp. 412-13). Turning to Konishi, however, we find quite another story. "From the Nijō standpoint," he says, "the techniques of arrangement displayed in the Gyokuyōshū and the Fūgashū could only be criticized as hopelessly heavy-handed and crude" (Konishi 1991, p. 423). Furthermore, it is the Shin'yōshū, a compilation of the conservative poet Munenaga, that puts in place a structure similar to renga. But according to Konishi, the Shin'yōshū, dating from 1381, a generation after Nijō Yoshimoto's 二条良基 (1320-88) Tsukubashū 筑波集 (1356), the first official renga anthology, displays evidence of influence from, not on, renga (Konishi 1991, p. 423).

In what respects is the arrangement of poems in the $Shin'y\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ like a renga series? Konishi mentions two. For one, the Shin'yōshū employs the technique of torinashi, in which the significance of a verse changes according to its context. For instance, a poem originally conceived for a woman speaker may change its persona to a man by juxtaposition with the preceding poem, which it seems to be answering. Then the speaker may revert to female in conjunction with the following poem. The sense of the verse will also change in accordance with the context in which it is read (Konishi 1991, pp. 421-22). (Whether the employment of this basic principle of linked verse is really unique to the Shin'yōshū among waka anthologies calls for further investigation.) The other renga technique that Konishi alleges is that the rules of linking, tsukeai, apply: verse A may relate to verse B but not to verse C (Konishi 1991, p. 422). This "rule" in my opinion enforces a fallacious view of renga. Examples of carryover relation beyond the immediate pair are plentiful, obvious to anyone who reads with an unprejudiced (untutored?) eye. Take for instance verses 46, 47, and 48 from the 1467 dokugin hyakuin of Shinkei, a famous practitioner of distantly related verse sequencing. The verses' categories—Spring, Complaint (Shukkai), and Miscellaneous—are all different.

- 46. hito mo tazunenu yado no ume ga ka
- 47. kakureiru tani no toyama no

fragrance of plum at a dwelling where no one comes by to call

living out of sight: the valley lies in shadow kage sabite

lonely under hills

48. keburi sukunaku miyuru tōkata

little smoke is to be seen off in the distance

In this sequence of three, tazunenu ("not visit") in 46 obviously suggests kakureiru ("be in seclusion") in 47; plum is also famously associated with the warbler, uguisu, which lives out of sight in a valley in a well known waka. But tazunenu is equally linkable to sukunaku ("scarce") in verse 48, and a yado, a home, is exactly where you see (or don't) keburi, smoke. In fact, the loneliness of no visitors in 46 suggests poverty and no smoke rising from the hearth. Vocabulary and conception are both linked A-C, whatever the "rules" may say. (This series was picked totally at random.)

Looking with our own eyes at the specimen waka sequence selected by Konishi from the $Shin'y\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$, we find the same problem (or non-problem). But first we will have to sort out a set of blunders, both in translation and in the original. The poems from the $Shin'y\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ relevant to the discussion are numbers 949–55, given below in Harbison's translation (Konishi 1991, pp. 419–20; headnotes omitted):

Kayoikoshi Hito wa nokiba no Wasuregusa Tsuyu kakare to wa Chigiri ya wa seshi. He who once came here
Has left the forgetting plant
Beneath my eaves.
Did he ever leave his promise
That I should dew it with my
tears?

(949)

Wasuraruru Mi o onaji na to

If I did not think
That I whom you have now forgot

53 KKS I:14 Ōe no Chisato 大江千里

Uguisu no
Tani yori izuru
Koe naku wa
Haru kuru koto o
Tare ka shiramashi

But for the voice
Of the warbler emerging
From its valley,
Who would ever know
Of the coming of the spring?

Omowazu wa Nani ka nokiba no

Kusa mo ukaran.

Share this plant's name, Why also should this wretchedness

Affect the plants beneath my eaves?⁵⁴

(950)

Karehateshi Hito ni wa tare ka Sumiyoshi no Kishi naru kusa no Na o oshieken.

Karene tada Obana ga moto no Kusa no na yo Tsuyu no yosuga mo

Arazu naru mi ni.

Adanaran Mono to wa kanete He never comes now—
Who is to blame for teaching him
That plant's name,
The one that grows so heavily
On the Sumiyoshi coast?
(951)

Wilt all away!
You plant of the hateful name
Beneath the pampas grass!
It is I myself whose misplaced
trust
Leaves less to hope for than the

dew. (952)

Just as I thought!
The love grass has revealed to me

⁵⁴ A slight problem affects the translation of poem 950, which can be glossed, "If I did not think of myself (that self which is forgotten) as having the same name, how could the ['forgetting'] grass by the eaves too afflict me with heart-sickness?" It is not the grass that is afflicted with wretchedness, but the poet's persona. And the wasuregusa is hateful only because the persona is already herself forgotten. This in turn is slightly different from Konishi's own paraphrase (Konishi 1986, p. 421), 忘れ草の「忘れ」という名が, あなたに忘れられそう なわたしの身を強く意識させなければ、軒端に生えているこの草と同じ「忘れ」の境遇 をこれほど歎くこともないでしょうに . . . , which can be rendered, ''If the word 'forgetting' in 'forgetting-grass' did not make me keenly conscious of my about-to-be-forgotten-byyou self, I would not grieve as much as I do over being in the same 'forgotten' condition as the grass growing by the eaves." In other words, the grass is to blame for reminding the persona of her condition. This is the usual message of a wasuregusa poem. But in the present instance the poem conveys a different nuance, and the pesky herb is exculpated. Harbison (Konishi 1991, 421-22) mistranslates Konishi's already mistaken gloss: "[I]f the 'forgetting' ('wasure' in the name of the plant of forgetting, wasuregusa) did not make me so strongly conscious of my lot now that you have forgotten me, I would not grieve so much for the condition of the grass, also forgotten, growing beneath my eaves" [emphasis added].

Omoigusa Hazue no tsuyu no Kakaru chigiri wa. What I cannot trust— Like your promise, the dew Quickly forgets the tips of leaves. (953)

Utsuriyuku Hito no chigiri wa All your promises

Come from one who changes
quickly—

Tsukigusa no Hanada no obi no Like a narrow sash

Dyed light blue with moongrass
flowers

Musubi taetsutsu.

Its knot comes constantly undone.

(954)

Yomogiu no Moto koshi michi wa

The way to your house,
michi wa Rampant now with untended
mugwort,

Kawaranu ni Ika ni kareyuku Chigiri naru ran. Is just the same—
If my visits grow somewhat rare
Why should your vows wholly
wither?

(955)

Konishi's exposition of the renga-linkage theory applied to this waka sequence begins as follows: "This transformation of the meaning of waka by the way they are arranged has one other important feature. While the meaning of 951 is changed by its association with poem 950, it has no direct relationship with 949. Poem 949 does not give rise to a change in the meaning of 951, and there is a semantic break between non-contiguous poems" (Konishi 1991, p. 422). This translates accurately Konishi 1986, p. 422, with the exception that Konishi says, つまり, 九五〇は九五一の歌意を変換する要因にならな いのであり.... Presumably Konishi meant to say what Harbison has him saying, for he (Konishi) has just made the point that the reading of 951 changes when read after 950 from a woman musing to herself to a woman addressing another woman. And so, assuming that Harbison has corrected Konishi correctly, is it true that no direct relationship exists between 949 and 951? Of course "direct" (直接), not defined, might be used to counter any argument, but at

least this much can be said. Poems 949, 950, and 951 are all questions. All use the metaphor of wasuregusa (simply kusa in 951). Tsuyu, "dew," in 949 relates better to karehateshi, "withered away," in 951 than to anything in 950, since dew was conceived of as a withering agent. Furthermore, kayoikoshi ("he who went to and fro") relates as well as a travel poem to the far-off Sumiyoshi in 951 as to the eaves of 950. To say "no semantic connection" exists (Konishi 1991, p. 422, n. 46; this editorial note has the numbers wrong, mistaking the sequence for 950-52 instead of 949-51) is absurd. The poems are all on the same theme and use some of the same imagery.

Moving on to a later point in the sequence, we come across the following analysis (Konishi 1991, p. 423): "The clearest example of [stanzaic connection à la renga] is the connection between poems 954 and 955. Since they have no common words or phrases, and since there is no link between the phenomena depicted in the poems, the progression of the sequence should have stopped here, according to earlier rules of progression. In fact, however, in response to 954, which depicts the dilapidated dwelling of a woman who has been forgotten, 955 makes her the speaker of the poem, becoming a direct, first-person expression of her grief. By the canons of renga, they are superbly connected." Superbly, perhaps, but only if we can extract the connection from the web of errors in this passage. In the first place, Konishi is referring to poems 953 and 954, not 954 and 955 (Konishi 1986, p. 422). This time it is the translator who has made the error. But either way, what Konishi says is wrong. Chigiri, "oath," appears in all three poems—so much for "no common words." This discrepancy between statement and fact is so glaring that one can only assume author, translator, and editor were all asleep—or hoping the reader would be. "No link between the phenomena"? Well, omoigusa, tsukigusa, and yomogiu are all botanical items of poetic import. Furthermore, "dew" in 953 relates to "utsuri" in 954, since utsuri can mean "change color," another alleged effect of dew. It also relates to kareyuku in 955 in the meaning of "wither," as explained above. Finally, Harbison places the "dilapidated dwelling" in 954, whereas Konishi has it in 953. Actually, it is in 955. Not only has the case on the abc's of renga structure not been made, but all the scholars involved in this project have had a bad day.

Despite the problems of exposition and conception (and translation) vexing his attempt to relate Nijō anthological practice to renga, Konishi has performed a valuable service in focusing serious critical attention on 'the subtle devices contained in light, clear poetry'' (Konishi 1991, p. 424). One is left with the impression that for the truly refined (and tranquil) mind, the Nijō have much to offer. For some offerings we can turn to Steven Carter's Waiting for the Wind, an anthology so needed and inevitable it might well be retitled The Awaited Wind. Carter's book has a focus, but a wide and long one: not just Nijō, Kyōgoku, or Reizei poetry, but representative poets and poems of all the clashing schools, plus their predecessors as far back as Teika and their followers down to Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537). Carter also provides biographical and critical sketches of each poet, genealogical tables, and a general introduction on the famous quarrel.

Most of the territory covered in Carter's introduction is familiar ground. A little extra detail is added by his citations of Waka teikin 和 歌庭訓, Tameyo's 1326 treatise defending Nijō values and orientations. Carter deliberately paraphrases the original rather than translating passages directly, thereby turning aside some of the more obnoxious kinds of criticism employed so far in this review. But one or two turns of phrase suggest misinterpretation or overinterpretation. as when on p. xv we seem to find evidence on "lines." "The goal of poetry," Carter has Tameyo say, "should be to convey great feeling in a few short lines. . . . '' It turns out that the original says 'in thirty-one letters," 三十一字の内 (Sasaki, p. 118). Also, in discussing overtones (餘情), Tameyo seems to be adopting a position suspiciously close to that of his hated rival Tamekane when he defines them as "overtones that go beyond the words to the heart." Checking, we find Tameyo actually saying, 餘情と申すは詞の外に多くの心のあるなり, "What I call overtones are those cases when much kokoro exists outside the words" (Sasaki, p. 118). Kokoro means "content" or "meaning" here, not "the heart," either of the matter or of the reader/listener (it is not clear which Carter intends, or thinks Tameyo intended). Tameyo is not pointing a Zen finger at the moon.

Carter's explanation of the issues dividing the Nijō and their rivals at times lapses into an oversimplified, Western-inspired

dichotomy of realism vs. idealism, "textbook conservatives" vs. literary freedom fighters. "In all things they [i.e., the unorthodox poets] were open, free-spirited, and defiant of the narrow mores of Tameyo and his salon" (p. xvii). By contrast, the "conservatives were thus conservatives in the textbook sense of the term: men intimidated by experimentation and threatened by change . . . " (p. xxii).55 For a corrective to these views one need only return to the passage from Huey cited previously (p. 434), where Huey reminds us that the Kyōgoku poets constituted a small, cliquish coterie, "positively reactionary" politically, and devoted to "trying to breathe new life into old forms. . . '' (pp. 76-77). The Nijō conservatism in waka needs to be balanced as well against their greater openness to the new art of renga. In addition, the Nijo network encompassed many poets whose blood was less than ultramarine. Carter knows all this, and his book exemplifies his knowledge, and so one can only assume that passages such as the above are to be blamed on a kind of cultural knee-jerk, an unconscious reaching for the familiar formulas of intellectual discourse.

More satisfying is Carter's way of contrasting specimen poems of Tamekane and Tameyo (p. xviii, Carter's translations):⁵⁶

GYS XV:2095/2087 On a Distant View of the Sealanes Former Major Counsellor Tamekane

Nami no ue ni Utsuru yūhi no Kage wa aredo Tōtsu kojima wa Iro kurenikeri Out on the waves the last rays of the evening sun shimmer for a moment, but that far little island is already in darkness.

ShokuSZS I:57 When he presented a hundred-poem sequence Former Major Counsellor Tameyo

Onajiku wa Sora ni kasumi no Seki mogana Kumoji no kari o Could I but have my way, I would place it in the sky that gate of spring haze. There at least it might forestall

⁵⁵ What textbook would this be taken from, and is it a good definition?

⁵⁶ One feature of Carter's anthology shows great self-confidence: he gives only his translations in the main text of his book, relegating romanized originals to a section after the notes. In the case of poems quoted in his Introduction, the originals are lacking altogether. I have supplied the texts from *ShinpenKT*.

Shibashi todomen

the geese on their cloudy way.

Of Tamekane's poem and others like it, Carter says, "[They] seem to push the perceiver into the background, letting the impressions of a scene almost speak for themselves." Carter contrasts with this the use of poetic convention and stock metaphor in Tameyo's poem, and then goes on, "Putting the matter another way, one may say that Tamekane's poem is cinematic—a landscape, albeit one suffused with subtle movements; whereas Tameyo's is cerebral, representing an elegant idea infused less with direct perception than with the deep feeling (ushin) that was at the heart of Nijō poetics. Both are impressionistic in that they record the effect of a scene on the poet; and each is a fine poem in its own way." (For a less charitable reaction to Tameyo's poem, see above, p. 442.) Here Carter has said something worthwhile, something that sharpens a reader's perception instead of blurring it, though he is still (like most of us, I suspect) firmly in the realm of Konishi's "understandable object" (shigikyō) when he notes how Tamekane and his followers "showed careful attention to . . . the feel of the wind on the skin, the subtle shifts in color from dawn to dusk, the movements of light and shadow'' (pp. xvii-xviii).57

Carter's account traces developments down to the early sixteenth century, a welcome extension of Huey's more closely focused study. Like Konishi, he deals with the latter days of the Reizei, who rose to a kind of temporary prominence thanks to backing by the warrior poet Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊 (1326–1420) at the beginning of the fifteenth century, after the Nijō line died out. As we have seen, Ryōshun's disciple Shōtetsu ultimately preferred to imbibe directly from the *Shinkokinshū*. Shinkei studied waka with Shōtetsu, and Sōgi 宗祇 (1421–1502) was in some sense a renga disciple of Shinkei. But Sōgi's waka affiliations were with Tō no Tsuneyori 東常緣 (1402–84) and therefore Nijō. Shōhaku 肖柏 (1443–1527) was Sōgi's renga disciple, and Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, Carter's final poet, received the orthodox "tradition of the *Kokinshū*" (*Kokin denju*) from Sōgi, who had received it from Tsuneyori. Mixed affiliations and fading critical issues characterize the end of the great debate.

⁵⁷ On the other hand, to describe the difficult, remorseless Kyōgoku love poetry as "straightforward" (p. xxv) and "reveal[ing a] belief in honest, forthright expression" (p. xix) will fail to convey its characteristics of psychological complexity and emotional intensity.

There are thirty-six poets represented in Waiting for the Wind, no doubt a distant salute to Fujiwara no Kintō's 公任 (966-1041) Sanjūrokuninsen 三十六人撰 (ca. 1008) and its poetic and pictorial epigones. The poets with identifiable affiliations divide fairly evenly between conservatives and innovators, and it is evident that Carter wants to give everyone a fair shake—"to show each poet at his best" (p. xxv). Carter's book is an anthology, and so an assessment of the quality of the translations is in order. We can therefore proceed with a sampling, along with comparisons to the work of Huev and others. But first an awkward question must be posed. As noted, Carter presents his poets in English translation, without accompanying text. (To be sure, one can always leaf to the end of the translations and notes and find the originals.) What can one learn from the unassisted translation about the issues raised in the introduction and in the other studies that we have been discussing? In particular, who wrote the originals of these:

> Moon in the garden; and on the branches, the shapes of cherry blossoms it looks the image of spring, this dawn on a snowy day.

O moon at dawn, prolonging your stay in the sky with such indifference won't you teach your ways to spring before it draws to a close?

Elegant confusion vs. personification—both poems sound very traditional. Yet they (their originals, at least) are by the bitter rivals Tamekane (pp. 107, 109) and Tameyo (pp. 155, 160). (Tameyo's poem has already appeared in this review with a different translation, see p. 442.) A close reading will be required.

Carter concludes his Introduction with an explanation of his approach to translation. His five-line format is intended, he says, to suggest the 5-7-5-7-7 structure of the originals. A refinement, his variable indentations, tries "to indicate the variety of stops, pauses, and hesitations encountered in the originals" (p. xxvi). This is an in-

teresting innovation, but one that calls for at least one or two concrete explanations of how it works with specific poems. With his separation of original and translation, Carter does not really encourage the reader to find out. When it comes to content, Carter expresses a preference for restraint, for letting the words speak for themselves as much as possible, though he admits to having "at times been forced to give in to an openly interpretive rendering" (p. xxvi). In this regard I cannot help recalling that Robert Huey took Carter to task at considerable length in his review of Carter's The Road to Komatsubara⁵⁸ for those very sins of overinterpretation and padding, for foreclosing possibilities by spelling out too much, and for being too enamored of syllable count (Huey, HIAS 50.1 [1990], pp. 364-73). I felt at the time that Huey's points were valid in principle, indeed were the voice of a translator's conscience. But principle only goes so far; practice is where matters are decided. As a relativist would say, it all depends. Excellences come in as many varieties, no doubt, as faults. If a strict approach can yield a poem of exquisite beauty, it is the best approach. If it yields only strictness, perhaps the translator can still comfort himself that he "got it right." Personally, I would rather leave the door open to experimentation, to "openly interpretive rendering." Even if I close the door, the beast comes in the window.

Let me begin with Carter's successful translation of a striking poem by Tamekane's father Tamenori 為教 (1227-79), GYS VI:911/912 (Carter, p. 77):

Suminoboru
Sora ni wa kumoru
Kage mo nashi
Kokage shigururu
Fuyu no yo no tsuki

Above in the clear of the arching high night sky—not a shadow of a cloud; but here in shade of the trees—a shower of winter moonlight.

Tamenori's poem is marked by an ostentatious repetition of

⁵⁸ Steven D. Carter, The Road to Komatsubara: A Classical Reading of the Renga Hyakuin (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1987). Questions of translation technique aside, Carter's study is the most useful tool to appear to date for renga study, principally because of its inclusion of the rule book Renga shinshiki tsuika narabi ni shinshiki kon'an to 連歌新式追加並新式今案等 that governed serious linked verse in its great age.

kage/kokage, but this is softened to shadow/shade in Carter's version. This is a method of translation I follow myself, and I have no problem with it. Of more interest is the effect of "the arching high night sky," a line that brilliantly renders suminoboru sora, but (shamelessly?) adds "arching" and "high." ("Night" is borrowed from Tamenori's line five.) By adding them, Carter gets a strong, ringing line and image. What would he have gotten by sticking to purist principles? A similar "solution" resolves the poem into "a shower of winter moonlight." This is close enough to the original, assuming shigururu really modifies tsuki, that no translator need blush. The shigururu/shower correspondence is a happy one, and the "shadow . . . shade . . . shower' alliteration is not only effective, gradually approaching onomatopoeia, but is a dutiful reponse to kumoru . . . kage . . . kokage. I would have allowed myself a definite article before "shade" in the fourth line, but that aside, I can only salute this masterly translation.

A pair of poems by Tamekane, both translated both by Carter and Huey, provide some interesting observations on technique.

GYS I:9 (Carter, p. 98)⁵⁹
Tori no ne mo
Nodokeki yama no
Asaake ni
Kasumi no iro wa
Harumekinikeri

Even the bird calls seem serene as the mountain opens to morning; and the color of the haze has the look of spring.

(Huey, pp. 109-10) With a bird's gentle song And dawn's softly breaking light Over tranquil mountains The color of morning mist Has taken on the look of spring.

At first glance Carter's second line seems defective—there is a solecism in the use of "as." Then one notices that the usage is deliberate: "[As] serene as the mountain" and "serene while the mountain," a two-for-the-price-of-one construction that pays trib-

⁵⁹ Correcting the misprint "mountrain" to "mountain."

ute to the kakekotoba nodokeki ("tranquil"), which applies as predicate to the birds and as modifier to the mountain. This sort of thing, inadmissable in ordinary English, works admirably in the extraordinary situation of waka translation. Huey's solution, to pull the kakekotoba apart, assigning "gentle" to the birds and "tranquil" to the mountain, seems uninspired and wordy.

GYS I:83 (Carter, p. 98)

Ume no hana Kurenai niou Yūgure ni Yanagi nabikite Harusame zo furu On an evening
aglow with the crimson
of plum flowers,
the willow boughs sway softly;
and the spring rain falls.

(Huey, p. 126)
As evening falls
In its glow now scarlet
Plum tree blossoms;
Willow branches bend and sway,
Then a spring rain falls.

Here Huey does with *niou* ("glows") what Carter did with *nodokeki*. "Scarlet" is made to do double duty to good effect. However, Huey has created his own 歌病 in the perhaps unconscious repetition of "falls," not justified by anything in the original. I do admire Carter's semicolon (the use of which seems to be unknown to many of my students); it puts a nice stress on the last line with its three heavy beats at the end (like "no birds sing"—see above, p. 471). Huey's semicolon, by contrast, is in such an expected position that it creates no special effect.

Tamekane wrote a poem on the theme of Sei Shōnagon's four seasons and four times of day.⁶⁰

Omoisomeki
Yotsu no toki ni wa

GYS II:174 (Carter, p. 98)

My mind is made up:

of the four times of the year,

⁶⁰ The famous opening passage of *The Pillow Book* assigns each season a time of day when it is at its best: dawn for spring, night for summer, dusk for autumn, and early morning for winter.

Hana no haru Haru no uchi ni wa Akebono no sora flowery spring is best and within the spring itself, I like the sky at dawn.

(Huey, p. 92)
I've come to realize
That among the four seasons
It is flowering spring;
And of spring, most of all
The sky at dawn . . .

Here Huey is much preferable. Carter's opening line is so downright and abrupt that it almost makes the poem a parody of itself. Huey eases into the realization with a "that" that, for all it does not represent the Japanese syntax, at least does not make the reader laugh. *Omoisomeki*, a strong end-stopped form, is hard to get right. I have hardly avoided a comical effect either:

I've begun to think:
Among all the four seasons,
Spring of the blossoms;
And of all the times of spring,
Dawn faint in the sky.

At least once Huey and Carter part company on a basic matter of interpretation. Tamekane's GYS X:1367/1368 may have either a woman speaker or a man:

Hito mo tsutsumi Ware mo kasanete Toigatami Tanomeshi⁶¹ yowa wa Tada fuke zo yuku

Tanomeshi would imply a woman speaker ("you promised"), toigatami a man ("it's hard to get out to see you"). So there are difficulties either way.

(Carter, p. 101) (Huey, p. 93) With him bound by fear My loved one waits in secret

⁶¹ Tanobeshi in Huey.

and I too much reserved to ask him to come,

And I find it ever harder

To visit her:

this night we should be sharing

Later and later grows the night

simply wastes itself away. On which we'd pinned our hopes.

Huey's version cannot escape the criticism that tanomeshi does not mean "pinned our hopes," which anyway is a cliché. But Carter has done something rather worse: made the nominative "I" the object of the preposition "with."

Carter has confused sparrows and swallows in his version of a poem by Emperor Hanazono:

FGS XVIII:2056/2046 (Carter, p. 211)

Tsubame naku The sparrows twitter

Nokiba no yūhi near eaves where the evening

sun

Kage kiete is fading away;

Yanagi ni aoki the spring wind in the garden Niwa no harukaze is green with bending willows.

Brower and Miner had the birds right, and their translation is of a different order of excellence. The least that can be said in praising their versions is that they know how to breathe.

(*JCP*, p. 367)

The sun at dusk

Fades in brightness from the eaves

Where swallows twitter:

And among the willows in the garden

Blows the green breeze of the spring.

Still, economy has its virtues. Carter gets to the heart of a poem by Empress Eifuku with fewer words than Brower and Miner, and, I would say, more truly:

GYS X:1382/1383 (Carter, p. 143)

Oto senu ga On evenings like this Ureshiki ori mo one can almost be happy Arikeru o to receive no wordTanomisadamete Nochi no yūgure as a sign the vows still hold that we made the night before.

(*JCP*, p. 386)

It is evening,

But this time the lack of word from you Brings happiness,

For now that I have given you my trust

Surely your silence means that you will come.

Ornithological issues are not the only ones that can confuse a translator; geographical difficulties also lie in wait for the unwary.

FGS XVIII:2073/2063 Emperor Hanazono (Carter, p. 211)

Tatsutagawa

Momijiba nagaru

Miyoshino no Yoshino no yama ni

Sakurabana saku

Tatsuta River

carries its red autumn leaves

into fair Yoshino,

the mountains of Yoshino where the cherries are in

bloom!

Tatsutagawa stops flowing at *nagaru*, a *shūshikei* form, as far as the poem is concerned. Geographically, it is a tributary of the Yamato River, which empties into the sea south of Osaka. Yoshino is an entirely separate river system, many miles to the south. Red leaves float in Tatsuta River; cherry blossoms bloom in the Yoshino mountains—that's all the poem says. Harbison has the same problem with this poem in Konishi 1991, p. 415:

The Tatsuta River
Takes its course with colored leaves
To Yoshino,
To lovely Mount Yoshino where blossoms
Of the cherries are in full bloom.

No way! Come on, fellows, let's break out the atlas.

One of Tamekane's poems that suggests practice of *shikan* meditation raises some fine points of translation technique when done over into English.

GYS V:832/833

Kokoro tomete Kusaki no iro mo Nagameokan Omokage ni dani Aki ya nokoru to

(Carter, p. 99)
In my heart I'll store
the color of the grasses
and trees
I gaze on now—
so that there at least
their image will stay
with me.

(Huey, p. 173)
I shall gaze long and hard
At the beauty of these trees and
grasses
That have caught my eye
So that at least a faint image
Of autumn will remain with me.

In Carter's version one may wonder what happened to "autumn," surely what the poem says the poet wants to remain in his mind's eye. In Huey's, iro, "color," has been interpreted over into "beauty." I think the poem is talking about color, about visual impact and delight, at least on the level of the "observable object." The underlayer includes much beyond beauty, all the perceptually receivable, the sensuously plausible, the lying yet truthful suchness of the world. The kokoro has also gone out of Huey's poem. The mind/heart is what meditates. Kokoro, iro, aki—these are the three nouns that pin the poem to its place in Tamekane's cosmos. I have tried this one myself:

Let me quiet my mind, Let me gaze and store away The hues of grass and trees, So that autumn may remain, If but in shadow-image.

The poem seems to me a distant descendant of one of Japan's earliest Buddhist waka, a shadowed seasonal variant on Yakamochi's ardent plea:

MYS XX:4493/4469 Utsusemi wa Kazu naki mi nari

Man counts for nothing, A body empty, ephemeral—

Yama kawa no Sayakeki mitsutsu Michi o tazune na Let me see how clear Are the mountains and rivers While I search for the Way.

Carter's selection from the poems of Emperor Kōgon,⁶² the compiler of the $F\bar{u}gash\bar{u}$, includes some of the finest in the book, both as to original and translation. Here are two from the outstanding series with which the selection climaxes (pp. 221-23):

KIS 53

Kumo kōru Kozue no sora no Yūzukuyo Arashi ni migaku Kage mo samukeshi The moon at evening in a sky of high branches and frozen clouds—burnished by storm winds, even its rays seem cold.

KIS 76

Noki no ue wa Usuyuki shiroshi Furiharuru Sora ni wa hoshi no Kage kiyoku shite

White is the thin snow on the roof above the eaves; clear after a storm, the sky is full of stars gleaming with pure light.

Both translations are close enough that it will be a scrupulous conscience indeed that is troubled. Waka is often at its best in this kind of wintry scene, and I much prefer such poems to most of those on spring. Star poems are rare, certainly compared to moon poems. One might wonder why, but I shall leave to others that investigation. One might also wonder why so few waka specialists adorn our own skies. Only enough for one or two constellations, perhaps. At his best, Carter is an alpha. But I hope for nights to come, when "the sky is full of stars gleaming with pure light."

The author of Kagerō nikki tells us that literature is full of lies, and she for one will tell the truth. The author of Genji recoups the lie, the fiction, as truth. Poets (both authors of course were poets, but they stepped beyond the one-breath utterance to explore the possibilities

⁶² Carter's statement that Kōgon died in 1363 contradicts the dates (1313-1364) given on the same page (p. 215).

of long-winded narration) work a finer weave—Mark Morris calls it a cat's cradle—but are not less concerned with truth. Medieval waka poetics in particular becomes obsessed with truth, and Tamekane is no exception. Modern commentators writing on this period inevitably make their own observations about authenticity. The topic calls for an essay, but in view of the great number of bytes already bitten in this rambling review, I shall limit myself to a few comments before closing.

In Wakashō, his only surviving treatise, Tamekane writes about emotion in different ways. "[The poets of the Man'yōshū] followed what they felt in their own hearts and expressed themselves just as they wished. Relying on their own innate qualities, they skillfully expressed the feelings that moved their hearts. In sentiment and wording, form and character, their poems are superior' (Huey and Matisoff, p. 138). This appeal to a naive, unreflecting sincerity as the undefiled source of the native poetry, an appeal still resonant in the cultural self-image of Japan, has to be balanced against certain other statements of Tamekane that look at the matter from a slightly different angle. A little later in Wakashō we find Tamekane, courtesy of the same translators, saying this: "Be it blossoms or moonlight, daybreak or scene at dusk, whatever your subject may be, try to make yourself one with it and express its true essence. If you absorb its appearance and let the reactions that it evokes penetrate your heart deeply, only then entrusting these feelings to words, then your words will be captivating and attractive" (Huey and Matisoff, p. 142; also Huey, p. 68). In another passage we are told, "If we desire to express this intention in terms of natural scenery, we must focus our hearts and enter deeply into the scene. As has been observed, 'Be sure to use those things appropriate to the four seasons; make use of the scenery of spring, summer, autumn, and winter as it creates moods appropriate to the time.' Let your feelings accord with a view of blossoms in spring, or an autumnal scene. If you express these emotions in words with nothing intervening, the true nature of the seasons will be revealed and your poetry will be in harmony with the spirit of heaven and earth" (Huey and Matisoff, p. 135).

Tamekane has moved from a romantically conceived ancient age into his own day, when poets composed on set topics, on which they concentrated intensely. 花にても、月にても、夜の明け、日の暮るゝけしきにても、その 63 事に向きては、その事になりかへり... (Hisamatsu, $Karonsh\bar{u}$, pp. 160-61). The sono koto no doubt refers to the specified object or time of day as a staple of poetry—a topic in nature. Nature, "scene," (ching 景) is the keibutsu of 景物につきて心ざしをあらはさむ、of which Tamekane says、心にへだてずなして言にあらはれば、をりふしのまこともあらはれ ... (Karonshū, p. 155). The poet does not simply let his heart's blood gush forth, but turns his heart/mind outward to some 景,"scene," or 物,"thing," and "makes himself one with it." Then the words come.

This new attitude toward composition did not come into Japanese poetry from nowhere. Its sources in the Tendai meditational practice of shikan have been alluded to already and are discussed by Brower and Miner, Konishi, and others. But Buddhist influence is unlikely to have been the only, or dominant, source. The introduction of Sung poetry and poetics in late Heian and Kamakura times surely carried into Japanese intellectual circles a knowledge of what Michael Fuller calls "immediacy," the approach to artistic creation enunciated by Su Shih (1037-1101), the great Northern Sung poet. The principle of "immediacy" applied equally to poetry and painting. "To paint bamboo, one must first obtain a complete one in one's breast."64 The insight expressed in this statement of Su Shih has antecedents going back to Lu Chi 陵機 (261-303), "Rhyme-Prose on Literature," 文賦, and Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (ca. 465-522), Wen-hsin tiao-lung 文心雕龍, whose orientations toward juxtaposing the mind of the poet against, or in pursuit of, the things of the outside world (Fuller, pp. 10-11, 15), belong to a conceptual tendency that eventually became a central East Asian approach to skills of all types. 65 Fuller explicates the difficulties encountered in getting

⁶³ Following Hisamatsu in reading う事 as a scribal error for その事 (*Karonshū*, p. 161, note 23).

⁶⁴ Michael A. Fuller, "Pursuing the Complete Bamboo in the Breast: Reflections on a Classical Chinese Image for Immediacy," *HJAS* 53.1 (1993), p. 10.

⁶⁵ Mishima Yukio's intricate dialectic of body and intellect, utter physicality and pure idea, pushes this tradition into "the hollow in space that one has already marked out," where victory awaits the boxer or fencer through "an intuitive apprehension of that off-guard moment a fraction of a second before it becomes perceptible to the senses," but where "ultimately, the opponent—the reality that stares back at one"—is death." The resultant tragic esthetic, to be sure, owes as much to Greek concepts of ideal form and Romantic notions of hero-

from the ''bamboo in the breast,'' once obtained, to the poem/painting the creator's (''resolve'') needs to achieve (pp. 13–19). See also Owen, pp. 74, 87–88, 202–205. 66 Owen points out that the ''wandering together,'' 與遊, of spirit and object in *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* is ''not so much a fusion . . . as a tentative association'' (p. 203). But still, ''intuitive action will obey the rules perfectly'' (p. 204), once the ''rules'' have been digested, 67 the tradition incorporated through study. Study of texts, of life experience, and of objects would seem to form a continuum of concentration toward the sudden ''unpremeditated'' (but much intended, ''resolved'') strike toward truth.

Such a drive toward identification, or transformation into (nari-kaerite), enunciated by Tamekane, is inflected in Kyōgoku poetic practice into a moment of change, as we have seen, plausibly due to the influence of Zen concepts of satori. The object whose essence one desires to capture by becoming is not static, but alters under the pressure of time and circumstance. Its truth, if still a singular truth, is the underlying principle of universal change. One recalls the famous Brower-Miner translation of Narihira's poem about the strangeness of change (JCP, p. 193):

What now is real?
This moon, this spring, are altered
From their former being—
While this alone, my mortal body, remains
As ever changed by love beyond all change.

To be sure, Narihira had "only" said (KKS XV:747)

Tsuki ya aranu Haru ya mukashi no

worship as to East Asian martial arts. (Yukio Mishima, Sun and Steel: His Personal Testament of Art, Action, and Ritual Death, trans. John Bester (New York: Grove Press, 1970), pp. 39-49, passim.)

⁶⁶ Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992).

⁶⁷ Fuller refers to an "alimentary" metaphor for learning in Chinese thought, a conception of study as a literal incorporation, allowing eventual immediacy of response. "[I]t is," he says, "not so much as if the poet were an Aeolian harp—it is rather as if he had swallowed one" (Fuller, pp. 10, 14).

Haru naranu Wa ga mi hitotsu wa Moto no mi ni shite,

perhaps something closer to

Is there no moon?
And is this springtime not the spring
Of times gone by?
My self alone remaining
Still the self it was before?

Whether you spell it out or let it drift in silence, the message of the poem is as Brower and Miner say. Concentration on the moon brings us to this: What is genuine? The answer to that question perplexes others besides Narihira.

"While often enough we may have a personal, emotional reaction to a poem, ultimately the art of waka is in the abstract" (Huey, p. 4).

Is it?

"[T]he poems behind the [Komachi-]effect are cool, calculated poetic artifacts" (Morris, p. 580).

Are they?

If we concentrate on the moon or the bamboo in our breast to the point of (con)fusion, is the "artifact" at the end of the vista cool and calculated? Abstract? Doesn't the calculation begin to give way when the language reaches critical temperature? Isn't that fusion, that metamorphosis, what the experience of poetry is all about? Isn't it intense, trans-rational, and deeply emotional? Once I heard a professor tell his class that if they happened to have any emotional reactions to the poems they read, they should keep them to themselves. Cool, calculated—and quite chilling.

There is more than one fix to be gotten out of poetry. The fix on the cool stars of our night sky—cool because so far away, but they burn us when we come close—by which to navigate; but also the addict's fix, the real juice we must have. Narihira, Komachi (living flesh or the most haunting of ghosts), to be sure. But what of Tameyo, Tamekane, and their ilk who composed on topics? Is there any juice in those little bottles? "In an art so dominated by conven-

tion, it seems practically impossible to read any poem as a truly personal expression" (Huey, p. 4). If poetry were altogether practical, perhaps this discouraging conclusion would be unavoidable. But concentration, indentification, "immediacy" bring the poet to the verge of something not himself, perhaps a mold into which he can pour his real heart. The mold need not be tiny: "Mme Bovary c'est moi." "Love poetry likewise should be written by taking on the emotions of another and imagining that person's feelings, even to the point of tears" (Huey and Matisoff, p. 145). 戀の哥をば、ひきかづきて人の心に代りても、泣く々々その心を思ひやりてよみけるとぞ (Karonshū, p. 163).

In sum, the plea I am making is that we leave the door open to warm, intense, lyric, dare I say Romantic readings whenever possible. By doing so I am convinced we get closer to the heart of the matter, that moment when the poet's quest for immediacy through concentration and the mediation of words ("[L]angusge controls the hinge and trigger" [Owen, p. 202])68 is matched by our reading, writing translating. Huey gives away too much when, after defending Tamekane's love poetry from a charge of being merely conventional, he seems to admit that perhaps it is, and that even the love poetry of Teika "probably would not stand up to intense scrutiny either" (p. 138). Who are we to say that this poem on the conventional topic "Love at Dawn" is any less Teika than anything he ever said or wrote?

Shūi gusō 866

Omokage mo Wakare ni kawaru Kane no oto ni Narai kanashiki Shinonome no sora Shadow of a face Changing into parting: At the sound of the bell The accustomed sadness Of the white dawn sky.

^{68 &}quot;Things come in through the ear and eye; in this, language controls the hinge and trigger. When hinge and trigger permit passage, no things have hidden appearance . . ." (物沿耳 目. 而辭令管其樞機. 樞機方通. 則物無隠貌.). The passage is from Wen-hsin tiao-lung. Owen explores the two interpretive possibilities that language enables us to understand the data of our senses, and that it makes possible their communication to others. He states that he regretfully favors the latter interpretation as the more plausible (Owen, p. 204).

Tamekane clearly believed that emotion is primary. Words are its vehicle, not something used to create it. "There is obviously a difference between using words to describe an emotion and imbuing your words with the flavor of your true emotions" (Huey and Matisoff, p. 142). こと葉にて心をよまむとすると、心のまゝに詞の匂ひゆくとは、かはれる所あるにこそ (Karonshū, p. 161). He seems to be saying Teika did not sit down to write a poem about parting, but, moved by the bell, the dawn sky, the memory of a face, allowed his feelings to form words. Any poet knows that the bell, the sky, the face may be only so many bamboo in the breast, but in the world of the poem, they are the reality. The question the poet faces is, do you wait for them to speak, or do you attempt to create them by drawing on your store of words. I believe this is the single most important question in poetic composition. Tamekane provided an answer long ago.